

The Deeds of Outsider Art

by

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By: Brynna K. Light-Lewis

James Edward Deeds, Jr., a newly discovered artist, created a collection of drawings during the mid-twentieth century, while institutionalized in the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 of Missouri. Deeds' album is one of the most significant outsider art discoveries in recent years, contributing to the works of American "outsiders," like Henry Darger, James Castle, and Bill Traylor. Deeds' work addresses a variety of issues concerning the asylum in which he was incarcerated along with the treatments used there. Known only as "The Electric Pencil" until his true identity was confirmed in July of 2011, Deeds produced his work at a time when American asylums were changing radically and adopting treatments that included electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and later, psychotropic drugs. Previous literature on Deeds indicates the importance of the effects of these changes, particularly ECT, on his art. However, this thesis delves deeper into these aspects of his work, providing a thorough history of the treatment and the hospital itself and therefore a broader context with which to view his art.

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Introduction

In 1970, in the Brentwood neighborhood of Springfield, Missouri, a fourteen-year-old boy recovered an album of drawings from a dumpster.¹ The album was comprised of 283 drawings carefully sewn together, each of them rendered in ink, pencil, and crayon on ledger paper with the letterheads, “State Lunatic Asylum, No. 3” or “State Hospital No. 3,” on the front of every page. Aside from the connection to the hospital, the artwork carried no other indication of who authored them. There was no telling whether the artist was a patient at the hospital or a staff member, a man or a woman. Nor were there any clues as to why the drawings had been discarded.

The drawings belonged to a number of dealers before they were finally obtained by their current owner, Harris Diamant. The boy who found the album kept it for nearly forty years.² The drawings remained on his shelf until he contacted author and historian Dr. Lyndon Irwin, a retired professor of Missouri State University, and arranged to have the drawings advertised on Irwin's Website.³ The album caught the attention of many prospective buyers, including a book dealer from Lawrence, Kansas. The dealer purchased the drawings and put five of them on eBay, where Diamant first saw them.⁴ In only an hour, the dealer was overwhelmed with calls. He removed the artwork from eBay, realizing their potential value.⁵ John Foster, a St. Louis collector, also saw three of the

¹ Juliana Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks Is Recognized,” *News-Leader*, July 6, 2011, accessed February 28, 2012, <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20110710/LIFE/107100318/Mystery-artist-from-Ozarks-recognized>.

² John Foster, “The Electric Pencil,” *Accidental Mysteries*, December 19, 2008, accessed February 16, 2012, <http://accidentalmysteries.blogspot.com/2008/12/electric-pencil.html>.

³ Lyle Rexer, “The Electric Pencil: A Discovery,” in *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, ed. by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean (New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010).

⁴ John Dorfman, “In Perspective: Mr. Deeds Goes to Town,” *Art & Antiques* 34, no. 5 (2011): 22. Accessed February 16, 2012., <http://search.proquest.com/docview/888144314?accountid=13958>.

⁵ Dorfman, “In Perspective,” 22.

drawings.⁶ By the time Diamant contacted the dealer, the entire album had already been sold privately to Foster.⁷ Foster had travelled nearly five hours to the dealer's apartment to see the drawings firsthand and agreed to meet with the dealer again two days later, midway between their respective hometowns, to finalize the transaction.⁸ Two months after obtaining the album, however, Foster contacted Diamant to see if he was still interested in purchasing it.⁹ Despite his initial excitement in owning the drawings, Foster wished to sell them. He explains his reasons for doing so on his blog:

[...] I came to the conclusion that I had no business tying up a good chunk of our money in a portfolio of drawings. I acquire art to hang on my walls. I wanted to enjoy them, but there were too many and they belonged together. So, on a whim, and to test the waters, I placed a call to the only name I had that was a “runner-up” for the drawings, a name I had been given by the original seller.¹⁰

Diamant was indeed still interested and acquired the album in 2006.

Harris Diamant was the first to exhibit the drawings, bringing them to public attention at New York's Outsider Art Fair in February 2011, where Diamant sold nineteen pages from the album for \$12,000 each.¹¹ He is also the one who decided to separate the drawings, selling them individually.¹² At the time, the identity of the artist was yet unknown. The drawings were therefore shown under the pseudonym Diamant created for the artist, “The Electric Pencil,” which was lifted from a title in one of the drawings.¹³ It was even believed by some scholars that this drawing, which included an illustration of a

⁶ Foster, “The Electric Pencil.”

⁷ Dorfman, “In Perspective,” 22.

⁸ Foster, “The Electric Pencil.”

⁹ Foster, “The Electric Pencil.”

¹⁰ Foster, “The Electric Pencil.”

¹¹ James R. Campbell, “Art Sensation in State Hospital for 50 Years Re-emerges,” *Nevada Daily Mail*, June 23, 2011, accessed July 18, 2012, <http://www.nevadadailymail.com/story/1738622.html>.

¹² Tom Parker, Interview by Brynna Light-Lewis, Hirschl & Adler Galleries, New York City, March 2, 2012.

¹³ Rexer, “The Electric Pencil: A Discovery.”

woman, was a self-portrait.¹⁴ In March 2011, still with no knowledge of who the artist was, Diamant and his wife, Neville Bean, published *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, which presents all of the images from the album in the order they were originally bound together.¹⁵ They also produced a short documentary video once the identity of the artist was discovered, featuring Irwin, Foster, living relatives of the artist, and Diamant himself.

It was Diamant who spearheaded the investigation to uncover the artist's identity. He went so far as to hire a private detective and had multiple articles on the drawings published in a Springfield, Missouri, newspaper, hoping someone would come forward with information.¹⁶ After *News-Leader* ran its second story in January 2011 and after five years of searching, Diamant received a lead.¹⁷ Julie Phillips had seen the article, and realizing the work featured was her uncle's, she contacted Diamant.¹⁸ In July 2011, the name of the artist was finally confirmed and released by *News-Leader*: James Edward Deeds, Jr.¹⁹ Thanks to Phillips and her sister, Tudie Williams, a better understanding of the artist and his background has developed.

James Edward Deeds, Jr. was a patient at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3, where he created the album, which has been dated to the 1940s-1960s, around the same time electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) came into use at the asylum.²⁰ My thesis posits that Deeds began drawing as a direct response to changes in treatment, evinced by the

¹⁴ Rexter, "The Electric Pencil: A Discovery."

¹⁵ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

¹⁶ Vanna Le, "Who Is the 'Electric Pencil'?" *The New Yorker*, February 9, 2011, accessed February 16, 2012, <http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/books/2011/02/who-is-the-electric-pencil.html>.

¹⁷ Tom Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr. [a.k.a. The Electric Pencil] (1908-1987)," *Hirschl & Adler*, accessed February 28, 2012, <http://www.hirschlandadler.com/MEDIA/07431.pdf>.

¹⁸ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

¹⁹ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

²⁰ Harris Diamant, "The Electric Pencil," *Electric Pencil Drawings*, accessed February 16, 2012, <http://www.electricpencildrawings.com/>.

references he makes to ECT throughout his album, and that this became a sort of personal therapy for him. Examining the artwork he executed during his incarceration brings up additional issues surrounding his work, including artistry within mental institutions and outsider art in general, overcrowding in hospitals, and subsequent changes in treatments (particularly the introduction of electroconvulsive therapy).

My thesis is divided into four chapters, each exploring different facets of Deeds' life that impacted the creation of his work. The opening chapter focuses on Deeds' biography. There are few resources available on Deeds' story. Primarily, one book and an official Website are dedicated to him, both created by Diamant and Bean. Their documentary is featured on the Website and includes interviews with Deeds' nieces and scholars who have contributed to the study of his drawings. There are several brief articles online, mainly reviews of the Outsider Art Fair of February 2011, where Deeds' work was introduced to the world. There are also articles that celebrate the discovery of his real identity. These articles, though they each provide varying accounts and grant a better understanding of Deeds' life and work, seem to rely heavily on Diamant as their main source. To avoid depending fully on Diamant, I have endeavored to reaffirm his information, especially concerning the hospital and its treatments, by checking them against other sources, including state governmental records and contemporary newspapers.

The second chapter is devoted entirely to Deeds' drawings, which carry distinctive clues about his life both before and after his hospitalization, as well as his artistic process and possible condition. His sources of inspiration remain a mystery. While the majority of his works conform to a generic style, a few exceptions show a representational accuracy,

suggesting that for these few he copied directly from a source. Even when copying, Deeds often altered some aspect of the image for his own purposes, imparting his work with originality and at times humor. Susan Scheftel, a scholar and lecturer in psychiatry, was one of the first to examine Deeds' drawings for signs of his condition and hypothesized he had a condition along the autism spectrum.²¹

In my third chapter, I discuss the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 of Missouri, a Kirkbride institution built in 1887.²² Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride was an advocate of moral treatment of patients, which included supposedly curative techniques that focused on individualized care. Since he believed that the environment shapes behavior, Kirkbride had an active role in the organization of his hospitals.²³ He advocated a specific building plan that was meant to facilitate the use of moral treatment and came to be known as the Kirkbride model. Though the architecture of the Nevada State Hospital follows this plan and is therefore frequently associated with moral treatment, the conditions at the hospital had deteriorated by the time Deeds was institutionalized due to overcrowding and underfunding.²⁴ Previous literature on Deeds has emphasized the use of moral treatment at the hospital when it really had no role in Deeds' incarceration, therefore undervaluing the true complexity of his work. The principles of moral treatment had deteriorated, and institutions like the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 degenerated, effectively, into human

²¹ Susan Scheftel, "The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist," [Medscape Family Medicine](https://notes.utk.edu/bio/greenberg.nsf/e8dc0da1447df7b885257015006e1921/2f47ad2f0c8638748525789b0045022a?OpenDocument), May 17, 2011, accessed February 28, 2012, <https://notes.utk.edu/bio/greenberg.nsf/e8dc0da1447df7b885257015006e1921/2f47ad2f0c8638748525789b0045022a?OpenDocument>.

²² Diamant, "The Electric Pencil."

²³ Carla Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylum in the United States Before 1866," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 62, No. 1 (Mar. 2003): 43.

²⁴ Lawrence A. Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair: The Rise and Fall of the American State Mental Hospital," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, Vol. 80, No. 4 (July 25, 2009): 225.

warehouses.²⁵

Particularly relevant to this chapter were exposés, like Albert Q. Maisel's article in *Life Magazine*, uncovering some of the most lurid aspects of mental facilities in the United States. I also relied on local newspaper articles that documented the activities and conditions at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3.

Chapter four delves into the history and use of electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), which was introduced into American hospitals during the 1940s and was largely in use within the next decade. It was experimental and crude, especially in the beginning. ECT was practiced without the use of anesthesia and would frequently result in injuries such as broken bones and could even lead to memory loss.²⁶ There are several references to ECT in Deeds' drawings. One portrait includes the title, "Ectlectrc Pencil," from which Deeds' pseudonym was derived. His misspelling of the word "electric" with ECT repeated twice has been thought to be a code or perhaps even a cry for help.²⁷ Such prominently placed references to ECT seem to be conspicuous responses to the changes in treatment in the asylum.

For this chapter, I consulted medical and psychological books for a better understanding of the history of the use of ECT and the controversy surrounding it. As for its effect on Deeds, his nieces have stated in interviews for various articles that there was a notable change in his demeanor after being subjected to the treatment.

My thesis culminates into a discussion on Deeds' reception and his common categorization within outsider art. The reception of outsider art has changed throughout

²⁵ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 226.

²⁶ "ECT in the Ozarks," *ECT Statistics*, October 9, 2011, accessed February 28, 2012, <http://ectstatistics.wordpress.com/2011/10/09/ect-in-the-ozarks/>.

²⁷ Dorfman, "In Perspective," 22.

its history, and its popularity has increased remarkably within recent decades, leading to the current acceptance of Deeds' work.

Chapter 1: “The Electric Pencil,” James Edward Deeds, Jr.

James Edward Deeds, Jr. was born on October 8, 1908, in the Panama Canal Zone.¹ His father, Edward Fount Deeds (1886-1960), worked there for the U.S. Navy as a paymaster of the U.S.S. Marblehead until 1912, when he moved his family to McCracken, Missouri, to work on a farm.² The oldest of five, Edward Jr. had three sisters named Dorothy, Josephine, and Helen. His brother, Clayton (Clay), was Williams and Phillips' father.³

While Edward was close to his mother, Clara Maude Caldwell Deeds (1887-1982), he shared a tumultuous relationship with his father, who was a harsh disciplinarian much like his own father.⁴ Williams described Edward's relationship with his father, stating that the elder Deeds “would get so mad, he'd almost beat [Edward] to death” due to poor work ethic or mischievous behavior.⁵ Phillips added that although Edward enjoyed being outdoors, hunting and fishing, he did not want to be on the farm, which greatly displeased his father.⁶

According to his relatives, Deeds had a gentle disposition but had trouble adapting socially.⁷ He was highly intelligent and creative, and he enjoyed expressing himself. Partial to poetry, music, and reading as well as drawing, he appreciated the arts.⁸ Susan Scheftel, a lecturer in psychiatry at the Center for Psychoanalytic Training and Research of Columbia University, analyzed his drawings in order to diagnose his possible

¹ Diamant, “The Electric Pencil.”

² Dorfman, “In Perspective,” 22.

³ Parker, “James Edward Deeds, Jr.”

⁴ Julie Phillips in *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*, directed by Robert Vandeweghe (2011; Missouri) <http://www.electricpencildrawings.com/video.html>.

⁵ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

⁶ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

⁷ Parker, “James Edward Deeds, Jr.”

⁸ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

condition. Due to the repetition and precision in his work, she concluded that he most likely had a form of high-functioning autism or a relating condition on the autism spectrum.⁹ In the 1940s “autism” was used for the first time in the United States to describe children with social or emotional problems.¹⁰ Prior to Leo Kanner's 1943 paper “Autistic Disturbances of Affective Contact,” autism was frequently mistaken for feeble-mindedness, mental retardation, schizophrenia, or schizoid personality disorder.¹¹ Autism was therefore unrecognized during much of Deeds' life. In all likelihood, his parents were incapable of understanding how to facilitate their son's needs or how to manage him. His father's abusive treatment stemmed in part from ignorance, exacerbating Deeds' condition.

Deeds' relationship with his father worsened over the years. Eventually, Deeds was moved to a cabin on the family property beside the Finley River to live apart from his family.¹² There are varying accounts concerning the precise reason he was cast away. The most recent source states that when Deeds' family moved to a larger house nearby, his mother allowed him to live in their former home.¹³ “[...] he would go up to the house from his cabin and start hollering and frightened the girls—that was one of the big things. He frightened the girls,” explains Williams in the documentary film.¹⁴ Clay brought him

⁹ Scheftel, “The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist.”

¹⁰ “History of Autism,” WebMD, last updated May 29, 2012, accessed August 9, 2012, <http://www.webmd.com/brain/autism/history-of-autism>.

¹¹ Gerald D. Fischbach, “Leo Kanner's 1943 Paper on Autism,” Simons Foundation Autism Research Initiative, December 2007, accessed August 10, 2012, <http://sfari.org/news-and-opinion/classic-paper-reviews/2007/leo-kanners-1943-paper-on-autism-commentary-by-gerald-fischbach>.

¹² Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

¹³ Aimee Levitt, “The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches by a State Mental Hospital Inmate Finally Yields Up Some of Its Secrets,” *The Riverfront Times*, September 14, 2012, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://www.riverfronttimes.com/2012-09-14/news/electric-pencil-edward-deeds-outsider-art-mental-illness-harris-diamant-springfield-state-hospital-missouri-electroconvulsive-therapy/>.

¹⁴ Tудie Williams, in *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*, directed by Robert Vandeweghe (2011; Missouri) <http://www.electricpencildrawings.com/video.html>.

meals, but Edward continually returned home.¹⁵

These discoveries concerning Deeds' life are critical to understanding his work, since biography is a principal theme within his album. In one of Edward's drawings, number 261 titled "Home Sweet Home" (fig. 1.1), he depicts both his family's home (fig. 1.2) and his cabin. The picture plane is divided horizontally with the cabin, distinguished by its brown coloring and horizontal paneling or logs, situated directly above the yellow house. They are essentially identical in design, except for the number of windows and the double entry doors of the cabin. Lightly shaded smoke from the chimney of the cabin is barely discernible against the background. Each structure is framed by similar trees and vegetation. The title is located in a banner above the roof of the cabin. Presuming the audience is viewing the buildings straight-on, each of their facades includes a front gable. Deeds exhibited the ability to properly interpret perspective in other architectural illustrations, like number 257 (fig. 1.3), so this is a likely assumption. It is curious that this drawing should appear so late in the album, but Deeds rendered both of his homes with fondness and nostalgia. In the drawing numbered 269, there are houses similarly executed (fig. 1.4). The cabin, this time without any horizontal demarcations, is only shown partially on the left side of the picture. Below, a dog progresses up a slope leading to the cabin. A horse stands in front of one end of the yellow house with the words, "Fine Farm Stock," above. Here, the treatment of the windows has slightly changed. Despite small alterations, this is another possible reference to Deeds' life on the farm.

In 1933, when Deeds was twenty-five years old, he threatened Clay with a hatchet during an argument.¹⁶ A few sources, including an article by John Dorfman, claim

¹⁵ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

¹⁶ Levitt, "The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches."

Edward pulled a gun on his father as well, which is less documented and was not mentioned by either of his nieces in their interviews with *News-Leader* or for the documentary.¹⁷ Phillips believes this violent outburst was uncharacteristic of Edward, claiming he would never have hurt anyone; he once even rescued his brother from drowning.¹⁸ She thinks Clay, who was often prankish, was trying to annoy Edward and went too far in his teasing.¹⁹ In any case, the incident served as the justification Edward's father needed to have him institutionalized and divided from the family indefinitely.²⁰

Edward was committed at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3, a Kirkbride institute and the largest building in Missouri when it was constructed.²¹ Previous literature had maintained he was sent to the asylum in 1925, when he was seventeen years old.²² However, Aimee Levitt, with whom Phillips shared Deeds' medical records, published an article in *The Riverfront Times*, stating Deeds was first placed in the Missouri State School for the Feeble Minded, and was committed into the asylum a year and a half later, around the age of twenty-six.²³ Upon hearing he was going to be separated from his family, Deeds became so distressed he attempted suicide by sneaking into the barn and drinking engine fuel.²⁴

When Deeds was committed, the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 functioned as a self-sufficient community, operating on the idea that work for patients produced gratification and subsequent rehabilitation.²⁵ There were farms, factories, and gardens on

¹⁷ Dorfman, "In Perspective," 22.

¹⁸ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

¹⁹ Phillips, *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*.

²⁰ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

²¹ Scheffel, "The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist."

²² Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

²³ Levitt, "The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches."

²⁴ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

²⁵ Jean B. McQueen, in *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*, directed by Robert Vandeweghe (2011);

the hospital grounds.²⁶ Due to overcrowding and underfunding, conditions worsened over time and led to changes in hospital treatments, which greatly affected Deeds.

Psychotropic drugs and electroconvulsive therapy became the preferred treatments.

Deeds suffered from both.²⁷ Within the years 1940-1960, coinciding with these changes in hospital treatment, he began creating his album.

It is difficult to differentiate fact from fiction in his artwork, though there are many drawings that are evidently based on Deeds' own experiences. His love for the outdoors is apparent in many of his works, several of which were inspired by either his life on the farm or on the grounds of the hospital. The first drawing in the album features an eagle with its wings outstretched and carrying a banner in its claws (fig. 1.5). A postcard showing the entrance of the gate of the asylum, topped with an eagle in a similar pose, likely reveals the source of inspiration for this drawing (fig. 1.6).²⁸ It is significant that he chose to begin his album with the entrance into the hospital, placing the viewer on the outside of the gate. Deeds replaced the simple white streamers of the gate with a striped banner in the eagle's claws, infusing the image with a patriotism that is evident throughout his album. He used this eagle motif repeatedly.

Deeds' mother and siblings visited him at the hospital every four to six weeks.²⁹ They would picnic on the hospital grounds or possibly in Marmaduke Park.³⁰ His father,

Missouri) <http://www.electricpencildrawings.com/video.html>.

²⁶ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

²⁷ Diamant, "About the Artist."

²⁸ Harris Diamant and Neville Bean, Interview by Brynna Light-Lewis, Diamant's Studio, New York City, March 13, 2012.

²⁹ Phillips, *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*.

³⁰ Betty Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built," *The Nevada Daily Mail*, November 10, 1968, accessed September 17, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=EEUrAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=ctQEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=1584,3926396&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

however, never came.³¹ One of the pictures in his album, number 134, reflects these picnics underneath shade trees, though it is a rather whimsical portrayal (fig. 1.7). He depicted five empty chairs at a long table situated beneath a canopy covered in brightly colored vegetation. He stripped the image of narration and decided to eliminate any human presence, rather than emphasizing the significance of familial relationships. He depopulated many of his drawings, which may have been a way for him to cope with the crowded conditions at the hospital.

Deeds was fond of his sister-in-law, Martaun Deeds, who also came to visit. On one such occasion, he asked her for the feather in her hat and drew it (fig. 1.8).³² It is a design that can be seen throughout his album. Williams recalls traveling to the hospital to see her uncle when she was a child. During her visits, he would teach her how to draw. “It was always so fun to go down there,” Williams says. “He taught me to color rainbows, especially. I'd try to draw them and he'd say, 'No, that isn't a rainbow.' He'd say, 'Rainbows are fluffy.’” He would then demonstrate for her, making a pastel rainbow as seen in number 152 (fig. 1.9).³³

Deeds numbered and sewed the drawings together himself. The order in which he bound them is a mystery. Whether they are simply in the order in which he completed them, or they are organized according to his own narrative remains unknown. The binding of the album, constructed of found cardboard, fabric, and leather, exhibits signs of wear as if he carried the album with him constantly. Tom Parker of Hirschl & Adler suggests he regarded it as a talisman.³⁴ In fact, a dark imprint from his thumb is presently

³¹ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

³² Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

³³ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

³⁴ Parker, “James Edward Deeds, Jr.”

visible on the binding.

Deeds remained at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 until 1973, when at the age of sixty-five, he was released and put into the Christian County Nursing Home in Ozark, Missouri, for the remainder of his life.³⁵ He had given his album to his mother, who in turn gave it to his brother, Clay.³⁶ Considering the cover bears marks of his perpetual handling, it is a wonder he was willing to part with it. Diamant believes Deeds stopped drawing once he was discharged from the hospital because he no longer felt the need.³⁷ Williams, however, disclosed he had arthritis in his hands that inhibited him from drawing.³⁸

Phillips and Williams revealed how the drawings came to be in a dumpster. The album was in Clay's possession until 1969, when, in the process of moving, he mistakenly left the drawings in his attic. The movers complained they were not sufficiently paid, so Clay promised the contents of the attic to them as compensation, not realizing the drawings were there.³⁹ The movers discarded the album, deeming it worthless, and eventually it was recovered by the boy.⁴⁰ When his drawings were discovered in the trash heap, Deeds was still residing in the hospital. No literature on the subject has mentioned whether or not he was aware of them being lost.

James Edward Deeds, Jr. passed away at the age of seventy-eight on January 9, 1987, from a heart attack.⁴¹ He was buried in Ozark cemetery.⁴²

³⁵ Julie Deeds Phillips, "James 'Edward' Deeds," *Find a Grave*, March 28, 2011, accessed August 9, 2012, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=67594324>.

³⁶ Phillips, *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*.

³⁷ Dorfman, "In Perspective," 22.

³⁸ Levitt, "The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches."

³⁹ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

⁴⁰ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

⁴¹ Scheftel, "The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist."

⁴² Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

Chapter 2: The Drawings

Though recently much has been revealed about Deeds' life, his drawings remain enigmatic. A number of his drawings relate to personal experiences, while others stem from his own vivid imagination or available literature. Whatever the case may be, clues can be derived from the drawings regarding the artist, his life at the hospital, and even his possible condition, however cryptic. Deeds was extremely repetitive. In his portraits, for example, there is a definite uniformity in the way he portrayed people. The few inconsistencies may therefore say a great deal about him and his artistic process. He was also methodical and rigid in draftsmanship, particularly in his architectural and vehicular designs and in the lesser details of his portraits. It is curious, then, that there are so many trivial mistakes in drawings that appear to be copied so exactly from a source. Evidence indicates these are idiosyncrasies he purposefully added to his art in an attempt to formulate a very personal world, and they may help his viewers further understand his condition.

The medium with which he worked provides several important clues concerning specific facets of the hospital and the sorts of material available to him. Within Deeds' album, there are 280 double-sided drawings on ledger paper (8.25" x 9.25"), which Deeds numbered, along with three single-sided unnumbered drawings on notepaper (5" x 8"). Most of the numbered drawings feature the letterhead, "State Hospital No. 3." This ledger paper formerly belonged to the treasurer of the hospital, J.R. Walton. Two drawings numbered 206 and 208 are printed with the hospital's previous name, "State Lunatic Asylum, No. 3." There are a few other exceptions. Numbers 78, 92, 146, and 200 are drawn on paper labeled "Morning Report," which was once used to detail work

completed by patients and paid assistants. Numbers 148, 152, and 182 feature the heading, “State Hospital Hunting & Fishing Club: Office of Treasurer.” At the bottom of most of the pages, where the superintendent was meant to sign the sheet, an open-ended date, “190_,” is printed. For numbers 206 and 208, “189_” is written instead, and the name of the preceding treasurer, Joseph Harper, has been blotted out and replaced by Walton's. In all probability, once the dates printed on the pages were no longer usable, they were discarded and later available to Deeds as drawing paper.¹

Deeds was persistent in calligraphically writing the page numbers in the upper corners of his drawings. Due to errors or omissions in Deeds' numeration, the drawings on ledger paper conclude on 282. The inset, featuring his illustration of an eagle, is not numbered. 70 is repeated, used on the front and back of a single page, and 229, 230, 267, and 268 are either missing or were skipped altogether.

In style, the drawings closely resemble folk art of the nineteenth century.² The drawings have an almost childlike quality, though they are highly detailed and technically precise. He used pencil and ink to outline and then lightly colored with pencil or crayon, creating a sharp contrast. Because of this and a conservative use of shading, most of his drawings have an overall flatness. His inclination to draw with a mechanical rigidity granted his illustrations of trains and automobiles a convincing naturalism but left his human and animal subjects rather stiff and unexpressive.³ The clothing and hairstyles he depicted in his portraits do not accurately reflect the time period in which the drawings were done.⁴ Rather, Deeds looked to earlier fashions for inspiration, further imparting the

¹ Rexer, “The Electric Pencil: A Discovery.”

² Campbell, “Art Sensation in State Hospital.”

³ Scheftel, “The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist.”

⁴ Lyndon Irwin in *The Mystery of the Electric Pencil*, directed by Robert Vandeweghe (2011; Missouri)

drawings with a nostalgia typical of folk and outsider art. He may have found solace in portraying things of the past, in escaping his own day and age and finding refuge in another.

Nearly every other drawing is a portrait, a loose pattern throughout the album. Otherwise, the order of the drawings does not appear to follow any specific formula or narrative. They can, however, be separated into different categories by subject, which include portraits, objects, animals and birds, landscapes, transportation, and architecture. Deeds focused on various themes, ranging from the Civil War to the “Great West Show” circus. No matter what subject he conveyed, the content remained lighthearted throughout the album, surprisingly absent of aggression or resentment considering what Deeds endured.⁵

For almost all of his drawings, Deeds included vague labels that for the portraits, divulge the subject's name, occupation, nationality, age, or even political standing. They also incorporate song lyrics and common phrases. The labels are usually too cryptic to truly reveal who and what the subjects were or Deeds' connection to them, if one existed. The names are frequently partial and often misspelled, so the identities of the people he drew remain difficult to ascertain for certain. There is only one portrait that has been accurately identified. Some may represent historical or famous figures, while others might have been people he knew personally, possibly staff members or patients at the hospital. In any case, without further evidence, identities cannot yet be proven without a doubt.

Deeds' illustrations of animals and birds are fairly straightforward. They were

⁵ <http://www.electricpencildrawings.com/video.html>.
Parker, “James Edward Deeds, Jr.”

likely derived from his own observations, considering his fondness for nature, as his nieces have described. Additionally, his family provided him with copies of *National Geographic* magazines, from which he could have seen exotic animals (fig. 2.1), foreign places (fig. 2.2), and distant landmarks (fig. 2.3).⁶ He also had access to books and literature through the library at the hospital (the door of which Deeds drew in number 78 [fig. 2.4]).

Deeds may have additionally been inspired by his father's career in the Navy, indicated by the numerous depictions of naval warships and steamers in his artwork, although most of them are elaborate vessels of his own creation. All but one of the ships were drawn from a side view, number 110 being the only exception (fig. 2.5). Labeled "Transport," it is also one of the most naturalistic among the drawings of vessels. Deeds was likely looking at a source here, whereas many of his other nautical illustrations show a great deal of artistic license. His interest in the Civil War becomes apparent in these depictions. In number 28, for example, a steamship labeled "Pittsburg Landing" possibly represents the gunboats used in the Battle of Shiloh, also referred to as the Battle of Pittsburg Landing (fig. 2.7).⁷ A steamship titled "Mary Mach," likely based on *The Merrimac*, an ironclad Confederate warship, also makes an appearance (fig. 2.9).⁸ Deeds tried to represent different nationalities, and for many of the ships, there are corresponding portraits on opposing pages. For instance, a "Switzland" steamship in drawing number 128 (fig. 2.12) correlates with number 129, featuring a portrait of a woman with the label "Switzland" underneath (fig. 2.13). Though Deeds was inspired by

⁶ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

⁷ "Seeking the Ozark's Unknown Artist," *News-Leader*, May 22, 2007, accessed August 19, 2012, <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20070522/LIFE/101240007/Seeking-Ozarks-unknown-artist>.

⁸ Parker, Interview by Brynna Light-Lewis.

actual ships, his drawings are very loose interpretations of them. His own imagination must have played an integral role in their design. The majority of the vessels he illustrated include a strange loop attached at the bow, as if fashioned after a child's pull-toy (fig. 2.14).⁹

Deeds' group of portraits has been hailed as his most substantial contribution to the outsider art genre.¹⁰ They are all drawn in a generic manner, though Deeds seems to have become more experimental, adding greater variety in poses and fashions as the album progresses. The same arresting gaze is featured in each portrait. The eyes were consistently drawn wide with constricted pupils, granting them an intensity that is simultaneously empty of expression. Slight variations, like color and gaze direction, imbue the eyes of every portrait with a distinguishable character, yet by and large, they were uniformly rendered. Most of the subjects stare out and face the viewer directly. A few are shown in profile. Since Deeds did not alter the way he drew the eyes to compensate for the different perspective, in profile his subjects appear to have an animalistic, wayward gaze. Noses are delicately and simply done, defined by soft smudges of the pencil. They become more finely modeled throughout the album. With thin, straight lips, there is hardly a detectable sign of emotion on any of the faces. Though Deeds rendered both men and women, the majority of the portraits are females. Their finely textured hair is most commonly dark, falling about their shoulders in ringlets or curls. Deeds also attempted to show a few with plaited hairstyles, while others have their hair pulled up or beneath ornate hats. There is very little variation between the men's hairstyles. The clothes are elaborately detailed, though repetitive to a degree, and recall

⁹ Scheftel, "The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist."

¹⁰ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

styles bridging the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Deeds constructed frames around the majority of the portraits, perhaps in imitation of cartes de visite or paintings he may have seen on the walls in the hospital.¹¹ The frames are primarily simple and square, but the most elaborate one is circular with a colorful triangular pattern, shown in number 181 (fig. 2.15). Bust-length portraits, at times seated within the frame, are often further enclosed by decorative curtains. In one of the most abstract portraits, number 199 or “Charter. Oak,” window shutters are utilized as the framing element (fig. 2.16). An overlarge, disembodied head peers through the open window, resting her chin on crossed arms, which somehow encircle the shutters.

In many of the portraits, he attempted to represent people from different countries and cultures, although there is no real distinction between the ways they are rendered aside from their attire. Numbers 239 and 241 feature the only African American subjects in the album, and they work together to form a sort of call and response. “My. Heart. Gon. Back. To. Dixey” is the label associated with the first, a male (fig. 2.17), while 241 shows a young girl (fig. 2.18). “I. Guine. Too” is her reply, reproducing lyrics from the song, “Going Back to Dixie.” The same lyrics from 239 are seen in another portrait, titled “Leminade. Candy. Man” (fig. 2.19).

The portrait in number 195, “Deer Boy” (fig. 2.20) is of a young man wearing an elaborate crown that is sprouting antlers in the form of curling vines or thistles. Amid the flora, a squirrel and a pair of birds can be seen. There is a regality to the subject's gaze as he stares out at the viewer straight-on. He is placed squarely in a frame that is suspended against a background of mountainous landscape. His antlers extend beyond the frame's border, and various creatures, including a buck, roam the terrain surrounding the frame.

¹¹ Parker, “James Edward Deeds, Jr.”

This drawing could be a self-portrait. In an interview with Tom Parker, he suggested the nurses and staff at the hospital addressed Deeds as “dear boy,” which he reinterpreted here in a most innovative manner. This is a glimpse of his fantasy world in which he liked to retreat, one where he might have reigned over the wilderness.

Most of the subjects are alone in their frames. However, Deeds also depicted group portraits, one of which includes a baseball team (fig. 2.21). In an interview with Neville Bean and Harris Diamant, they suggested he was representing a baseball team there at the hospital.¹² The title of the drawing, “The Tiger.s,” may indicate Deeds was instead rendering the Nevada High School Tigers or the University of Missouri baseball team, whose mascot has been the tigers since 1890 (fig. 2.22).¹³ “TCK” is written on their jerseys. Deeds might have been referring to Twin City Knitting Company, Inc. Founded in 1961, TCK was a hosiery company that specialized in sporting goods, specifically socks and baseball stirrups.¹⁴

There are a few portraits that do not share the same stereotyped qualities as the others. Number 155, “Miss. Winterstine” (fig. 2.23), and number 217, “Miss. Millburn” (fig. 2.24), both stand apart from the rest due to their more naturalistic treatment. In these examples, though the subjects still have constricted pupils, the eyes are more proportional to their faces. “Miss. Winterstine” has especially delicate features. Her head is relatively small, and her neck is long and exposed, where most of the females in the album have modestly high collars. She has a shorter forehead and a small rosebud mouth. Though she sports a hairstyle that reflects many of the other subjects', hers is more voluminous and

¹² Harris Diamant and Neville Bean, Interview by Brynna Light.

¹³ “Mascot and Colors,” *Mizzou: University of Missouri*, last updated August 8, 2012, accessed September 5, 2012, <http://www.missouri.edu/about/history/mascot-colors.php>.

¹⁴ “About TCK,” *TCK*, 2010, accessed August 28, 2012, <http://www.tcksports.com/about-tck>.

realistically done. The texture and design of her gown is unlike any other in Deeds' album. "Miss. Millburn" also wears a costume wholly distinct from the rest of the portraits. She has the appearance of a gypsy draped in colorful shawls and scarves with a wide-brimmed hat and what seems to be a dream-catcher tied about her neck. Her nose is larger and more naturalistically modeled when compared to Deeds' other works.

"Camp Clark," number 157 (fig. 2.25), is probably the most noticeably realistic portrait in the album. Camp Clark is a training site of the Missouri Army National Guard located near Nevada, but the drawing instead refers to the politician, James Beauchamp "*Champ*" Clark (1850-1921). Either Deeds had heard of the camp and decided to make a play on words, or it was a simple spelling mistake. At any rate, he likely recreated his drawing from a carte de visite photograph of Champ Clark (fig. 2.26).¹⁵ Deeds copied faithfully from the source, and the result shows a capacity to draw with a representational accuracy absent from the remainder of Deeds' portraits, excepting "Miss. Millburn" and "Miss. Winterstine." This suggests that though Deeds may have had a source of inspiration for each of his other portraits, these three were likely the only ones copied directly from a source. He may have relied primarily on memory or imagination for the rest.

Significant clues can also be derived from objects within or surrounding the portraits. There are pages within the album that look as if they were inspired from clothing store catalogues, in which the portraits become secondary to the objects.¹⁶ In number 81, for example, the label, "Cutaway," refers to the type of jacket the gentleman is wearing, as it may have appeared in an advertisement (fig. 2.27). There are also

¹⁵ Harris Diamant and Neville Bean, Interview by Brynna Light-Lewis.

¹⁶ Rexer, "The Electric Pencil: A Discovery."

drawings focusing entirely on objects. In number 51, “The French Clock,” Deeds drew a rather ordinary pendulum clock with a square case (fig. 2.28). The face is exceptionally detailed. The numbers are carefully spaced and correctly situated with marks delineating every second, although there are Roman numeral X's for both the hours ten and eleven and no XI. In other clock and pocket watch illustrations in his album, Deeds used numerical digits rather than Roman numerals without any similar errors.

The building in number 127 appears fairly mundane at first sight (fig. 2.29). “Silver Smith” is written beneath a fan transom. It is highly detailed, especially in its precisely drawn brickwork. Curiously, Deeds turned the clock in the central tower into a pocket watch, complete with a chain that continues beyond the upper edge of the drawing. His sense of humor, as well as his creativity, is apparent in many of his images.

In one of his drawings, Deeds recreated several coins below a portrait of a woman (fig. 2.30), which points to an interest in collecting antique coins. The coins also show his ability to copy mimetically and then make his own alterations, imparting them with a personal meaning. Unlike buildings, landscapes, or people, coins of a specific design are constant, making it easy to recognize his sources and where he began to deviate from them. Within the portrait's frame, Deeds labeled the drawing with a sort of rebus using the word “silver” and a drawing of a leaf. He drew the front and back of two coins and one side of another, placing them in two rows.

The first coin in the top row is a nickel featuring a Roman numeral “V” encircled with a wreath. The obverse side, depicting the head of Liberty, is situated next to it. The actual design for this nickel was created by Charles Barber when he was Chief Engraver of the United States Mint (fig. 2.31). When it was initially struck in 1883, the coin lacked

the word “cents,” and it was easily altered to look like a five dollar piece. Barber modified the design later that year, adding “cents” beneath the “V.”¹⁷ The nickel Deeds drew in this particular drawing was copied from the later design, while in another drawing (number 65), he includes the same coin without the word “cents” (fig. 2.32). On the bottom row, Deeds sketched the front and back of a bronze one cent coin that was designed by James B. Longacre (fig. 2.33). This coin was created to replace the previous copper-nickel coin and the bronze tokens used during the Civil War.¹⁸ It was used from 1864 to 1909.¹⁹ On the reverse, a wreath and federal shield surround the words, “one cent,” while the obverse shows the head of a Caucasian female wearing a feathered headdress. On the actual coin, the only words on the obverse side are “United States of America.” In their stead, Deeds placed the word “Territory,” possibly associating the Native American Indian with the relocation of tribes or the contestation over land in American history. He may have even been making a statement with this substitution. Also curious is the fact he did not put the genuine dates on them. “1263” is written on the nickel, and he dated the one cent coin “1323.” The changes he made seem deliberate, rather than oversights. He reproduced the coins correctly in every other respect. Unless he had a strong or photographic memory, he copied directly from actual coins and willingly changed certain details for his own purposes.

Although Deeds' condition remains undetermined, there are signs within his work indicating symptoms along the autism spectrum. Susan Scheftel was one of the first to

¹⁷ “Complete US Coin Histories,” Coin Community, accessed August 19, 2012, http://www.coincommunity.com/coin_histories/.

¹⁸ “Indian Cents,” NGC Coin Explorer, accessed August 22, <http://www.ngccoin.com/NGCCoinExplorer/SubCategory.aspx?SubCatID=17&PopSubCat=Indian-Cents>.

¹⁹ “Complete US Coin History.”

come to this conclusion in her article, “The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist.”²⁰ She based her diagnosis primarily on his repetitiveness, rigidity, and technical ability, stating that his sense of perspective and foreshortening is seldom found in nonautistic people who have never received artistic training.²¹ There may be additional evidence for such a diagnosis in his work, though symptoms and severity of the condition can vary widely from person to person, making it difficult to decipher the extent to which Deeds was affected, if he was indeed autistic.²²

Autism is a developmental disorder defined by behavioral problems that affect communication and social interaction.²³ People with autism generally have difficulty reading facial expressions and body language and maintaining eye contact, which might explain the way Deeds rendered his portraits, each with strangely wide-eyed but impassive faces.²⁴ This may also be why he created portraits of a generic type. In “Autistic Disturbances of Affective Contact,” Leo Kanner, after observing children he diagnosed as autistic, reported, “There is a far better relationship with pictures of people than with people themselves.”²⁵ Based on his nieces' accounts, however, Deeds did seem to be somewhat communicative and enjoyed his family's visits. Williams described how he disliked being touched; he was withdrawn, usually preoccupied with drawing during her visits to the hospital with her family, yet their departure greatly saddened him.²⁶

²⁰ Scheffel, “The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist.”

²¹ Scheffel, “The Electric Pencil: Using Art to Diagnose the Artist.”

²² Mishawn K. Reynolds, *A Complete Guide to Teaching Art to Those With Autism: Utilizing the Elements and Principles of Design and Life Skills* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 3.

²³ Nicole Martin, *Art as an Early Intervention Tool for Children With Autism*, (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2009), 17.

²⁴ Reynolds, *A Complete Guide to Teaching Art*, 3.

²⁵ Leo Kanner, “Autistic Disturbances of Affective Contact,” *Nervous Child* 2, (1943): 247.

²⁶ Levitt, “The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches.”

Autism also frequently involves repetitious actions and a narrow range of interests.²⁷ The act of drawing itself became ritualistic for Deeds, and there is a great deal of repetition within his album. Subjects, themes, and motifs recur throughout, drawn in an unvaried manner. He was also meticulous. In his drawings involving architecture especially, one can see his precision and rigidity.

According to author and art educator Mishawn K. Reynolds, people with autism “have the ability to demonstrate well-developed spatial and visual memory skills, especially when making art. [...] For instance, some can create a complex drawing of a building after seeing it once [...].”²⁸ Strong rote memory skills are common among those with autism. Deeds very well may have drawn many of his works from memory, which might account for the notable differences in style between drawings with unknown sources and those that were certainly copied from another image.

The labels that Deeds included within a majority of his works are misspelled and sometimes wholly unrelated to the drawing's subject. In his paper, Kanner described a similarly irregular use of language. Kanner found that for many of the children he examined, language was not used to communicate but merely to repeat what they had heard.²⁹ This sort of echolalia is often present in autism. Deeds may be exhibiting such symptoms, parroting words or phrases he heard and adding them to his drawings. Kanner also noted one of his subjects' struggle to accept discrepancies in spelling, as the child believed words like “bite” ought to be spelled in the same manner as “light.”³⁰ Deeds did

²⁷ Judith Coucouvanis, Donna Hallas, and Jean Nelson Farley, “Autism Spectrum Disorder,” in *Child and Adolescent Behavioral Health: A Resource for Advanced Practice Psychiatric and Primary Care Practitioners in Nursing*, ed. Edilma L. Yearwood et al. (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 238.

²⁸ Reynolds, *A Complete Guide to Teaching Art*, 3.

²⁹ Kanner, “Autistic Disturbances,” 238.

³⁰ Kanner, “Autistic Disturbances,” 220.

not strictly follow rules of orthography but perhaps depended more upon phonetics to spell. Of course, this may simply be due to a lack of education, or he may have even been dyslexic, as Diamant suggested.³¹

Deeds seems to have been very deliberate in his artistic choices. There is something inherently intentional about his work. Deeds was imaginative, and he included subject matter taken from various sources, buoyed by a sense of humor. He was picking and choosing associations that were perhaps all a part of creating his own world.

³¹ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

Chapter 3: Nevada State Hospital, No. 3

The Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 underwent many changes during Deeds' incarceration, spanning from 1933 to 1973, which profoundly affected his art. Though existing literature on Deeds suggests the environment at the hospital was a vast improvement from his home, conditions at the institution were never ideal. The hospital was created on the prevailing design for mental asylums during the nineteenth century, the Kirkbride Plan (fig. 3.1), so called because it was strongly advocated by Dr. Thomas Story Kirkbride (1809-1883) as the ideal asylum plan conducive to moral treatment.¹ Although scholars have placed a heavy emphasis on the philosophy of moral treatment when writing on Deed's incarceration, in reality, moral treatment as Kirkbride intended was short-lived. Despite its popularity in the nineteenth century, this philosophy's impact on asylum culture had deteriorated long before the Nevada State Hospital was even built and therefore the assumption it was still in use provides a faulty lens through which to perceive Deeds' experiences.² Overcrowding plagued the majority of state hospitals at the time and caused several substantial problems, such as shortages of staff and funds, that made moral treatment impossible.³ Despite countless endeavors to improve American institutions throughout the twentieth century, they often reverted into what reformers during the 1940s described as "little more than concentration camps on the Belson pattern."⁴ Considering the poor conditions at the asylum, Deeds' drawings can be interpreted as a coping mechanism and a means to remove himself from the

¹ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

² Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 225.

³ Ottosson, Jan-Otto and Max Fink. *Ethics in Electroconvulsive Therapy*. (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004), 5.

⁴ Albert Q. Maisel, "Bedlam 1946: Most U.S. Mental Hospitals Are a Shame and a Disgrace," *Life Magazine*, May 6, 1946, 102.

It is significant that Maisel would compare asylums to concentration camps so soon after World War II, when the horrors of concentration camps were so fresh.

circumstances surrounding him.

In order to further understand Deeds' experiences at the hospital, one needs to know the history of its development. Due to the crowded conditions of the first two State Hospitals in Missouri (the original in Fulton and the second in St. Joseph), a third was required.⁵ A large plot of land a mile north of Nevada was selected for the institution.⁶ Established in 1885, the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 was completed in 1887 (figs. 3.2 and 3.3).⁷ The state legislature appropriated funds for the construction of the asylum, and local citizens made donations of money and land. In all, the cost of constructing the hospital totaled \$1,000,000.⁸ When it was originally built on North Ash Street, it was the largest structure in Missouri, a grand building with Second Empire-style architecture and room to accommodate 800 patients.⁹ It was designed by one of Missouri's prominent architects, Morris Frederick Bell, on the Kirkbride Plan promoted by Dr. Thomas Kirkbride.¹⁰

Kirkbride, one of the thirteen founding members of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane (AMSAI) and superintendent of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane, based his requirements for asylum planning upon the principles of moral treatment, which came into common practice during the

⁵ Henry Mills Hurd et al., *The Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada*, vol. 2., (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1916), 884.

⁶ "State Hospital Important to Nevada's Growth," *The Nevada Daily Mail*, May 11, 1960, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=uGifAAAIAIAJ&sjid=p9QEAAAIAIAJ&dq=nevada%20state%20hospital&pg=980%2C5513450>.

⁷ "Nevada State Hospital," *Kirkbride Buildings: Historic Insane Asylums*, 2012, accessed February 16, 2012, <http://www.kirkbridebuildings.com/>.

⁸ "State Hospital Important to Nevada's Growth," 6.

⁹ Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built."

¹⁰ "Nevada State Hospital," *Kirkbride Buildings*.

nineteenth century.¹¹ Moral treatment attempted to cure through creating an idealistic, tranquil environment for the mentally ill that emphasized humane and individualized care. Dr. Kirkbride borrowed from practices developed by French physician Philippe Pinel (1745-1826), largely considered the father of moral treatment, and English Quaker and asylum director William Tuke (1732-1822).¹² Both were significant in the creation and advancement of moral treatment during the late 1700s.¹³

Kirkbride believed the environment had a significant effect on the insane and a specific building type was integral to the success of treating the mentally ill.¹⁴ He wrote a well-known treatise on asylum planning and what he considered to be the most suitable architectural design for institutions. *On the Construction, Organization, and General Arrangements of Hospitals for the Insane*, published in 1854, became widely influential.¹⁵ The linear-plan building that came to be known as the Kirkbride Plan was not entirely his own creation, yet he rationalized its use and his promotion of the plan caused it to be firmly associated with his name.¹⁶ There was a definite increase in the number of asylums during the nineteenth century, and his model became the accepted standard for asylums in America, with at least seventy Kirkbride-Plan hospitals built by 1890.¹⁷

The Nevada State Hospital was formed on Kirkbride's general model, which consisted of a shallow “V” with a central structure and long wings arranged *en echelon*

¹¹ “Nevada State Hospital,” *Kirkbride Buildings*.

¹² Osborn, “From Beauty to Despair,” 222.

¹³ Osborn, “From Beauty to Despair,” 222.

¹⁴ Yanni, “The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums,” 29.

¹⁵ Grob, *The Mad Among Us: A History of the Care of America's Mentally Ill* (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 70.

¹⁶ Yanni, “The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums,” 35.

¹⁷ Osborn, “From Beauty to Despair,” 223.

on either side, generally three stories tall.¹⁸ With the wards set back in this manner, some division between the different types of patients could be maintained, with the more violent patients occupying the wards of the lowest floor furthest from the central building.¹⁹ Large windows at the point of junction between the staggered sections of the wings, as well as bay windows in the halls, allowed for more light and ventilation to enter into the building.²⁰ The halls were spacious, spanning twelve feet wide with ceilings also twelve feet high. Within the central structure there were administrative offices and a reception room.²¹ The living quarters of male and female patients were separated by this central building.²² In the wards, there were bedrooms, which generally contained one to eight beds, as well as parlors, dining rooms, bathtub rooms, water closets, and attendants' rooms.²³ When the hospitals initially became overcrowded, additional wings were easily erected on either end of the existing pavilions.²⁴ Kirkbride advised that the asylums be built with fireproof materials, such as brick or stone.²⁵

According to Kirkbride's scheme, the asylum was to be surrounded by expansive grounds. Kirkbride encouraged that institutions be situated on the outskirts of cities, surrounded by farmland and gardens, which granted the hospital some level of self-sufficiency.²⁶ The grounds surrounding the hospitals were for pleasant walks and leisurely drives, allowing the patients to enjoy the view, obtain therapeutic exercise, and

¹⁸ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 31.

¹⁹ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 222.

²⁰ John Curwen, "Obituary Notice of Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 22, No. 120, Part IV (October 1885), 221.

²¹ Curwen, "Obituary Notice of Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.," 221.

²² Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 27.

²³ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 31-32.

²⁴ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 37.

²⁵ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 31.

²⁶ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 222.

inspire them with a more pleasant frame of mind.²⁷ Kirkbride wished to avoid anything that gave a prison-like impression; therefore, walls encircling the hospital were to be hidden from view from the building.²⁸

By the time Deeds was committed, the Nevada State Hospital had undergone several renovations, and it was continually altered throughout its history. Two wings were applied on either side of the main building within the hospital's first few years.²⁹ Thirteen years after it was built, it was wired for electricity.³⁰ By 1916, a chapel, two buildings for tubercular patients, an electric light plant, an industrial building, a vegetable and ice house, three barns, and cow sheds all numbered among the many additions to the hospital.³¹ A surgical unit, which was later remodeled in 1927 and the following year, was also constructed.³² Kitchens and dining rooms were added in the main building.³³ Besides a training school for nurses and attendants, the hospital also developed industrial and occupation departments, in which items like mattresses and brooms were crafted.³⁴ In 1957, the original administrative building underwent extensive remodeling. Modern psychiatric windows replaced the old, the gabled roofs were exchanged for a flat one, and the brick surface was redone.³⁵ It was simplified, with the removal of the towers and some of the decorative components.³⁶ The following year, a building for working male

²⁷ Curwin, "Obituary Notice of Thomas S. Kirkbride, M.D.," 218.

²⁸ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 34.

²⁹ Jerry Griffith, "Guiding the Mentally Ill Back to Light of Reason: Nevada State Hospital Is Serving as a 'Home' for 2,061 Patients," *The Nevada Daily Mail*, January 28, 1964, accessed September 17, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=SZYfAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=U9QEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=931,1136421&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

³⁰ Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built."

³¹ Hurd et al., *The Institutional Care of the Insane*, 884.

³² Griffith, "Guiding the Mentally Ill."

³³ "State Hospital Important to Nevada's Growth," 6.

³⁴ Hurd et al., *The Institutional Care of the Insane*, 884.

³⁵ Griffith, "Guiding the Mentally Ill."

³⁶ "Nevada State Hospital," [Kirkbride Buildings](#).

patients and a storeroom were erected.³⁷ By 1960, the hospital owned 1,450 acres, and the supplementary buildings around the original structure comprised of an occupational therapy building, a clinic building (fig. 3.4), two separate infirmaries for male and female patients, a dormitory accommodating employees, and six houses for officials.³⁸

Due to overcrowding and the expense of maintaining these buildings, construction of Kirkbride Plan asylums began to diminish by the end of the nineteenth century.³⁹ There are many possible reasons for this tremendous growth in population within asylums, likely beginning with their success. The sharp increase in asylums built in the years before their decline resulted from a higher number of people who entrusted such institutions to adequately cure, and these hospitals provided alternative care for the mentally ill, the elderly, or simply those who were considered inconvenient, which had traditionally been the duty of the family.⁴⁰ By then, psychiatry was a legitimized practice, further validated by the expense institutions became on state funding and sponsorship.⁴¹ Though the majority of patients were committed by relatives, there was also a high number of individuals admitted into asylums who had no one to rely on during their illness.⁴² Some scholars have suggested there was an overall increase in cases of mental illness, although this may be explained by the number of patients who suffered from neurosyphilis or what was then considered senile dementia. Due to a rise in alcohol consumption, drunkenness and delirium tremens also accounted for a number of

³⁷ Griffith, "Guiding the Mentally Ill."

³⁸ "State Hospital Important to Nevada's Growth," 6.

³⁹ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 37.

⁴⁰ Yanni, Carla. *The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 5.

⁴¹ Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness*, 11.

⁴² Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness*, 5-10.

commitments.⁴³ It is important to note, too, that the population in the United States doubled between 1860 and 1890, increasing from 31.4 million to 63 million. In institutions, the population also rose from approximately 8,500 patients to 75,000.⁴⁴

The concept of moral treatment was significantly altered in April 1866, when the AMSAII modified one of their chief principles as a result of overcrowded hospitals. Originally, in order to successfully practice moral treatment, hospitals were allowed to house 250 patients. The policy change, however, increased the permitted number of patients to 600, impairing the ability to properly exercise moral treatment, which required an attendant/patient ratio of about 1/15.⁴⁵ Kirkbride voted against the expansion. This did not serve to relieve hospitals of overpopulation and instead facilitated the decline of moral treatment.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, institutions were unable to successfully discharge inmates.⁴⁷ Patients remained for long durations, living in hospitals for decades and becoming dependent upon their care.⁴⁸ Superintendents were unable to turn chronic patients away.⁴⁹ In addition, the number of attendants hired never met the number required for proper treatment to be successful.⁵⁰ Inadequate funding added to the strain of overpopulation.⁵¹ Despite having been built for self-sufficiency, Kirkbride asylums needed state funds for repairs, electricity, and wages.⁵² Moral treatment in turn gave way to custodial care, and

⁴³ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 42.

⁴⁴ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 225-226.

⁴⁵ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 43.

⁴⁶ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 43.

⁴⁷ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 226.

⁴⁸ Oliver Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," *The New York Review of Books*, September 24, 2009, 50.

⁴⁹ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 226.

⁵⁰ Yanni, "The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums," 43.

⁵¹ Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," 50.

⁵² Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 225.

the belief that mental illness had a greater chance of being cured in asylums changed as the reputation of institutions continually worsened.⁵³

These problems persisted for decades. Many state institutions, including the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3, experienced overcrowding, were under-staffed, and suffered from inadequate funds.⁵⁴ After only twenty years of operation, the Nevada State Hospital was already crowded with 1,041 patients and was in need of considerable repair and renovations.⁵⁵ In comparison to the 6.38 percent growth of the general population of Missouri between 1920 and 1930, the population within the four state asylums increased by 37 percent.⁵⁶

Moderate productive labor was one aspect of moral treatment that endured for most of the Nevada State Hospital's history.⁵⁷ Though Kirkbride had written on the benefits of work for patients decades before, this sort of therapy was not employed in the Nevada State Hospital until 1908. Dr. G. Wilse Robinson (1871-1958), superintendent from 1907 to 1909, was the first to urge the use of productive labor and manual training at the institution, and this concept continued to be used into the mid-twentieth century. Patients were encouraged to work as much as their condition allowed, which occupied their time and could instill in them a sense of pride in their undertakings.⁵⁸ The type of labor patients engaged in generally included farming, laundry, carpentry, and general

⁵³ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 226.

⁵⁴ Jan-Otto Ottosson and Max Fink, *Ethics in Electroconvulsive Therapy* (New York: Brunner-Routledge, 2004), 5.

⁵⁵ *Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Charities and Corrections to the 44th General Assembly of the State of Missouri*. (Jefferson City: Tribune Printing Company, State Printers and Binders, 1907), 10.

⁵⁶ Richard L. Lael, Barbara Brazos, and Margot Ford McMillen, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum: Fulton State Hospital, 1851-2006* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 78.

⁵⁷ Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," 51.

⁵⁸ Robert Whitaker, *Mad in America: Bad Science, Bad Medicine, and the Enduring Mistreatment of the Mentally Ill*, rev. ed. (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 22.

maintenance.⁵⁹ Women were usually occupied with housekeeping tasks like sewing, cooking, and cleaning.⁶⁰ Labor, as well as games and recreational activities, was meant to keep patients from being idle and served to reduce the utilization of restraining devices.⁶¹ It also helped the hospital remain self-sufficient through growing or raising food on the grounds of the institution. In 1960, for example, an estimated 2,100 patients and over 500 staff members were fed in large part with food yielded from the acreage surrounding the Nevada State Hospital.⁶²

Through the years, attempts were made to improve conditions at the Nevada State Hospital. In 1921, twelve years before Deeds was incarcerated, the Missouri General Assembly passed the Eleemosynary Act, which called for a single non-partisan board of control to run the six eleemosynary asylums, including the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3.⁶³ This board of managers substituted the original six separate boards. It served to alleviate political patronage, which an article in *The Journal of the Missouri State Medical Association* declared, “[has] been a curse to our state institutions, a fact well known not only to the medical profession but to intelligent laymen everywhere.”⁶⁴ It also placed the board's president, H.D. Evans, in charge of the institutions' unified budget, relieving superintendents of having to handle finances and allowing them to dedicate their time to the well-being of their patients.⁶⁵

Despite this and similar attempts to improve conditions, they would not make a lasting impact. In January 1930, an article in *The Southeast Missourian* reported on the

⁵⁹ Grob, *The Mad Among Us*, 67.

⁶⁰ Yanni, “The Linear Plan for Insane Asylums,” 37.

⁶¹ Sterett, “Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built.”

⁶² “State Hospital Important to Nevada's Growth,” 6.

⁶³ Lael, Brazos, and McMillen, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum*, 80.

⁶⁴ “A Bas Politics,” *The Journal of the Missouri State Medical Association*, Vol. 18, Issue 11 (November 1921): 403.

⁶⁵ Lael, Brazos, and McMillen, *Evolution of a Missouri Asylum*, 80.

poor conditions at the Nevada State Hospital. With deplorable sanitary conditions and the risk of fire hazards on top of overcrowding, the hospital, along with State Hospitals Nos. 1 and 2, was declared to “present one of the gravest problems in the state mental hospital system.”⁶⁶ At the time, the hospital was intended for 1,114 patients at most but was accommodating 1,559, with six or seven patients occupying rooms meant for three or less and the 165 employees using rooms assigned to inmates.⁶⁷ This crowdedness aggravated a lack of ventilation and inadequate sanitary facilities, and fire became a chief concern. The Survey Commission that reported on these conditions also requested action, proposing improvements that over a twelve-year period would cost \$1,014,000 and provide more space for patients, separate facilities for staff, and construction that would reduce the danger of fires.⁶⁸

Albert Q. Maisel, author of the *Life Magazine* exposé, “Bedlam 1946: Most U.S. Mental Hospitals Are a Shame and a Disgrace,” sought to uncover the worsening conditions at state institutions and bring them to the public's attention. His article divulged his own observations of the crowdedness, filthiness, and nakedness of patients at state hospitals, as well as reports of the abusive employment of restraints, medication, and forced labor.⁶⁹ Among these abuses, there were frequent reports of beatings.⁷⁰ One such incident at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 resulted in the death of a patient. On July 6, 1945, Cordell Humphrey passed away from injuries sustained from being beaten

⁶⁶ Calvin Speedy, “Survey Commission Finds Nevada State Hospital Overcrowded and Unsanitary: Like Other Hospitals, It Presents Grave Menace From Fire,” *The Southeast Missourian*, January 17, 1930, accessed September 16, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=uPQoAAAIBAJ&sjid=CNQEAAAIBAJ&pg=4625,616353&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

⁶⁷ Speedy, “Survey Commission Finds Nevada State Hospital Overcrowded and Unsanitary.”

⁶⁸ Speedy, “Survey Commission Finds Nevada State Hospital Overcrowded and Unsanitary.”

⁶⁹ Maisel, “Bedlam 1946,” 102.

⁷⁰ Ottosson and Fink, *Ethics in Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 5.

by an attendant, launching an investigation of the hospital. One attendant, Massey Cloninger, was convicted and imprisoned while another went on trial for charges of assault.⁷¹

The Depression and World War II undoubtedly had an enormous effect on funds and personnel.⁷² However, according to Maisel, degenerating conditions had little to do with wartime standards but had existed for decades and were largely due to public negligence and the stinginess of state legislatures.⁷³ The amount of money provided for wages, building maintenance, clothing, and cleaning supplies was not enough for hospitals to meet the minimum standard of operation. Unable to attract competent employees, low wages led to personnel shortages, which subsequently led to custodial care and the frequent use of violence toward patients.⁷⁴ Since hospitals were severely undermanned, attendants often resorted to restraining devices and physical force to keep patients under control.⁷⁵

Maisel's exposé, along with several others, launched a vast reformation in state institutions. On November 12, 1951, Maisel published another article concerning state asylums in *Life Magazine*, "Scandal Results in Real Reforms."⁷⁶ Describing the efforts of investigative reporters during the 1940s and the following improvements in institutions, Maisel believed they had made serious and lasting changes. A larger number of patients were being treated and released due to a shift toward intensive rather than custodial care. There was a tremendous increase in funds for hospital renovations and a notable rise in

⁷¹ Maisel, "Bedlam 1946," 105-106.

⁷² Steven J. Taylor, *Acts of Conscience: World War II, Mental Institutions, and Religious Objectors* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 2.

⁷³ Maisel, "Bedlam 1946," 102.

⁷⁴ Maisel, "Bedlam 1946," 103.

⁷⁵ Taylor, *Acts of Conscience*, 2.

⁷⁶ Taylor, *Acts of Conscience*, 360.

the number of asylum employees (from 79,740 to 100,000).⁷⁷

Approaches to treatment transformed with the introduction of psychotropic drugs during the 1950s.⁷⁸ These drugs seemed to bring a new expectation of rehabilitation and shorter stays in hospitals.⁷⁹ Dr. Paul Barone (1902-1986), who served as superintendent of the Nevada State Hospital from 1948 to 1970, credited tranquilizer drugs for the decrease in the institution's population, stating that after they came into use in 1955, the number of patients was reduced from 2,140 to 1,900.⁸⁰ Readmission rates, however, were high. It was common for patients to stop taking medication once they were released and sent home or if they experienced negative effects.⁸¹ Dr. Barone even acknowledged that several years after the initial success of tranquilizer drugs, the rate of admissions increased again until the population rose to 2,040.⁸² However, he continued to use tranquilizer drugs, advocating them as a major breakthrough in caring for the mentally ill. They rendered unruly or violent patients calm and controllable, although they did not cure.⁸³ Prior to their use, restraints were more commonly utilized, and large doses of sedative drugs like sodium amytal were administered.⁸⁴

Under Dr. Barone's superintendency, conditions were better than in most institutions, and local newspaper articles voiced a much more optimistic view of the

⁷⁷ Taylor, *Acts of Conscience*, 360.

⁷⁸ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 228.

⁷⁹ Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," 51.

⁸⁰ "Legislative Interim Committee Holds Hearings at Nevada State Hospital: Dr. Paul Barone Commended by Group After Giving Detailed Account of Operations at the Hospital at Session Yesterday Afternoon; Employees Also Heard," *The Nevada Daily Mail*, October 31, 1963, accessed September 17, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1908&dat=19631031&id=1UErAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=T9QEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=1528,2972335>.

⁸¹ Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," 51.

⁸² "Legislative Interim Committee," 2.

⁸³ Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built."

⁸⁴ "Legislative Interim Committee," 5.

hospital's status.⁸⁵ Even so, conditions were not entirely ideal. Though the American Psychiatric Association required that the institution should have 139 registered nurses, in 1963, there were only eighteen.⁸⁶ At the Nevada State Hospital, electroconvulsive therapy, insulin shock therapy, and pre-frontal lobotomy operations were still in use well into the 1960s, though they were not as frequently performed after the introduction of tranquilizing drugs.⁸⁷ Overcrowding also persisted. In 1963, the population of the hospital exceeded the standard by over 700 inmates.⁸⁸ Contributing to the overpopulation were alcoholics and youths, whom the hospital was not specially equipped to treat.⁸⁹ Nonetheless, there were notable improvements, including the implementation of an “open door” policy and encouragement of productive labor and activities involving art and music, all of which reflected, to a small degree, the principles of moral treatment.⁹⁰ Nurse training programs began in the summer of 1967 to facilitate better care.⁹¹ Citizens of Nevada also became more involved in the hospital, working as volunteers and offering a variety of activities like cooking courses, occupational and music therapy, and celebrations for birthdays and holidays.⁹² Art therapy was also offered by Harry Chew, who was an art professor at Cottey College. His widow disclosed in an interview that her husband had never mentioned teaching Deeds, but it may be possible Deeds received

⁸⁵ Sterett, “Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built.”

⁸⁶ “Legislative Interim Committee,” 2.

⁸⁷ Griffith, “Guiding the Mentally Ill.”

⁸⁸ “Legislative Interim Committee,” 2.

⁸⁹ “Legislative Interim Committee,” 2.

⁹⁰ Griffith, “Guiding the Mentally Ill.”

⁹¹ Patricia McFarland, “Nevada State Hospital Uses Summer School to Produce Better Nurses,” *The Nevada Daily Mail*, June 30, 1967, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=KPUoAAAAIIBAJ&sjid=btQEAAAAIIBAJ&pg=2522,3237886&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

⁹² Griffith, “Guiding the Mentally Ill.”

rudimentary training from him or was influenced by him in some manner.⁹³

Beginning in the 1960s, deinstitutionalization, combined with antipsychotic drugs, served to diminish asylum populations by 80 percent over the next few decades.⁹⁴

Community health centers and out-patient clinics were developed to help keep patients out of hospitals and to maintain a controllable patient population within institutions.⁹⁵

The Out-Patient Department at the Nevada State Hospital proved particularly helpful in this manner.⁹⁶ The average amount of time a newly-admitted patient remained at the hospital was soon diminished to less than two months.⁹⁷

Deinstitutionalization was not altogether a successful feat. In an attempt to protect patients' rights, labor for inmates, which had frequently been a productive form of therapy in the past, was instead determined to be exploitation and was outlawed.⁹⁸ Due to a lack of preparation and planning regarding the community care system, deinstitutionalization placed many patients on the streets without a proper alternative.⁹⁹

During the 1970s, once again newspaper articles reported on poor conditions at the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3. In 1972, hospital employees, numbering around 150, all submitted complaints concerning the shortages in personnel under then-superintendent Derek D. Hughes.¹⁰⁰ At the time, there was also an incident where, while working, a patient lost consciousness. Following repeated attempts to call a staff doctor and then

⁹³ Levitt, "The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache of Sketches."

⁹⁴ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 228.

⁹⁵ Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built."

⁹⁶ Griffith, "Guiding the Mentally Ill."

⁹⁷ Sterett, "Many Changes Made Since State Hospital Was Built."

⁹⁸ Sacks, "The Lost Virtues of the Asylum," 51.

⁹⁹ Osborn, "From Beauty to Despair," 229.

¹⁰⁰ "Nevada State Hospital," *The Nevada Daily Mail*, October 8, 1972, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=LGcfAAAAIABAJ&sjid=htQEAAAAIABAJ&pg=1772,2285094&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

another (neither of whom came), the patient died.¹⁰¹ Dr. Barone resumed his role as superintendent of the Nevada State Hospital, and around 1973, helped instigate several significant alterations to the institution. Tranquilizer drugs remained Barone's primary choice of treatment. He placed a greater emphasis on treating and discharging patients, focusing on out-patient care, which was effective in reducing overcrowding. The patient population dropped from 2,000 to below 200.¹⁰²

Deeds was placed in a nursing home in 1973, prefiguring the Missouri Department of Mental Health's attempt to empty state institutions, placing around 8,396 patients in nursing homes, foster care homes, residential care centers, and boarding homes under a “community placement program.”¹⁰³ The Department of Mental Health closed the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3 in 1991, and the main building was demolished in 1999.¹⁰⁴ It is unknown exactly how Deeds responded to the conditions and the series of changes that occurred around him at the hospital. Except for various references to electroconvulsive therapy, he did not include any glaringly negative aspects of the hospital in his drawings. Doctors' reports on his behavior stated, “He is in no way depressed [and] is much pleased at being here [...]”¹⁰⁵ The content of his drawings suggests the hospital was perceived by Deeds as a protective place. One that he grew dependent on, regardless of its condition. On the other hand, his drawings served a

¹⁰¹ “Nevada State Hospital,” *The Nevada Daily Mail*, 2.

¹⁰² “Nevada State Hospital Endures Rumors and Change,” *The Nevada Daily Mail*, December 29, 1974, accessed September 18, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=M1ArAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=c9QEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=4624,8234186&dq=nevada+state+hospital&hl=en>.

¹⁰³ “State Hospital in Danger Again,” *The Nevada Daily Mail*, February 27, 1977, accessed October 5, 2012, <http://news.google.com/newspapers?id=rkYrAAAIAIBAJ&sjid=ddQEAAAIAIBAJ&pg=1434,3900200&dq=nevada+state+hospital+close&hl=en>.

¹⁰⁴ “Nevada State Hospital,” [Kirkbride Buildings](#).

¹⁰⁵ Levitt, “The Electric Pencil: A Long-Lost Cache.”

private ritualistic function as an escape from any fear or misery he experienced due to the hospital environment or changing treatments.

Chapter 4: Electroconvulsive Therapy

Electroconvulsive therapy (ECT), one of the treatments introduced in the Nevada State Hospital during Deeds' incarceration, had a significant effect on him and is perhaps the very impetus of his artwork. At the time, ECT was overused in hospitals and crudely done, frequently inflicting serious side effects. Its use was therefore associated with a negative, often terrifying, image that persists today. Considering Deeds' drawings have been dated to the 1940s-1960s, around the same time ECT came into prominence in American asylums, it is possible Deeds turned to drawing as a direct response to this new treatment and as a personal therapy. Throughout his album, there are a number of conspicuous references to electroconvulsive therapy. Three of his drawings include the letters "ECT," and possibly the most portentous of his work features a portrait with the words "Why Doctor" beneath.

While incarcerated at the State Hospital, Deeds was subjected to electroconvulsive therapy, a biomedical treatment in which an electric current is administered to a patient's brain.¹ In the original method, known as sine-wave bilateral ECT, which is still widely used today, electrodes are placed on the scalp over each temporal region.² In unilateral ECT, a single electrode is placed over the non-dominant hemisphere.³ The electric current induces a controlled convulsive seizure in an attempt to alleviate symptoms of psychiatric disorders.⁴ Presently, ECT is most commonly used as a second-line treatment when patients suffering from severe depression are unresponsive to

¹ Wayne Weiten, *Psychology: Themes and Variations*, eighth edition (Belmont: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2008), 502.

² Richard Abrams, "ECT Technique: Electrode Placement, Stimulus Type, and Treatment Frequency," in *The Clinical Science of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, ed. C. Edward Coffey, M.D., (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Press, Inc., 1993), 17.

³ Paul Bennett, *Abnormal and Clinical Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill International, 2006), 79.

⁴ Robin Rosenberg and Stephen Kosslyn, *Abnormal Psychology* (New York: Worth Publishers, 2011), 114.

antidepressant medication.⁵ The manner in which ECT achieves its therapeutic effects remains a mystery, and the inability to define precisely what the procedure does to the brain contributes to the anxiety of its use.⁶

ECT's history resides within the development of camphor-induced convulsive therapy by Hungarian neuropsychiatrist Ladislas von Meduna (1896-1964).⁷ Originally, he tested convulsive therapy in 1934 on patients suffering from schizophrenia and catatonia, and his early trials were largely successful.⁸ Italian psychiatrist Ugo Cerletti and his colleague, Lucio Bini, were the first to use electricity to induce similar seizures. With electricity, the seizures were more easily stimulated and controlled than with chemical agents, making it a safer alternative.⁹ The idea of utilizing electricity in this manner came from Cerletti's observations of its use within slaughterhouses to stun pigs.¹⁰ Bini successfully experimented with electroshock on dogs before it was tested on a human subject for the first time in April 1938.¹¹ The subject was an unidentified schizophrenic vagrant of thirty-nine years of age who had been found wandering a train station in Milan.¹² Despite his objections (according to certain accounts, after receiving a number of shocks, he cried out, "Not again, it's murderous!"), the trial was successful, although only temporarily so.¹³ It was thereafter used to treat a wide range of psychological disorders, and its popularity spread.

⁵ Weiten, *Psychology: Themes and Variations*, 502.

⁶ Rosenberg and Kosslyn, *Abnormal Psychology*, 114.

⁷ Richard Abrams, *Electroconvulsive Therapy*, fourth edition (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2002), 3.

⁸ Mehul V. Mankad et al., *Clinical Manual of Electroconvulsive Therapy* (Arlington: American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc., 2010), 4.

⁹ Mankad et al., *Clinical Manual of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 5.

¹⁰ Bennett, *Abnormal and Clinical Psychology*, 79.

¹¹ Abrams, *Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 6.

¹² Phil Barker, *Mental Health Ethics: The Human Context*, (New York: Routledge, 2011), 170.

¹³ Abrams, *Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 6.

Electroconvulsive therapy was brought to the United States by émigré practitioners fleeing from Nazi Europe.¹⁴ ECT was first conducted in America in early 1940 by Drs. Renato Almansi and David Impastato at Columbus Hospital in New York City.¹⁵ Douglas Goldman, who later invented unilateral ECT, also publicly demonstrated electroconvulsive therapy for the American Psychiatric Association in 1940.¹⁶ It quickly became the dominant treatment for schizophrenia and severe mood disorders.¹⁷

Deeds, whose hospitalization spanned from 1933 to 1973, was a resident at the Nevada State Hospital for several years before ECT was introduced there. Before electroconvulsive therapy, asylums used sedatives (specifically barbiturates, bromides, paraldehyde, and chloral hydrate) and such treatments as prolonged sleep therapy, hydrotherapy, and insulin coma.¹⁸ There were few options for treating psychiatric patients, and once ECT was introduced, it became the primary treatment. The use of electroconvulsive therapy reached its peak in the 1940s and 1950s, until it was replaced by more effective psychopharmacology.¹⁹

During the height of ECT's use, there were accounts of widespread abuse in asylums, which were largely overcrowded, understaffed, and poorly managed.²⁰ ECT was frequently used to subdue patients rather than heal them, due to its disorienting and sedative effects.²¹ Medical historian David J. Rothman, speaking at an NIH Consensus Conference in 1985, confirmed this notion by stating, “ECT stands practically alone

¹⁴ Timothy W. Kneeland and Carol A.B. Warren, *Pushbutton Psychiatry: A Cultural History of Electric Shock Therapy in America*, updated edition (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, Inc., 2002), 49.

¹⁵ Abrams, *Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 7.

¹⁶ Abrams, “ECT Technique,” 17.

¹⁷ Mankad et al., *Clinical Manual of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 5.

¹⁸ Mankad et al., *Clinical Manual of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 3.

¹⁹ Bennett, *Abnormal and Clinical Psychology*, 79.

²⁰ Ottosson and Fink, *Ethics in Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 5.

²¹ Ottosson and Fink, *Ethics in Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 7.

among the medical/surgical interventions in that misuse was not the goal of curing but of controlling the patients for the benefits of the hospital staff.”²² These reports of abuse led to state hospitals being branded “shock factories” during the 1960s and 1970s.²³ Until deinstitutionalization and the mental patients' rights movement, which took place during the late twentieth century, there were no laws protecting patients from forced treatments in hospitals or granting them autonomy.²⁴ When reports of abuse came to public light, ECT was thrown into scrutiny and has since become the most controversial treatment in psychology.²⁵

At the Nevada State Hospital, ECT was quite possibly used to control patients in the punitive manner Rothman described. Retired professor and historian Lyndon Irwin quoted the former director of the Nevada State Hospital as having written in a report that electroconvulsive therapy was administered twice a week for the average patient.²⁶ In the instance of the Nevada State Hospital, however, it is difficult to say whether ECT was used for behavioral control or simply because it became common practice.

When ECT was originally put into use during Deeds' incarceration, it was “unmodified,” or used without anesthesia or any other medication to prevent complications.²⁷ There were serious side effects associated with electroconvulsive therapy that made its overuse all the more barbaric. In the initial years of its employment, ECT was administered to conscious patients. The electric currents caused violent

²² Sandra G. Boodman, “Shock Therapy...It's Back,” *The Washington Post*, September 24, 1996, 14.

²³ Kitty Dukakis and Larry Tye, *Shock: The Healing Power of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, (New York: Penguin Group Inc., 2006), 15.

²⁴ Kneeland and Warren, *Pushbutton Psychiatry*, 65.

²⁵ Rosenberg and Kosslyn, *Abnormal Psychology*, 114.

²⁶ “ECT in the Ozarks,” 2011.

²⁷ “ECT in the Ozarks,” 2011.

convulsions, during which the patient would typically lose consciousness.²⁸ Physical injury resulting from these convulsions often included broken bones, vertebral compression fractures, peripheral nerve palsy, skin burns, jaw dislocations, and tooth damage.²⁹ Although psychiatrists began to use drugs in order to prevent injury as early as 1940, the drugs they employed were potentially hazardous. Curare was given to the patient before the procedure as a muscle relaxant, and then strychnine was administered after to restart breathing.³⁰

Neurological damage is probably the most grievous problem associated with ECT. As early as 1940, its effects on memory were brought to the public's attention and criticized by the press in articles like, "Electric Shock Causes Partial Memory Loss," published in *Science News Letter*.³¹ Even today, it remains an adverse effect of ECT treatments. Supposedly, impaired attention and the hindered ability to learn or retain information are short-term cognitive deficits, though many critics claim damage can be permanent.³²

Among Deeds' drawings, there are four that appear to include some sort of reference to electroconvulsive therapy. It is undoubtable that if he were subjected to ECT treatments twice weekly as Irwin sustains, he would have been greatly affected. In an interview conducted by *News-Leader*, Phillips recounted visiting her uncle in 1977 at the Christian County Nursing Home. She described him as unusually quiet and timid with a blank expression, changes in his character that she believes were results of ECT.³³ Fear of

²⁸ David G. Myers, *Exploring Psychology*, sixth edition (New York: Worth Publishers, 2005), 533.

²⁹ Bennett, *Abnormal and Clinical Psychology*, 80.

³⁰ Kneeland and Warren, *Pushbutton Psychiatry*, 66.

³¹ Kneeland and Warren, *Pushbutton Psychiatry*, 67.

³² Weiten, *Psychology: Themes and Variations*, 502.

³³ Goodwin, "Mystery Artist from the Ozarks."

the treatments he was subjected to might have spurred Deeds into creating his world within his artwork. It is possible, too, that he desired a way to preserve his memories and began documenting his experiences in his album.

In the portrait numbered 197 in his album (fig. 4.1), it seems Deeds encoded “ECT” within the title. A woman is shown seated and pointing at a bouquet of flowers she holds. As in all of his other portraits, he paid particular attention to her clothes, and the feather in her hat reflects the motif Deeds favored throughout his album. Though the main subject of the drawing is fascinating in itself, the puzzling words take center stage. Of the four drawings, this is probably the most enigmatic of the theoretical references to electroconvulsive therapy. It is also from this drawing that his pseudonym, “The Electric Pencil,” was derived. “Ectlectrc” is written boldly across the top with “pencil” at an angle to the right, just below a miniature rendering of the writing utensil. “ECT” is repeated twice in the scrambled word. The misspelling might simply be a sign of dyslexia, but Diamant firmly believes it has to do with electroconvulsive therapy.³⁴ It has been suggested this was a purposeful misspelling.³⁵ In other examples, Deeds seemed to play with the idea of encoding messages into his illustrations. For instance, in number 169, or “Rebel Girl” (fig. 4.2), he included a simple rebus, which appears to be unrelated to the subject of the drawing. Easily deciphered, it reads, “I am a bird.”

In number 94, Deeds illustrated a multi-story building (fig. 4.3). The diminutive letters, “ECT,” are just visible above the entrance to the structure. The meticulousness of its rendering, with every brick of the building precisely done, could point to an obsessive compulsive tendency. Deeds drew a series of buildings and spaces, many of which he

³⁴ Goodwin, “Mystery Artist from the Ozarks.”

³⁵ Dorfman, “In Perspective,” 22.

labeled, designating them for a particular purpose. Nevertheless, it is unknown whether there really was a separate building specifically for ECT treatments on the hospital grounds. Whether it is solely a figment of Deeds' imagination or an actual building, the drawing seems a testament to the treatment's impact on him.

ECT also makes an appearance in a portrait of a young gentleman (fig. 4.4), numbered 95. The letters are written prominently below what at first appears to be a cigar. It has been proposed this object may in fact be a representation of a bite stick, which was an item used during electroconvulsive therapy to keep the patient from biting his or her tongue or cracking a tooth.³⁶ The subject squarely faces the viewer, a noticeable key dangling from his waistcoat. The key could possibly be an indication the subject worked as one of the staff members at the hospital.

Numbered 33 within his album, in one of his most ominous drawings (fig. 4.5), a curtain is parted within a frame to reveal the bust of a seated figure wearing a top hat. The words, "Why Doctor," are written below. The man is treated in a similar style as the majority of Deeds' portraits and bears a close resemblance to the portrait in number 35, "States Attorney" (fig. 4.6). In "Why Doctor," the subject's expression seems stern and foreboding. He stares out of the picture to the side, unconcerned with the viewer, which lends the drawing a certain level of disconnection and coldness. The words add a startling depth to its meaning, otherwise missing in the picture's frame. In those two simple words, Deeds' apparent fear toward hospital treatments becomes unquestionably real.

Electroconvulsive therapy has changed significantly since Deeds' hospitalization. Now laws ensure ECT is not used abusively to control patients or without individual

³⁶ Parker, "James Edward Deeds, Jr."

consent.³⁷ Strides have been made to reduce physical injury and mental damage. The development of unilateral ECT and the replacement of sinusoidal current with brief pulse both result in fewer memory disturbances.³⁸ Anesthesia, muscle relaxants, oxygenation, and seizure monitoring are all utilized today to ensure there are no complications or physical injuries during treatments.³⁹

Despite these changes, there are still risks, and ECT remains a controversial treatment. Cognitive deficits continue to be the greatest concern with the procedure. Even with the fact that unilateral ECT causes fewer memory disruptions, many psychiatrists still prefer bilateral ECT, claiming it to be more effective.⁴⁰ Additionally, relapse rates after ECT are extremely high, throwing its effectiveness into question.⁴¹

Electroconvulsive therapy has earned its designation as the most controversial treatment in psychology. True, it has vastly improved since the initial years of its use and has proven to be effective in many cases of severe depression. Yet, Edward Deeds' artwork serves to remind its modern-day viewers of ECT's potentially grievous effects and its employment in the past as an instrument of behavioral control in American asylums.

³⁷ Rosenberg and Kosslyn, *Abnormal Psychology*, 114.

³⁸ Myers, *Exploring Psychology*, 533.

³⁹ Mankad et al., *Clinical Manual of Electroconvulsive Therapy*, 6.

⁴⁰ Abrams, "ECT Technique," 17-18.

⁴¹ Weiten, *Psychology: Themes and Variations*, 502.

Conclusion

James Edward Deeds, Jr. created his drawings to satisfy his own creative impulses and to serve a private ritualistic function, with no desire for acclaim or money. The drawings were reflections of his life at the hospital with occasional moments where he alluded to a time prior to his incarceration. Drawing became a coping mechanism, a method with which he could remove himself from the environment of the hospital and the fear of treatments. Though his drawings raise other issues, literature on Deeds primarily focuses on his work as a phenomenon within outsider art. Such a label, although it helps to better understand Deeds' work, is also controversial as it segregates his art into a specific niche that does not sufficiently encompass the depths of his work.

In the past few decades, fascination for artists such as Henry Darger (1892-1973), James Castle (1899-1977), Bill Traylor (1854-1949), and more recently James Edward Deeds, Jr., has fed into the popularity of outsider art. Darger, Castle, and Traylor, among others, whose critical reception has paved the way for Deed's current fame, were important to the development of the notion of a purer, more authentic form of art. Ironically, this increasing interest has rendered marginalized art progressively more mainstream, diminishing the distance between outsider and insider art and bringing works by artists like Deeds to the forefront. What was at first celebrated as art untouched by culture and academic tradition is incurring a reversed effect and helping to influence and formulate art culture today. As demonstrated by the publicity surrounding Deeds' drawings, outsider art is increasingly in demand in the art market as a rarefied commodity. It seems inaccurate, therefore, to describe Deeds' work as being on the margins of art history.

The drawings of James Edward Deeds, Jr., though they can stand alone as intriguing and puzzling images, are compelling because they allow for further discussion on a variety of issues that are not strictly related or limited to art, but encompass psychological and sociological aspects as well. It is true his work addresses outsider art and its current reception. He was a self-taught artist, operating on the brink of society. Nevertheless, to confine his art within that categorization diminishes the wider scope of its meaning, when it also speaks to art as therapy, the effects of asylum conditions, and treatments during the mid-twentieth century. The images Deeds' album contained invite a broad audience to appreciate and theorize on their symbolism.

Deeds' drawings, which were discarded as garbage in 1970, are now sold individually for \$16,000.¹ One contradicting aspect of outsider art is the marketability of artworks that were never intended for the market. The value of such art speaks to contemporary culture. One that Deeds could never have anticipated.

¹ Parker, Interview by Brynna Light-Lewis.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1.1. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 261, "Home Sweet Home." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 1.2. Photograph of the house in which Deeds' family lived. Reproduced from *The Riverfront Times*. <http://www.riverfronttimes.com/2012-09-14/news/electric-pencil-edward-deeds-outsider-art-mental-illness-harris-diamant-springfield-state-hospital-missouri-electroconvulsive-therapy/>. (Accessed September 18, 2012.)

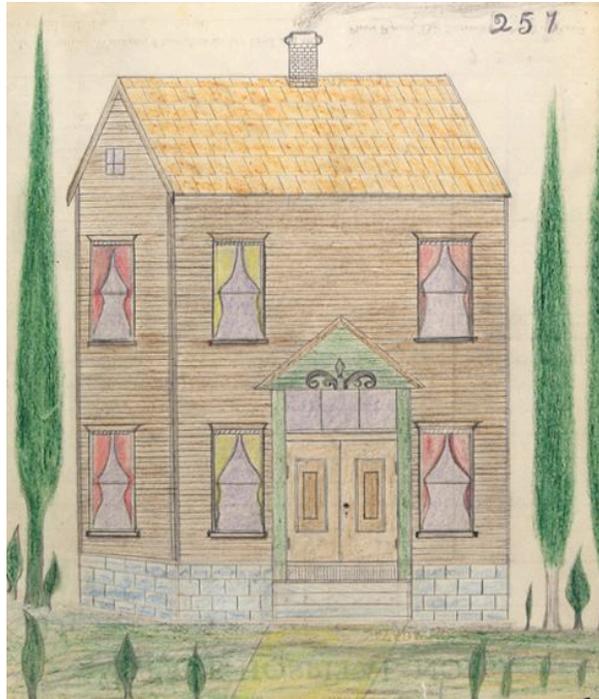


Fig. 1.3. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 257. 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 1.4. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 269, "Fine Farm Stock." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

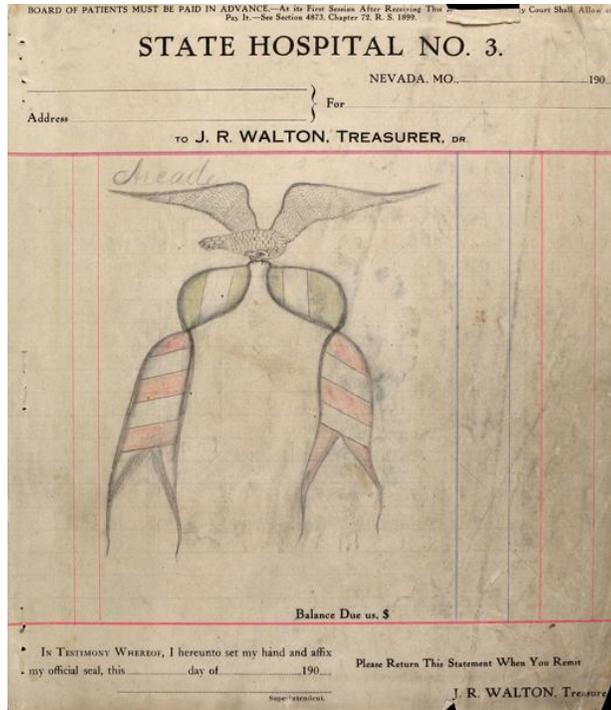


Fig. 1.5. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Album Cover Page. 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

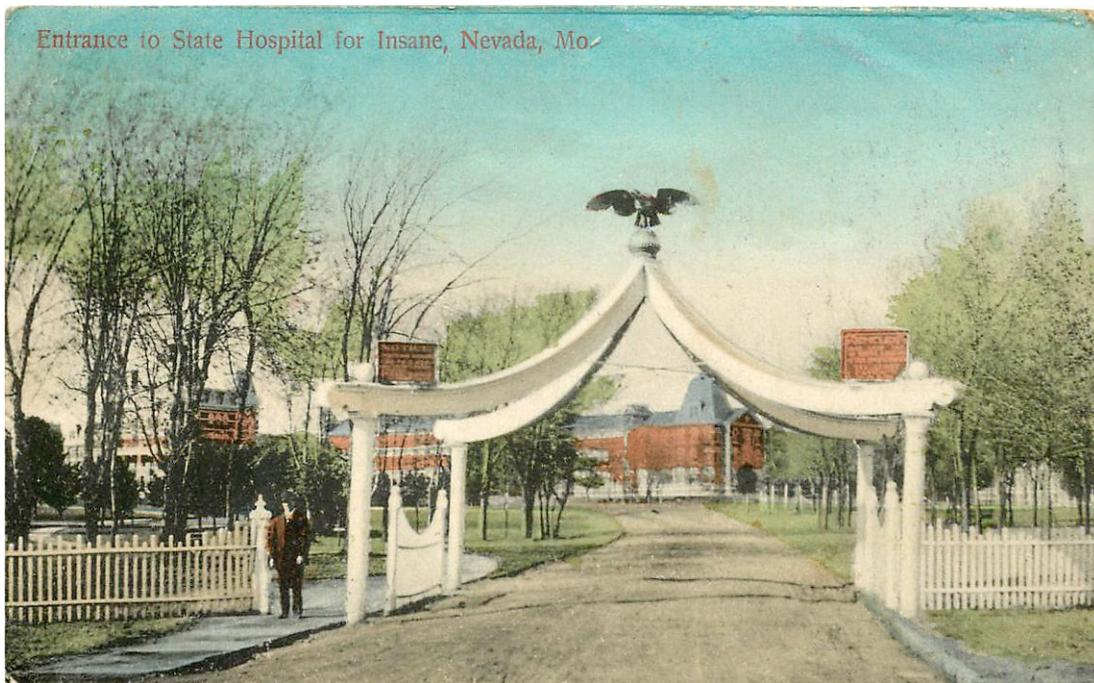


Fig. 1.6. Postcard, *Entrance to State Hospital for Insane, Nevada, Mo.* Date Unknown. Reproduced from e-mail message from Neville Bean to Brynнан Light-Lewis, March 19, 2012.

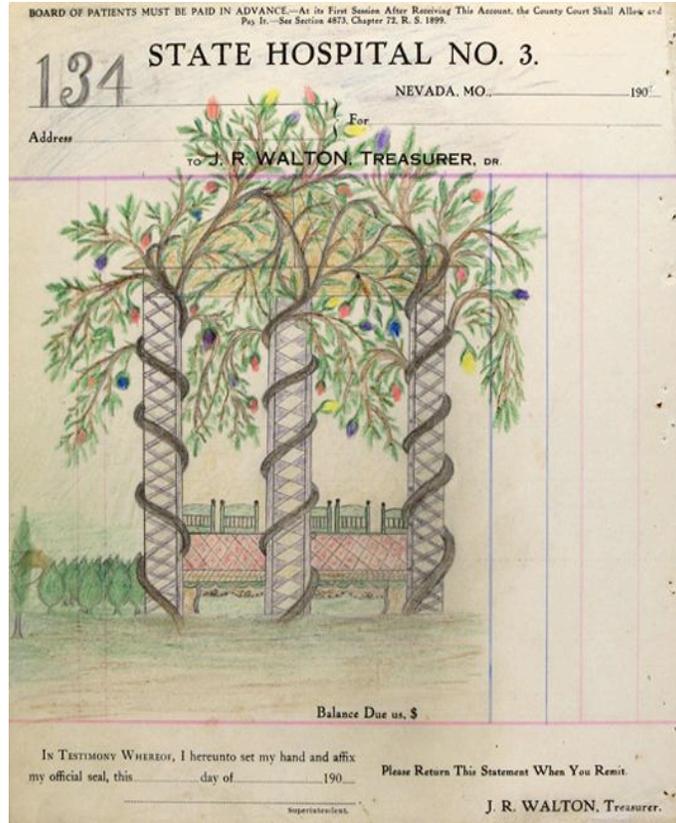


Fig. 1.7. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 134. 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

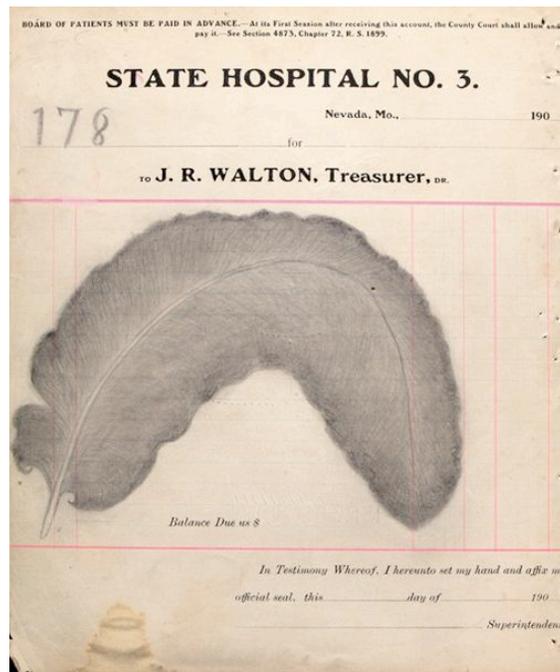


Fig. 1.8. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 178. Feather. 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

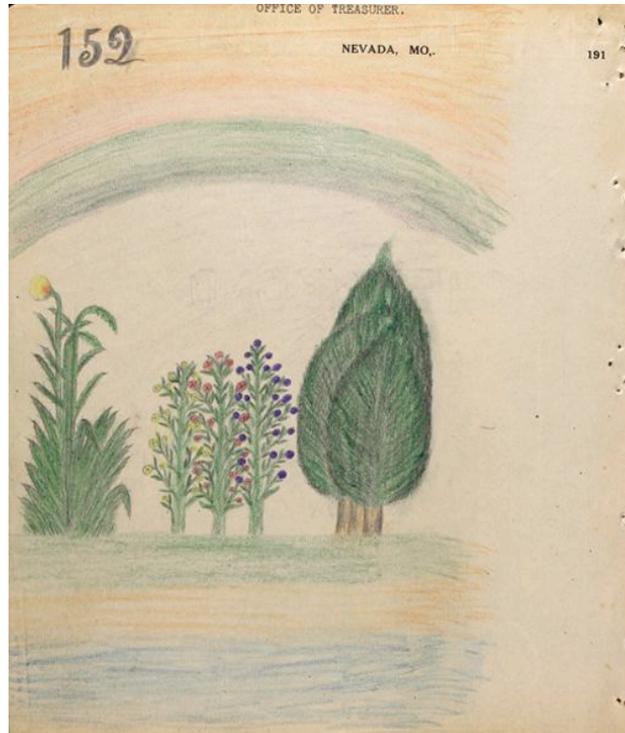


Fig. 1.9. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 152. The Rainbow. 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

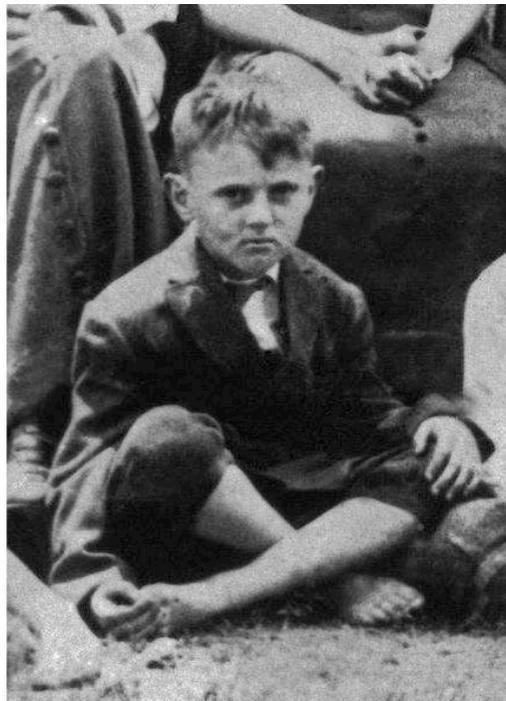


Fig. 1.10. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Age 7. 1915. Reproduced from *New-Leader*. <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20110710/LIFE/107100318/Mystery-artist-from-Ozarks-recognized>. (Accessed February 28, 2012.)

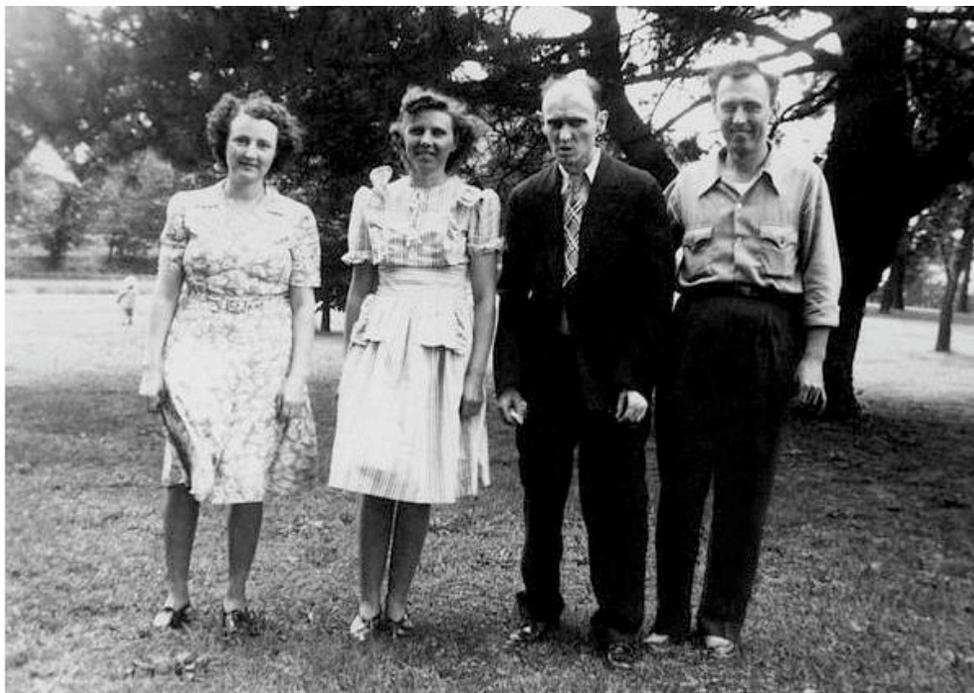


Fig. 1.11. From left: Dorothy, Helen, Edward, and Clay on hospital grounds. Reproduced from *New-Leader*. <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20110710/LIFE/107100318/Mystery-artist-from-Ozarks-recognized>. (Accessed February 28, 2012.)

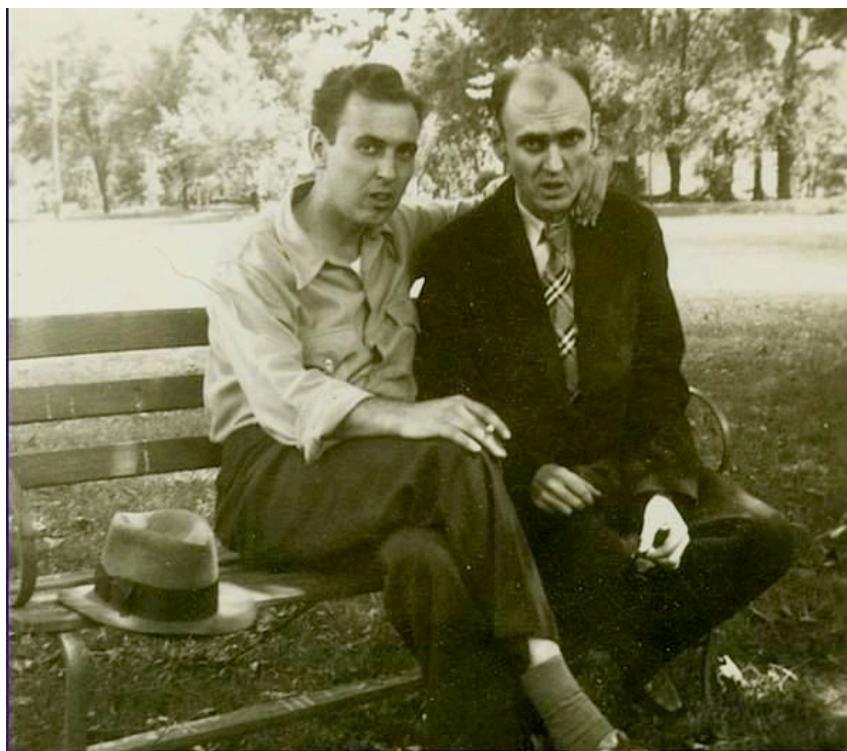


Fig. 1.12. Clay and Edward on hospital grounds, around 1944. Reproduced from *New-Leader*. <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20110710/LIFE/107100318/Mystery-artist-from-Ozarks-recognized>. (Accessed February 28, 2012.)



Fig. 1.13. Edward Sr., and Clara Deeds, Sixtieth Wedding Anniversary. Reproduced from *New-Leader*. <http://www.news-leader.com/article/20110710/LIFE/107100318/Mystery-artist-from-Ozarks-recognized>. (Accessed February 28, 2012.)

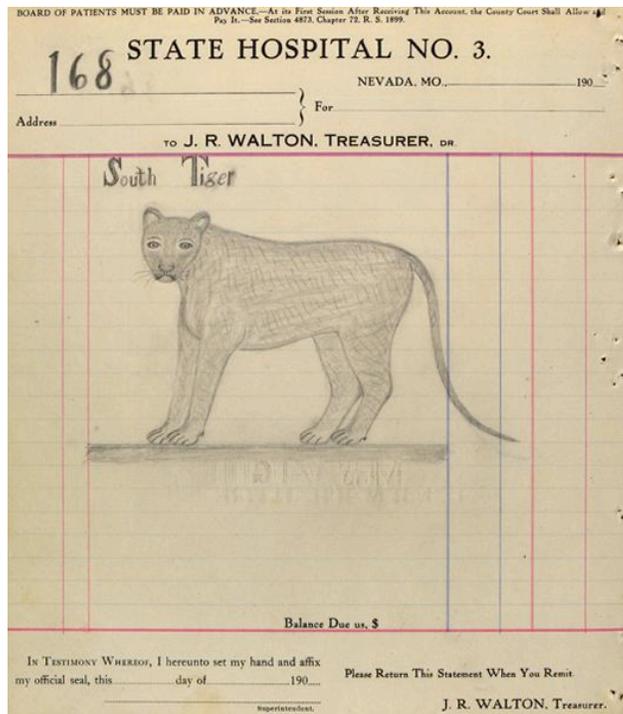


Fig. 2.1. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 168. “South Tiger.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

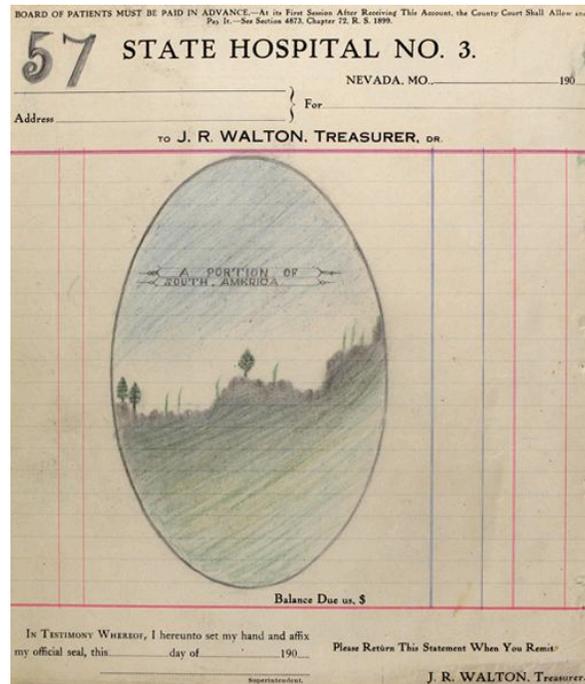


Fig. 2.2. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 57. “A Portion of South. America.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

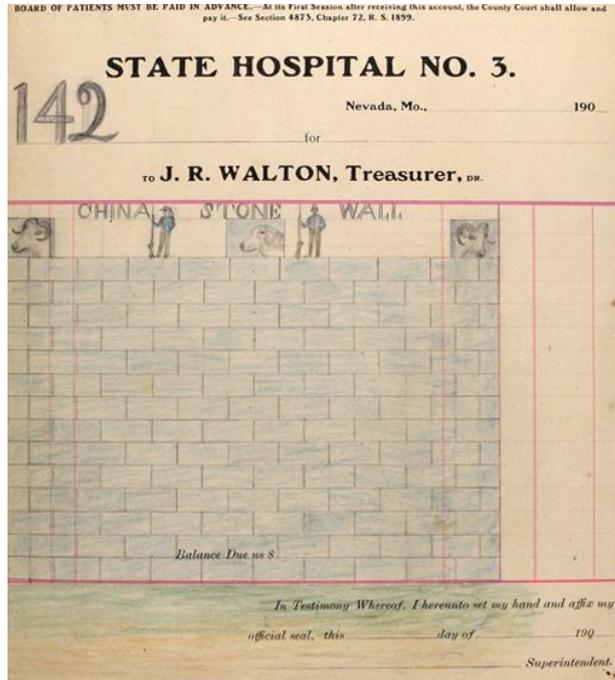


Fig. 2.3. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 142. “China Stone Wall.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

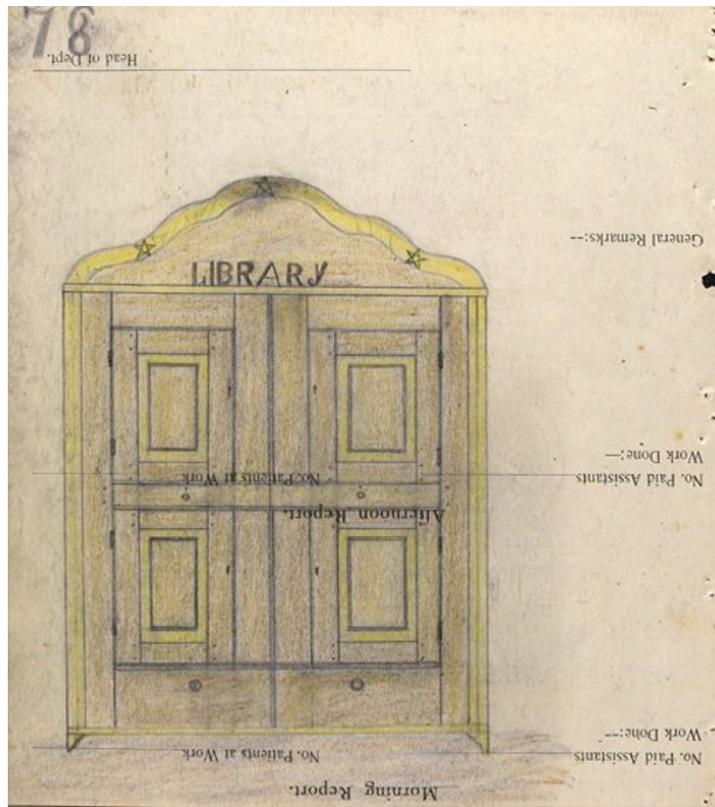


Fig. 2.4. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 78. "Library." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

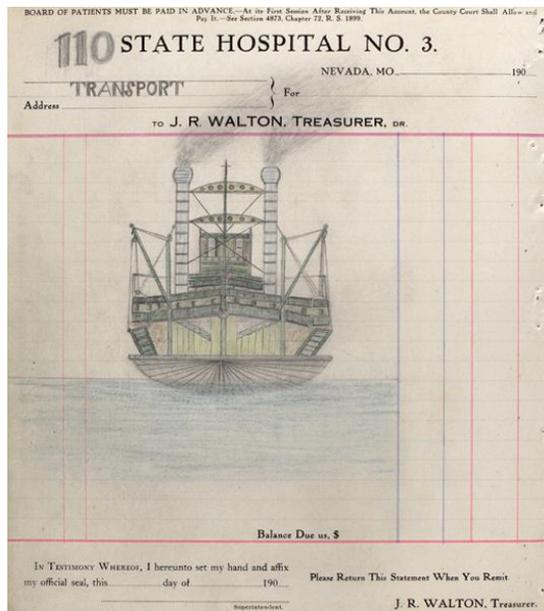


Fig. 2.5. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 110. "Transport." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

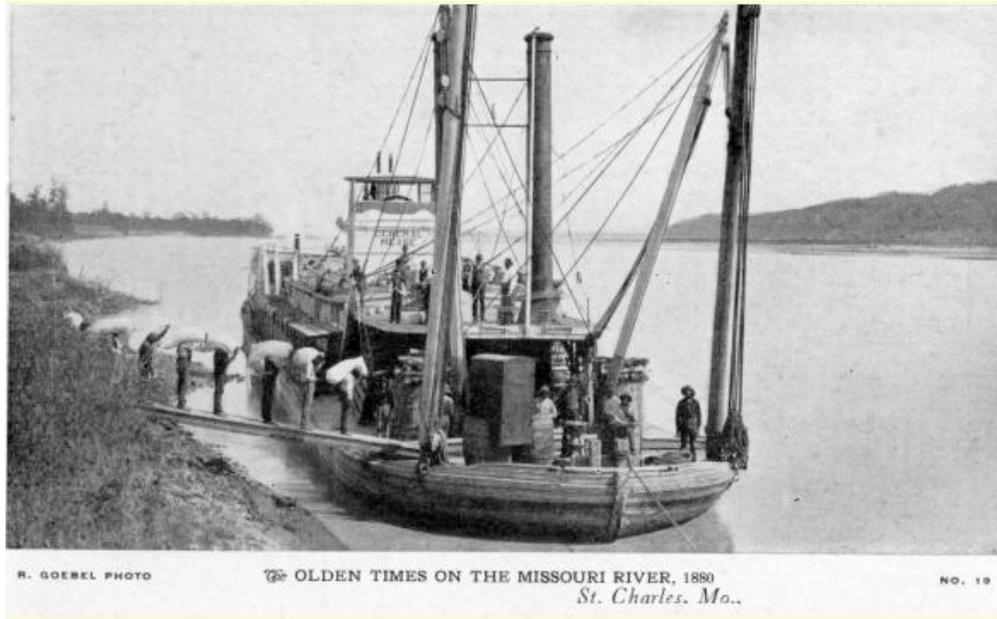


Fig. 2.6. “The Olden Times on the Missouri River, 1880” Postcard. Reproduced from [CardCow](http://www.cardcow.com). <http://www.cardcow.com/213193/olden-times-missouri-river-1880-st-charles/>. (Accessed August 19, 2012.)

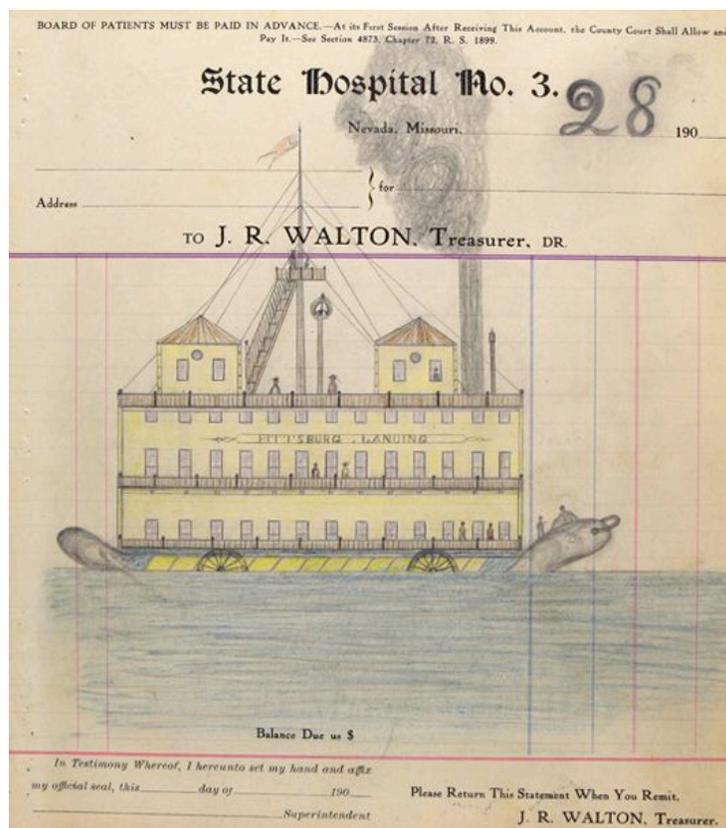


Fig. 2.7. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 28, “Pittsburg Landing.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

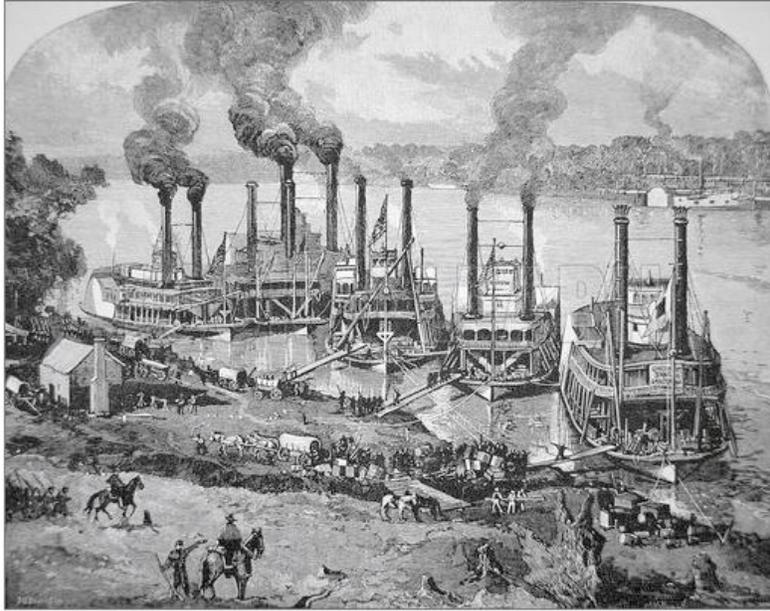


Fig. 2.8. Gunships at Pittsburg Landing, Battle of Shiloh, 1862. Reproduced from “Pittsburg Landing.” <http://www.bgmclure.com/Civil/Tigress.htm>. (Accessed August 19, 2012.)

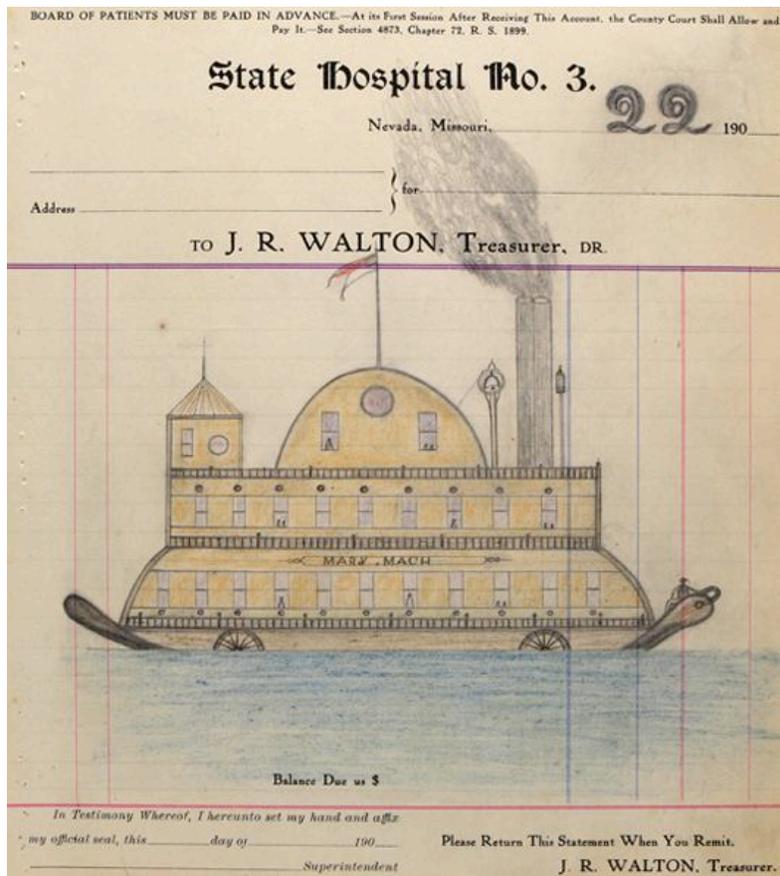


Fig. 2.9. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 22. “Mary Mach.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

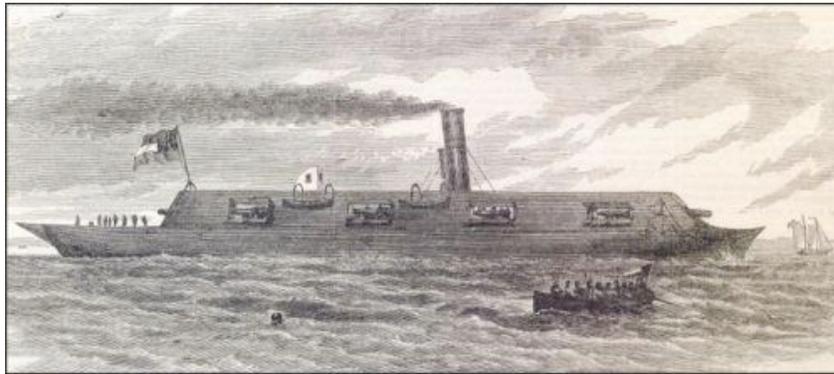


Fig. 2.10. *The Merrimac*. Reproduced from *Harper's Weekly*, November 2, 1861.
<http://www.sonofthesouth.net/leefoundation/civil-war/confederate-ironclad-merrimac.htm>. (Accessed August 19, 2012.)



Fig. 2.11. "Steamer Merrimac leaving Black Rocks, Mass." Reproduced from eBay.
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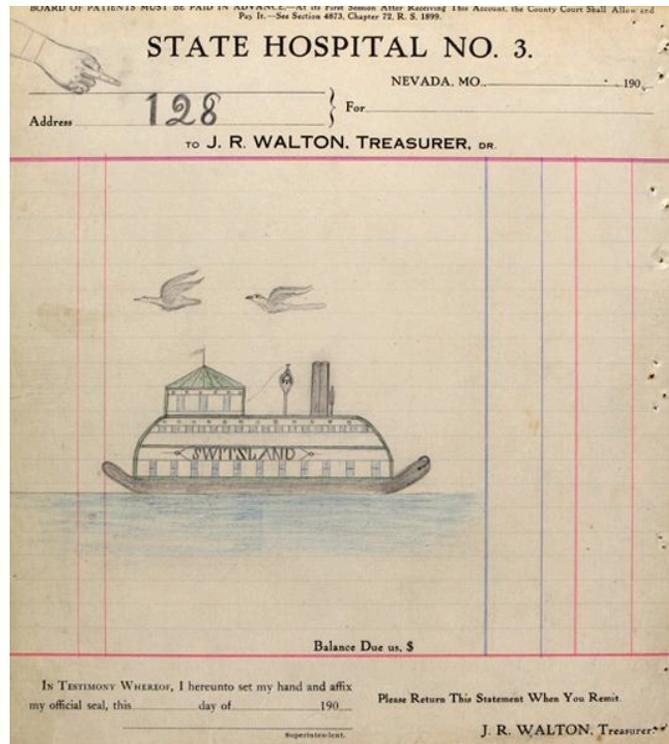


Fig. 2.12. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 128. "Switzland." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.13. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 129. "Switzland." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.14. Child's pull-toy, Märklin "Priscilla" Steamboat. 1909. Reproduced from Antiques and The Arts Online. http://antiquesandthearts.com/Antiques/AuctionWatch/2010-11-23__12-56-38.html. (Accessed August 20, 2012.)

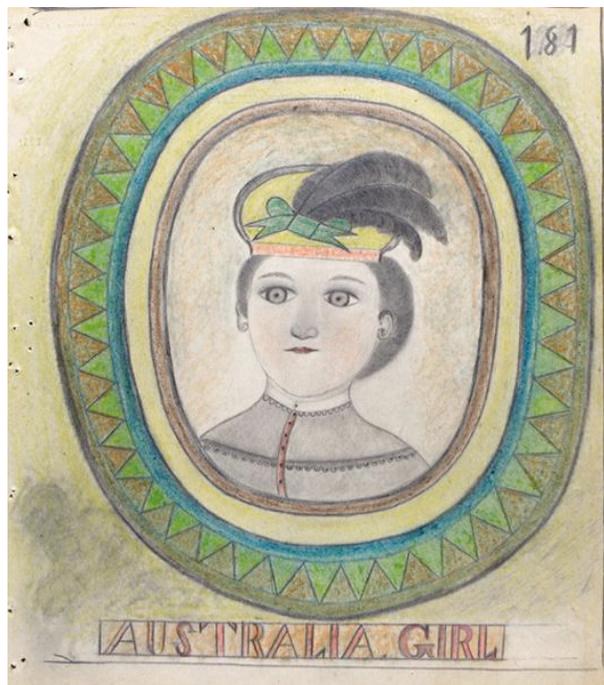


Fig. 2.15. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 181. "Australia. Girl." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.16. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 199. "Charter. Oak." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.17. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 239. "My. Heart. Gon. Back. To. Dixey." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

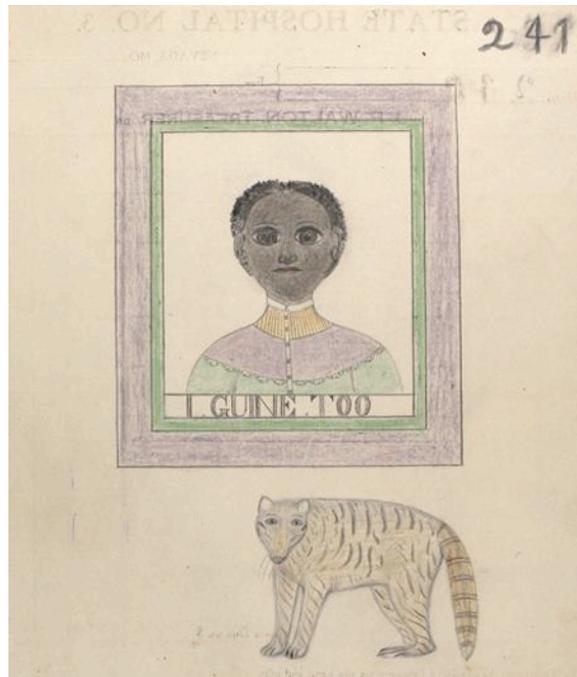


Fig. 2.18. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 241. "I. Guine. Too." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

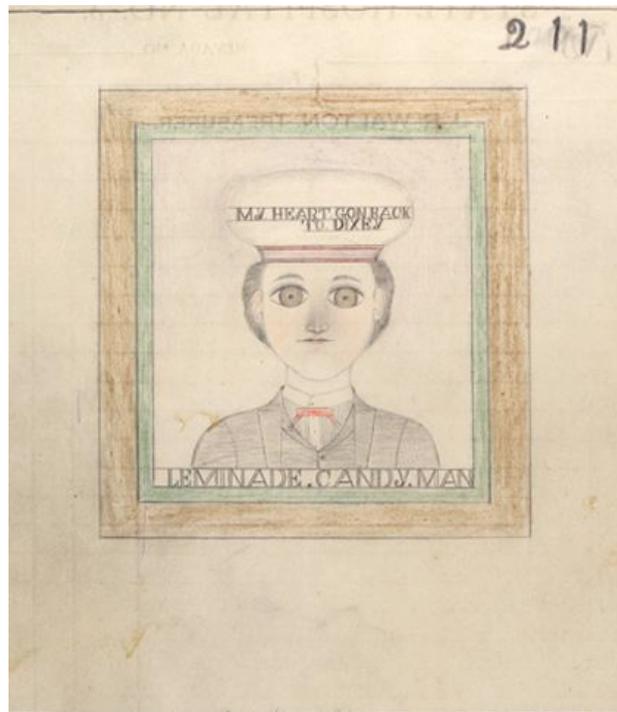


Fig. 2.19. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 211. "Leminade. Candy. Man." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.20. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 195. "Deer Boy." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

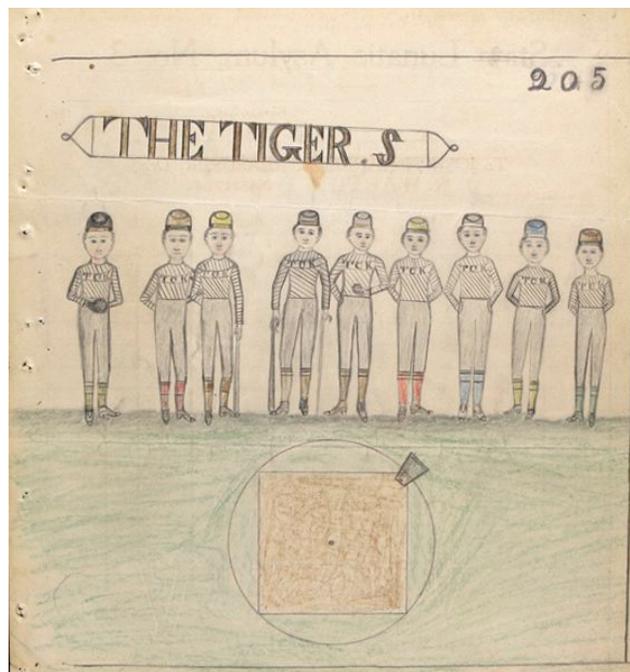


Fig. 2.21. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 205. "The Tiger.s." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.22. Missouri University Tigers, 1907. Reproduced from Diamond Vision: Missouri Tigers on the Field. <http://muarchives.missouri.edu/baseball.html>. (Accessed August 8, 2012.)



Fig. 2.23. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 155. "Miss. Winterstine." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.24. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 217. "Miss. Millburn." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

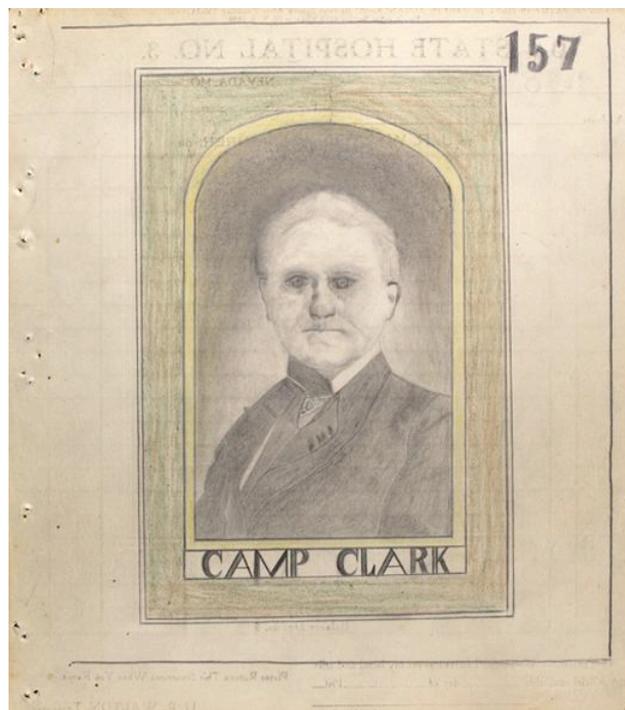


Fig. 2.25. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 157. "Camp Clark." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

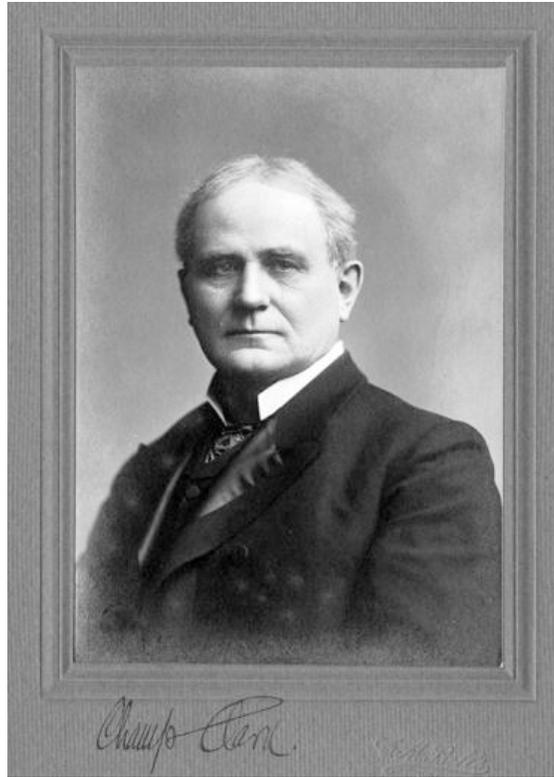


Fig. 2.26. Photograph of Champ Clark. Reproduced from The Elsberry Democrat. <http://www.elsberrydemocrat.com/?p=2935>. (Accessed October 15, 2012.)



Fig. 2.27. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 81. "Cutaway." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

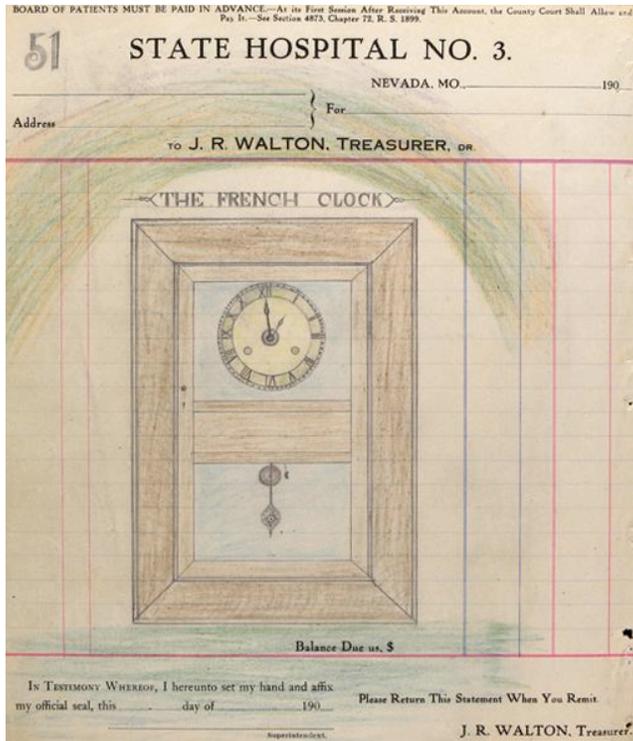


Fig. 2.28. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 51. “The French Clock.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

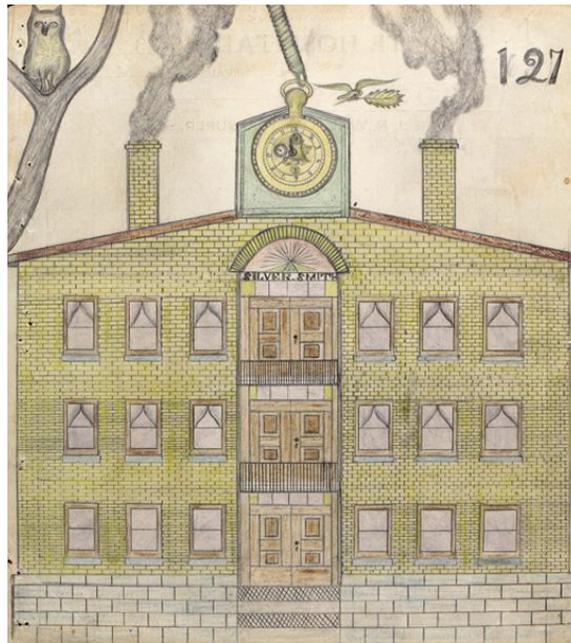


Fig. 2.29. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 127. “Silver Smith” Building. 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.30. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 70 (B side). “Silver Leaf.” 8.25” x 9.25”, 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.31. Charles Barber, Liberty Head or “V” Nickel. Reproduced from Coin Community. http://www.coincommunity.com/coin_histories/. (Accessed August 19, 2012.)

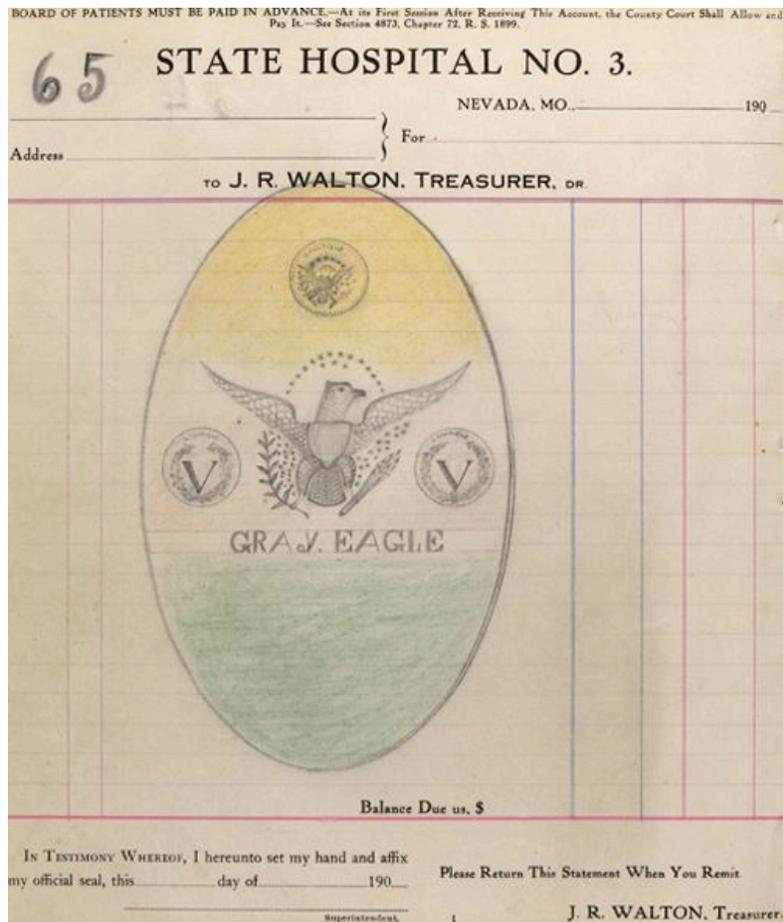


Fig. 2.32. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 65. "Gray. Eagle." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.



Fig. 2.33. James B. Longacre, "Indian Head" One Cent. Reproduced from [Coin Community](http://www.coincommunity.com/coin_histories/). http://www.coincommunity.com/coin_histories/. (Accessed August 19, 2012.)

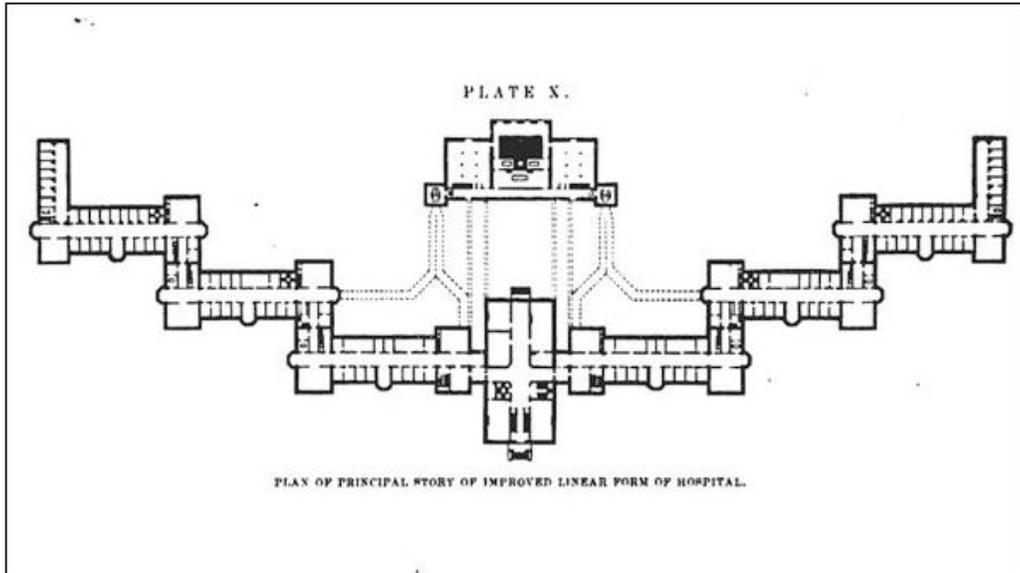


Fig. 3.1. The Kirkbride Plan. Reproduced from “Therapeutic Architecture.”
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Fig. 3.2. Aerial View of the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3. Reproduced from Kirkbride Buildings.
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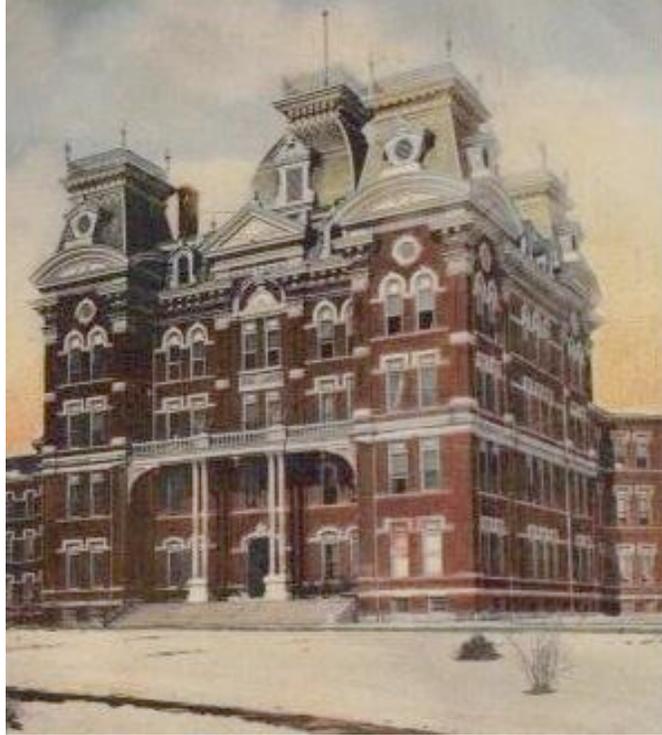


Fig. 3.3. Administrative Building of the Nevada State Hospital, No. 3. Reproduced from Kirkbride Buildings. <http://www.kirkbridebuildings.com/buildings/nevada/>. (Accessed October 5, 2012.)



Fig. 3.4. The Clinic Building. Reproduced from Kirkbride Buildings. <http://www.kirkbridebuildings.com/buildings/nevada/>. (Accessed October 5, 2012.)

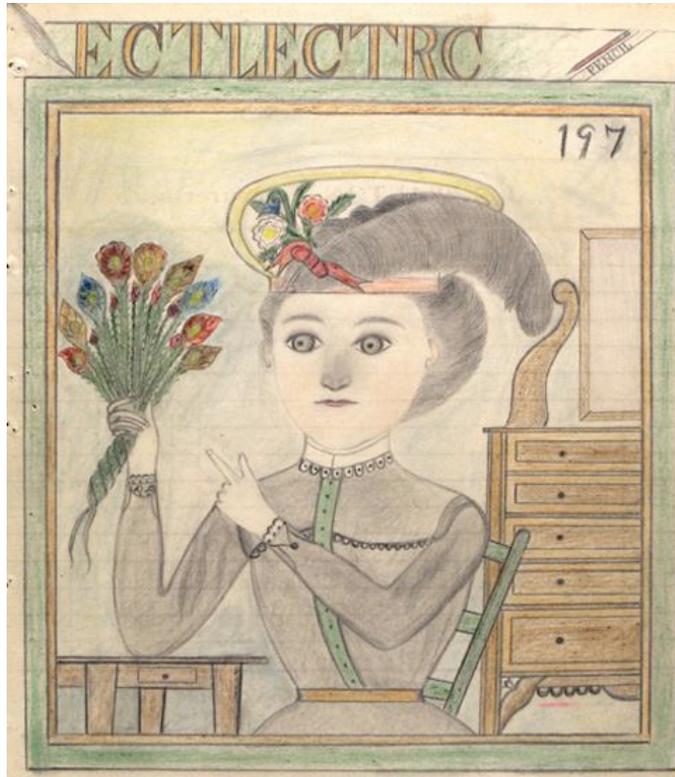


Fig. 4.1. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 197, "Ectlectrc Pencil." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

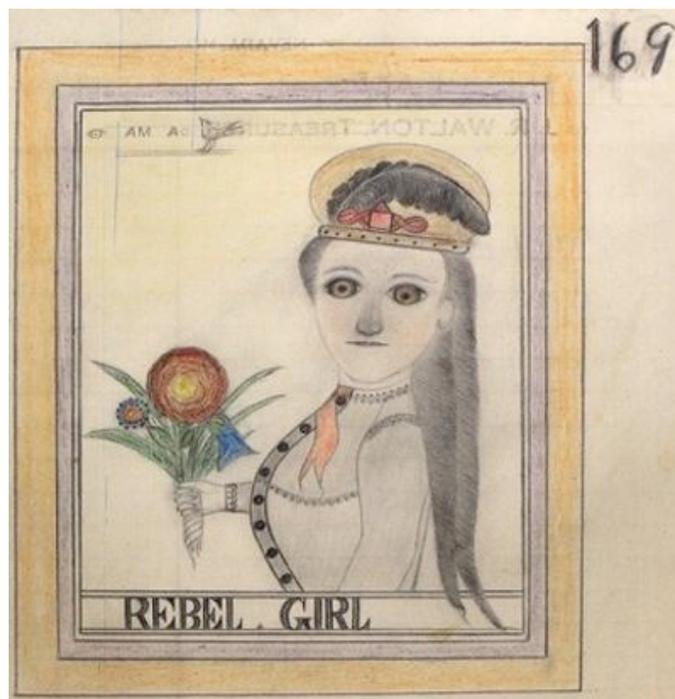


Fig. 4.2. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 169, "Rebel Girl." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

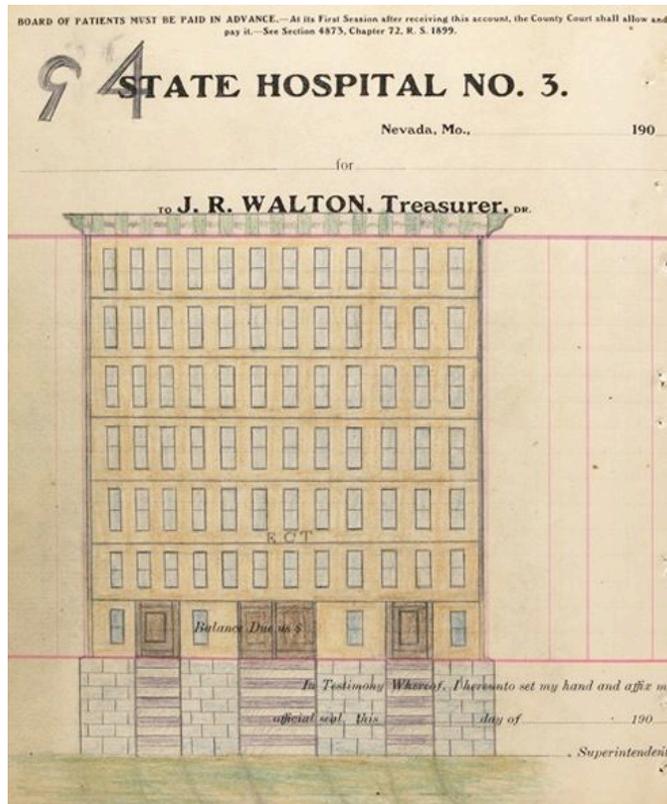


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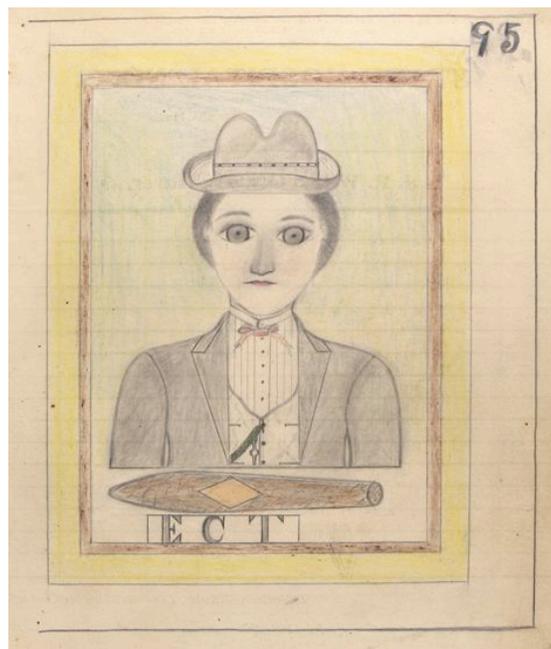


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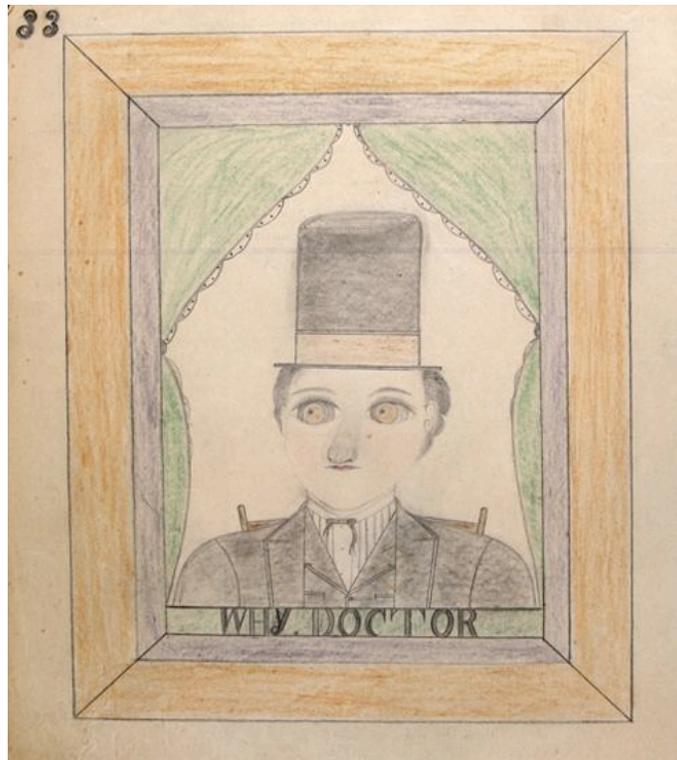


Fig. 4.5. James Edward Deeds, Jr. Number 33, "Why Doctor." 8.25" x 9.25", 1940-1960. In *The Drawings of the Electric Pencil*, by Harris Diamant and Neville Bean. New York: Electric Pencil Press, 2010.

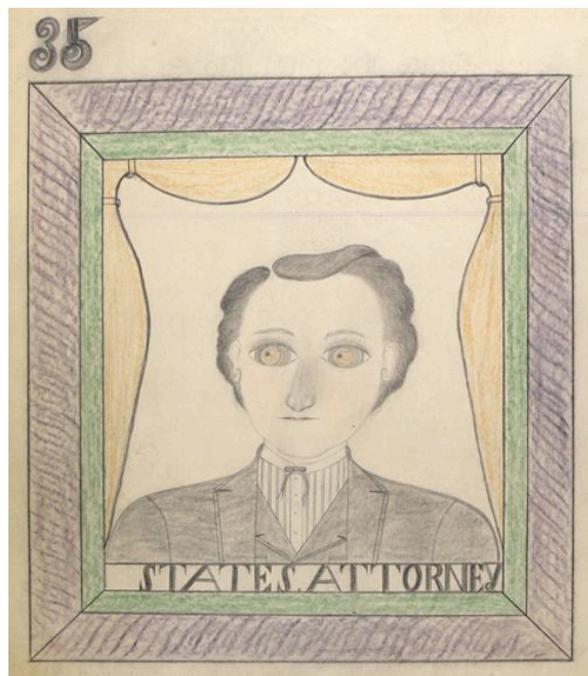


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