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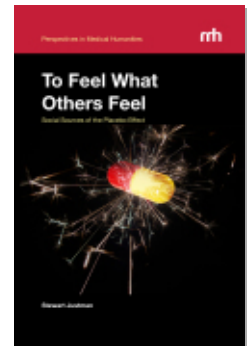
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Notes

Introduction

- 1 Henry Beecher, "The Powerful Placebo," *JAMA* 159 (1955): 1602-6.
- 2 Franklin Miller and Ted Kaptchuk, "The Power of Context: Reconceptualizing the Placebo Effect," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (2008): 222-25.
- 3 Klaus Linde, Margrit Fässler and Karin Meissner, "Placebo Interventions, Placebo Effects and Clinical Practice," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 366 (2011): 1908.
- 4 Ned Stafford, "Germans Doctors are Told to Have an Open Attitude to Placebos," *BMJ* 342 (2011): 565.
- 5 Fabrizio Benedetti, "The Placebo Response: Science vs. Ethics and the Vulnerability of the Patient," *World Psychiatry* 11 (June 2012): 70. See also Franklin Miller, Luana Colloca, Ted Kaptchuk, "The Placebo Effect: Illness and Interpersonal Healing," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 52 (2009), 518-539.
- 6 On the artificiality of laboratory studies of pain, see Henry Beecher, "Experimental Pharmacology and Measurement of the Placebo Response," *Science*, Aug. 15, 1952: 159; and Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor's Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 50
- 7 Even so, "most of the studies on the placebo mechanism consider the mean reduction of a symptom in a group of subjects"; "the placebo effect is better described as a group effect." Fabrizio Benedetti and Luana Colloca, "Placebo-Induced Analgesia: Methodology, Neurobiology, Clinical Use, and Ethics," *Reviews in Analgesia* 7 (2004): 131.
- 8 Roger Ulrich, "View Through a Window May Influence Recovery from Surgery," *Science* 224 (1984): 420-21. The study took into account only those months when the trees were in leaf.
- 9 S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967-1993), Vol. II, p. 241.
- 10 *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, ed. and tr. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 33-34.
- 11 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York: New York Review Books, 2001), I. 257. The foundational modern work of its kind, Thomas

- Percival's *Medical Ethics* (1803), calls on physicians to "inspire the minds of their patients with . . . confidence," a provision incorporated into the original American Medical Association Code of Ethics and retained long thereafter. See Albert Jonsen, *The New Medicine and the Old Ethics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 66.
- 12 Sherwin Nuland, *Maimonides* (New York: Schocken, 2005), p. 178.
 - 13 No doubt the miscellaneous healers and wise women in the shadows of medicine also enjoyed reputation. The most celebrated occult healer of seventeenth-century England, one Valentine Greatrakes, "attracted hundreds of . . . sufferers upon whom he performed a number of successful cures." Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner's, 1971), p. 203. On the placebo effect, see p. 209.
 - 14 Frank Kermode, "'Opinion' in *Troilus and Cressida*," *Critical Quarterly* 54 (2012): 88-102.
 - 15 P. Shaw, *The Reflector: Representing Human Affairs, As They Are; and May Be Improved* (London, 1750). Cited in Barry Blackwell et al., "Demonstration to Medical Students of Placebo Responses and Non-Drug Factors," *The Lancet*, June 10, 1972: 1280.
 - 16 Throughout the era of pre-scientific medicine (and beyond) "the practitioner fitted the symptoms into a coherent, meaningful system, syntonically with the prevailing culture." Herbert Adler and Van Buren Hammett, "The Doctor-Patient Relationship Revisited: An Analysis of the Placebo Effect," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 78 (1973): 595-98.
 - 17 Barron Lerner, *The Breast Cancer Wars: Hope, Fear, and the Pursuit of a Cure in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 272, 274.
 - 18 Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor's New Drugs: Exploding the Antidepressant Myth* (New York: Basic, 2010), p. 165.
 - 19 Allan Horwitz and Jerome Wakefield, *The Loss of Sadness: How Psychiatry Transformed Normal Sorrow into Depressive Disorder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), e.g., pp. 26, 138.
 - 20 Report issued by the National Center for Health Statistics, Oct. 19, 2011.
 - 21 Michel de Montaigne, "On the Power of the Imagination," *Complete Essays*, tr. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 109.
 - 22 Cited in Harold Merskey, *The Analysis of Hysteria, Second Edition: Understanding Conversion and Dissociation* (London: Gaskell, 1995), p. 8. Cf. Burton's observation that "men, if they but see another man tremble, giddy, or sick of some fearful disease, their apprehension and fear is so strong in this kind

- that they will have the same disease.” *Anatomy of Melancholy* I.255.
- 23 William Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions Upon Disorders of the Body* (London, 1788), p. 72: “The hysteric paroxysm . . . is extremely apt to recur on the sight of people so affected. I once had an opportunity of seeing an instance of this kind at one of the publick water-drinking places in this kingdom. A lady was seized with hysteric convulsions during the time of divine service. In less than a minute, six persons were affected in a similar manner.”
 - 24 Lene Vase et al., “Patients Direct Experiences as Central Elements of Placebo Analgesia,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society: Biological Sciences* 366 (2011): 1913-21.
 - 25 M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, tr. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 338.
 - 26 On this possibility see Gunver Kienle and Helmut Kiene, “The Powerful Placebo Effect: Fact or Fiction?,” *Journal of Clinical Epidemiology* 50 (1997): 1311-18. A criticism sometimes made of open, that is, non-blind placebo studies is that subjects may report benefits in order to give the experimenters what they are looking for.
 - 27 Bruce Barrett et al., “Placebo, Meaning, and Health,” *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 49 (2006): 189.
 - 28 Roy Porter, *English Society in the 18th Century* (London: Penguin, 1991), pp. 226-27.
 - 29 Possibly the first treatise on coffee was written by the same man whose translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* into French a few years later marks a transforming event in literary history. See Marina Warner, *Stranger Magic: Charmed States and the Arabian Nights* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 13.
 - 30 A. Branthwaite and P. Cooper, “Analgesic Effects of Branding in Treatment of Headaches,” *British Medical Journal* 282 (1981): 1576-78.
 - 31 Irving Kirsch, “Response Expectancy as a Determinant of Experience and Behavior,” *American Psychologist* 40 (1985): 1191.
 - 32 Barrett et al., “Placebo, Meaning, and Health,”: 184. Cf. Daniel Moerman and Wayne Jonas, “Deconstructing the Placebo Effect and Finding the Meaning Response,” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 136 (2002): 471-76; and Arif Khan et al., “Are the Colors and Shapes of Current Psychotropics Designed to Maximize the Placebo Response?,” *Psychopharmacology* 211 (2010): 113-22.
 - 33 Blackwell et al., “Demonstration to Medical Students of Placebo Responses and Non-Drug Factors”: 1279-82. On the social inflection of moods, see

- Vincent Nowlis and Helen Nowlis, "The Description and Analysis of Mood," *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 65 (1956): 345-55. According to this study, subjects' reports of their own mood vary with the drugs taken by those around them, so that someone taking dramamine amidst others taking secondal reports different mood indicators from someone taking dramamine amidst similar others.
- 34 Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, tr. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 90, 130.
- 35 Cited in Gilbert Honigfeld, "Non-Specific Factors in Treatment," *Diseases of the Nervous System* 25 (1964): 150.
- 36 Allan Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 109.
- 37 Ted Kaptchuk, "Powerful Placebo: The Dark Side of the Randomised Controlled Trial," *Lancet* 351 (June 6, 1998): 1722-25.
- 38 Howard Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 1.
- 39 J. L. Mommaerts and Dirk Devroey, "The Placebo Effect: How the Subconscious Fits In," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 55 (2012): 53; Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor's Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 52.
- 40 Ralph Horwitz and Sarah Horwitz, "Adherence to Treatment and Health Outcomes," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 153 (1993): 1863: "In numerous studies, patients who adhere to treatment, even when that treatment is a placebo, have better health outcomes than poorly adherent patients." Cf. Ira Wilson, "Adherence, Placebo Effects, and Mortality," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 25 (2010): 1270-72; and Andrew Avins et al., "Placebo Adherence and Its Association with Morbidity and Mortality in the Studies of Left Ventricular Dysfunction," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 25 (2010): 1275-81.
- 41 Adler and Hammett, "The Doctor-Patient Relationship Revisited": 596.
- 42 Spiro, *Power of Hope*, p. 251. Lenin surrendered his passion of smoking in order to devote himself to revolution.
- 43 Jonathan Shay, *Odysseus in America: Combat Trauma and the Trials of Homecoming* (New York: Scribner, 2002), p. 5.
- 44 Carol Kronenwetter et al., "A Qualitative Analysis of Interviews of Men with Early-Stage Prostate Cancer: The Prostate Cancer Lifestyle Trial," *Cancer Nursing* 28 (2005): 99-107.
- 45 If people appear to stop smoking in groups, it is also true that the tobacco

- industry originally “advertised cigarettes as a form of social glue that would ‘stick’ individuals into cohesive groups.” Siddhartha Mukherjee, *The Emperor of All Maladies: A Biography of Cancer* (London: Fourth Estate, 2011), p. 445. Social networks support both the termination and beginning of smoking.
- 46 Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos*, e.g., pp. 220-22.
- 47 An analysis that may last years gives ample scope for variables other than the analysis itself to operate.
- 48 Arthur Shapiro and Elaine Shapiro, *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 53.
- 49 Shapiro and Shapiro, *The Powerful Placebo*, p. 2.
- 50 *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, tr. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 640-41.
- 51 *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, p. 640.
- 52 *The Decameron*, tr. G. H. McWilliam (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 660. In Chaucer’s Merchant’s Tale, the wily May convinces her husband that he recovered his sight as a result of her “medicine.” The tale features a figure named Placebo who ministers to his brother’s (the husband’s) fantasies. In the *Arabian Nights* tale of “Aladdin of the Beautiful Moles,” “one of the richest and most powerful merchants in Baghdad grieves that he has no children, and a passing magician rallies him by giving him a wonderful mixture of stuff to thicken his sperm. The potion is a placebo—its power lies wholly in the believing, and the merchant does believe. A baby is born.” Warner, *Stranger Magic*, p. 403.
- 53 James House et al., “Social Relationships and Health,” *Science* 241 (1988): 540-45. For a popular version see Dean Ornish, “Love Is Real Medicine,” *Newsweek*, Oct. 3, 2005. On social bonds and health see also William Ruberman et al., “Psychosocial Influences on Mortality After Myocardial Infarction,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 311 (1984): 552-59; and Farouk Mookadam and Heather Arthur, “Social Support and Its Relation to Morbidity and Mortality After Acute Myocardial Infarction,” *Archives of Internal Medicine* 164 (2004): 1514-18.
- 54 Horwitz and Wakefield, *Loss of Sadness*, pp. 10-11. At one point shortly before his terrible illness, Tolstoy’s Ivan Ilych is visited with what we are told is intolerable depression. There is a story behind it—the story of his life.
- 55 Wallace Stegner, *The Spectator Bird* (New York: Penguin, 1976), p. 109.

Chapter One

- 1 Homer, *The Odyssey*, tr. Richmond Lattimore (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 4: 220-32.
- 2 Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 41.
- 3 However, Circe herself attributes Odysseus's resistance to her drugs to the power of his mind: "There is a mind in you no magic will work on" (10.329).
- 4 Jasper Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 191. Cf. *Odyssey* 4.805. Menelaus himself will end not in Hades but in the Elysian Field, site of "the easiest life for mortals" (4.565).
- 5 Note, though, that it is not with this evil compound but with her wand that Circe transforms the men into swine.
- 6 That a story cannot be told properly without the observance of social rules is memorably illustrated by work of fiction composed by a physician a century ago: Chekhov's "Misery."
- 7 Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 175.
- 8 As if Zeus himself bowed to the dictates of storytelling, he brings the *Odyssey* to an end in Book 24 by causing the incensed kinsmen of the slaughtered suitors to forget their death. Unless such a resolution, as improbable as it is, had been imposed from above, the massacre of the suitors would have been the beginning of Odysseus's troubles and not the end of them. Zeus announces his decision to Athena by saying, "Let us make them forget the death of their brothers / and sons, and let them be friends with each other, as in times past" (24.484-85). It is as if the suitors' kinsmen were henceforth to be under the influence of heartsease, said to make a man oblivious to the death of a loved one; or more plausibly (for the ending of the *Odyssey* is hard to credit), the influence of heartsease resembles the magic of storytelling itself, the power responsible for the shape of the *Odyssey* as a completed work.
- 9 Plato, *Laws*, tr. T. Saunders (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 312.
- 10 Between a benign drug and a poison, only the former, it seems, has a social component. When Telemachus prepares to sail for Pylos in search of news of his father, one of the suitors speculates sarcastically that he may bring back "poisonous medicines / and put them into our wine bowl, and so destroy all of us" (2.329-30). Unlike the drug introduced by Helen into the wine bowl, this speculative poison will be administered secretly and its action will not be supported by ritual.
- 11 When the boy Odysseus is gored by a boar, the wound is bound up with "in-

- cantations” (19.457).
- 12 “The whole [Homeric] epic is in a way an enthusiastic homage to superiority in the use of words and their power to touch men’s hearts.” Pedro Laín Entralgo, *The Therapy of the Word in Classical Antiquity*, tr. L. J. Rather and John Sharp (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), p. 29.
 - 13 Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor’s Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 228.
 - 14 Plato, *Charmides*, tr. Thomas West and Grace Starry West (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1986), p. 18.
 - 15 Spiro, *The Power of Hope*, pp. 210, 226.
 - 16 Fabrizio Benedetti, *Placebo Effects: Understanding the Mechanisms in Health and Disease* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 39.
 - 17 Cf. Hannah Arendt, *Totalitarianism*; Part Three of *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1951), p. 174: “For the confirmation of my identity I depend entirely upon other people; and it is the great saving grace of companionship for solitary men that it makes them ‘whole’ again, . . . restores the identity which makes them speak with the single voice of one unexchangeable person.” Note the language of healing.
 - 18 Connie Peck and Grahame Coleman, “Implications of Placebo Theory for Clinical Research and Practice in Pain Management,” *Theoretical Medicine* 12 (1991): 265.
 - 19 Franklin Miller and Ted Kaptchuk, “The Power of Context: Reconceptualizing the Placebo Effect,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (2008): 225. See also the more ironic formulation of Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner’s, 1971), p. 667: “Sociologists have observed that contemporary doctors and surgeons engage in many ritual practices of a non-operative kind. Modern medicine shares an optimistic bias with the charmers and wise women and it has similar means of explaining away failure.”
 - 20 “Perhaps only when a friend, relative, or healer indicates some level of social support (for example, by performing a ritual) is the individual’s internal [healing] economy able to act.” Daniel Moerman and Wayne Jonas, “Deconstructing the Placebo Effect and Finding the Meaning Response,” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 136 (2002): 475.

Chapter Two

- 1 James House et al., “Social Relationships and Health,” *Science* 241 (1988): 544.
- 2 More, *Utopia*, tr. George Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 61.

- 3 Plato, *Laws*, tr. T. Saunders (London: Penguin, 1975), p. 449.
- 4 *Utopia* is framed by the language of medicine. Measures regulating wealth without abolishing it “may have as much effect as good and careful nursing has on persons who are chronically sick. The social evils I mentioned may be alleviated and their effects mitigated for a while, but so long as private property remains, there is no hope at all of effecting a cure and restoring society to good health” (p. 39). Private property is abolished in *Utopia*.
- 5 Cf. William Morris’s *Nowhere*, whose inhabitants, aglow with health, boast of their collective wellbeing.
- 6 *Laws*, p. 347.
- 7 A. Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (London: Norton, 1990), p. 79.

Chapter Three

- 1 Robert Burton *The Anatomy of Melancholy*. Three vols. in one. (New York: New York Review Press, 2001), II. 119. On “that true nepenthe of Homer, which was no Indian plant,” see II.112. Cf. the mock inventory of the utopian fields in Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings* tr. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), pp. 10-11: Folly was “born on the Fortunate Isles, where all things grow ‘unsown and uncultivated.’ In that part of the world nobody works, grows old, suffers from sickness; the fields bear no day-lilies, mallow, leeks, beans, or vulgar vegetables of that sort. But everywhere eyes and noses are gratified with moly, heal-all, nepenthe, marjoram, ambrosia, lotus, roses, violets and hyacinths, as in the garden of Adonis.”
- 2 Though the book does begin by telling of a wedding feast, complete with dancers and acrobats.
- 3 Marie Prévost, Anna Zuckerman, and Ian Gold, “Trust in Placebos,” *Journal of Mind-Body Regulation* 1 (2011): 141.
- 4 Rabelais, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, tr. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2006), p. 639.
- 5 Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, II.119.
- 6 This sort of advice is not as trivial as it may seem. Recently it was pointed out that physical exercise alleviates depression—without the side-effects of drugs. Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor’s New Drugs: Exploding the Antidepressant Myth* (New York: Basic, 2010), pp. 169-73. Inactivity, one of the telltale symptoms of depression, also gives Hamlet his most famous trait—procrastination.
- 7 On traditional attitudes toward depression (melancholy), see Allan Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 28-29.

- 8 On the stereotypical nature of the King's recommendations, see Bridget Gellert Lyons, *Voices of Melancholy: Studies of Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England* (New York: Norton, 1975), pp. 86-87.
- 9 *Anatomy of Melancholy*, III. 432. Cf. Judith Kegan Gardiner, "Elizabethan Psychology and Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977): 380.
- 10 All references are to the Norton Shakespeare, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: Norton, 2007).
- 11 Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare's Language* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000), p. 103.
- 12 Avoidance of excessive study is also prescribed in Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy* (1586), a standard text at the time.
- 13 Eric Langley, "Plagued by Kindness: Contagious Sympathy in Shakespearean Drama," published online in *Medical Humanities*, Sept. 2, 2011 in advance of print; doi:10.1136/medhum-2011-010039. See p. 3. Iago enacts "a cruel parody of the medicinal friendship": p. 5.
- 14 Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*, tr. Caryl Emerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 59.
- 15 Roger Scruton, *Beauty* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 94.

Chapter Four

- 1 Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1969), p. 169.
- 2 John Leonard, *Naming in Paradise: Milton and the Language of Adam and Eve* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 199: "The serpent's single most persuasive argument is his ability to argue."
- 3 Fabrizio Benedetti, *Placebo Effects: Understanding the Mechanisms in Health and Disease* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), e.g., p. 84.
- 4 Cf. Bacon on the dynamics of suggestion: "As in Infection, and Contagion from Body to Body, (as the Plague, and the like) . . . the Infection is received by the Body Passive . . . so much more in Impressions from Minde to Minde, or from Spirit to Spirit, the Impression [will] be tak[en by] the Minde and Spirit, which is Passive . . . and therefore, they worke upon Weake Mindes . . . as those of Women. . . . The Cause of this Successe is to be truly ascribed unto the Force of Affection and Imagination, upon the Body Agent." Cited in Eric Langley,

- “Plagued by Kindness: Contagious Sympathy in Shakespearean Drama,” published online in *Medical Humanities*, Sept. 2, 2011 in advance of print; doi:10.1136/medhum-2011-010039. See p. 4.
- 5 The commentator is one Thyer (“the Librarian at Manchester”) cited in Thomas Newton’s 1763 edition of *Paradise Lost* at 9.794.
- 6 Cf. Northrop Frye, *The Return of Eden: Five Essays on Milton’s Epics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 78: Eve “repeats Satan’s arguments as though they were her own.”
- 7 See Barbara Lewalski, “Milton and Idolatry,” *SEL* 43 (2003): 213-32.
- 8 “Areopagitica” in Milton, *Complete English Poems, Of Education, Areopagitica* (London: Everyman, 1990), pp. 604, 605, 615.
- 9 John Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body* (Bath: Cruttwell, 1800), p. 29. In Tolstoy’s great medical fable *The Death of Ivan Ilych* the protagonist derives some momentary comfort from a treatment or diagnosis, even from wonder-working icons and the last rites, only to see the sensation of relief evaporate.
- 10 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause*, p. 12.
- 11 Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), e.g., p. 227.
- 12 Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 216.
- 13 Benjamin Franklin, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1987), pp. 1198, 1202. Many of Poor Richard’s sayings affirm marriage.

Chapter Five

- 1 Rambler No. 4.
- 2 Vivian Nutton, *Ancient Medicine* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 102.
- 3 Nutton, *Ancient Medicine*, pp. 239, 242, 121.
- 4 The charlatanism of public healing attaches to Verena Tarrant in Henry James’ *The Bostonians* (1886). “‘The daughter of Doctor Tarrant, the mesmeric healer—Miss Verena. She’s a high-class speaker.’ ‘What do you mean?’ Olive asked. ‘Does she give public addresses?’ ‘Oh yes, she had quite a career in the West. I heard her last spring in Topeka. They call it inspirational. I don’t know what it is—only it’s exquisite, so fresh and poetical. She has to have her father to start her up. It seems to pass into her.’” *The Bostonians* (New York: Knopf, 1992), p. 44.
- 5 Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France*

- (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 40.
- 6 Darnton, *Mesmerism*, p. 117.
 - 7 Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: the Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 192.
 - 8 In the seventeenth century certain healers sought to cure by “stroking” in such a way as to draw the cause of illness out of the body. “Stroking could be represented as a magnetic means of easing the evil humours down through the limbs and out through the extremities.” Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Scribner’s, 1971), p. 204. In accordance with the fancies of an age of reason, Perkins heals not by laying on hands, not by virtue of personal charisma or a gift from God, but by a kind of impersonal stroking.
 - 9 Benjamin Douglas Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body* (London: J. Johnson, 1798), pp. 47, 50, 53.
 - 10 James Delbourgo, “Common Sense, Useful Knowledge, and Matters of Fact in the Late Enlightenment: the Transatlantic Career of Perkins’s Tractor,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, 61 (2004): 643-684.
 - 11 Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body*, pp. 83-84.
 - 12 Claude-Anne Lopez, “Franklin and Mesmer: an Exchange,” *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 66 (1993): 329.
 - 13 Benjamin Franklin, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1987), p. 788.
 - 14 John Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body* (Bath: Cruttwell, 1800), p. 4.
 - 15 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 4.
 - 16 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 9.
 - 17 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 7.
 - 18 Rambler No. 4.
 - 19 Mike Jay, *The Atmosphere of Heaven: The Unnatural Experiments of Dr Beddoes and His Sons of Genius* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 177, 178, 213. A colleague of Haygarth’s in Bristol reports that Beddoes lent him a set of Perkins tractors.
 - 20 Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor’s New Drugs: Exploding the Antidepressant Myth* (New York: Basic, 2010), p. 126.
 - 21 S. Karen Chung et al., “Revelation of a Personal Placebo Response: Its Effects on Mood, Attitudes and Future Placebo Responding,” *Pain* 132 (2007): 281-88.
 - 22 Ted Kaptchuk et al., “Placebos Without Deception: a Randomized Controlled

- Trial in Irritable Bowel Syndrome,” *PLoS ONE* 5(12): e 15591.
- 23 A. Branthwaite and P. Cooper, “Analgesic Effects of Branding in Treatment of Headache,” *British Medical Journal* 282 (1981): 1576-78.
 - 24 N. McKendrick, “Josiah Wedgwood: An Eighteenth-Century Entrepreneur in Salesmanship and Marketing Techniques,” *Economic History Review*, New Series 12 (1960): 408-33.
 - 25 A version of this chapter appeared in *Medical Humanities* 37 (2011): 34-37. Published online in advance of print.

Chapter Six

- 1 On the Perkins tractor see Ulrich Tröhler, “*To Improve the Evidence of Medicine*”: *The 18th Century British Origins of a Critical Approach* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians, 2000); and David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm Since Hippocrates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 166-170.
- 2 Francis Lobo, “John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England” in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Andrew Cunningham and Roger French (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 217-53.
- 3 Ordinarily Haygarth would have treated rheumatism with cinchona (quinine), now recognized as the first specific drug, though specific against malaria, not rheumatism. A few years after his exposé of the Perkins tractor Haygarth went on to publish *A Clinical History of Acute Rheumatism*.
- 4 John Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body; as Exemplified by Fictitious Tractors and Epidemical Convulsions* (Bath: Cruttwell 1800), pp. 3-4. On the reception of Haygarth’s argument see Christopher Booth, *John Haygarth, FRS (1740-1827): A Physician of the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2005), pp. 106-07.
- 5 In the London Morning Herald, December 25, 1799, one Dr. John Mather, Member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, wrote that “He cannot but think it his duty to adopt any remedy which attentive observation and experience assure him is eminently calculated to relieve the afflicted. In a variety of diseases, especially those of a topical kind, he therefore purposes to add to the usual remedies, Dr. PERKINS’ METALLIC TRACTORS, which probably may most successfully be applied by a Medical hand. Though they do no harm even where they do no good, he has sufficient reason to believe that they

possess great powers, when a proper discrimination is made as to the nature of the case.” The wording of the last sentence is curious and possibly erroneous, but suggests that one of the attractions of the Perkins treatment was its sheer innocuousness. Before “do no harm” became a guiding principle or at least motto of modern medicine, it was a selling point for a sham treatment. Recommending a certain concoction for rheumatism, Dr. Johnson cannot say if it will work—he knows of its use only in one case—but thinks it worth trying as long as it does no harm. See James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (New York: Knopf, 1992), p. 551.

- 6 Arthur K. Shapiro and Elaine Shapiro, *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 25. Haygarth himself bled, one case being recorded in Booth, John Haygarth, p. 41.
- 7 C. E. Kerr, I. Milne, and T. Kaptchuk, “William Cullen and a Missing Mind-Body Link in the Early History of Placebos,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (2008): 89-92.
- 8 In an experiment similar to his own, one of Haygarth’s correspondents plays “the part of a necromancer,” tracing geometric figures with false tractors made of ten-penny nails. Haygarth, *Of the Imagination*, p. 17.
- 9 Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York: New York Review Books, 2001), I. 256-57. Putting to one side the matter of faith-healing, Hamlet suggests at many points that imagination can act on the body. Simply by telling his tale the Ghost can make hair stand up, and Hamlet stages a simulation of the murder of his father to see if it will make the King flinch. He more than flinches.
- 10 The belief that a murder victim lives on in some way to testify against the killer was almost certainly known to Shakespeare. See Malcolm Gaskill, “Reporting Murder: Fiction in the Archives of Early Modern England,” *Social History* 23 (1998): 1-30. In *Richard III* Lady Anne exclaims that “dead Henry’s [that is, Henry VI’s] wounds / Open their congeal’d mouths and bleed afresh” (1.2.55-56) in the presence of his murderer, Richard. However, the blood referred to is a flight of hyperbole—a poetic index of the extremity of Richard’s evil—not the manifestation of an outraged universe. For the interesting case of a loaf of bread that bleeds to indicate a murderer, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 66.
- 11 In Darwin the apprehended woman, “like a witch in a play,” calls on Heaven to grant “that thou never mayest know again the blessing to be warm.” Eras-

- mus Darwin, *Zoonomia; or, The Laws of Organic Life* (New York: AMP Press, 1974; orig. pub. 1796), II.359. The farmer “mistakes . . . imaginations for realities” (II.356).
- 12 This in spite of the rhetoric of transparency and verifiable fact in which the Perkins tractor was advertised. On Haygarth’s demand for evidence, see his letter (quoted in Lobo, “John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England”: 7) to an associate of Jenner cautioning that “very full and clear evidence will be required” if Jenner’s discovery of “vaccine inoculation” is to be believed. In time Haygarth was won over.
- 13 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination*, p. 12.
- 14 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination*, p. 1. Mark Akenside was a physician and author of a long poem on The Pleasures of Imagination, written at the age of twenty-three and inspired by Addison. The phrase “The Pleasures of the Imagination” appears in *Spectator* No. 411.
- 15 *Spectator* 411.
- 16 Himself afflicted with melancholy, Johnson deemed the *Anatomy of Melancholy* a work of “great spirit and great power.” Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 607.
- 17 A meaning not recorded in Johnson’s dictionary but current in his time and indeed used by himself in *Rambler* No. 43, as cited in the *OED*. The first definition of Imagination given by Johnson is “Fancy . . . the power of representing things absent to one’s self or others.”
- 18 The astronomer of *Rasselas* is also cited in Lorraine Daston, “Fear and Loathing of the Imagination in Science,” *Daedalus* 127 (1998): 77.
- 19 Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, p. 867. Even the well-known definition of imagination in *Rambler* No. 60 casts that faculty as an agency of deception: “All joy or sorrow for the happiness or calamities of others is produced by an act of the imagination, that realizes the event, however fictitious, or approximates it, however remote, by placing us, for a time, in the condition of him whose fortune we contemplate; so that we feel, while the deception lasts, whatever motions would be excited by the same good or evil happening to ourselves.”
- 20 See Lobo, “John Haygarth, Smallpox and Religious Dissent in Eighteenth-Century England”: 220.
- 21 Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1982), pp. 50-51.
- 22 Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, pp. 51-52.
- 23 Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 183.

- 24 Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, p. 9. On sympathy, mind and body, cf. Kerr, Milne, and Kaptchuk, “William Cullen and a Missing Mind-Body Link in the Early History of Placebos.”
- 25 William Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of the Body* (London: Dilly and Phillips, 1788), p. 48. On the complementary case of a condemned man who died by force of imagination on the scaffold, thereby sparing himself, see Montaigne, “On the Power of the Imagination,” in *Complete Essays*, ed. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 110.
- 26 Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of the Body*, p. 23.
- 27 When Haygarth proposed his experiment to Falconer, the latter “entirely approved the idea, and very readily consented to make the proposed trial upon the most proper cases which could be selected from his patients in the General Hospital” (*Of the Imagination*, p. 2).
- 28 Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions upon Disorders of the Body*, pp. 23, 51.
- 29 Carl Woodring, ed., *Prose of the Romantic Period* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), p. 65.
- 30 Clearly this was a mass phenomenon, as if a revival of morale were passing from person to person, reinforcing itself as it went; or as if a multiplier effect set in as more and more experienced what others seemed to. Suddenly recovery itself had become contagious.
- 31 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination*, p. 30.
- 32 E.g., A. Sandler, C. Glesne and G. Geller, “Children’s and Parents’ Perspectives on Open-Label Use of Placebos in the Treatment of ADHD,” *Child: Care, Health and Development* 34 (2008): 118; A. Campbell, “Hidden Assumptions and the Placebo Effect,” *Acupuncture in Medicine* 27 (2009): 68-69.
- 33 René Descartes, *Discourse on Method*, tr. Laurence Lafleur (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Library of Liberal Arts, 1956), p. 4.
- 34 L. J. Rather cited in Harold Merskey, *The Analysis of Hysteria, Second Edition: Understanding Conversion and Dissociation* (London: Gaskell, 1995), p. 11.
- 35 See Donald Bruce, *Radical Dr. Smollett* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965), ch. 4. Cf. Montaigne, “On the Power of the Imagination,” p. 117: “I know of a squire who had entertained a good company in his hall and then, four or five days later, boasted as a joke (for there was no truth in it) that he had made them eat cat pie; one of the young ladies in the party was struck with such hor-

- ror at this that she collapsed with a serious stomach disorder and a fever: it was impossible to save her.” On “the close stitching of mind to body,” see p. 118.
- 36 *Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985), p. 33. Cf. p. 187: “I find my spirits and my health affect each other reciprocally—that is to say, every thing that discomposes my mind, produces a correspondent disorder in my body; and my bodily complaints are remarkably mitigated by those considerations that dissipate the clouds of mental chagrin.” Cf. p. 393: “In less than a year, I make no doubt, but he will find himself perfectly at ease both in his mind and body, for the one had dangerously affected the other.”
- 37 Bruce, *Radical Dr. Smollett*, p. 48.
- 38 Isaac Kramnick, *Republicanism and Bourgeois Radicalism: Political Ideology in Late Eighteenth-Century England and America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 92.
- 39 Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (New York: Norton, 1988), p. 43.
- 40 Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 229.
- 41 H. W. Brands, *The First American: The Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Doubleday, 2000), pp. 631-32.
- 42 Benjamin Franklin, *Writings* (New York: Library of America, 1987), pp. 1188, 1225-26.
- 43 A version of this chapter appeared as “Imagination’s Trickery: The Discovery of the Placebo Effect,” *Journal of the Historical Society* 10 (2010): 57-73.

Chapter Seven

- 1 He is also a study in the tyranny of fantasy, somewhat like Burton’s melancholics “molested by phantasy” and Dickensian grotesques ruled by fictions of their own invention.
- 2 According to Falconer, “it is but too usual with parents to foster the sensibility of their children, especially females, to an unusual degree, by officious attention to remove every thing that can give the least interruption to pleasure, or even awake the mind to its natural and necessary exertions.” *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions Upon Disorders of the Body* (London, 1788), p. 75. Of hypochondria, which is roughly a male term for hysteria, Falconer writes, “The sufferers are mostly of gloomy disposition, and subject to a despondency of mind” (p. 59), a description that applies better to a melancholic than a man

- like Mr. Woodhouse, said to be friendly and amiable. Falconer prescribes such social remedies for hypochondria as business, travel, diversion, and riding.
- 3 Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions Upon Disorders of the Body*, pp. 72-73.
 - 4 On the affectation of infirmity becoming real, see Montaigne's story of a certain man who hid from his Roman pursuers, assuming a disguise and pretending to be blind in one eye. "When he was able to recover a little liberty and wanted to rid himself of the plaster which he had worn so long over his eye, he found that he had actually lost the sight of that eye while under the mask. It is possible that his power of sight had been weakened by not having been exercised for such a long time. . ." "On Not Pretending to Be Ill" in Montaigne, *Complete Essays*, tr. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 781.
 - 5 See Harold Merskey, *The Analysis of Hysteria, Second Edition: Understanding Conversion and Dissociation* (London: Gaskell, 1995), p. 194.
 - 6 Cited in Jennifer Crosswell, David Ransohoff, and Barnett Kramer, "Principles of Cancer Screening: Lessons from History and Study of Design Issues," *Seminars in Oncology*, June 2010. Doi:10.1053/j.seminoncol.2010.05.006: p. 10.
 - 7 Robert Hahn, "The Nocebo Phenomenon: Scope and Foundations" in *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*, ed. Anne Harrington (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 69.
 - 8 Says Matthew Bramble, "I am persuaded that all valetudinarians are too sedentary, too regular, and too cautious—We should sometimes increase the motion of the machine, to *unclog the wheels of life*; and now and then take a plunge amidst the waves of excess, in order to case-harden the constitution. I have even found a change of company as necessary as a change of air, to promote a vigorous circulation of the spirits, which is the very essence and criterion of good health." *Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985), pp. 381-82.
 - 9 Falconer, *A Dissertation on the Influence of the Passions Upon Disorders of the Body*, pp. 71, 76.
 - 10 Dr. Johnson's Rambler No. 4.
 - 11 Peter Conrad, *The Medicalization of Society: On the Transformation of Human Conditions into Treatable Disorders* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), p. 148.
 - 12 On the lobbying campaign on behalf of multiple personality disorder, see Ian Hacking, *Mad Travelers: Reflections on the Reality of Transient Mental Illnesses* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 83. Conrad, *The Medicalization of Society*, discusses the cases of adult ADHD and chronic fatigue syndrome.

- 13 Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 132.

Chapter Eight

- 1 *War and Peace*, tr. Louise and Aylmer Maude (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 617.
- 2 *War and Peace*, pp. 700-01. On Tolstoy and doctors see Harold Schefski, "Tolstoj's Case Against Doctors," *Slavic and East European Journal* 22 (1978): 569-73. On the unknowability of disease, cf. Montaigne, "On Experience" in *The Essays: A Selection*, tr. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 400: Nature "keeps her processes absolutely unknown. In her promises and threats there is great uncertainty, variability and obscurity." On the overweening "epistemic nihilism" implicit in Tolstoy's ridicule of the very possibility of medical knowledge, see Gary Saul Morson, *Hidden in Plain View: Narrative and Creative Potentials in 'War and Peace'* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 172 and n.
- 3 If, as some believe, the reassuring sense of being in the hands of superior power can fuel the placebo effect, no wonder the doctors put on authoritarian airs in front of Ivan Ilych. Unfortunately, however, he is beyond the reach of the placebo effect.
- 4 Howard Spiro, "Clinical Reflections on the Placebo Phenomenon" in *The Placebo Effect*, ed. Anne Harrington (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 42.
- 5 All quotations are from the Maude translation in *The Portable Tolstoy*, ed. John Bayley (London: Penguin, 1978).
- 6 *Tolstoy's Short Fiction*, tr. Michael Katz (New York: Norton, 1991), p. 165.
- 7 Gary Saul Morson, "Anna Karenina" in *Our Time: Seeing More Wisely* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 10. In the case of Ivan Ilych, the sufferings of the body seem to give rise to even greater sufferings of the mind.
- 8 *War and Peace*, p. 702.
- 9 *The Brothers Karamazov*, tr. Constance Garnett (New York: Vintage, 1955), p. 281.
- 10 *What Is Art?*, tr. Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky (New York: Penguin, 1995), pp. 119-20.

Chapter Nine

- 1 The guilt that contributes to her grief might itself be reckoned a marker of depression.
- 2 Charlotte Blease, "Deception as Treatment: The Case of Depression," *Journal of Medical Ethics* online, Oct. 20, 2010. Doi: 10.1136/jme.2010.039313. Cognitive behavioral therapy is spoofed in David Lodge's *Therapy* (New York: Penguin, 1995).
- 3 Allan Horwitz and Jerome Wakefield, *The Loss of Sadness: How Psychiatry Transformed Normal Sorrow into Depressive Disorder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 20. Cf. Allan Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 101-2: People in a state of depression "may realize, often from past experiences, that after these stressful experiences end, their distress will naturally dissipate over time. These lay views of distressing experiences may be more accurate than the illness models promoted by pharmaceutical companies and mental health professionals." For a fictional example of acute depression lasting but a few hours, see Chitra Divakaruni, "Mrs. Dutta Writes a Letter," reprinted and discussed in Bradley Lewis, *Narrative Psychiatry: How Stories Can Shape Clinical Practice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).
- 4 Shelley Taylor and Jonathon Brown, "Illusion and Well-Being: A Social Psychological Perspective on Mental Health," *Psychological Bulletin* 103 (1988): 193-210.
- 5 Taylor and Brown, "Illusion and Well-Being": 197.
- 6 Herbert Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon, 1964), p. 84.
- 7 Jerome Frank and Julia Frank, *Persuasion and Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), e.g. p. 48: "To be effective, interpretations, the primary means of transmitting the therapist's conceptual framework, need not be correct, only plausible." Cf. p. 72: ". . . the criterion of the 'truth' of a psychotherapeutic interpretation would be one that is most satisfying or that makes the most sense to the particular person."
- 8 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, p. 151.
- 9 Sissela Bok, *Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life* (New York: Vintage, 1978). For an example of explicitly paternalistic thinking about the use of placebos, see Franklin Miller and Luana Colloca, "The Placebo Phenomenon and Medical Ethics: Rethinking the Relationship Between Informed Consent and Risk-Benefit Analysis," *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics* 32 (2011): 229-43. The authors espouse a "libertarian paternalist strategy of promoting

- placebo and minimizing nocebo responses” (240)—an oxymoron.
- 10 Taylor and Brown, “Illusion and Well-Being”: 204.
 - 11 Taylor and Brown, “Illusion and Well-Being”: 195.
 - 12 When the storm sets in, Brekhunov declines the offer to stay the night in a neighboring village, as “four miles of good road, two of which lay through the forest, seemed easy to manage.” Along with an inordinately high opinion of oneself, the cardinal delusions cited by Taylor and Brown are “exaggerated perception of control or mastery, and unrealistic optimism” (e.g., p. 193).
 - 13 *The Praise of Folly and Other Writings*, ed. and tr. Robert M. Adams (New York: Norton, 1989), p. 39.
 - 14 Francis Bacon, *The Major Works*, ed. Brian Vickers (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 341. In the “Digression Concerning the Original, the Use, and Improvement of Madness in a Commonwealth” (which sounds a good deal like a discourse on folly) in *A Tale of a Tub*, Swift’s narrator lays it down that “if we take an examination of what is generally understood by *happiness*, as it has respect either to the understanding or the senses, we shall find all its properties and adjuncts will herd under this short definition: that *it is a perpetual possession of being well deceived*. And first, with relation to the mind or understanding, ‘tis manifest what mighty advantages fiction has over truth; and the reason is just at our elbow, because imagination can build nobler scenes and produce more wonderful revolutions than fortune or nature will be at expense to furnish.” Swift, *A Tale of a Tub and Other Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 83.
 - 15 Robert Burton *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (New York: New York Review Press, 2001), II.126-29 *passim*.

Chapter Ten

- 1 Allan Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 88. Among the categorical mental disorders is depression. Cf. p. 15: “A consequence of categorizing a broad scope of behavior as ‘mental disorders’ has been our considering much ordinary social behavior as pathological and overestimating the prevalence of mental disorder.” Cf. Allan Horwitz and Jerome Wakefield, *The Loss of Sadness: How Psychiatry Transformed Normal Sorrow into Depressive Disorder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). News stories playing into this trend are a genre. As I write (September 5, 2011), it is reported that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention find “unac-

- ceptably high levels of mental illness in the United States,” with 25% of adults reporting such an illness in the preceding year and half of the population predicted to have one at some point.
- 2 Marcia Angell, “The Epidemic of Mental Illness: Why?,” *New York Review of Books*, June 23, 2011.
 - 3 Edward Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients: A Social History* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1991), p. 218.
 - 4 Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients*, p. 218.
 - 5 B. Timothy Walsh et al., “Placebo Response in Studies of Major Depression,” *JAMA* 287 (2002): 1840-47. On antidepressants’ dependence on the placebo effect see Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor’s New Drugs* (New York: Basic, 2010).
 - 6 The drop-out rate for cognitive-behavioral therapy for depression is high, perhaps as high as 50%. David Mohr et al., “Effect of Telephone-Administered vs Face-to-face Cognitive Behavioral Therapy on Adherence to Therapy and Depression Outcomes Among Primary Care Patients,” *JAMA* 307 (2012): 2278.
 - 7 Andrew Lakoff, “The Right Patients for the Drug: Managing the Placebo Effect in Antidepressant Trials,” *BioSocieties* 2 (2007): 64.
 - 8 Bradley Lewis, *Narrative Psychiatry: How Stories Can Shape Clinical Practice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p.1.
 - 9 The same has been said of psychotherapy in general. “To a large extent, the demand for psychotherapy keeps pace with the supply, and one gets the uneasy feeling that the supply may even create the demand.” Jerome Frank and Julia Frank, *Persuasion and Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 9.
 - 10 Frederick Crews, “Talking Back to Prozac,” *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 6, 2007.
 - 11 Horwitz and Wakefield, *Loss of Sadness*, p. 162.
 - 12 A. Branthwaite and P. Cooper, “Analgesic Effects of Branding in Treatment of Headaches,” *British Medical Journal* 282 (1981): 1576.
 - 13 Walsh et al., “Placebo Response in Studies of Major Depression”: 1844. My emphasis.
 - 14 Some argue that chronic lymphocytic leukemia should not be called leukemia, “pointing out the harmful consequences of such a frightful label.” Charles Bardes, *Pale Faces: The Masks of Anemia* (New York: Bellevue Literary Press, 2008), p. 102. On avoidance of the label “cancer,” see Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (New York: Picador, 1989), pp. 6-7.
 - 15 David Jopling, *Talking Cures and Placebo Effects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 111.

- 16 Irving Kirsch, "Antidepressants and the Placebo Response"; read in manuscript.
- 17 As Allan Horwitz makes clear, many mutually-reinforcing constituencies have a hand in promoting the notion that tens of millions of Americans suffer from mental disorders. The constituencies include pharmaceutical companies, clinicians, and "advocacy groups." See *Creating Mental Illness*, e.g., p. 106.
- 18 In the wonderful prologue to *The Arabian Nights* King Shahzaman is plunged into depression after suffering his wife's betrayal, only to recover when he discovers that his brother's wife is also dishonest. "He began to find consolation in his own affliction and forget his grief. When supper came, he ate and drank with relish and zest and, feeling better, kept eating and drinking, enjoying himself and feeling happy. He thought to himself, 'I am no longer alone in my misery; I am well.'" *Arabian Nights*, tr. Husain Haddawy (New York: Knopf, 1990), pp. 5-6.
- 19 Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness*, p. 100.
- 20 Howard Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 3.
- 21 Horwitz and Wakefield, *Loss of Sadness*, e.g., pp. 26, 136, 138, 145.
- 22 Kirsch, *Emperor's New Drugs*, p. 104.
- 23 N. McKendrick, "Josiah Wedgwood: An Eighteenth-Century Entrepreneur in Salesmanship and Marketing Techniques," *Economic History Review*, New Series 12 (1960): 412.
- 24 Marcia Angell, "The Illusions of Psychiatry," *New York Review of Books*, July 14, 2011.
- 25 Benjamin Douglas Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body* (London: J. Johnson, 1798), p. 34.
- 26 Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body*, p. 86.
- 27 Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos*, p. 1.
- 28 Kirsch, "Antidepressants and the Placebo Response," p. 15.
- 29 On Galvanism and Tractoration see John Greenway, "Galvanism as Therapeutic Agent: Perkins's 'Metallic Tractors' and the Placebo Effect," *ANQ* 14 (2001): 24-37.
- 30 Angell, "The Epidemic of Mental Illness: Why?"
- 31 Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body*, pp. 38, 40.
- 32 A feat also claimed by certain mesmerists. Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 68.
- 33 Fabrizio Benedetti, *Placebo Effects: Understanding the Mechanisms in Health*

- and Disease* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 125.
- 34 Irving Kirsch, "Specifying Nonspecifics: Psychological Mechanisms of Placebo Effects" in *The Placebo Effect*, ed. Anne Harrington (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 180.
- 35 John Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body* (Bath: Cruttwell, 1800), p. 4.
- 36 Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness*, p. 187.
- 37 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 5.
- 38 Rich Mayes and Allan Horwitz, "DSM-III and the Revolution in the Classification of Mental Illness," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 4 (2005): 263.
- 39 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 28.
- 40 On Prozac as a remedy for poor self-esteem, see, e.g., Samuel Baronides, "Thinking about Prozac," *Science*, Feb. 25, 1994: 1102.
- 41 Ulrich Tröhler, "To Improve the Evidence of Medicine": *The 18th Century British Origins of a Critical Approach* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians, 2000), pp. 51-52, 93, 88.
- 42 Haygarth, *Of the Imagination as a Cause and as a Cure of Disorders of the Body*, p. 5.
- 43 Perkins, *The Influence of Metallic Tractors on the Human Body*, pp. 56-57, 69.
- 44 Arthur Shapiro and Elaine Shapiro, *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), p. 95.
- 45 Cited in Gilbert Honigfeld, "Non-Specific Factors in Treatment," *Diseases of the Nervous System* 25 (1964): 146. The author is thought to be Armand Trousseau, who used placebos to test the efficacy of homeopathic treatments but believed in magnetic treatments (Shapiro and Shapiro, *Powerful Placebo*, p. 57).
- 46 See "The Depressing News About Antidepressants." See also "The Placebo Problem Big Pharma's Desperate to Solve," *Wired.co.uk*, 14 September 2009.
- 47 Baronides, "Thinking about Prozac": 1102.
- 48 David Wootton, *Bad Medicine: Doctors Doing Harm Since Hippocrates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 68.

Chapter Eleven

- 1 Francine Shapiro, *Getting Past Your Past: Taking Control of Your Life with Self-Help Techniques from EMDR Therapy* (New York: Rodale, 2012), p. 6.
- 2 Richard McNally, "EMDR and Mesmerism: A Comparative Historical Analysis," *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 13 (1999): 225-36. See also James Herbert et al., "Science and Pseudoscience in the Development of Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Implications for Clinical Psychology," *Clinical Psychology Review* 20 (2000): 945-71; and Gerald Rosen et al., "Power Therapies, Miraculous Claims, and Cures that Fail," *Behavioural and Cognitive Psychotherapy* 26 (1998): 99-101.
- 3 Francine Shapiro and Margot Silk Forrest, *EMDR: The Breakthrough Therapy for Overcoming Anxiety, Stress, and Trauma* (New York: Basic, 2004; orig. pub. 1997), p. 11. Subsequent page references are given in my text.
- 4 Robert Darnton, *Mesmerism and the End of the Enlightenment in France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 4; Stephen Jay Gould, *Bully for Brontosaurus: Reflections on Natural History* (New York: Norton, 1991), p. 185; Henri F. Ellenberger, *The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry* (New York: Basic, 1970), p. 62. On the later history of Mesmerism see Alison Winter, *Mesmerized: Powers of Mind in Victorian Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).
- 5 Darnton, *Mesmerism*, p. 59.
- 6 Jean Starobinski, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Transparency and Obstruction*, tr. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
- 7 Northrop Frye, *The Well-Tempered Critic* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963), pp. 42-43.
- 8 Roy Porter, "Mesmerism in England," *History Today* 35 (Sept. 1985): 23.
- 9 Darnton, *Mesmerism*, p. 50.
- 10 Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions*, tr. J. M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1953), p. 362.
- 11 Howard Spiro, "Clinical Reflections on the Placebo Phenomenon" in *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*, ed. Anne Harrington (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 42. Emphasis in the original.
- 12 See Ricky Greenwald, "The Power of Suggestion: Comment on *EMDR and Mesmerism: A Comparative Historical Analysis*," *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 13 (1999): 611-15 and Richard McNally, "On Eye Movements and Animal Magnetism: A Reply to Greenwald's Defense of EMDR," *Journal of Anxiety Disorders* 13 (1999): 617-620.

- 13 Ellenberger, *Discovery of the Unconscious*, p. 63; Francine Shapiro, *Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Basic Principles, Protocols, and Procedures* (New York: Guilford Press, 1995), p. 316.
- 14 On the utopian character of Mesmerism and the evolution of that movement into psychotherapy, see e.g. Fred Kaplan, *Dickens and Mesmerism: The Hidden Springs of Fiction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).
- 15 Darnton, *Mesmerism*, p. 117.
- 16 McNally, “EMDR and Mesmerism”: 230.
- 17 Shapiro, *Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Basic Principles, Protocols, and Procedures*, p. 31.
- 18 Shapiro, *Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Basic Principles, Protocols, and Procedures*, p. 40.
- 19 Louise Maxfield, “EMDR Milestones: The First 20 Years,” *Journal of EMDR Practice and Research* 3 (2009): 211.
- 20 Darnton, *Mesmerism*, p. 8.
- 21 It is in keeping with the elementariness, or the literalism, of EMDR discourse that this “train of thought” is envisioned at one point as an actual train. “Ideally the person doing EMDR will feel as though she is on a train and the upsetting targeted events are merely the passing scenery.” Shapiro and Forrest, *EMDR*, p. 52.
- 22 Shapiro, *Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Basic Principles, Protocols, and Procedures*, p. 362.
- 23 Gary Saul Morson, “*Anna Karenina*” in *Our Time: Seeing More Wisely* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 120.
- 24 Lopez, “Franklin and Mesmer”: 330.
- 25 Howard Brody and Daralyn Brody, *The Placebo Response: How You Can Release the Body’s Inner Pharmacy for Better Health* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000). Offering ways “to let the inner pharmacy operate unimpeded” (p. 189), the authors premise their suggestions on the same metaphor of obstruction that powers EMDR.
- 26 Shapiro, *Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing: Basic Principles, Protocols, and Procedures*, p. v.
- 27 See my *Fool’s Paradise: The Unreal World of Pop Psychology* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2005).
- 28 Theodore Rubin, *Compassion and Self-Hate: An Alternative to Despair* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975), p. 170.
- 29 On the potential of placebo research to generate a paradigm-shift, see e.g. Karin Meissner, Niko Kohls, and Luana Colloca, “Introduction to Placebo

- Effects in Medicine: Mechanisms and Clinical Implications,” *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society: Biological Sciences* 366 (2011): 1787: “It is plausible to argue that research on placebo and nocebo effects may not only prompt a revolutionary shift in thinking of [sic] the physician-patient interaction, with the promise to guide strategies for optimizing clinical practice, but will also open promising avenues for improvement within most areas of modern medicine.” Such rhetoric helps account for some of the excessive enthusiasm for placebos now in evidence.
- 30 See the discussion by Bruce Wampold and Joel Weinberger, “Critical Thinking and Psychotherapy Research” in *The Psychotherapy of Hope: The Legacy of Persuasion and Healing*, eds. Renato Alarcón and Julia Frank (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 12-13.
- 31 Richard Rechtman, “The Rebirth of PTSD: The Rise of a New Paradigm in Psychiatry,” *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 39 (2004): 913-14.
- 32 Porter, “Mesmerism in England”: 22-30.
- 33 Jessica Riskin, *Science in the Age of Sensibility: The Sentimental Empiricists of the French Enlightenment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 192-93.
- 34 Richard McNally, “Progress and Controversy in the Study of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder,” *Annual Review of Psychology* 54 (2003): 231-32.
- 35 McNally, “Progress and Controversy in the Study of Posttraumatic Stress Disorder”: 230. Cf. Wilbur Scott, “PTSD in DSM-III: A Case in the Politics of Diagnosis and Disease,” *Social Problems* 37 (1990): 294-310 and Allan Young, *The Harmony of Illusions: Inventing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 107-11. On the lobbying by members of the multiple personality movement to include the “multiple” diagnosis in *DSM-III*, see Ian Hacking, *Mad Travelers: Reflections on the Reality of Transient Mental Illness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 83. “Movement” is Hacking’s term.
- 36 Rechtman, “The Rebirth of PTSD”: 913-14.
- 37 Nancy Andreasen, “Acute and Delayed Posttraumatic Stress Disorders: A History and Some Issues,” *American Journal of Psychiatry* 161 (2004): 1322. For an example of the take-off of PTSD, see I. Anastasiou et al., “Symptoms of Acute Posttraumatic Stress Disorder in Prostate Cancer Patients Following Radical Prostatectomy,” *American Journal of Men’s Health* 5 (2011): 84-89. Prostate cancer is recognized in the medical literature as an overdiagnosed disease. For the argument that “everyday life experiences” can produce PTSD, see Shapiro, *Getting Past Your Past*, p. 11.

- 38 A version of this chapter appeared in *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 84 (2011): 15-25.

Chapter Twelve

- 1 Arthur Shapiro and Elaine Shapiro, *The Powerful Placebo: From Ancient Priest to Modern Physician* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), e. g., p. 2.
- 2 Gilbert Honigfield, "Non-Specific Factors in Treatment," *Diseases of the Nervous System* 25 (1964): 145.
- 3 Anne Harrington, *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 1.
- 4 J. L. Mommaerts and Dirk Devroey, "The Placebo Effect: How the Subconscious Fits In," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 55 (2012): 54. Cf. Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor's Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 26: "Most physicians have grown defensive about [placebos], saying that their colleagues might use placebos but attributing their own therapeutic success to less personal factors."
- 5 Damien Finniss et al., "Biological, Clinical, and Ethical Advances of Placebo Effects," *Lancet* 375 (2010): 692: "Recent data suggest that prescriptions of sugar pills and saline injections are rare, but that clinicians often prescribe various active treatments with the main intent of promoting a placebo response or complying with the wishes of patients."
- 6 Amir Raz et al., "Placebos in Clinical Practice: Comparing Attitudes, Beliefs, and Patterns of Use Between Academic Psychiatrists and Nonpsychiatrists," *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 56 (2011): 198-208.
- 7 Veronica de Jong, "Active Expectations: Insights on the Prescription of Sub-Therapeutic Doses of Antidepressants for Depression," read in manuscript.
- 8 Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor's New Drugs: Exploding the Antidepressant Myth* (New York: Basic, 2010), pp. 157, 165.
- 9 Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 48. According to Allan Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 4, the number of mental-health professionals in the United States quadrupled from 1970 to 1995.
- 10 Edward Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients: A Social History* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1991), p. 218.

- 11 Shapiro and Shapiro, *Powerful Placebo*, p. 231. One of the authors was himself a psychiatrist.
- 12 Fabrizio Benedetti, *Placebo Effects: Understanding the Mechanisms in Health and Disease* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 142.
- 13 David Rosenthal and Jerome Frank, "Psychotherapy and the Placebo Effect," *Psychological Bulletin* 53 (1956): 294. Cf. Bruce Wampold and Joel Weinberger, "Critical Thinking and Psychotherapy Research" in *The Psychotherapy of Hope: The Legacy of Persuasion and Healing*, eds. Renato Alarcón and Julia Frank (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), pp. 4-5: "Frank and the Johns Hopkins group began investigating psychotherapy just as medicine was beginning to use placebo comparisons to control for various psychological factors, such as hope, expectancy, and the relationship with the physician."
- 14 Jerome Frank and Julia Frank, *Persuasion and Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), p. 48. Cf. David Jopling, *Talking Cures and Placebo Effects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 44-48, 261-62.
- 15 Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness*, p. 186.
- 16 E.g. Howard Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), with Frank cited on p. 217. In this reflective book, critical thought ceases at the mention of psychotherapy. Psychotherapy is good. The possibility that the tenets and postulates of Freudian analysis might be elaborately fictitious, that the many modes of psychotherapy might offer openings for spurious insight, that therapeutic advice might not be harmless, that talk therapies might abuse the placebo effect, is simply not entertained.
- 17 Jerome Frank, "The Placebo Is Psychotherapy," *The Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 6 (1983): 292.
- 18 Bradley Lewis, *Narrative Psychiatry: How Stories Can Shape Clinical Practice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), p. 37; cf. pp. 148, 159.
- 19 Thomas Baskin et al., "Establishing Specificity in Psychotherapy: A Meta-Analysis of Structural Equivalence of Placebo Controls," *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 71 (2003): 974.
- 20 Martin Seligman, "The Effectiveness of Psychotherapy: The Consumer Reports Study," *American Psychologist* 50 (1995): 965, 974. On the controversy surrounding Seligman's advocacy of Comprehensive Soldier Fitness—a psychological training program for the Army—without first testing it, see *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Oct. 31, 2011.
- 21 Lloyd Wells and Julia Frank, "Psychodynamic Psychotherapy: From Psychoanalytic Arrogance to Evidence-Based Modesty" in Alarcón and Frank, *Psycho-*

- therapy of Hope*, p. 191.
- 22 Morris Parloff, "Placebo Controls in Psychotherapy Research: A Sine Qua Non or a Placebo for Research Problems?" *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* 54 (1986): 79-87.
 - 23 Bruce Wampold et al., "The Story of Placebo Effects in Medicine: Evidence in Context," *Journal of Clinical Psychology* 63 (2007): 380-81.
 - 24 Fabrizio Benedetti, *The Patient's Brain: The Neuroscience in the Doctor-Patient Relationship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 167. Cf. Horwitz, *Creating Mental Illness*, pp. 204-05.
 - 25 Howard Brody, "The Placebo Response: Recent Research and Implications for Family Medicine," *Journal of Family Practice* 49 (2000): 649.
 - 26 Marie Prévost, Anna Zuckerman, and Ian Gold, "Trust in Placebos," *Journal of Mind-Body Regulation* 1(2011): 139.
 - 27 Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients*, p. 160.
 - 28 Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients*, pp. 151, 210.
 - 29 Cited in Honigfeld, "Non-Specific Factors in Treatment": 151.
 - 30 Sissela Bok "The Ethics of Giving Placebos," *Scientific American*, November 1974: 17.
 - 31 Barry Oken, "Placebo Effects: Clinical Aspects and Neurobiology," *Brain* 131 (2008): 2816.
 - 32 Opher Caspi and Richard Bootzin, "Evaluating How Placebos Produce Change: Logical and Causal Traps and Understanding Cognitive Explanatory Mechanisms," *Evaluation & the Health Professions* 25 (2002): 452.
 - 33 Franklin Miller and Ted Kaptchuk, "Deception of Subjects in Neuroscience: An Ethical Analysis," *Journal of Neuroscience* 28 (2008): 4841-43.
 - 34 Herbert Benson and Richard Friedman. "Harnessing the Power of the Placebo Effect and Renaming It 'Remembered Wellness,'" *Annual Review of Medicine* 47 (1996): 193-99.
 - 35 Klaus Linde, Margrit Fässler and Karin Meissner, "Placebo Interventions, Placebo Effects and Clinical Practice," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society B* 366 (2011): 1906.
 - 36 Sherwin Nuland, "Mind, Body, and the Doctor," *American Scholar* 70 (2001): 123-26.
 - 37 Benedict Carey, "When Trust in Doctors Erodes, Other Treatments Fill the Void," *New York Times*, February 3, 2006. See also the report on alternative therapies, "The Believers," in *The Economist* of April 14, 2012.
 - 38 Howard Spiro, "Clinical Reflections on the Placebo Phenomenon" in Harrington, *The Placebo Effect: An Interdisciplinary Exploration*, p. 39.

- 39 Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients*, p. 195.
- 40 C. E. Kerr, I. Milner, and T. Kaptchuk, "William Cullen and a Missing Mind-Body Link in the Early History of Placebos," *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 101 (2008): 89-92.
- 41 Shorter, *Doctors and Their Patients*, p. 157.
- 42 Seligman, "The Effectiveness of Psychotherapy": 976, 972.
- 43 Benedetti, *Placebo Effects*, p. 3.
- 44 Rachel Sherman and John Hickner, "Academic Physicians Use Placebos in Clinical Practice and Believe in the Mind-Body Connection," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 23 (2008): 7.
- 45 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, p. 134.
- 46 Sherman and Hickner, "Academic Physicians Use Placebos": 8.
- 47 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 47.
- 48 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 31.
- 49 Gerald Koocher and Patricia Keith-Spiegel, *Ethics in Psychology and the Mental Health Professions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 102. Emphasis in the original.
- 50 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, p. 48.
- 51 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 231.
- 52 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, pp. 146, 148.
- 53 Brody, "The Placebo Response: Recent Research and Implications for Family Medicine": 652.
- 54 Roger Rolls, *The Hospital of the Nation: The Story of Spa Medicine and the Mineral Water Hospital at Bath* (Bath: Avon, 1988), p. 166.
- 55 A kind of undeclared nostalgia for paternalism surfaces from time to time in placebo studies, as manifested in an emphasis on the physician who projects authority, makes confident predictions, and manipulates information in the patient's interest. On the last point see Franklin Miller and Luana Colloca, "The Placebo Phenomenon and Medical Ethics: Rethinking the Relationship between Informed Consent and Risk-Benefit Assessment," *Theoretical Medicine and Bioethics* 32 (2011): 229-43.
- 56 Austen, *Northanger Abbey*; Tolstoy, *Anna Karenina*. Shown reading a novel while under Vronsky's influence but before she closes with him, Anna Karenina identifies all too keenly with fictional others. "It was distasteful to her to read, that is, to follow the reflection of other people's lives. She had too great a desire to live herself. If she read that the heroine of the novel was nursing a sick man, she longed to move with noiseless steps about the room of the sick man; if she read of a member of Parliament making a speech, she longed to be delivering

- the speech. . . . But there was no chance of doing anything.” *Anna Karenina*, tr. Constance Garnett; rev. Leonard Kent and Nina Berberova (New York: Modern Library, 1993), p. 166.
- 57 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, p. 48. If talk therapies “provide the patient with both substitute relationships and a systematized Weltanschauung” as maintained by Herbert Adler and Van Buren Hammett, “The Doctor-Patient Relationship Revisited: An Analysis of the Placebo Effect,” *Annals of Internal Medicine* 78 (1973): 597, a psychotherapeutic doctrine can easily appeal as plausible precisely because it affords a closed system of explanation.
- 58 In dismantling the now-fashionable cliché that we construct our life as a story, Galen Strawson observes that “It’s well known that telling and retelling one’s past leads to changes, smoothings, enhancements, shifts away from the facts. . . . The implication is plain: the more you recall, retell, narrate yourself, the further you are likely to move away from accurate self-understanding, from the truth of your being. Some are constantly telling their daily experiences to others in a storying way and with great gusto. They are drifting ever further from the truth.” Strawson, “Against Narrativity” in *Real Materialism and Other Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008), p. 205. Cf. Gary Saul Morson, “*Anna Karenina*” in *Our Time: Seeing More Wisely* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 225: “The most meaningful moments of our lives do not fit life stories.”
- 59 Spiro, *Power of Hope*, pp. 132-33.
- 60 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 16. Cf. Wells and Frank, “Psychodynamic Psychotherapy,” pp. 202-3: “Psychotherapeutic outcomes are not universally benign. Some people are clearly harmed by psychotherapy of many forms, including psychodynamic ones. Harm may reflect destructive views openly embraced by groups within the profession (e.g., the fairly recent epidemic of false memories of many kinds of abuse) . . .”
- 61 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, e.g., p. 72.
- 62 Frank and Frank, *Persuasion and Healing*, p. 72.
- 63 Showalter, *Hystories*, p. 59. Not necessarily Showalter’s view.
- 64 Cf. Lewis, *Narrative Psychiatry*, p. 54: “For psychotherapy to be effective, the therapist and the client must have a sense of belief and confidence in their interpretive frames.”
- 65 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 257.
- 66 Jopling, *Talking Cures*, p. 258.
- 67 An earlier version of this chapter appeared as “From Medicine to Psychotherapy: The Placebo Effect,” *History of the Human Sciences* 24 (2011): 95-107.

Chapter Thirteen

- 1 Communication from Jean-Luc Mommaerts. Cf. Jerome Frank and Julia Frank, *Persuasion and Healing: A Comparative Study of Psychotherapy* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 146.
- 2 Henry Beecher, "Ethics and Clinical Research," *New England Journal of Medicine* 274 (1966): 1354-60.
- 3 Franklin Miller and Ted Kaptchuk, "Deception of Subjects in Neuroscience: An Ethical Analysis," *Journal of Neuroscience* 28 (2008): 4841-43.
- 4 Cecilia Linde et al., "Placebo Effect of Pacemaker Implantation in Obstructive Hypertrophic Cardiomyopathy," *American Journal of Cardiology* 83 (1999): 903-07. Reportedly, study subjects gave informed consent (903).
- 5 For an opposing view see Irving Kirsch, *The Emperor's New Drugs: Exploding the Antidepressant Myth* (New York: Basic, 2010), p. 116. On "the experiences of friends and of other patients" feeding into our expectations concerning surgery, see Alan Johnson, "Surgery as a Placebo," *Lancet* 344 (1994): 1140.
- 6 Howard Brody and David Waters, "Diagnosis Is Treatment," *Journal of Family Practice* 10 (1980): 445-49.
- 7 Lee Park and Lino Covi, "Nonblind Placebo Trial: An Exploration of Neurotic Patients' Responses to Placebo When Its Inert Nature Is Disclosed," *Archives of General Psychiatry* 12 (1965): 336-45. For a review and critique, see David Jopling, *Talking Cures and Placebo Effects* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 239-52.
- 8 Jopling, *Talking Cures and Placebo Effects*, p. 239.
- 9 Jopling, *Talking Cures and Placebo Effects*, p. 247.
- 10 Park and Covi, "Nonblind Placebo Trial": 337.
- 11 Fabrizio Benedetti et al., "Opioid-Mediated Placebo Responses Boost Pain Endurance and Physical Performance: Is It Doping in Sport Competitions?" *Journal of Neuroscience* 27 (2007): 11934-39.
- 12 Howard Spiro, *Doctors, Patients, and Placebos* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 3. Cf., however, Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor's Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 40: "Can you give yourself a placebo? . . . We can talk ourselves into hope, and do so every day."
- 13 Andrew Leuchter, "Scans Show How Placebo Aids Depression," CNN.com, Jan. 1, 2002. Confirmed to the author.
- 14 Cogent critics of deception in placebo research have argued that study subjects should be clearly informed that the trial they have entered will employ deception (and why); they do not argue that researchers should do away with decep-

- tion by using open placebos. One can only assume that the reason they plead for “authorized deception” rather than the abolition of deception is that open placebos would defeat the aim of the study itself. Franklin Miller et al., “Deception in Research on the Placebo Effect,” epub. Sept. 6, 2005, *PLoS Med*, e262. Cf. Miller and Kaptchuk, “Deception of Subjects in Neuroscience: An Ethical Analysis.”
- 15 Amir Raz et al., “Placebos in Clinical Practice: Comparing Attitudes, Beliefs, and Patterns of Use Between Academic Psychiatrists and Nonpsychiatrists,” *Canadian Journal of Psychiatry* 56 (2011): 199.
 - 16 “The dominant view among medical researchers and clinicians deems placebo administration ethically problematic.” Raz et al., “Placebos in Clinical Practice”: 204.
 - 17 A. Sandler and J. Bodfish, “Open-label Use of Placebos in the Treatment of ADHD: a Pilot Study,” *Child: Care, Health and Development* 34 (2008): 104-10.
 - 18 Adrian Sandler, Corinne Glesne, and James Bodfish, “Conditioned Placebo Dose Reduction: A New Treatment in ADHD?,” *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* 31 (2010): 369-75.
 - 19 A. Sandler, C. Glesne, and G. Geller, “Children’s and Parents’ Perspectives on Open-Label Use of Placebos in the Treatment of ADHD,” *Child: Care, Health and Development* 34 (2008): 120.
 - 20 S. Karen Chung et al., “Revelation of a Personal Placebo Response: its Effect on Mood, Attitudes and Future Placebo Responding.” *Pain* 132 (2007): 281-88.
 - 21 For a defense of the use of placebos in clinical practice that gets around informed consent by playing on the equivocation of “implicit consent,” see Bennett Foddy, “The Ethical Placebo,” *Journal of Mind-Body Regulation* 1 (2011): 53-62.
 - 22 Lene Vase et al., “The Contributions of Suggestion, Desire, and Expectation to Placebo Effects in Irritable Bowel Syndrome Patients: an Empirical Investigation,” *Pain* 105 (2003): 17-25. Reportedly, subjects in a clinical trial “sometimes feel fortunate to be randomized to the placebo group because they believe this ‘placebo’ is a therapy they would not have received if they had not participated in the clinical trial.” Kristin Mattocks and Ralph Horwitz, “Placebos, Active Control Groups, and the Unpredictability Paradox,” *Biological Psychiatry* 47 (2000): 693.
 - 23 Foddy, “The Ethical Placebo”: 60.
 - 24 Mary Crenshaw Rawlinson, “Truth-Telling and Paternalism in the Clinic: Philosophical Reflections on the Use of Placebos in Medical Practice” in *Pla-*

- cebo: Theory, Research, and Mechanisms*, ed. Leonard White, Bernard Tursky, and Gary Schwartz (New York: Guilford Press, 1985), pp. 410-11. Emphasis in the original.
- 25 T. Kaptchuk et al., "Placebos without Deception: A Randomized Controlled Trial in Irritable Bowel Syndrome," *PLoS ONE* 5 (2010): e15591. The authors also note that "it is likely our study . . . benefited from ongoing media attention giving credence to powerful placebo effects."
- 26 More, *Utopia*, tr. George Logan and Robert M. Adams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 60.
- 27 Brody and Waters, "Diagnosis Is Treatment": 448-49. The risks of conferring a mantle of distress that society will accept are illustrated in Mr. Woodhouse.
- 28 Ted Kaptchuk et al., "Components of Placebo Effect: Randomised Controlled Trial in Patients with Irritable Bowel Syndrome," *BMJ*, doi:10.1136/bmj.39524.439618.25.
- 29 Herbert Adler and Van Buren Hammett, "The Doctor-Patient Relationship Revisited: An Analysis of the Placebo Effect," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 78 (1973): 598.
- 30 Sandler, Glesne, and Geller, "Children's and Parents' Perspectives on Open-Label Use of Placebos in the Treatment of ADHD": 118.
- 31 James House et al., "Social Relationships and Health," *Science* 241 (1988): 543.
- 32 Barron Lerner, *The Breast Cancer Wars: Hope, Fear, and the Pursuit of a Cure in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 272.
- 33 David Spiegel et al., "Effects of Supportive-Expressive Group Therapy on Survival of Patients with Metastatic Breast Cancer: A Randomized Prospective Trial," *Cancer* 110 (2007): 1130.
- 34 Spiegel et al., "Effects of Supportive-Expressive Group Therapy on Survival of Patients with Metastatic Breast Cancer." This ironic coda is missing from the account of the Spiegel experiment given in Howard Brody and Daralyn Brody, *The Placebo Response: How You Can Release the Body's Inner Pharmacy for Better Health* (New York: HarperCollins, 2000), pp. 203-05. Similarly, while the Prostate Cancer Lifestyle Trial produced little of medical significance, some saw it as a vindication of the uplifting effects of groups all the same. "A sense of belonging to something greater, along with all the lifestyle program components, creates a synergy that helps men [in group sessions] feel positive and optimistic. . . . There is less conflict in their lives and they value a sense of community." C. Kronenwetter et al., "A Qualitative Analysis of Interviews of Men With Early Stage Prostate Cancer," *Cancer Nursing* 28 (2005): 106.
- 35 An earlier version of this chapter appeared in *Skeptic* 16: 2 (2011): 41-44.

Chapter Fourteen

- 1 Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), p. 124. CFS is known in Britain as ME—myalgic encephalomyelitis.
- 2 Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor's Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 251.
- 3 Showalter, *Hystories*.
- 4 “Man has no Body distinct from his Soul,” declares Blake in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. On Ginsberg and Blake, see e.g. Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 119.
- 5 Stanley Jackson, *Melancholia and Depression: From Hippocratic Times to Modern Times* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 101-03. The “great suicidal dramas on the apartment cliff-banks of the Hudson” vaguely evoke *Hamlet*, set in a castle perched on a cliff that induces thoughts of suicide (1.4).
- 6 Ginsberg used to say that only on its surface was “Howl” a litany of suicides, by which he meant that it is really a poem of affirmation.
- 7 One of Ginsberg’s heroes, Blake, famously said that Milton was of the devil’s party without knowing it.
- 8 A. Alvarez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (New York: Norton, 1990), p. 231.
- 9 Lydia Ginzburg, *On Psychological Prose*, tr. Judson Rosengrant (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 38.
- 10 Arnold Stein, *Answerable Style: Essays on Paradise Lost* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1953), p. 75.
- 11 Timothy Jones et al., “Mass Psychogenic Illness Attributed to Toxic Exposure at a High School,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 342 (2000): 96-100.
- 12 See Kermode, *Sense of an Ending*, p. 119.
- 13 Jonah Raskin, *American Scream: Allen Ginsberg’s Howl and the Making of the Beat Generation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 144-45.
- 14 The society around us causes us to be sick. Thus the countercultural doctrine of the 1960s: “You are what you think: so you had better select your ideas with the utmost care. Ideas have medical consequences. Sick thoughts sicken.” Geoffrey O’Brien, *Dream Time: Chapters from the Sixties* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2002), p. 101.
- 15 Raskin, *American Scream*, p. 135.
- 16 Showalter, *Hystories*, p. 3.

Chapter Fifteen

- 1 Allan Horwitz and Jerome Wakefield, *The Loss of Sadness: How Psychiatry Transformed Normal Sorrow into Depressive Disorder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 5.
- 2 Mass screening for prostate cancer was introduced in the late 1980s, Prozac in 1987.
- 3 H. Gilbert Welch, Lisa Schwartz and Steven Woloshin, "What's Making Us Sick Is an Epidemic of Diagnoses," *New York Times*, Jan. 2, 2007.
- 4 Daniel Moerman, *Meaning, Medicine, and the "Placebo Effect"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 20. Would we allow the manufacturer to make such a claim?
- 5 Jennifer Croswell, David Ransohoff, and Barnett Kramer, "Principles of Cancer Screening: Lessons from History and Study of Design Issues," *Seminars in Oncology*, June 2010. Doi:10.1053/j.seminoncol.2010.05.006: p. 6. The case has also been made that the experience of seeing men through the terminal stages of prostate cancer can lead urologists to overestimate the value, and write off the harms, of screening the general population for the disease. See Barnett Kramer, "The Science of Early Detection," *Urological Oncology* 22 (2004): 344-47. Cf. Barnett Kramer and J. Miller Croswell, "Cancer Screening: The Clash of Science and Intuition," *Annual Reviews of Medicine* 60 (2009): 135: "Powerful, pervasive biases make reliance on experience alone a dangerous strategy." According to an article in the *New York Times* of Oct. 5, 2011 ("Can Cancer Ever Be Ignored?"), "The popularity of the P.S.A. test as the main weapon against prostate cancer is due in large measure to the earnest and passionate advocacy of William Catalona, a urologist from Northwestern University Feinberg School of Medicine," who became an early champion of the test as a direct result of seeing patients die.
- 6 Cf. H. Gilbert Welch, Lisa Schwartz, and Steven Woloshin, *Overdiagnosed: Making People Sick in the Pursuit of Health* (Boston: Beacon, 2011), pp. 187-88.
- 7 If low-grade prostate cancer were called something other than cancer as some urologists propose, it might not excite such alarm. Just as the wording of informed-consent documents can influence the occurrence of side effects, just as changing the name of a placebo makes a patient's response to it less predictable—two findings presented at a conference on Placebos in the Clinic (Montreal, 2012)—in the case of prostate cancer, too, language matters.
- 8 See e.g. Steven Woolf, "Screening for Prostate Cancer with Prostate-Specific

- Antigen: An Examination of the Evidence,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 333 (1995): 1401-05.
- 9 Michael Brawer and Paul Lange, “Prostate-Specific Antigen and Premalignant Change: Implications for Early Detection,” *CA Cancer J Clin* 39 (1989): 373.
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- 29 Elaine Showalter, *Hystories: Hysterical Epidemics and Modern Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), pp. 4-5. Among the hysterias discussed are chronic fatigue syndrome and the recovered memory movement.
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Epilogue

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- 2 Luana Colloca and Fabrizio Benedetti, “Placebo Analgesia Induced by Social Observational Learning,” *Pain* 144 (2009): 28-34.
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- 4 Howard Spiro, *The Power of Hope: A Doctor’s Perspective* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 241.
- 5 C. Kadoch et al., “When Brachytherapy Fails: A Case Report and Discussion,” *The Oncologist* 10 (2005): 799-805.
- 6 Stewart Justman, “What’s Wrong with Chemoprevention of Prostate Cancer?,” *American Journal of Bioethics*, December 2011.
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