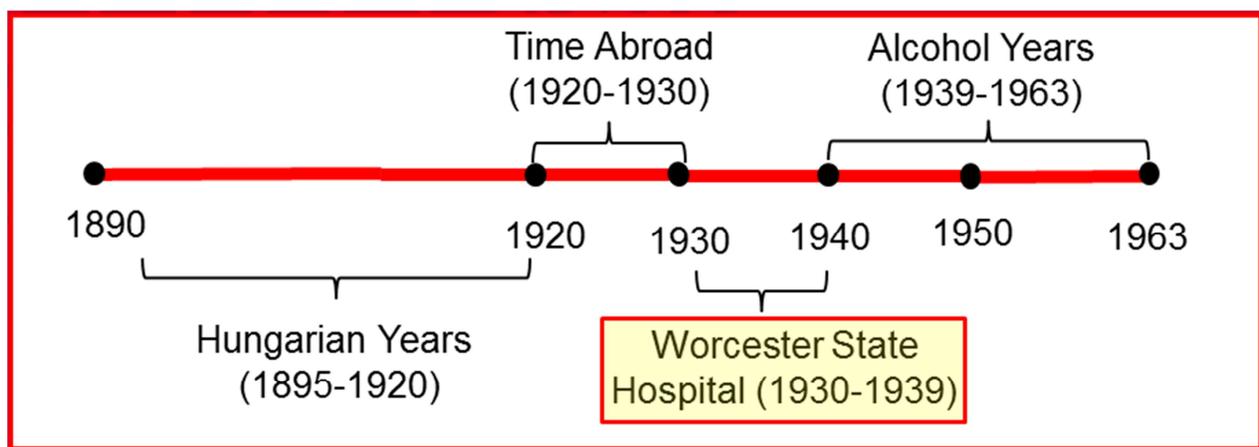


E. M. Jellinek: The Worcester Hospital years (1930-1939)

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This is the fifth in a series of papers depicting the mostly undocumented life of E.M. Jellinek. His years at the Worcester State Hospital, a psychiatric facility, are summarized in this paper, based on available reports and recollections on the hospital's daily activities. Included here are his broad research and creative interests during that time, which may tie his Hungarian scholarship with his later output in alcohol studies. The information in these papers was first presented at the 36th Annual Substance Abuse Librarians and Information Specialists (SALIS) Conference on May 1st, 2014, by seven presenters in a panel entitled "Mystery and speculations: Piecing together E.M. Jellinek's redemption."

It was in the multidisciplinary environment of the Worcester State Hospital in Massachusetts that Jellinek may have developed his ideas on the research of diseases. The progression of his work with schizophrenia has clear influences on his work with alcoholism in the following decade. This period in Jellinek's life is important to understand. We can trace similar trends in his

process, such as defining a concept or disease before attempting to study it, apparent in both the first few articles he published on schizophrenia and his early articles on alcohol studies (Hoskins & Jellinek, 1933; Jellinek, 1939; Bowman & Jellinek, 1941).

In many ways, Katherine Dexter McCormick is responsible for bringing Jellinek to Worcester. While most famous for

her work on birth control, McCormick was also significant in the field of schizophrenia. Her husband succumbed to the disease only two years after their marriage. She strongly disagreed with the doctors' course of treatment, focusing mainly on psychological and psychiatric treatments. As a response, McCormick established the Memorial Foundation.

Mrs. McCormick imposed stringent limitations on the use of the estate funds, directing that money be allotted only to organic studies and not for any purpose related to psychiatry and psychology. Afterwards, although psychophysiological items were occasionally "sneaked" into the research, funds for these as well as for anything pertaining to psychiatry and psychology had to be obtained from other sources (Shakow, 1972, p. 70).

Thus, a committee was established under David Shakow to develop a methodology for quantifying and treating schizophrenia through applied physiology and biochemistry.



Katherine Dexter McCormick

The Annual Reports of the hospital between 1832 and 1953 were digitized and are available online through the State Library of Massachusetts and the Internet Archive.

Thanks to this, it is known that Jellinek was recruited as part of this committee with Forrest Linder, Joseph Looney, Hugh Carmichael, and Joseph Rheingold, as stated in the Annual Report 1931 of the Worcester State Hospital. In the same report, Jellinek's hiring is noted as follows:

Mr. Jellinek brings to bear on the problem many years' experience in biometrical research and notable adaptability to the various needs of such a comprehensive research (Worcester Sate Hospital, 1932, p. 15).

Further information about Jellinek's arrival was gleaned from a series of letters written between Thelma Anderson, his wife during the Worcester years, and Mark Keller, his friend and colleague. In one of these letters, Thelma states that

Various sources say that Bunky arrived at Worcester in 1931. How he came to be a biometrician is vague. One story has it he met the "angel" of the Memorial Foundation for Neuro-Endocrine Research by invitation. Roy Hoskins, M.D., the Director of the project, was impressed and Bunky was hired! (Anderson to Keller, 1988).

Naturally, this "angel" could refer to the Mr. Stanley McCormick. However, András Angyal was often referred to as "angel." Angyal (pronounced ON-dyal) means "angel" in Hungarian. He began at Worcester in 1933, shortly after Jellinek, as a Special Worker in Research.

Regardless of how he arrived, Jellinek found the environment at Worcester to be congenial and encouraging to research. David Shakow, in a 1972 article about Worcester's research on schizophrenia, mentions that

At Worcester [researchers] had close contact not only with students and staff in their own professional areas but others as well. Perhaps most important were the limitless opportunities for intimately working with students from many other

professions for which the Hospital was an active training ground. During the year, and especially in summer, the Hospital hosted nursing, medical, social work, psychiatry, psychology, occupational therapy, theology, biochemistry, and statistics students, with an occasional sociology and anthropology student thrown in for good measure. (Shakow, 1972, p. 80).

He goes on to describe frequent parties and open houses. He attributes the familial environment at Worcester to the isolation caused by the Great Depression. In addition to the numerous cross-department seminars was the professional medical library maintained by George Banay.

Further evidence of the environment at Worcester comes from this verse written by Jellinek as a response to the frequent time audits the hospital underwent:

*Don't you know it, little Miss?
Statisticians must not piss.
If they wish to dehydrate
They must wait, they must wait
For some suit'ble transformation
In the shape of perspiration.
That is better for their health,
As well as for the Commonwealth.
(Shakow, 1972, p. 83)*

Many marriages came to be as a result of the Worcester environment, including that of E.M. Jellinek and Thelma. Again, thanks to the letters from Thelma, a timeline can be created. Thelma was working as a clinical psychologist at the New York State Psychopathic Hospital in Syracuse under Harold Hildreth, who knew Jellinek from his time at Worcester. While Jellinek was visiting, Hildreth told Jellinek that Thelma was in need of a job. Shortly afterwards, Jellinek offered Thelma a position as his statistical assistant at \$20.00 plus maintenance a month. After four or five months, Jellinek confessed that he had not been authorized to hire anyone and had been paying her salary from his own pocket. Jellinek was able to convince the director, Dr. Bryan, to allow Thelma to stay

on, sharing the salary of one hospital attendant between several assistants (Anderson to Keller, 1963). Jellinek and Thelma were married in Keene, New Hampshire on October 18, 1935. They divorced a decade later, on March 25, 1946.

Early on in the research process, Jellinek and others researching at the foundation came to understand that it was important to first define schizophrenia prior to moving forward. In 1933, Hoskins and Jellinek published an article stating this point (Hoskins and Jellinek, 1933). It is likely that the interdisciplinary nature of the hospital environment lead to an interdisciplinary approach to schizophrenia. The Seven Months' Study was intended

to obtain base-line data on schizophrenics and to determine both their intra- and interindividual variability, the finding which had so impressed us in our earliest studies (Shakow, 1972, p. 84).

Amongst the many things it accomplished, according to Shakow, was laying

the groundwork for many subsequent studies; encouraged us to set high standards of performance; and, because of the exercise in multidisciplinary, cooperative techniques, helped us to become a smoothly functioning research group (1972, p. 86).

Over 500,000 quantitative observations were recorded and then analyzed by Jellinek and his department in order to establish a five-point rating scale system.

Impressed by Jellinek's work, the hospital appointed him to a committee to a yearlong examination of the research environment at the hospital in 1934. Jellinek was appointed as the chair of the Committee on Coordination of Research with H. Freeman, P. E. Huston, and W.C. Miller (Shakow, 1972, p. 87). Dr. Harry Freeman was a pathologist at the hospital. Paul E. Huston was a research associate in 1930 but never appears on the

Staff list in the Annual Reports although his publications are listed. W.C. Miller may have been E.C. Miller, a visiting doctor of internal medicine who spent most of the 1930s at Worcester. It also may be Wilber R. Miller, a psychiatrist who began with the hospital in 1935.

Much like the Seven Months' Study established strong parameters for future studies, the Committee led to a reemphasis on psychiatry. It noted that the psychiatric department was not producing many publications and that such publications were rarely in the field of psychiatry. It also resulted in a Research Council, which met weekly to emphasize research principles. Jellinek's ties to the psychoanalytic movement in Budapest showed potential that resonated with the Worcester State Hospital's practices. As Shakow notes:

Jellinek made his influence felt in relation to psychoanalysis because of his obvious knowledge of the field, the respect in which he was universally held as a competent biometrician, his broad culture, and his rare sense and intelligence. If 'Bunky,' as he was without exception called, felt positive toward psychoanalysis, then presumably psychoanalysis was indeed important and worth paying attention to (Shakow, 1978, pp. 44-45).

After completing the Seven Months' Study, Jellinek became involved in the next stage of the research, assessing different treatment methods. Numerous reports from Europe were suggesting that insulin was the best treatment for schizophrenia. While researchers at Worcester were skeptical, it fit within the requirements of the Memorial Foundation's grant as an endocrine treatment. Therefore, Cameron with Jellinek developed the Insulin Study in 1937. When completed, there was little evidence which showed the European studies were correct. Instead, it seemed that insulin had little to no therapeutic effect. Despite this, the

insulin study provided a large portion of the work performed by the Biometric Department under the direction of Mr. E. M. Jellinek. There was first the continuous recording of this data, next the preliminary analysis, and lastly a detailed final analysis. The most outstanding results have been referred to already in connection with the insulin study (Worcester State Hospital, 1938, p. 20).

The Gang at Worcester



Staff members at the Worcester State Hospital

The environment at Worcester continued to affect Jellinek's research and life. He was surrounded by a substantial Hungarian population at Worcester, many of whom would come with him to Yale in the following years. Brothers Ralph and George Banay were amongst them. Ralph received his medical degree from Royal Hungarian University in 1920 and became the first medical director of the Yale University's Alcoholic Clinic (New York Times, 1970). George worked at Worcester as the librarian. He developed the medical library at Worcester. András Angyal was a psychotherapist. Late in Jellinek's career, Angyal was hired as the Head of the Psychiatric Research Unit at Worcester.

Angyal was early to recognize the Alcoholics Anonymous program as the desirable model for psychological recovery. Alcoholics are never 'recovered' but always 'recovering' (Stern, 1992, p. 366).

Géza Róheim, a childhood friend of Jellinek, was hired at Worcester in 1938 as psychoanalyst and anthropologist.

Many of the non-Hungarians Jellinek worked with also went on to be substantial research forces. Joseph Looney, Director of Laboratories at Worcester, is best known for the "Looney Technique" of blood analysis (Boston College Heights, 1939). Anne Roe began as an assistant psychologist at Worcester, but went with Jellinek to Yale to conduct a review of literature on alcohol education (Wrenn, 1985). David Shakow was the Director of Psychological Research and went on to Yale as the director of the Fund for Research in Psychiatry (New York Times, 1981).

Jellinek left Worcester in 1939. Very little about his motivations are provided in the 1939 Worcester State Hospital Annual Report: "*E. Morton Jellinek, D.Sc. Biometrician, to private consultation practice in New York City*" (p. 7). Jellinek was recruited by Norman Joliffe to head the literature review study being conducted by the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol and funded by the Carnegie Corporation (Roizen, 1991¹). However, at the point of his departure, he had apparently not yet been appointed to this new position, as there is no mention of the Research Council in the report.

Thanks once again to the letters between Thelma and Keller, there is a record that Jellinek claimed there was tension between himself and Hoskins. Shakow does mention that pressure that Hoskins was under from both the Memorial Foundation and hospital staff, but nothing about Jellinek's departure (Shakow, 1972, 79). Thelma speculated that Jellinek had

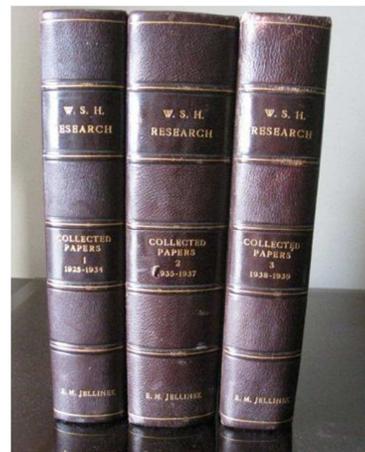
become bored with the problem of schizophrenia from an endocrine standpoint (Anderson to Keller, 1963).

¹ On the Carnegie funded study, see Chapter 8, Section I and Chapter 4 of Ron Roizen's dissertation – available, respectively, at www.roizen.com/ron/dissch8.htm and www.roizen.com/ron/dissch4.htm

Keller agrees, stating

You can explore a special aspect like that just so far and then it gets tiresome to have to adjust one's planning to the special perspective-especially as one's thinking is anyhow not narrowed (Keller to Anderson, 1963).

Of course, it is possible that Jellinek's Hungarian past, or lack of credentials, caught up with him. In addition to Hungarians at Worcester, there was a strong Hungarian community in psychiatry in New York City who might have brought up his past. Two of his former peers in psychoanalysis from Hungary, Franz Alexander and Sándor Radó, established themselves in the United States in the early 1930s. Gábor Kelemen speculates that Jellinek's open opposition to Radó's views on addiction may have been risky, since Radó knew about Jellinek's past. (Kelemen and Márk, 2012, p.309).



Three leather-bound volumes with all articles published during Jellinek's time at the Worcester State Hospital. Photo courtesy of their owner, Richard Noll.

Appreciation for Jellinek at WSH is well-represented by an unusual gesture from the staff. He received three leather-bound volumes with all articles published during his time, with his name inscribed on the spine, the photo of which is courtesy of their owner, Richard Noll. The accompanying farewell letter furthers this sentiment, commenting on the staff's "*continuing privilege and pleasure*

to draw freely upon [his] wisdom." What is known is that, after leaving Worcester, Jellinek went on to do very important research on alcohol, first with Jolliffe and then at Yale. Looking at Jellinek's early research on

alcoholism, there are potential indications that his experience at Worcester parallel with his later methods on studying and treating alcohol problems.

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