

Psychiatric Penguins: writing on psychiatry for Penguin Books Ltd, c.1950-c.1980

Keywords

Penguin Books Ltd, popular psychiatry, book history, public intellectuals, David Stafford-Clark, R.D. Laing, David Cooper

Abstract

The British mass-market publisher Penguin produced a number of texts on psychiatric topics in the period *c.*1950-*c.*1980. Investigation of editorial files relating to a sample of these volumes reveals that they were shaped as much by the commercial imperatives and changing aspirations of the publisher as by developments and debates in psychiatry itself. A number of economic imperatives influenced the publishing process, including: the perennial difficulty in finding psychiatrists willing and able to enter the popular book market; the economic pressures exerted on peer-review protocols; and the identification of a niche market in popular psychiatry, latterly of a politically radical flavour. As well as offering a materialist standpoint for the study of popular psychiatric texts, this investigation allows an opportunity to adapt, apply, and assess theoretical approaches to mass-market publishing by psychiatrists.

The British publisher Penguin is a household name in the UK. From its inception in 1935 to the present day, it has held a prominent place in the British book trade. As well as publishing literary works, Penguin has also produced many educative and scholarly volumes for the mass market, particularly through its Pelican imprint. A number of these books have been on psychiatric topics. Although there were other mass-market UK publishers producing psychiatric texts in the period – such as Hutchinson (e.g. Berke, 1977), and Collins, particularly via their imprint Fontana (e.g. Rycroft, 1971; Friedenber, 1973) – Penguin was

clearly a major UK publisher of mass-market psychiatric texts. Online public access catalogues such as COPAC reveal around 60 Penguin paperback editions on psychiatric subjects in the period 1950-1980 (see Appendix). Moreover, in-depth study of Penguin's output is enabled by the Penguin Archive, an extensive holding of Penguin's editorial files from its inception onwards. This article therefore goes 'behind the scenes' by examining Penguin editorial files relating to a sample of psychiatric texts covering a period from c.1950 to c.1980. R.D. Laing's *The Politics of Experience* (1967) is a particularly successful psychiatric Penguin original. Other examples, to be considered in this article, include popularizing volumes such as David Stafford-Clark's *Psychiatry To-day* (1952) and Peter Hays' *New Horizons in Psychiatry* (1964), as well as mass-market 'takeovers' of already published volumes such as Laing's *The Divided Self* (1960/1965) and Maxwell Jones's *Social Psychiatry in Practice* (1962/1968).

There are no doubt a number of significant questions that could be posed to such file material. We might expand our knowledge of important individuals such as R.D. Laing, for instance, or explore a book series such as *Studies in Social Pathology*, with its volumes on psychosis, suicide, and sexual variation. In this article, however, I consider a sample of around thirteen psychiatric Penguin paperback volumes from the period. These do not furnish a statistically representative probability sample. They are instead chosen to represent a diversity of psychiatric opinion over the decades under investigation, and because of their fruitfulness for book-historical investigation. (A fuller account of the selection process for texts studied in this article is given at the end, in the description of archival sources.) The commercial demands of mass-market publishing are central to my analysis, which conceives of the psychiatrist as an author in an economic relationship to Penguin, a publishing house which, though it had its own political and educative aspirations, was subject also to commercial imperatives. While academic publishing in psychiatry is oriented towards a

specialist market, the Penguin psychiatrist was at the mercy of the mass market, regardless of whether s/he was positioned as a populariser of expert knowledge (Stafford-Clark, Hays), or as a psychiatric public intellectual commenting authoritatively on wider social, political, and ethical matters (Laing). The editorial files reveal economic imperatives that influenced the publishing process, including: the perennial difficulty in finding psychiatrists willing and able to enter the popular book market; the economic pressures exerted on peer-review protocols; and the identification of a niche market in popular psychiatry, latterly of a politically radical flavour. As well as offering a materialist standpoint for the study of popular psychiatric texts, this article also applies, and assesses, theoretical approaches to conceptualising the mass-market publishing activities of psychiatric experts. Can models used in the study of public intellectuals inform the analysis of psychiatrists publishing with Penguin?

Publishing with Penguin

Penguin Books was launched by Allen Lane (1902-1970) in 1935 (Joicey, 1993: 25), initially as a privately-funded imprint within The Bodley Head (Baines, 2005: 12), then as a separate private company incorporated as Penguin Books Ltd on 1 January 1936 (Joicey, 1993: 27). The company's immediate success revolutionized the British book market: Penguin's first year saw sales of 3,000,000 and a turnover of £75,000 (McCleery, 2002: 169). Penguin's market dominance in the ensuing decades was remarkable: McCleery cites a print run of 20 million copies per year in 1955, representing up to 8% of British book production (McCleery, 2002: 162). Penguin was therefore central to the 'paperback revolution' that transformed the British book trade via 'the cost reduction obtained through the economies of scale of a long print run' (McCleery, 2002: 166). Lane envisaged paperback editions of 20,000 copies

distributed to include non-traditional retail outlets, as opposed to hardback runs of 1,000-5,000 sold only via specialist booksellers (Joicey, 1993: 26-27).

Penguin's branding was intended to instil confidence in consumers via 'the rightness and reliability of the Penguin selected titles' (McCleery, 2002: 168). Although the Penguin selection was initially contemporary middle-brow fiction, the publisher soon became closely associated with 'a process of cultural improvement' (Joicey, 1993: 30). Penguin offered an important medium for social and political debate, producing from 1937-1945 (Joicey, 1993: 31, 44) a series of Penguin Specials 'designed to provide a topical commentary on international and domestic events' (Joicey, 1993: 31). Penguin also encompassed an educative sub-brand, through the non-fiction imprint Pelican, which was launched in 1937 (Joicey, 1993: 29), and continued until 1984, when it was decided that Pelicans 'had begun to be perceived by the public as too high-brow' (Baines, 2005: 166). (The imprint was, though, revived in 2014 (Bartlett, 2014)). Pelicans were intended to provide 'a definitive library of modern knowledge' (Joicey, 1993: 54). Authors such as H.G. Wells and George Bernard Shaw were enthusiastic about the potential to reach a true mass market (Joicey, 1993: 30) – indeed the first Pelican (Joicey, 1993: 31) was Shaw's *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928/1937).

Dean Blackburn delineates three phases in the social and political ambitions of Penguin's post-war non-fiction list. From around 1945 to 1965, Penguin mirrored the post-war consensus on the welfare-state settlement: 'Not only do its publications reflect the narrowing of the parameters of mainstream political debate from the late 1940s, but the firm's publishing values and reputation seemed to evince the hegemony of a set of loosely social democratic assumptions' (Blackburn, 2013: 226). From roughly 1966 to 1978, as the post-war consensus became increasingly fractured, so 'Penguin's editorial policies were driven by a greater desire to lead public opinion' (Blackburn, 2013: 231). This leadership was

broadly leftwards: Penguin's non-fiction list deployed a 'more radical socialist discourse that was being constructed beyond the parliamentary arena' (Blackburn, 2013: 229). Tony Godwin, Penguin's chief editor from 1960-1967, 'injected Penguin's non-fiction list with a political thrust and counter-cultural identity that would remain long after his departure' (Blackburn, 2013: 229). The third phase, from 1978 to 1984, began with Peter Mayer's appointment as Penguin's chief executive (Blackburn, 2013: 239). Mayer oversaw a programme of changes that, in his view, were intended primarily to address Penguin's financial difficulties, apparent in low sales per copy and compounded by the reversion of paperback rights (Mayer, 2013: 218). Whatever Mayer's intentions, there was an erosion of the left-leaning political culture within Penguin's non-fiction editorial staff, and a diminution of non-fiction generally (marked by the demise of the Pelican imprint).

The psychiatrist writing for, or being republished by, Penguin was therefore transacting with a company that had its own distinct, and shifting, organizational culture and aspirations. Moreover, the Penguin psychiatrist had to accept certain economic realities of the mass market. Editorial files indicate that sales of around a few thousand copies p.a. were needed for a title to be economically viable. Correspondence to Maxwell Jones regarding his 1968 Pelican, *Social Psychiatry in Practice*, states that 'it takes a sale of about 4,000 copies a year for a mass-market paperback to pay its way' (Letter: Wright, Jones, 10/8/72). A similar figure is quoted regarding David H. Clark's *Social Therapy in Psychiatry* (1974), where the author concedes 'for the type of publishing that Penguin do, an annual sale of 3,000 a year is necessary. "Social Therapy in Psychiatry" is not making that' (Letter: Clark, Middleton, 18/7/78). While sales of this magnitude might be gratifying in today's academic book market, the financial rewards for a Penguin author were potentially rather modest. When R.D. Laing was contracted in 1961 for the book that became *The Politics of Experience* (1967), the contract offered a royalty of 7.5% on the cover price, and an advance of £250, divided £100

on signature, £75 on delivery, and £75 on publication (Memo: Royalty, 13/11/61). *Politics* had a cover price of 4/6, so for Laing to earn gross royalties beyond his advance, he needed minimum sales of around 15,000. *Politics* was indeed a strong and enduring seller, but, for many other authors, earnings beyond their advance would have been modest. Using Laing's contract as an indication, 4,000 sales p.a. at a cover price of 4/6 would earn £67/10 p.a. in royalties, meaning that it would take almost 4 years to accrue royalties beyond those advanced. Peter Hays, for instance, was initially offered the same terms as Laing for *New Horizons in Psychiatry* (1964), but haggled via his literary agent to £300 split £100/£100/£100, although at the same royalty rate of 7.5% (Memo: CC [Clark], 14/7/61; Letter: Horniman, Clark, 3/8/61). *New Horizons* was reprinted in 1971, after a UK run of 33,500 copies with a cover price of 5/- (Memo: AG [Godwin], 26/11/64). These figures imply total UK royalty earnings for the first edition in the order of £600: Hays thus made around £40 p.a. in gross royalty earnings, on top of his original advance of £300. The likely financial returns from writing for Penguin were therefore low, particularly when set against salaries attainable by the medical profession. Rosemary Stevens cites, for instance, NHS consultant salary scales from 1963 as beginning at £2,910 and rising to £4,445, with the possibility of additional 'distinction awards' to a total as high as £9,000 (Stevens, 1966: 213).

Entering the market: David Stafford-Clark's *Psychiatry To-day* (1952)

Although nowadays much less well-known than R.D. Laing, the psychiatrist David Stafford-Clark (1916-1999) was prominent in the British media of the 1950s and 1960s. After his initial medical training, Stafford-Clark became interested in psychiatric medicine during his war service with Bomber Command, where he was appalled by the RAF's behaviour toward aircrew who had suffered psychological breakdown (Rollin, 2004: 791). He specialised in

psychiatry after the war, training in the Institute of Psychiatry at the Maudsley Hospital (Rollin, 2004: 791). Assisted by the patronage of Aubrey Lewis, Stafford-Clark became head of psychological medicine and director of the York Clinic in 1954, where he remained until 1973, when he took early retirement due to ill-health (Rollin, 2004: 791). Details of his actual psychiatric work remain somewhat unclear, although he appears to have emphasised a medical model of psychiatry alongside a compassionate ethos, holding that ‘the basis of good psychiatry is good clinical medicine and that the quintessential ingredient of all medicine is compassion’ (Rollin, 2004: 791). Accordingly, he seems to have encouraged a destigmatisation of psychiatric diagnosis, and the active involvement of patients in their treatment (Anon., 1999). Such views would presumably have cohered well with the York Clinic’s emphasis on a regimen that owed much to notions of therapeutic community rather than to the putative carceral aspect of asylums (Jones, 2004: 504-505). Throughout his psychiatric career, Stafford-Clark was also a successful author, ‘publishing extensively in the popular and specialist medical fields’ (Rollin, 2004: 791), with mass-market texts such as *What Freud Really Said* (1965) appearing alongside specialist works such as the various editions from 1964-1990 of *Psychiatry for Students*. Stafford-Clark also made frequent radio and television appearances, particularly in the programme *Lifeline*, and was an advisor to film-makers such as Michael Powell, Alfred Hitchcock, and John Houston (Rollin, 2004: 791). Stafford-Clark’s media career began with his Pelican original *Psychiatry To-Day* (1952), which demonstrated to Penguin the commercial potential of the popular psychiatry market. Archival material regarding Stafford-Clark’s book discloses the complexities of identifying and working with a psychiatrist willing and able to enter the popular book market. Moreover, Penguin had to negotiate with Stafford-Clark’s inclination to exercise the cultural authority denied to him as an unsuccessful creative writer.

Commissioning for *Psychiatry To-day* began in October 1949 when Aubrey Lewis of the Institute of Psychiatry proposed Stafford-Clark as suitable for a Pelican (Letter: Kent, Lewis, 19/10/49). Lewis's proposal indicates the wider, post-war societal context of the intended volume. Only a few months earlier, '[i]n March 1949, the Mental Health Standing Advisory Committee was established under the umbrella of the Central Health Services Council. The committee was chaired by Aubrey Lewis and it reflected his commitment to the new psychiatric epidemiology and programmes of preventative psychiatry' (Hayward, 2014: 82). As Rhodri Hayward explains, there had arisen, following the post-war creation of the NHS, a 'new psychologized conception of primary care' (Hayward, 2014: 83) motivated by such disciplinary factors as 'social organicism', 'epidemiological evidence', and 'models of neurosis developed in interwar psychiatry' (Hayward, 2014: 82). This medical investment in psychology and psychiatry was set within the wider context of a psychologization of everyday life within post-war Britain. Mathew Thomson explains how Britain had 'embraced limited psychological interventionism. Psychology, as a result, came in from the margins. [...] it was [...] to become embroiled in the day-to-day problems of managing psychological subjectivity within complex systems like the National Health Service, the state education system, and large companies' (Thomson, 2006: 251).

Stafford-Clark's volume both expressed, and facilitated, this wider social and cultural transformation. With A.S.B. Glover as his editor, Stafford-Clark was contracted in August 1950 (Memo: JS, 24/8/60[err. for 50]), and submitted his typescript in July 1951 (Letter: Stafford-Clark, Glover, 17/7/51). This was then peer-reviewed by Lewis, with the volume eventually appearing in mid-September 1952 (Letter: Stafford-Clark, Glover, 23/9/52). With chapters on the history of psychiatry, normal and abnormal mental health, preventative psychiatry, and social psychiatry (Stafford-Clark, 1952), the volume was undoubtedly addressed to the emerging post-war market of psychologized British subjects. Although

Penguin editorial files do not directly record sales figures, there is indirect information about the commercial success of *Psychiatry To-day*. A letter from Glover on 7 November 1952 states that '[t]he number of copies of the book that we printed was 40,000 and up to the end of October the actual sales, as nearly as we can estimate, have been 20,258' (Letter: Glover, Stafford-Clark, 7/11/52) – within two months of publication, *Psychiatry To-day* had thus sold over 20,000 copies. Strong sales continued for many years: total sales until the June quarter of 1960 were '143,287' (Letter: Butcher, Stafford-Clark, 13/9/60); sales continued with sufficient strength to justify a second edition in 1963 (see Stafford-Clark, 1963: 4), and reprints until at least the early 1970s.

Although wider historical changes made the book's success possible, it could have not have been written without a suitable author. In the person of Stafford-Clark, Penguin (and Lewis) had identified a psychiatrist willing to commit time and effort to a popular paperback on psychiatry. Such willingness was clearly a displacement of Stafford-Clark's thwarted literary ambition. A personal need for literary recognition is conspicuous when Stafford-Clark alludes in correspondence to the public competition for inclusion in *Poems 1951*, a Penguin volume arising from the Festival of Britain. Stafford-Clark has clearly been unsuccessful (and, ironically, has received a rejection letter subscribed in Glover's name):

I was particularly delighted by your reference to the Arts Council sharing your view that the various entrants would be interested in buying the book [i.e. *Poems 1951*]. I should say that the view of most of the entrants is that they would be far more interested in seeing the Arts Council go and jump in the lake. I know this is all very reprehensible, but frustrated poets have to seek their pleasures and compensations in peculiar ways. (Letter: Stafford-Clark, Glover, 6/12/51)

Psychiatry To-Day is thus an avowed outlet for Stafford-Clark's frustrated literary ambition: 'I shall be surprised if you sell 40,000 copies of the prize winning poems [...]. I hope even more that you sell six times as many of "Psychiatry Today"' (Letter: Stafford-Clark, Glover, 6/12/51).

Conveniently for Penguin, Stafford-Clark was enduringly convinced that he was an unrecognized literary author of substantial merit. His post-retirement novel, *Soldier Without a Rifle* (1979), was published by Collins, who clearly traded on their author's media profile (the blurb claims that this text 'illuminates the human condition as perhaps only a psychiatrist of Dr Stafford-Clark's eminence could' (Stafford-Clark, 1979: 1)). With less modesty, Stafford-Clark's epigraph situates his poetry alongside the great works of World War One: a few lines from his 1943 collection *Sound in the Sky* are juxtaposed with Wilfred Owen's '1917' (Stafford-Clark, 1979: 7). While Stafford-Clark is unlikely to be a late entrant to the canon of twentieth-century war writing, his two volumes of wartime poetry, *Autumn Shadow and Other Poems* (1941) and *Sound in the Sky and Other Poems* (1944), clarify his views on literary value. In 'To a Certain One of Them', Stafford-Clark defines himself against literary modernism, which he depicts as obscurantist, socially unengaged, and nigh-on psychopathological. Modernist poets (the first-person plural speaker of the poem) bring forth 'the coded telegraphic utterance of the Schizophrene' (Stafford-Clark, 1941b: l.23). They are contrarian poseurs: 'our views would scorch the gross complacent carapace / From the backs of those succulent distended bags of lard, / Our contemporaries: could they but understand us' (Stafford-Clark, 1941b: ll.2-4). And their poetry is monkeyshit: the modernists are 'monkeys at the Zoo' who 'Hurl, through the mesh of the protective wire / [...] / Fragments of their excreta at the gaping crowd' (Stafford-Clark, 1941b: l.34, ll.36-38). Stafford-Clark's verse, in contrast, is proudly committed to patriotic, political, and spiritual statements in a time of national crisis. Poems such as 'Formation' (Stafford-Clark, 1941a) and 'Sound in the

Sky' (Stafford-Clark, 1944a) celebrate the British air war, while 'After Many Days' (Stafford-Clark, 1944b) affirms Stafford-Clark's religious belief, renewed after his brother's death in military service.

Stafford-Clark's self-belief undoubtedly led to conflict with Penguin staff. This was particularly unwise, given A.S.B. Glover's calibre as an editor. According to Jeremy Lewis, Glover 'was, by all accounts, one of the most extraordinary men ever to grace a publisher's office: his range of knowledge and almost photographic memory were of immeasurable value' (Lewis, 2005: 237). He was also a conscientious objector who 'had spent much of the First World War being shunted from prison to prison' (Lewis, 2005: 237-238), and whose 'entire body other than his left hand was rumoured to be covered with tattoos' (Lewis, 2005: 237). Glover's intimidating professional competence, and perhaps also his class and cultural distance from the public-school educated Stafford-Clark, may explain why the latter so trenchantly debates the following sentence which, though ungrammatical, persists into the published text of *Psychiatry To-Day*: '[psychiatry] demands from its disciples a standard of training and medical and general knowledge which are higher than we may achieve but no higher than we ought to aim' (Stafford-Clark, 1952: 257). When challenged by Glover over the missing preposition ('... than we ought to aim at' is grammatically correct), Stafford-Clark argues that 'the artist or craftsman is entitled to take an occasional liberty with his material if the effect is pleasing to him' (Letter: Stafford-Clark, Glover, 7/7/52). Such overconfidence also led Stafford-Clark into an ill-advised dispute over the cover design for the second edition of *Psychiatry To-day*. His own design – a rather uninspiring grid – was eventually used (with some improvement) in preference to an earlier design provided by the Italian designer Germano Facetti, whose work and influence as Penguin cover art director is now widely celebrated (Baines, 2005: 97-99). (Facetti records his irritation with Stafford-Clark: 'I used one of his designs, which was not much help. But I am particularly bothered by

his bad temper and bloody-mindedness. Can you express to him my feelings? And that I will NOT want to hear his name again!' (Memo: GF [Facetti], 3/10/62)).

Stafford-Clark also aspired to parlay his psychiatric expertise into a wider cultural authority. The correspondence surrounding Aubrey Lewis's peer review of *Psychiatry To-day* reveals concern over both Stafford-Clark's religious proclamations, and the author's likely response to requests for revision. Glover broaches the issue with his author: 'some of your readers may perhaps feel that you have somewhat over-stressed the religious standpoint. [...] I wonder whether you would think it well to forestall any criticism on this ground by some mention of the matter in your foreword' (Letter: Glover, Stafford-Clark, 7/11/51). Stafford-Clark, however, digs his heels in, and remains unmoved even when a further request comes from Aubrey Lewis. The latter informs Glover of Stafford-Clark's belief that his book 'is necessarily to some extent a statement of personal beliefs and those are his beliefs. To apologise for them or attempt to justify them in a foreword would look rather weak and he feels he is applying a necessary corrective to the work of other writers who go too far the other way' (Letter: Lewis, Glover, 12/11/51). Consequently, Stafford-Clark uses a chapter on 'The Wider Implications of Psychiatry' to confess his faith, just as he had done in his wartime poetry: 'There is nothing about a belief in psychiatry which makes impossible a belief in God; and nothing about a belief in God which makes impossible a belief in psychiatry' (Stafford-Clark, 1952: 291). Psychiatric treatment, he implies, can even lead the patient towards religious (i.e. Christian) belief. In a discussion of the interminability of psychoanalytic therapy, Stafford-Clark concludes, 'Where then can a man turn? [...] As a psychiatrist I know of no answer to this question: as a man I can only say with all humility that I believe in God' (Stafford-Clark, 1952: 287).

Problems of market entry

Stafford-Clark's volume showed Penguin the market potential of popular psychiatry. Such commercial successes were vital in order to offset titles that were less profitable (or even just commercial failures). While Penguin were keen to invest in authors who might prove equally successful, this enterprise would not be straightforward. The economic situation of a psychiatrist-author such as Stafford-Clark was similar to that of the public intellectual as analysed by Richard A. Posner. A psychiatrist (whether clinical or academic) who was considering entry to the book market via Penguin needed to weigh up similar opportunity costs: 'the time that is expended on writing for or engaging in other expressive activities oriented toward the general public is unavailable for teaching, scholarly research, consulting, and leisure' (Posner, 2003: 62). The significance of these costs, Posner argues, means that the financial rewards 'are modest and probably are dwarfed by the nonpecuniary benefits of public admiration or attention' (Posner, 2003: 66). Stafford-Clark could not have banked on the financial success of *Psychiatry To-Day*, but being a Penguin author clearly gratified his desire for literary accomplishment (of a sort), and also launched his media career.

The problem of market entry was not, however, to be solved simply by identifying psychiatrists with literary ambitions. Files relating to the Pelican original *New Horizons in Psychiatry* (1964) show Penguin's effort to repeat the success of *Psychiatry To-day* by commissioning Peter Hays (1927-?), a psychiatrist who was already an author. Hays' Middle Eastern thriller *Thirteen Days* had been published by Jonathan Cape in 1959 under the pseudonym Ian Jefferies (Simon, 2010: 166), and then republished in 1961 as a so-called 'takeover' – a Penguin paperback edition of a text previously published, usually in hardback, by another publishing house. Hays' use of a pseudonym is understandable, for he was surely keen to separate his professional persona from that of the novel's first-person narrator, Sergeant Craig. The latter's racist perceptions of 'Arab bints' (Jefferies, 1959: 154), and Arab

labourers ‘united in Islam and stupidity’ (Jefferies, 1959: 114) could have caused difficulties had they been naively identified with the author’s own views (which, it must be emphasised, remain unknown). Such concerns may explain why the prelims of *New Horizons* are remarkably cagey about Hays’ other authorial persona, remarking only that ‘Hays, who lives with his family at Wimbledon, also writes novels under a pseudonym’ (Hays, 1964: 1). Hays’ career as a fiction writer was nonetheless moderately successful, extending to another three volumes with Jonathan Cape under the Jefferies pseudonym: two further, more comically-toned novels featuring Sergeant Craig’s civilian adventures (now as Dr Craig, with a PhD in Mathematics) – *Dignity and Purity* (Jefferies, 1960) and *It Wasn’t Me* (Jefferies, 1961) – followed by a medical romp, *House-Surgeon* (Jefferies, 1966), detailing the trials and tribulations of a trainee medical doctor.

From Penguin’s point of view, a book by Hays would be another opportunity to address the increasingly psychologically informed post-war British population. Tony Godwin, who solicits Hays’ book proposal after a personal meeting, emphasizes the need to keep the interested general reader up-to-date with new developments: ‘It occurred to me that if I was so fascinated by your descriptions of the new techniques employed in psychiatric treatment, then since I am pretty average, thousands of others would also be interested’ (Letter: Godwin, Hays, 12/4/61). Hays’ volume was therefore positioned during commissioning as a potential successor to *Psychiatry To-day* when the synopsis was reviewed by G. Morris Carstairs, Professor of Psychological Medicine at Edinburgh University. Carstairs held considerable sway with Penguin: not only had the company published a takeover of his successful 1962 Reith Lectures *This Island Now* (Carstairs, 1964), which offered an anthropological analysis of mental health in the contemporary United Kingdom, he was also general editor of the Penguin series *Studies in Social Pathology*. Carstairs concurs with Godwin’s assessment of the potential market: ‘if it is written in a

lively style, it could have quite an appeal to a general medical and interested-lay audience serving as a companion volume to Stafford Clark' (Letter: Carstairs, Clark, 21/6/61). Hays must have seemed a plausible candidate: as well as being an experienced author, he was Senior Lecturer in Psychiatry at St George's Hospital, where he divided his time equally between clinical work, teaching, and research (Hays, 1964: 1). From Hays' point of view, the book was clearly a way of educating the public out of their psychoanalytic preconceptions about psychiatry – as Thomson notes, the psychologically-aware British subject was confronted not by professional unanimity, but by contention between psychodynamic and biological and behaviourist models (Thomson, 2006: 251). In the published text of *New Horizons*, psychoanalysis is quickly dismissed from an implicitly logical positivist position as failing to provide statements 'concerned with possible experiment or observable processes' (Hays, 1964: 28), thereby clearing the way for organically oriented chapters on topics such as neurosurgical advances, the rise of out-patient care, behaviourism, addiction, and legal issues in psychiatry (Hays, 1964).

The writing and review process, however, were much less straightforward than might have been anticipated. Carstairs soon expresses doubts about early material: 'Hays' approach is rather slap-dash. He shows evidence of wide, but hasty reading and throws in quite a number of unsubstantiated generalisations' (Letter: Carstairs, Clark, 24/3/62). Charles Clark (1933-2006), Hays' editor, expresses concern that 'very surprisingly for a novelist, the language is a bit stodgy' (Memo: CC [Clark], 21/8/62). Later material still troubles Carstairs, who criticizes Hays for having written 'in an extremely journalistic fashion', and concludes that the book remains 'a very pale shadow of "Psychiatry Today"' (Letter: Carstairs, Clark, 27/4/63). In a telling admission to Clark, Hays states that 'my research of the past year has made me temporarily expert in psychiatry' (Letter: Hays, Clark, 11/1/63). That Hays, despite his academic standing as Senior Lecturer, was not already possessed of a synoptic knowledge

of psychiatry is freely admitted in the preface to the published text: ‘this book is almost entirely a work of plagiarism, and since I have often been unable to better the phrases used by individual experts, is as much an anthology as a review of the field’ (Hays, 1964: 7). Hays’ statement is hyperbole (he does not plagiarize), but it communicates the underlying truth that a book like *New Horizons* could not be merely a popularization of an individual’s expert knowledge. Experts are specialists; but what Penguin needed was for Hays to provide a general overview – to proceed, in fact, as if he were a medical journalist commissioned to write a popular introduction, rather than as an expert conveying his particular specialist knowledge.

The Stafford-Clark model clearly ran into problems with *New Horizons*. Termination of the project was even a possibility (Memo: CC [Clark], 21/8/62). One way to obviate such difficulties was to use Penguin’s established publishing strategy: the so-called ‘takeover’ of a book already published. Files relating to the 1955 Penguin takeover of Henry Yellowlees’ *To Define True Madness: Commonsense Psychiatry for Lay People* (1953) show, however, some of the difficulty with this approach. The Penguin reviewer, C.A. Mace of Birbeck College, explains his dissatisfaction with the revised text: Yellowlees ‘has condensed the chapters which I suggested should be condensed, but he has written nothing new’; ‘Had the new material been added it would have made a much better book, but as it stands it will just do’ (Letter: Mace, Glover, 4/10/54). That such revisions were seen as necessary in order to ‘reach a wider and less specialised public’ (Letter: Glover, Yellowlees, 14/7/54) indicates the difficulty in simply transplanting a published text into Penguin’s mass market – even a volume nominally for ‘Lay People’ might still need revisions.

This problem came to a head in the 1968 takeover for the series *Studies in Social Pathology* of Maxwell Jones’s *Social Psychiatry, in the Community, in Hospitals, and in Prisons* (1962), first published in the USA by Charles C. Thomas. Jones, a friend of Morris

Carstairs, had been since 1962 the Physician Superintendent at Dingleton Hospital in Melrose, in the Scottish Borders, where he had done pioneering work in social psychiatry and therapeutic community (Jones, 1968: 19). Editorial files relating to Jones's volume, which had its title changed by Penguin to *Social Psychiatry in Practice: The Idea of the Therapeutic Community*, show clearly the risks of a takeover. As with Yellowlees' text, the book needed revisions. This meant a fresh chapter on 'Social Psychiatry in Prisons', alongside existing chapters on topics such as therapeutic communities, social psychiatry in hospitals, and training in social psychiatry (Jones, 1968). But, more importantly for Penguin's purposes, it also meant a thoroughgoing stylistic revision. Charles Clark, the initial commissioning editor, broaches the issue with his author: 'it is important for the book to get to as wide a market as possible and this does, if I may say so, mean finding someone to make the prose style a little easier' (Letter: unsubscribed [Clark], Jones, 23/2/66). Robert Hutchison, who succeeds Clark as editor, confirms this view in his correspondence with the volume's series editor, Morris Carstairs: 'There is', concedes Hutchison, 'an arduous stylistic job to be done on the MS' (Letter: DRDH [Hutchison], Carstairs, 17/3/67). The job goes to a freelance style editor, Dorothy F. Paddon, who receives a frank request from Hutchison for a substantial rewrite that will turn 'the very flat and uninteresting writing into something lively and interesting' (Letter: Hutchison, Paddon, 31/3/67). In later correspondence, Hutchison confirms the liberty that Paddon has been given to do both 'small inserts and a fairly radical re-ordering of paragraphs' (Letter: Hutchison, Paddon, 17/4/67). She completes the revisions in 140 hours over roughly four months (Letter: Paddon, Hutchison, 1/9/67), and receives total payment of £87/10 (Letter: RH [Hutchison], Paddon, 26/9/67). Such revisions pose a problem for scholars (to what extent is the Penguin edition co-authored?). But they also posed a problem for Penguin, who had to expend a further £90, and postpone publication by four months. Such

costs were particularly problematic for *Social Psychiatry in Practice*. Later correspondence reveals that yearly sales were insufficient to justify a reprint:

Unfortunately it takes a sale of about 4,000 copies a year for a mass-market paperback to pay its way, and your book only sells as follows in this country:

1969	1970	1971
3,236	2,921	1,803

So I am afraid we cannot manage a reprint. (Letter: Wright, Jones, 10/8/72)

When publishing on psychiatry, Penguin had to find the ideal combination of accessible written style, scholarly expertise, and (with commissioned volumes) authors willing to enter what was, from the point of view of a medical professional, a poorly paid sideline. These ingredients would again combine in the case of R.D. Laing, alongside Penguin's growing aspiration 'to lead public opinion rather than to follow it' (Blackburn, 2013: 231).

Pressures on Peer-Review: R.D. Laing

To understand R.D. Laing's publishing output from a book-historical perspective is to extend a body of research that moves beyond the personal, psychologized narratives of early biographers writing just a few years after their subject's death (e.g. Clay, 1996; Laing, 1997). Laing is now situated within intellectual biography (Burston, 1996; Burston, 2000; Beveridge, 2011), contextualized by Scottish intellectual and cultural traditions (Miller, 2004; Miller, 2009; Miller, 2012) and by the wider 'field of psychiatric contention' (Crossley, 2006: 108), and understood in terms of the spaces and places of his personal and professional development (McGeachan, 2013a; McGeachan, 2013b; McGeachan, 2014). A book-historical

perspective does not invalidate these analyses, but it does expose the further determination of Laing's written output by factors specific to the mass-publishing market. Laing's first two Penguin volumes, *The Divided Self* (1964) and *The Politics of Experience* (1967) were published despite editorial concerns about the quality of their contribution to psychiatric ideas: what kept them from being cancelled (or significantly rewritten) was their marketability to an audience attuned to Laing's political and literary sensibility.

The market for Laing's Penguins was no doubt an expression of wider social and cultural changes. These included not just the psychologization of post-war British life that had created a demand for Stafford-Clark's *Psychiatry To-day*, but also the rising discourse of the new left. Nick Crossley shows clearly how 'the rise of the "new left", combined with the wave of contention and rise of the counter-culture in the 1960s, were creating new audiences, publics and opportunities' that Laing was keen to exploit, particularly as his psychiatric research became harder to place in professional journals (Crossley, 2006: 100). The editorial culture of Penguin's non-fiction imprints also became receptive to the more polemical and socially-critical discourses of the new left; this was part of its transformation under Tony Godwin's tenure from 1960-1967 as Chief Editor. With his 'interest in a much more radical spectrum of left opinion' than had been apparent in Penguin's previous non-fiction output, 'Godwin increasingly used Penguin's non-fiction lists to give voice to intellectuals who were looking beyond the parameters of the postwar settlement in their prescriptions for socialist progress' (Blackburn, 2013: 229).

An earlier Pelican such as *Psychiatry To-Day* was very largely what it billed itself to be: 'a book about psychiatry written by a doctor for interested laymen'. Whatever Stafford-Clark's later activities, his first book was written as a 'specific intellectual' (Furedi, 2005: 45); he remained within the limits of his acknowledged expertise, and refrained from broader comment (religion excepted). However, 1960s Penguin psychiatrists such as Laing would be

allowed to comment on wider social, political, and ethical matters. Laing, in particular, became a fully-fledged public intellectual in the manner of British commentators such as George Orwell, A.J.P. Taylor, and A.J. Ayer (Collini, 2006: 350-409), or his personal idols such as Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus (Beveridge, 2011: 40-44). Stefan Collini articulates four elements in the role of public intellectual:

1. The attainment of a level of achievement in an activity which is esteemed for the non-instrumental, creative, analytical, or scholarly capacities it involves;
2. The availability of media or channels of expression which reach publics other than that at which the initial 'qualifying' activity itself is aimed;
3. The expression of views, themes, or topics which successfully articulate or engage with some of the general concerns of those publics;
4. The establishment of a reputation for being likely to have important and interesting things of this type to say and for having the willingness and capacities to say them effectively through the appropriate media. (Collini, 2006: 52)

Laing's initial achievement in psychiatry allowed him to parlay this qualifying activity into a wider 'cultural authority' (Collini, 2006: 47) through which he could comment eloquently on issues of public concern via the mass media (including Penguin), and expect to be heeded with a deference not afforded to the man in the street.

According to Posner, the public intellectual risks opprobrium and ridicule by issuing rash statements on matters of wider public interest (Posner, 2003: 63). Despite this risk, Penguin were inclined to relax their review protocols for a promising, bankable author such as Laing. Such negotiations are readily apparent in the 1965 takeover of Laing's psychiatric classic *The Divided Self* (1960). Viewed retrospectively, it might seem that Penguin should

have been confident of the text's merits, but the reality was more equivocal. The takeover from the 1960 Tavistock first edition (which had by 1964 sold only 1600 copies (Beveridge, 2011: 298)) was originally planned for Morris Carstairs' Pelican series *Studies in Social Pathology*. But this affiliation was lost pre-publication because of a rift between Laing and Carstairs over the latter's intended foreword, in which Carstairs asserts that *The Divided Self* is a speculative piece of research best approached as a work of literary art, rather than as a serious psychogenetic account:

At times he [Laing] is obliged to be frankly speculative in his account of the development of the illness; but here he is in good company – until firm knowledge is obtained, original workers on the forefront of every kind of research, whether biochemical, pharmacological or psychodynamic, have to be prepared to launch plausible new hypotheses in the hope that among them one will stand up to critical examination and experimental verification.

A work of art, on the other hand, does not require to be vouched for in this way. Its impact is immediate, its appeal to the heart as much as to the head. It is as a work of creative imagination that Dr. Laing's book has won international recognition. (Letter: Carstairs, Clark, 26/10/64)

Carstairs was more forthright in his remarks to Clark, where he states, 'This is the best I can do. If you ask me to rewrite it, there is a grave danger that I might start revealing some of my very serious reservations about the value of this book' (Letter: Carstairs, Clark, 26/10/64). The eventual outcome is recorded by Clark in an internal communication: *The Divided Self* 'was scheduled as a volume in Studies in Social Pathology', but '[t]here has been a major difference of opinion between the author and Professor Carstairs, [...] and it is just not

possible for the book to appear now in the Series' (Memo: Clark, 30/10/64). The foreword, and series affiliation, were dropped.

Carstairs' assessment was at odds with, and probably a response to, the generally favourable published reviews which *The Divided Self* had received in its first edition, despite its limited sales (Beveridge, 2011: 297-299). But had *The Divided Self* been a Penguin original, with no established reputation, then the volume would presumably have required substantial revisions to address Carstairs' misgivings. Indeed, it could even have been spiked entirely (a fate that threatened Hays' *New Horizons*). That Clark diverted the takeover of *The Divided Self* into a general Pelican indicates more than merely his respect for the book. It was also a way of recouping Penguin's ongoing investment in Laing over the commissioned original eventually to be published as *The Politics of Experience*.

Editorial files reveal the longer narrative preceding the publication of *Politics*. Writing in response to materials sent by Laing, Clark proposes in 1961 'a Pelican of wide appeal simply on human behaviour patterns. This could bring in all the communication problems that you deal with in THE SELF AND OTHERS' (Letter: Clark, Laing, 15/8/61). Laing's response, a little over a month later, is 'a synopsis for the proposed book on Understanding Human Behaviour' (Letter: Laing, Clark, 26/9/61) – a synopsis which Clark then recommends for acceptance, envisaging 'a general book of about 60,000 words', 'capable of reaching a 30,000 market' (Memo: CC [Clark], 28/9/61). Clark's recommendation clearly shows faith in Laing, for the synopsis itself is just two pages of typescript with terse, paratactic chapter descriptions, such as '2. Behaviour and Action. Experience and action. Self and other. The situation or context. approx. 5,000 words' (Synopsis 'UNDERSTANDING HUMAN BEHAVIOUR'). The result, though, is a contract on 10 November 1961 for delivery on 1 December 1962, with advances of £100 on signature, £75 on delivery, and £75 on publication (Memo: Royalty, 13/11/61). In an indication of

Penguin's changing editorial culture, the text envisaged was more than a popular introduction to a specialist topic (in the manner of a 'specific intellectual'). What Clark approved was a synopsis in which Laing promises opinions on such diverse matters as 'President Wilson's decision to bring the U.S.A. into World War I. Truman's decision to drop second atomic bomb. International conflict resolution. The spiral of reciprocal mistrust, reciprocal threats, reciprocal deterrents on personal and international levels' (Synopsis 'UNDERSTANDING HUMAN BEHAVIOUR'). The proposed content very probably appealed to Clark's political leanings, which were consonant with those of his Chief Editor, Tony Godwin. Possessing a law degree (Owen, 2006: 37), Clark had joined Penguin in 1960 (Lewis, 2005: 343) – despite having been called to the bar (Owen, 2006: 37) – and was 'a figure whose politics lay firmly to the left' (Blackburn, 2013: 228).

The ensuing period for submission of this public-intellectual work is a tale of missed deadlines, and offers of substitute material, as Clark coaxes Laing towards delivery. Laing offers in 1963 an early version of his stylistic experiment *The Bird of Paradise*, which Clark diplomatically returns: 'Well, it is clear that the thought of writing a Pelican has made its mark on you!' (Letter: Clark, Laing, 12/11/63). When a reviewable typescript eventually appears in mid-to-late 1965, the ensuing peer-review process vindicates Clark's canny choice of a sympathetic anonymous assessor, the psychiatrist Andrew Crowcroft. The latter concedes, 'I don't think Laing has ever repeated the unity and sequential development of "The Divided Self"', but 'he continues to be, in my opinion, the most original thinker in British psychiatry and an incredibly powerful writer' (Letter: Crowcroft, Clark, 29/9/65). The acuity of Laing's perceptions, and the quality of his writing, are central to Crowcroft's approval: 'I have long been a Laing fan and swallow him whole [...]. By whole, I mean, even all the minor lapses, the obscurities, ambiguities and so on. [...] For one knows in a moment he will come flashing back, getting something transfixed, gutted, by the throat, shown as a

lie, or as a new truth' (Letter: Crowcroft, Clark, 29/9/65). *Politics* is thus positioned by Crowcroft as a work that is as much literary as psychiatric: it is 'mainly an incredibly complex part auto biography. Just as a literary man's one might join literature, this could be brought out as literature, autobiography, or psychiatry' (Letter: Crowcroft, Clark, 29/9/65). Writing only five years after the unsuccessful prosecution of Penguin under the Obscene Publications Act for its publication of D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928/1960), Crowcroft praises Laing's prose-poem, *The Bird of Paradise*, for its frank, Lawrentian use of tabooed vocabulary: 'Splendid' exclaims Crowcroft, 'I always enjoy seeing fucking, cunt, etc, right there in print. (I rather object to it in public lavs.)' (Letter: Crowcroft, Clark, 29/9/65). Crowcroft also perceptively locates *Bird* in a literary tradition: 'one felt like "naming influences on style" here e.g. the last 200 pages of Ulysses, Genet, the C. Connolly of "The Unquiet Grave", Sartre, Henry Miller etc.' (Letter: Crowcroft, Clark, 29/9/65).

Rather than framing the text as either a deficient layman's guide, or as mere speculation that awaited 'critical examination and experimental verification', Crowcroft's review provided Penguin with a positive model for *Politics*. This was important because there was potentially great uncertainty over the text's merits. Although it would eventually be published in a 1967 US edition by Pantheon, the book was rejected beforehand by Bob Gottlieb of Simon & Schuster: 'About Laing: he is wonderful, but for my money this book isn't. It seems pretty chaotic – not just externally, in structure and tone, but inside as well. As if a very fine mind is breaking up or fragmenting. [...] I don't think the result is a happy one. Brilliances lie side by side with callow nonsenses; the whole is suspect; I wanted to shake him' (Letter: Gottlieb, Godwin, 11/7/66). Approval of *Politics* was thus by no means a formality: an in-house assessment similar to Gottlieb's could have delayed or terminated publication of what was to be Laing's most commercially successful book. The sales

evidence is, as ever, indirect. But a memo from Neil Middleton on 6 June 1973 gives a Penguin UK sales figure of '[a]bout 137,000' (Memo: Middleton, 6/6/73). *Politics* was thus as initially successful as Stafford-Clark's *Psychiatry To-day*, and has proved undoubtedly to be a more enduring seller (it remains in print today, whereas *Psychiatry To-day* is barely remembered).

Crowcroft's categorization of *Politics* seems to have been recognised by Penguin, for the first edition was no longer, as originally planned, in the non-fiction Pelican imprint. It was instead a general Penguin, no. 2572, rubbing shoulders with George Simenon (*Madame Maigret's Friend* (1967; Penguin 2571)) and Wilfred Thesiger's travelogue, *The Marsh Arabs* (1967; Penguin 2573)). This reclassification seems to indicate Penguin's acknowledgement of Laing's more popular, essayistic and literary direction. Indeed, in later works in the 1970s, Laing was increasingly a purveyor of anecdotes, vignettes, and verse – a lacklustre trend culminating in *Do You Love Me: An Entertainment in Conversation and Verse* (1976), first published in the UK in 1977 by Penguin. Laing's trajectory may thus seem to confirm Posner's gloomy analysis, whereby systemic conditions lead to a 'market failure' in which the public intellectual is given license to express 'political or ideological opinions without any market discipline' (Posner, 2003: 80). The academic publishing market, Posner argues, offers 'three levels of filtering': 'The norms of the academy'; 'peer review'; 'an audience of experts' (Posner, 2003: 81). However, in the general market for books (or other such informational goods), 'there are no enforceable warranties or other legal sanctions for failing to deliver promised quality, no effective consumer intermediaries, [and] few reputational sanctions' (Posner, 2003: 77). Posner's account is not wholly representative of Penguin's non-fictional editorial processes, since Penguin did in fact use peer review to act as a consumer intermediary, guaranteeing the quality of Penguin non-fiction. But, as shown above, Penguin's internal peer-review process was open to negotiation and manipulation:

Carstairs was willing to soften his criticisms of *The Divided Self*, and these were eventually disregarded wholesale; a sympathetic reviewer for *Politics* was recruited, and the text was assessed by literary criteria outwith its nominal discipline, psychiatry.

Writing for the *Cuckoo's Nest* market

Laing's writings consolidated in the late 1960s, and into the 1970s, a popular market for Penguin texts in which suspicion of biomedical psychiatry was allied with social and political critique. Joseph Berke's Pelican *I Haven't Had To Go Mad Here* (1979) is indicative of texts addressed to this market: it was a takeover from Hutchinson of Berke's *Butterfly Man* (1977), a collection of anti-psychiatric essays on topics such as drug therapy, ECT, and psychosurgery, as well as alternative therapeutic communities, and the Laingean model of madness as a transformative psychic journey (Berke, 1977). The editorial files for the Penguin takeover identify the book's niche as the 'CUCKOO'S NEST market' (Cover Brief: 24/1/78), in an allusion to Ken Kesey's 1962 novel (which Penguin produced as a 1976 takeover after the successful Oscar-winning film adaptation of 1975). Files relating to the Radical Therapist Collective's *The Radical Therapist* (1974) show how this identifiable readership was paralleled by divisions within Penguin itself between the older publishing philosophy of 'constructive dialogue between different elements of moderate political opinion' (Blackburn, 2013: 227) and the newer, 'more radical discourse about the future of Britain' (Blackburn, 2013: 231) that had bedded-in during Godwin's tenure as Chief Editor. With chapters on topics such as psychiatry and political oppression, and feminist analyses of a range of issues (marriage, lesbianism, the Vietnam War), *The Radical Therapist* was clearly counter-cultural in its intent (Collective, 1974). A Penguin sales representative disturbed by the outside back cover of the volume quotes from it in his call report comments:

‘When people are fucked over, people should help them fight it, and then deal with their feelings’.

You may judge by your own level of surprise at seeing these words on a call report whether or not it is desirable to have them printed on the back of one our books. Apart from the fact that these words are totally unnecessary to describe the book, it may be remembered by those responsible that we have to subscribe to women as well as men. (Call Report Comments: C. Turner, w/e 22/2/74)

The text though is defended in a memo:

It seemed to us that this quote from the text itself was a fairly typical one. The question was then whether to write a blurb in our usual po-faced prose which gave no hint to the gentlewomen that you refer to of the nature of the contents, or to show them what they were getting on the outside, to avoid them disbelieving our blurbs in future.

In addition though I do wonder just how many people who want, or who can be tempted into wanting a radical psychiatry book are going to be offended by standard American ‘radicalspeak’. Surely only the middle-aged, the elderly and the very sheltered, who have never exactly amounted to our target audience. (Memo: Wright, 13/3/74)

The target market, by implication, is young and adventurous, unoffended by the vocabulary of political radicalism, and defined by a self-conscious generational difference.

For all its presumed radicalism, the *Cuckoo's Nest* market was nonetheless addressed through the marketing of celebrity authors. Laing was obviously one such author. Another was Thomas Szasz (1920-2012). Files relating to the 1974 Pelican takeover of *Ideology and Insanity* contain articles on Szasz from *TLS* and *Newsweek*, and a proposed cover brief expresses a consequent awareness of Szasz as a brand in himself: 'Thomas Szasz should appear loud and large. The subtitle can be fairly small' (Cover Brief: 2/4/74). Although these instructions are in fact ignored by the designers, they indicate a consciousness of Szasz as an intellectual celebrity. Joe Moran in his study of celebrity authorship draws upon the distinction between promotion (paid advertising) and publicity (profiles, interviews, etc.) to argue that contemporary book marketing relies upon the latter: 'cover stories, book reviews and talk show appearances by authors are presented not simply as public relations exercises but as (to some extent at least) spontaneously generated by popular interest in these authors. Journalists and television interviewers thus serve, with varying degrees of willingness or unwillingness, as conduits for astutely controlled publicity' (Moran, 2000: 41). Authors such as Szasz and Laing, who were magnets for press and media attention, could be marketed in this newer way.

In files relating to the Penguin publications of David Cooper (1931-1986), the significance of authorial celebrity for both publisher and author is clearly evidenced, and illustrates well Moran's point that 'authors actively negotiate their own celebrity rather than having it simply imposed on them' (Moran, 2000: 10). Cooper had shown a canny eye for the literary market with his edited Pelican, *The Dialectics of Liberation* (1968), a companion volume to the 1967 Dialectics of Liberation Congress, a highly-publicized event which had attracted celebrity speakers such as Laing, Stokely Carmichael, Francis Huxley, Herbert Marcuse, and Allen Ginsberg – indeed, the volume was contracted in February 1967 (Memo: Royalties, 16/3/67), in advance of the event itself in July 1967. Cooper's relationship with

Penguin extended to three more volumes, all monographs initially published in Penguin's hardback non-fiction imprint Allen Lane (launched in 1967), and then later republished as Pelican paperbacks: *The Death of the Family* (1971/1972), *The Grammar of Living* (1974/1976), and *The Language of Madness* (1978/1980).

Files for *The Grammar of Living* reveal a motif in Penguin's dealings with Cooper during the 1970s: their author is impoverished, and in desperate need of advance funds. Fortunately for Cooper, his editor was personally and ideologically sympathetic. Neil Middleton, a senior non-fiction editor from 1969 until his dismissal in 1982 (Blackburn, 2013: 230), was '[a] member of the International Marxist Group and the founder of the Catholic socialist magazine *Slant*', and 'responsible for placing a large number of Marxist texts onto Penguin's non-fiction programme' (Blackburn, 2013: 230). When Middleton receives the manuscript for *The Grammar of Living*, he authorises a reallocation of Cooper's advance:

we have a contract [...] for a £1500 advance divisible into thirds. I have now received the manuscript for this book and because the author is in grave need of money, I have agreed that, of the remaining two sections of the advance, we shall pay a total of £800 for delivery, holding the last £200 for publication. (Memo: Middleton, 17/10/72)

It takes some time however for a final agreed typescript to be delivered, during which Cooper, who is living in Argentina, finds himself in continuing penury. In a letter to Middleton, Cooper complains that 'all the money you & Deborah [Rogers – Cooper's agent] put in my bank in England has virtually gone on the house for my ex-family' (Letter: Cooper, Middleton, 19/2/73). A later missive laments the financial considerations that compel him to stay in South America:

Now that Peronism has triumphed here I would like very much to return to England for a while but they just threatened me with a High Court action for £3,760 6 years back income tax [...] – so I can't return. I don't really know what to do.

The financial position both in my London bank and here is pretty desperate and I'm tired of sleeping on the floor, sharing room space & worrying about getting food. (Letter: Cooper, Middleton, 17/4/73)

When Cooper, the accidental tax exile, finally managed to convey his manuscript to Middleton, the latter authorised immediate payment of the final £200, which had originally been due on publication (Memo: Stable, 23/5/74).

The files for *The Language of Madness* elaborate a similar story. Middleton is again required to bring forward Cooper's advances. A memo from Middleton in July 1976 states:

There are the remains of two payments to be made on this title. We have paid the signature advance plus £300 of the delivery and approval advance. The manuscript is to be given to me tomorrow and, as usual, my author is very short of money. Can you please let him have a further £600, reserving the final £200 plus for the publication advance? (Memo: Middleton, 6/7/76)

Regardless of any payment made on delivery, the peer-reviewer is unequivocal in his/her appraisal of the typescript: 'In its present form it is unpublishable' (Peer Review 'The Language of Madness'). In order to progress the text to publication, Middleton had to put up Cooper in a London hotel to work on revisions – an expenses claim of £70.92 from

November 1977 shows a '[h]otel bill for David Cooper while in London working on his book THE LANGUAGE OF MADNESS' (Sundry Expenses: 15/11/77).

The un-named reviewer of *Language* makes a telling point about Cooper's viability:

he is not offering anything new in terms of theory. [...] what he is offering, in fact, is himself and people will make something of that or not according to their inclinations.

[...] So in reply to his question in his letter to you, 'Is this too self-revealing?', I would say emphatically 'NO', for if it is not to be self-revealing then I am not sure what it can be. (Peer Review: 'The Language of Madness')

The reviewer indicates that *Language* is not a discursive or theoretical work, but rather a confessional text that relies upon the perceived radical authenticity of its countercultural celebrity author (much, in fact, as Crowcroft, a self-confessed Laing 'fan', viewed certain, autobiographical aspects of Laing's *Politics*). Cooper's eventual published narrative of madness indicates the personal authorization offered by his text, a feature woven into its discursive chapters on topics such as language and madness, Marxist 'Radical Needs', and Reichian 'Orgasmic Politics' (Cooper, 1978). After going mad in Argentina – living on 'roots and rhizomes from the ground', '[r]ushing naked as always into the sea', 'howling, hurling myself around' (Cooper, 1978: 29-30) – Cooper tells how 'I felt inscribed on my body the realization that there is no human subject (which is different from working this out theoretically)' (Cooper, 1978: 30). Moran argues that 'literary celebrities [...] are complex cultural signifiers who are repositories for all kinds of meanings, the most significant of which is perhaps the nostalgia for some kind of transcendent, anti-economic, creative element in a secular, debased, commercialized culture' (Moran, 2000: 9). Cooper, whose Marxist credentials were well-known, was, by virtue of his theory and practice, exactly such a figure

– a perceived lightning rod for ‘human impulses that cannot be expressed within the social and economic realities of a society transformed by capitalism’ (Moran, 2000: 9).

The reality, though, was rather more paradoxical (or perhaps dialectical). Cooper illustrates well Moran’s remark that ‘the figure of the literary celebrity conforms to Marx’s definition of the fetishized commodity – it works actively to suppress the intricate network of social relations that has produced it’ (Moran, 2000: 9). Cooper was a commodified Marxist intellectual who, ironically, subsisted upon his income as a Penguin author. His apparent transcendence of capitalism as a radical Marxist anti-psychiatrist – whether active in the UK, Argentina, or France – came to depend upon the consequent marketing of this life to the *Cuckoo’s Nest* market. Rather than providing new developments of anti-psychiatric Marxist theory, Cooper’s work was being marketed on the basis of his celebrity authorial persona as a ‘solidarity good’, a product ‘that provide[d] a rallying point for like-minded people’ (Posner, 2003: 42) in the counter-cultural era, and particularly for the market niche that had emerged post-Laing. Unfortunately for Cooper, his mode of economic existence could not be sustained into Penguin’s changing editorial culture of the late 1970s and early 1980s. An original estimate of 20,000 Pelican copies of *Language* (Cover Brief: 6/3/79) was revised downward to an actual run of 8,000 scheduled for 1980 (Group Publication Programme Amendment: 19/12/79). Indeed, it was only a few years later, in 1982, that Cooper’s editor, Neil Middleton, was dismissed during the transformation headed by Mayer. The latter would presumably have seen Middleton as amongst the ‘politicised young editors straight from university’ who ‘arrived at Penguin in the late 1960s and 1970s to join what they saw as its engagement on the front lines of a new order. [...] selling and selling-out were, in their minds, much alike’ (Mayer, 2013: 218).

Conclusion

As indicated above, there are an indefinite number of questions that could inform an analysis of psychiatric publishing by Penguin. This article investigates, through its chosen sample of texts and files, the codetermination of psychiatric publishing by the needs of Penguin itself as a publishing house. The history of psychiatric Penguins in the period from c.1950-c.1980 is shaped as much by the commercial imperatives and changing aspirations of the publisher as by developments and debates in psychiatry itself. Encouraging market entry was one clear and recurring issue: even a popular introduction like *Psychiatry To-day* was dependent on Stafford-Clark's frustrated aspirations; while Laing's suitability as a Penguin author lay, in part, in his lifelong ambition for literary recognition. Nor was the transition from the psychiatrist as specific intellectual (Stafford-Clark, Jones, Hays) to public intellectual (Laing, Szasz, Cooper) any more an unmediated expression of disciplinary autonomy: the opportunity for wider social, political, and ethical commentary was co-determined by Penguin's more politically critical aspirations during the counter-cultural era of the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, the rise of the celebrity psychiatrist-author – Laing, Szasz, Cooper – was an economically rational consequence of the modern marketing of books as 'solidarity good' to a niche market addressed via publicity (interviews, profiles, newspaper stories, book reviews) rather than direct advertisement.

This article is intended to provoke a deepening of familiar explanatory narratives. While biographical, intellectual, and socio-cultural accounts of the trajectory of Laing and Cooper remain valid, these need to be nuanced by the material factors that affected their mass-market publishing output. These factors include: the partial or total dependence of both authors upon income from writing; the malleability of peer-review protocols; the marketing of books via celebrity; and the consumption of texts for social solidarity, rather than as simply conduits of argument and information. One might also wonder to what extent the

resurgence of the biomedical model in popular consciousness was due to the erosion of mass-market consciousness of alternatives. The decline of Penguin's non-fiction list removed a significant public space in which oppositional approaches were communicated and debated. Pelicans were discontinued in 1984, shortly before the resurgence of the biomedical model conveyed in popularizing texts such as Martin Roth and Jerome Kroll's *The Reality of Mental Illness* (1986), and the consolidation of 'anti-anti-psychiatry' through organisations such as SANE, formed in 1986, and explicitly opposed to 'radical and liberal strands in psychiatry' (Crossley, 2006: 172). So-called 'critical psychiatry', which is in many ways a successor to 1960s 'anti-psychiatry', takes its name from David Ingleby's Penguin Education volume, *Critical Psychiatry: the politics of mental health* (1981), published just as Penguin was taking its later, more commercial route. Had opportunities for mass-market publication continued, the biomedical model of mental illness might have been more strongly contested in the 1980s and beyond. Indeed, one might speculate that the nigh-on costless publication opportunities of the internet have recently facilitated a strengthening of opposition to biomedical psychiatry. Finally, this article is also intended as a preliminary study in the exercise of cultural authority by psychiatrists. Many of the authors considered herein were able to trade their medical or intellectual expertise for cultural authority over wider matters. Future research may therefore investigate to what extent such deployment of psychiatry as a 'qualifying activity' has been further exercised, deferred to, and/or challenged.

References

Archival sources

An initial longlist was created by using the online COPAC catalogue to search for titles published in the period 1945-2010 with 'Penguin' as Publisher, and with 'Psychiatry' as a

Subject word. The resulting list of over 150 titles was clearly impracticable, and so a narrower investigation was required. The results were therefore reduced by excluding volumes first published after around 1980, leaving a more manageable longlist that began in around 1950 and concluded in 1980. The Appendix (below) shows a version of this second longlist, containing 57 different Penguins (including later and revised editions of the same title). The list is somewhat idealized, since it has been edited to exclude known faulty records on COPAC, and also to exclude Allen Lane hardback volumes, which are also sometimes retrieved under a search for 'Penguin' for Publisher.

This longlist was narrowed down by the further exclusion of: Freud and the psychoanalytic authors; works of fiction; works that were primarily psychological rather than psychiatric; history of psychiatry. The intention in these exclusions was to focus specifically on psychiatric non-fiction paperback Penguins in a period that extended from the post-war layman's guide to the tail-end of the anti-psychiatric movement, just as the latter was being challenged by the resurgence of biomedical psychiatry.

A shortlist of 25 titles was selected for consultation in the Penguin Archive held in the Special Collections department of the University of Bristol Library. The shortlist was chosen to allow balanced representation over the decades, and to weigh familiar names such as R.D. Laing, Maxwell Jones, and David Cooper against far less well-known authors such as David Stafford-Clark and Peter Hays. The shortlist also included two additional texts that were clearly relevant but not catalogued with 'Psychiatry' as a Subject term: David Cooper's *The Dialectics of Liberation* and R.D. Laing's *The Politics of Experience*. (The use of 'Psychiatry' as a search term meant also that at least one relevant text, Andrew Crowcroft's *The Psychotic* (1967/1975) was omitted from the investigation because it was not suitably catalogued. Because of such problems, and indeed the limited shortlist that was investigated, is hoped that a future, larger-scale project may allow a more systematic return to the archive.)

Consultation of file material (which was digitally photographed, and then analysed off-site) further reduced the list of relevant titles by around half. Some files appeared promising in anticipation, but were so small as to be almost wholly uninformative. This was often the case with US ‘takeovers’, such as the 1971 Penguin edition of Eric Berne’s *A Layman’s Guide to Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis*. Other files contained material of incidental interest to the history of psychiatry, but did not specifically address the project’s book-historical focus on the imperatives of mass-market publishing. Given the preceding factors, the sample of psychiatric Penguins studied in this article can make no pretence to being a probability sample. It is a purposive sample intended to capture an historical range, and a diversity of psychiatric opinion.

In the main text of this article, references to the Penguin archival material (as listed below) are given in parentheses. The appropriate editorial file from the list below will be apparent from the context of the reference. Within the parentheses, the type of material is indicated first (e.g. ‘Letter’, ‘Memo’, ‘Synopsis’) followed by (where available and appropriate) name of originator, name of recipient, date. Letters are typically referred to with originator, recipient, and date. Memos are typically referred to using originator and date only. In certain cases, inferred names are given in brackets; this is particularly with memos, where initials were often used.

The editorial files referred to in this article are listed below, ordered by author. The Penguin archive reference follows the bibliographic information.

Berke, Joseph (1979) *I Haven’t Had To Go Mad Here*. DM1952/Box 231

Clark, David H. (1974) *Social Therapy in Psychiatry*. DM1107/02.1708

Cooper, David ed. (1968) *The Dialectics of Liberation*. DM1107/A1029

Cooper, David (1974/1976) *The Grammar of Living: An Examination of Political Acts.*

DM1832/A1807 DM1852/A1807

Cooper, David (1978/1980) *The Language of Madness* DM1952/2066

Hays, Peter (1964). *New Horizons in Psychiatry.* DM1107/A695

Jones, Maxwell (1968) *Social Psychiatry in Practice: The Idea of the Therapeutic Community.* DM1107/A956

Laing, R.D. (1965) *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness.*
DM1107/A734

Laing, R.D. (1967) *The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise.* DM1107/2572

Radical Therapist/Rough Times Collective, ed. (1974) *The Radical Therapist.*
DM1107/02.1787

Stafford-Clark, David (1952) *Psychiatry To-day.* DM1107/A262

Szasz, Thomas (1974) *Ideology and Insanity: Essays on the Psychiatric Dehumanization of Man.* DM1107/02.1826

Yellowlees, Henry (1955) *To Define True Madness: Commonsense Psychiatry for Lay People.* DM1107/A357

Appendix: provisional longlist of psychiatric Penguins, c.1950-c.1980 (ordered by date)

Stafford-Clark D. (1952) *Psychiatry to-Day*, London: Penguin.

Flugel JC. (1955) *Man, Morals and Society: A Psycho-Analytical Study*, Harmondsworth:
Penguin.

Yellowlees H. (1955) *To Define True Madness: Commonsense Psychiatry for Lay People*,
Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Brown JAC. (1961) *Freud and the Post-Freudians*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stafford-Clark D. (1963) *Psychiatry to-Day*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Carstairs GM. (1964) *This Island Now*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hays P. (1964) *New Horizons in Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Erikson EH. (1965) *Childhood and Society*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laing RD. (1965) *The Divided Self: An Existential Study in Sanity and Madness*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Heimler E. (1967) *Mental Illness and Social Work*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Goffman E. (1968) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Jones M. (1968) *Social Psychiatry in Practice: The Idea of the Therapeutic Community*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laing RD, Esterson A and Cooper DG. (1970) *Sanity, Madness and the Family: Families of Schizophrenics*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Meyer VC and Chesser ES. (1970) *Behaviour Therapy in Clinical Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Whitehead T. (1970) *In the Service of Old Age: The Welfare of Psychogeriatric Patients*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Arthur RJ. (1971) *An Introduction to Social Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Axline VM. (1971) *Dibs: In Search of Self: Personality Development in Play Therapy*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bannister D and Fransella F. (1971) *Inquiring Man: The Theory of Personal Constructs*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Berne E. (1971) *A Layman's Guide to Psychiatry and Psychoanalysis*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- De Bono E. (1971) *The Mechanism of Mind*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hays P. (1971) *New Horizons in Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Laing RD. (1971) *Self and Others*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Becker E. (1972) *The Birth and Death of Meaning: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on the Problem of Man*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Boyers R and Orrill R. (1972) *Laing and Anti-Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Chown SM. (1972) *Human Ageing: Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Kiev A. (1972) *Transcultural Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laing RD. (1972) *Knots*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Rycroft C. (1972) *A Critical Dictionary of Psychoanalysis*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Walters RH, Cheyne JA and Banks RK. (1972) *Punishment: Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud A and Redgrove P. (1973) *Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessments of Development*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Maher BA. (1973) *Contemporary Abnormal Psychology: Selected Readings*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Mannoni M. (1973) *The Child, His 'Illness', and the Others*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Stafford-Clark D. (1973) *Psychiatry to-Day*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Wolff S. (1973) *Children under Stress*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Clark DH. (1974) *Social Therapy in Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Radical Therapist/Rough Times Collective, ed. (1974) *The Radical Therapist*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- McGuffin J. (1974) *The Guinea Pigs*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Szasz T. (1974) *Ideology and Insanity: Essays on the Psychiatric Dehumanization of Man*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud S, Strachey J, Richards A, et al. (1975) *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Goffman E. (1975) *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laufer M. (1975) *Adolescent Disturbance and Breakdown*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Rutter M. (1975) *Helping Troubled Children*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Schreiber FR. (1975) *Sybil: The True Story of a Woman Possessed by Sixteen Separate Personalities*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cooper D. (1976) *The Grammar of Living: An Examination of Political Acts*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Orford J. (1976) *The Social Psychology of Mental Disorder*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud S, Strachey A, Strachey J, et al. (1977) *Case Histories 1*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Lader MH. (1977) *Psychiatry on Trial*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laing RD. (1977) *The Facts of Life*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Menninger K, Mayman M and Pruyser P. (1977) *The Vital Balance: The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bettelheim B. (1978) *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Berke J. (1979) *I Haven't Had to Go Mad Here*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud S, Strachey A, Strachey J, et al. (1979) *Case Histories 2*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Freud S, Strachey J and Richards A. (1979) *On Psychopathology: Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety and Other Works*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cook D. (1980) *Walter*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Cooper D. (1980) *The Language of Madness*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ingleby D. (1980) *Critical Psychiatry: The Politics of Mental Health*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Winnicott DW. (1980) *The Piggle: An Account of the Psychoanalytic Treatment of a Little Girl*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Published Sources

Anon. (1999) Dr David Stafford-Clark. *The Times*. London (UK), 10 September, 27.

Baines P. (2005) *Penguin By Design: A Cover Story 1935-2005*, London: Penguin.

Bartlett S. (2014) Penguin's Pelican flies again. *Bookseller* (5606): 26.

Berke JH. (1977) *Butterfly Man: Madness, Degradation and Redemption*, London: Hutchinson.

Beveridge A. (2011) *Portrait of the Psychiatrist as a Young Man: The Early Writing and Work of R.D. Laing, 1927-1960*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blackburn D. (2013) Penguin Books and the 'marketplace for ideas'. In: Black L, Pemberton H and Thane P (eds) *Reassessing 1970s Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 224-251.

Burston D. (1996) *The Wing of Madness: The Life and Work of R.D. Laing*, Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press.

Burston D. (2000) *The Crucible of Experience: R.D. Laing and the Crisis of Psychotherapy*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard.

Carstairs GM. (1964) *This Island Now*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Clay J. (1996) *R.D. Laing: A Divided Self: A Biography*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Collini S. (2006) *Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooper D. (1978) *The Language of Madness*, London: Allen Lane.

Crossley N. (2006) *Contesting Psychiatry: Social Movements in Mental Health*, London: Routledge.

Friedenberg EZ. (1973) *Laing*, London: Fontana.

- Furedi F. (2005) *Where Have All the Intellectuals Gone?: Confronting 21st Century Philistinism*, London: Continuum.
- Hays P. (1964) *New Horizons in Psychiatry*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hayward R. (2014) *The Transformation of the Psyche in British Primary Care, 1870-1970*, London: Bloomsbury.
- Jefferies I. [pseud. Peter Hays] (1959) *Thirteen Days*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Jefferies I. [pseud. Peter Hays] (1960) *Dignity and Purity*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Jefferies I. [pseud. Peter Hays] (1961) *It Wasn't Me*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Jefferies I. [pseud. Peter Hays] (1966) *House-Surgeon*, London: Jonathan Cape.
- Joicey N. (1993) A Paperback Guide to Progress: Penguin Books 1935-c.1951. *Twentieth Century British History* 4(1): 25-56.
- Jones E. (2004) War and the Practice of Psychotherapy: The UK Experience 1939-1960. *Medical History* 48(4): 493-510.
- Jones M. (1968) *Social Psychiatry in Practice: The Idea of the Therapeutic Community*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Laing A. (1997) *R.D. Laing: A Biography*, London: HarperCollins.
- Lewis J. (2005) *Penguin Special: the Life and Times of Allen Lane*, London: Viking.
- Mayer P. (2013) Penguin Books in the long 1970s: a company, not a sacred institution. In: Black L, Pemberton H and Thane P (eds) *Reassessing 1970s Britain*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 212-223.
- McCleery A. (2002) The Return of the Publisher to Book History: The Case of Allen Lane. *Book History* 5: 161-185.
- McGeachan C. (2013a) Needles, picks and an intern named Laing: exploring the psychiatric spaces of Army life. *Journal of Historical Geography* 40: 67-78.

- McGeachan C. (2013b) (Re)remembering and narrating the childhood city of R.D. Laing. *Cultural Geographies* 20(3): 269-284.
- McGeachan C. (2014) 'The world is full of big bad wolves': investigating the experimental therapeutic spaces of R.D. Laing and Aaron Esterson. *History of Psychiatry* 25(3): 283-298.
- Miller G. (2004) *R.D. Laing*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Miller G. (2009) R.D. Laing and theology: the influence of Christian existentialism on *The Divided Self*. *History of the Human Sciences* 22(2): 1-21.
- Miller G. (2012) R.D. Laing's theological hinterland: the contrast between mysticism and communion. *History of Psychiatry* 23(2): 139-155.
- Moran J. (2000) *Star authors: literary celebrity in America*, London: Pluto Press.
- Owen L. (2006) Charles Clark: Publisher whose Legal Expertise Embellished his Way with Words. *The Guardian*. London, 37.
- Posner RA. (2003) *Public intellectuals: a study of decline*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Radical Therapist/Rough Times Collective, ed. (1974) *The Radical Therapist*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Rollin HR. (2004) Clark, David Stafford- (1916-1999). In: Matthew HCG and Harrison B (eds) *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 791.
- Rycroft C. (1971) *Reich*, London: Fontana.
- Simon RS. (2010) *Spies and Holy War: The Middle East in 20th-Century Crime Fiction*, Austin: University of Texas.
- Stafford-Clark D. (1941a) Formation. *Autumn Shadow and Other Poems*. Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 60-62.

Stafford-Clark D. (1941b) To a Certain One of Them. *Autumn Shadow and Other Poems*.

Oxford: Shakespeare Head, 39-40.

Stafford-Clark D. (1944a) Sound in the Sky. *Sound in the Sky and Other Poems*. Oxford:

Basil Blackwell, 25-28.

Stafford-Clark D. (1944b) After Many Days. *Sound in the Sky and Other Poems*, Oxford:

Basil Blackwell, 22-23.

Stafford-Clark D. (1952) *Psychiatry To-day*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stafford-Clark D. (1963) *Psychiatry To-day*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Stafford-Clark D. (1979) *Soldier Without a Rifle*, London: Collins.

Stevens R. (1966) *Medical Practice in Modern England: The Impact of Specialization and*

State Medicine, New Haven: Yale University Press.

Thomson M. (2006) *Psychological Subjects: Identity, Culture, and Health in Twentieth-*

Century Britain, Oxford: Oxford University Press.