The Search For an Abortionist in Blake Edwards’s Forgotten Abortion Thriller

_The Carey Treatment_ (1972)

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In 1972, ten months before the United States Supreme Court established abortion as a constitutionally protected right in its _Roe v. Wade_ decision, Blake Edwards—director of the acclaimed _Breakfast at Tiffany’s_ and _The Pink Panther_—directed an abortion thriller entitled _The Carey Treatment_ (Opération Clandestine in French). The movie was based on Michael Crichton’s first piece of science fiction, _A Case of Need_, written in 1968 as he was attending Harvard Medical School.

The main character, Dr. Peter Carey, played by James Coburn, is a pathologist at a large Boston hospital. He is driven to investigate a botched abortion after his longtime friend, Dr. Tao, is accused of being responsible for the death of the hospital chief’s teenage daughter. For the love of truth and friendship, the physician turns into a freelance medical investigator and, in the course of his search for the “abortionist,” encounters several suspects.

In many ways, _The Carey Treatment_ is a conventional Hollywood production: it follows the pattern of the _neo noir_ or _crime thriller_ movie in the way that the plotline and the characters are built. The narrative is constructed around a seminal mysterious death which is investigated by a physician who has all the attributes of a Chandler-like Private Investigator: he is stereotypically handsome, middle-aged, non-conformist and somewhat mysterious. However, both the topic and the characters depicted strongly question social norms.

The plotline is indeed an oddity for a mainstream movie of the early 1970s: centered
on the death of a young girl from a botched abortion, it seems to challenge the Hollywood industry’s propensity to self-censor. The Hays Code, which was applied until the end of the 1960s, notoriously established strict rules pertaining to the representation of sexuality in motion pictures. Adultery and illicit sex were not to be explicitly treated or justified, or presented attractively in films and abortion was not even to be mentioned.6 The social norms of the time also dictated that “nice girls” from “good families” like the young victim, Karen Randall, should not find themselves pregnant.

The young Karen is not the only character whose behavior violates social conventions. The six different suspects encountered by Dr. Carey all seem unconventional in one way or another. Dr. Tao is an honest physician, but both his Asian-American identity and his commitment to providing illegal abortions make him an outsider. Karen’s boyfriend is a shady drug-dealing masseur who is also romantically involved with a nurse named Angela Holder. The nurse’s aloofness is quite apparent and Dr. Carey soon discovers that she is a neurotic drug-addict. Because they belong to the prominent Randall family, the two suspects related to Karen appear less marginal than the others. However, her brother, a medical student, tries to kill Dr. Carey in a drunken rage. He then explains that he was in fact estranged from his sister. Karen’s uncle, also a physician, seems to share the family’s social arrogance but is stereotypically effeminate. He is known for performing abortions, which puts him at the periphery of the medical establishment.

These characters can all be seen as variations of the figure of the “abortionist.” They convey clichés on illegal abortion providers and their motives while also questioning these representations. In this paper, I chose to examine the most fully-fledged characters—Dr. Tao and Angela Holder—through the prism of race, class and gender.

Articulated by Kimberlé Crenshaw to address the specific oppression of African-American women, the intersectional approach can be used to analyze any type of social experience. However, the framework seems particularly relevant to examine the issue of abortion: even if it might seem to be “only” a women’s issue at first, it combines multiple layers of complexity involving gender, race relations, class divides, religious beliefs, the vested interest of physicians as well as legal challenges.

No experience can be analyzed correctly by using the “single-issue framework”?: situations are complex, and real people, just like Blake Edwards’s fictional characters

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incorporate elements of privilege as well as exclusion. The two main “abortionists” of the Carey Treatment can indeed be described as “multiply-burdened” by their occupation as illegal abortion providers, by the fact that they do not belong to the hospital’s privileged inner circle, and respectively by their race and gender.

After examining how the theme of The Carey Treatment—abortion—makes it a highly subversive motion picture, I will discuss how Dr. Tao and Angela Holder’s characterization provides us with a unique perspective on abortion in the years preceding its legalization in the United States.

*The Botched Abortion: Representing an Abortion on Screen.*

*The Carey Treatment* is centered on a major event: the death of a teenager from an illegal abortion. By merely choosing to build his movie around an abortion, Blake Edwards did something extremely controversial, even by the more liberal standards of the early 1970s. From the mid-1930s until the late 1960s, the Hollywood industry was shaped by The Motion Picture Production Code, remembered as the Hays Code, a self-regulatory document codifying how many aspects of life could or—more commonly—could not be depicted on screen. The Code was deeply influenced by the beliefs of the Catholic Church. The initial code of 1930 was written by Martin I. Quigley, a Catholic layman and motion picture trade publisher, in collaboration with a Jesuit priest named Daniel A. Lord. According to movie historian Robert Sklar, it “went about as far as it could toward expressing the Catholic bishop’s viewpoint without converting the movies from entertainment to popular theology.” In accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church, abortion was not to be mentioned in films. The 1956 version of the code read:

The subject of abortion shall be discouraged, shall never be more than suggested, and when referred to shall be condemned. It must never be treated lightly, or made the subject of comedy. Abortion shall never be shown explicitly or by inference, and a story must not indicate that an abortion has been performed, the word “abortion” shall not be used. (*The Motion Picture Production Code, 1956*)

Even if The Carey Treatment was released four years after Hollywood abandoned the Hays Code for the film rating system we know today, it clearly broke a strong taboo. If
abortion is not “treated lightly,” the general tone of the movie is not dramatic in any way: it has many of the comical features typical of Blake Edwards’s movies. The entertaining qualities of The Carey Treatment were indeed underlined by Vincent Canby in his 1972 New York Times film review, which did not attribute any real political significance to the movie:

Blake Edwards’s The Carey Treatment, which opened here yesterday, is an absurdly entertaining movie about a medical pathologist named Peter Carey (James Coburn), the sort of rugged, left-wing individualist who makes $45,000 a year, spends a good deal of it on a set decorator’s dream of a Boston duplex, drives a station wagon a block long and affects the kind of slash-pocket, casual clothes worn mostly by male models for Esquire as they horse around, without damaging the creases.[…] The Carey Treatment looks to be exactly what might have been intended by a talented director with reasonably venal ambitions to amuse a great many people. (Canby, Vincent “The Screen: Breezy James Coburn in ‘Carey Treatment’” The New York Times. March 30, 1972)

Although the abortion procedure itself is neither represented nor even suggested on screen,\textsuperscript{11} its immediate aftereffects are shown in a fairly straightforward manner. In the scene that introduces abortion in the narrative,\textsuperscript{12} the results of the abortion are shown both directly and indirectly, using images and symbols. Karen Randall is seen driving home in a red and white car. The nerve-racking music is alarming and tortuous, just like the road followed by the vehicle. The car first appears through its dim shivering lights coming out of the darkness, which can be interpreted as symbolizing the feeling of hope associated with finding a person willing to help after the long and complex search for an “abortionist.”\textsuperscript{13} The colors of the car also have an obvious symbolic value: the color white refers to the young girl’s innocence, a recurring feature in the film, whereas the color red symbolizes the blood which is shown on Karen’s skirt but seems mostly represented through the soundtrack. Indeed, as soon as the girl stops her car, she faints, falling on the steering wheel, which causes her to slump against the horn. As a result, the honking, which stops only when the inanimate Karen falls off the wheel after the family’s butler opens the car door, appears to stand for the profuse loss of blood which will cause her death.\textsuperscript{14}
In the scene immediately following this one, the character dies on screen shortly after being admitted to the hospital.\textsuperscript{15} This tragic death is revisited over and over in the movie: once in a strange autopsy scene; elsewhere through very graphic descriptions. For instance, when Peter Carey tries to intimidate Karen’s roommate into sharing what she knows, he tells her:

\begin{quote}
She went into shock, Lydia. She couldn’t control her bowels, she couldn’t breathe… Two quarts of blood spilled out of her… she bled to death…(Edwards, \textit{The Carey Treatment} 0:53:39-0:53:55.)
\end{quote}

The character of the young victim also challenges social norms. In many ways Karen Randall is the typical “nice girl”: she is very young and from a family whose social importance is underlined as soon as the movie begins: her father is the hospital’s arrogant chief of staff and her ancestors’ portraits hang in the facility’s main hallway as if the building were a family mansion. The police captain in charge of the investigation is visibly distressed when he describes the victim in the following terms:

\begin{quote}
A young girl bled to death from an illegal abortion. Not a ten dollar toxi. A fifteen-year-old child, from a good family. And she was pretty and she was sweet and she was butchered! (Edwards, \textit{The Carey Treatment} 0:22:49-0:23:05)
\end{quote}

Because Karen was “pretty”, “sweet”, a “child” “from a good family,” her character challenges the “bad girl” label usually attached to premarital sex at the time. However, in his journey, Dr. Carey discovers that the Randall daughter might not have been as “nice” as was first claimed. Her roommate, Lydia tries to convince Carey that she was in fact “promiscuous”.\textsuperscript{16} Ultimately, things circles back to the “nice girl” characterization because Karen was not in fact really pregnant: she had missed her period several times and her naiveté led her to believe that she was expecting a child.

Another element which makes \textit{The Carey Treatment} an unusual motion picture is its characterization of “abortionists,” some of whom are complex characters.

\textit{Representations of “the Abortionist”:}

The entire movie is structured around the quest for an “abortionist,” a search both typical of the genre—a neo Private Investigator is looking for a “murderer”—and of the times—the road to finding an person willing to perform an abortion in the years preceding
Roe could be a long and intricate one. In his journey, Peter Carey encounters several suspects. I will focus on two of them: Dr. Tao, the first suspect, and Angela Holder, the real culprit in this case.

The Ethical “Abortionist”

Dr. Tao is the first person suspected of being responsible for the death of Karen Randall. Everyone, from the hospital staff to the police, seems to be more eager to find someone to blame for their chief’s daughter’s death than to actually discover the truth. One of the physicians tells Carey:

The daughter of JD Randall was killed by an abortionist. Someone has to pay. Tao’s an abortionist. In Boston, with a jury half Catholic, they’ll convict him on general principles. (Edwards, The Carey Treatment 00:25:40-00:25:50.)

Race and class appear to play a key role in making Tao the perfect scapegoat. In one of the introductory scenes, they are used by Tao himself to explain to his friend how junior physicians like them interact with the patrician chief of staff, JD Randall:

“With JD, if you’re under 60 and white, you call him ‘Sir’. If you’re black, yellow or somewhere in between, you evaporate.

“That’s awkward, isn’t it?” says Carey

“Prudent, prudent. You wouldn’t know.” Tao responds.

“Me being white, Anglo-Saxon etc...” nods Carey. (Edwards, The Carey Treatment 00:06:09-00:06:25.)

The class element is hinted at here but becomes even more obvious when we discover that Tao is not the only physician at the Boston Memorial Hospital known for performing abortions. Josh Randall, the chief of staff’s own brother, is apparently also an “abortionist,” but of a different kind: when Carey mentions that he might have performed the abortion for his niece, the outraged physician asks: “Are you accusing me of being an abortionist, Doctor?” To which Carey answers: “I am not accusing you of anything, Doctor, just stating a fact that I think I could get half of the high-born ladies of this town to attest to.” The scene takes place in Josh Randall’s beautiful downtown apartment. This setting reinforces the class element; so does Randall’s general tone.
Randall’s motivations are only alluded to briefly when he tells Carey: “Sometimes doctors perform abortions out of the conviction that a woman should have domain over her own body,” a clear reference to feminist theories notably spelled out by the Boston Women’s Health Collective in the book *Our Bodies, Ourselves* first published in 1970.¹⁹ The publication emerged from the idea, shared by many in the women’s movement, that women were being dispossessed of their own bodies by the medical establishment, described as “condescending, paternalistic, judgmental and noninformative.” Learning about their own bodies, not only from traditional sources of medical information, but also from each other, became an empowering experience.²⁰

Tao’s motivations, on the other hand, are clearly exposed at the police station, just after his arrest, in a scene in which he explains to his friend how he came to “do abortions”:

“I do abortions, Pete.”

“Hum. Why?”

“It all started when this dumb little Puerto Rican girl came to me. She had been knocked up by some smartass kid whose mother owned– owns half of Delaware. The stud wouldn’t admit it. Who could prove otherwise? She was gonna go to some– some character she heard of who would do it for 75 bucks and throw in a voodoo prayer to match. I couldn’t sleep that night, I kept thinking about those amateur abortions I had seen as an intern, when the girls came in bleeding and foaming… I’m sure you know what I’m talking about, Pete.”

“Yeah.”

“I decided the law wasn’t fair!” (Edwards, *The Carey Treatment* 00:19:32-0:20:09.)

As we can see in this excerpt, when Dr. Tao confides in his friend, he stresses two important elements justifying his choice: the racial, social and gendered dynamics that put this young girl in harm’s way as well as the dangers of back-alley abortions for women with few resources.

These two aspects are very interesting in the light of what we know about the period: in the late 1960s and early 1970s, poor and minority women were far more likely to die from illegal abortions due to the dire conditions in which these procedures were
performed. This social and racial injustice is what led some activists to take action for the repeal of abortion laws, arguing, just like Dr. Tao in this excerpt, that the law wasn’t fair. One example of such a political claim was the Clergy Consultation Service (CCS), an abortion referral group founded in 1967 in New York by Protestant clergymen and rabbis. The CCS quickly evolved into a sophisticated and powerful network referring women from all over the country to medical doctors willing to perform abortions. In their 1967 position statement, the founders of the New York CCS explained how the restrictive abortion laws imposed unnecessary suffering upon all women but disproportionately affected poor women and women of color.

The present abortion laws require over a million women in the United States each year to seek illegal abortions which often cause severe mental anguish, physical suffering, and unnecessary death of women [...] These laws brand as criminals wives and mothers who are often driven as helpless victims to desperate acts. The largest percentage of abortion deaths are found among the 35-39-year-old married women who have five or six children. The present abortion law in New York is most oppressive of the poor and minority groups. A 1965 report shows that 94% of abortion deaths in New York City occurred among Negroes and Puerto Ricans. [...] (Arlene Carmen and Howard Moody. Abortion Counseling and Social Change: from Illegal Act to Medical Practice. Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1973, p.30.)

After expressing their disappointment that a recent attempt at legislative change in New York had failed, they reiterated their support for legal change but nonetheless explained their decision to disobey the existing abortion laws, which they considered “unjust”:

Therefore believing as clergymen that there are higher laws and moral obligations transcending legal codes, we believe it is our pastoral responsibility and religious duty to give aid and assistance to all women with problem pregnancies. (Carmen and Moody p.30)

The fee the fictional physician charges, $25, is also consistent with being an ethical “abortionist.” $25 was the exact amount of the token fee charged to poor women by the clinic founded by the clergy in New York after the state legalized abortion in 1970. During that same period in New York, however, an abortion performed in a doctor’s office cost from $300 to $500, the rates being higher in the rest of the country where abortion was
Poor women and the majority of women from ethno-racial minority groups could not afford to go to a “regular” physician and would often resort to self-induced or illegal abortions.

Tao’s character is also interesting because he is described as highly competent, a feature which is not often associated with illegal “abortionists,” generally seen as greedy and unskilled. In an attempt to convince the police captain that he has arrested “the wrong man”—Karen Randall having been murdered by a “sloppy abortionist”—Dr. Carey paints Tao as “a top surgeon” who “could put together a Swiss watch wearing dark glasses and boxing gloves.”

In her book entitled *Doctors of Conscience*, sociologist Carole Joffe showed that mainstream representations of the back-alley “abortionist” are partly false: indeed, many providers were, just like Tao, both highly qualified and guided by their ethical concerns for women facing unwanted pregnancies.

After considering several male suspects (mostly physicians), Carey uncovers the real “abortionist,” a nurse called Angela Holder, who seems less realistic as a fictional character but fascinating if we look at the gendered dynamics of abortion provision. In many ways she is the anti-Tao: a neurotic woman, untrained, motivated by greed and addiction. But just like Tao, she is another variation of the figure of the “abortionist.”

*The Hysterical Nurse*

James C. Mohr, the expert on the early history of abortion in the United States, showed how the criminalization of abortion in the nineteenth century was shaped by power struggles opposing the emerging medical profession, mostly male, and a wide and diverse group of healers that included midwives. Criminalizing abortion was a way to establish moral superiority over competitors whose income often depended on performing abortions or more commonly providing “potions” that would “restore the menses.” As a result of this, abortion providers were marginalized and demonized. Abortion deaths, even if they seem to have been the exception, not the rule, were used to depict abortion providers as “abortionists,” i.e. “quacks,” “back-alley butchers,” with little or no medical training.
In many ways, Angela Holder, with all her beauty and ominous name, fits the cliché perfectly. She is obviously incompetent: she punctured Karen Randall’s uterus, causing her to bleed to death. Her addiction to morphine and her manipulative boyfriend—who believed that he was responsible for the young girl’s pregnancy—are the only explanation of why she agreed to do something she clearly was not trained to do. However this depiction of an incompetent and untrained female “abortionist” is not based on what we know about the illegal abortion era. Abortion is one of the simplest and least dangerous medical procedures, provided that it is done properly. The fact that women with some medical training did successfully perform abortions for many years has been extensively documented. One such woman was Ruth Barnett: as a young woman in the late 1910s and early 1920s, she became an apprentice to two physicians who were abortion specialists. She then developed her own practice and became one of the most prominent abortion providers in the city of Portland, Oregon. Many doctors referred their patients to her, which led Ruth Barnett to claim she was “a doctor’s doctor.” Another example of women as “abortionists” was Jane—a Chicago-based feminist group organized in the late 1960s to provide abortion referrals. It evolved into an abortion service after its members discovered their favorite physician was not a real medical doctor. Trained by the “doctor,” they went on to perform around 10,000 abortions with an excellent safety record.

The character of the nurse “abortionist” might also contrast with the famous figure of another nurse named Margaret Sanger. Born in the nineteenth century, Sanger opened the first “birth control” clinic in the United States and became the leading figure of the reproductive rights movement in the first half of the twentieth century. A strong advocate of contraception, Margaret Sanger was however not a supporter of abortion. In many of her writings and public appearances, she was careful to disassociate the birth control movement from abortion. In a reply to Pope Pius X’s 1930 Casti Connubi in which she entitled a paragraph “Birth Control Does Not Mean Abortion,” she clearly explained her ambivalence towards the practice:

[Abortion] is an alternative that I cannot too strongly condemn. Although abortion may be resorted to in order to save the life of the mother, the practice of it merely for limitation of offspring is dangerous and vicious. I bring up the subject here only because some ill-informed persons have the notion that
when we speak of birth control we include abortion as a method. We certainly do not. (Margaret Sanger, "Birth Control Advances: A Reply to the Pope," 1931.)

The character of Angela Holder does not only convey false assumptions about who female “abortionists” might have been, it also illustrates sexist clichés. From the beginning of the movie, Angela’s aloof beauty is both a source of curiosity for Peter Carey and a source of worry for his girlfriend, Georgia, the hospital’s lovely nutritionist. Expressing her jealousy after a flirtatious conversation the doctor just had with the nurse at a party, Georgia politely says:

You know there are two things in this world that I really hate: […] one is cold chili and the other one is Angela Holder… not necessarily in that order.[ …] Angela is the type of broad that if a man, any man, rubs two quarters together…(Edwards, The Carey Treatment 00:36:20)

The implications of such wording seem fairly clear: because Angela does not fit the cliché of the “nice girl,” she can be nothing but a prostitute.

However, even if she seems threatening to another woman, the nurse appears both powerless and brainless in the presence of men. The final scene and its revelations illustrate this perfectly.31 We come to learn that Angela was convinced by her violent, idiotic, boyfriend, Roger, to steal drugs from the hospital. In a surprising statement for a nurse, she claims: “He said that they didn’t need it, that they were dying, that it was too good for them!” When the disappearance of drugs began to raise suspicions and Angela could not steal any more, Roger would not give her the morphine he had unless she performed the abortion on Karen, whom he thought he had impregnated. All these revelations emerge thanks to another successful manipulation by the truth-seeking Dr. Carey. As she lays wounded in a hospital bed after having been attacked at knife-point by Roger, Carey makes her believe the saline solution he is injecting her with is Naline, a substance which will cause withdrawal symptoms and might even kill a drug addict. Slowly beginning to feel the make-belief effects of the imaginary drug, Angela becomes confused, short of breath and even becomes convinced she is convulsing. When Carey repeatedly asks “who killed her?” the hysterical nurse screams: “I did!” and frantically explains: “I did… I didn’t mean too… I don’t know what happened… I knew how to do
it… I don’t know what happened […].” This scene is a striking illustration of the sexist cliché of hysteria: a troubled woman is unable to control her emotions as she suffers from an imaginary ailment provoked by a man supposed to be morally and intellectually superior to her.32

**Conclusion**

As a product of mass culture, *The Carey Treatment* is of great value to anyone interested in the social perception of abortion in the years preceding *Roe v. Wade*. It provides us with an insight into how the lay public apprehended abortion and those who violated the law to provide women with a much needed service.

However, *The Carey Treatment* was also admittedly not very successful: it received mostly negative reviews at the time of its release.33 According to Sam Wasson in *A Splurch in the Kisser, the Movies of Blake Edwards*, the director of *The Carey Treatment* had been heartbroken when his previous film, *Wild Rovers* (1971), was “butchered” by the editing of MGM’s president, James Aubrey. He was thinking of leaving Hollywood when Aubrey convinced him to take on the project of *The Carey Treatment*, promising he would have the final say over the editing. Edwards is quoted in Wasson’s biography as saying:

> But then I did a foolish thing […] I allowed myself to be coerced or seduced or whatever. Aubrey got me in and he even apologized and he said ‘there is a project – The Carey Treatment – that I know you are right for and we’ll stay out of it.’ He was lying through his teeth. He was actually out to crucify me.

Wasson explains:

> Midway into production, the Cobra [i.e. Aubrey] had reneged on promised script changes, cut two weeks off shooting, set a release date that made it impossible to finish editing, and utterly mutilated the ending. But by that point it was far too late. All Blake could do was run for cover. The film’s three screenwriters took refuge behind the pseudonym James P. Bonner, and Edwards sued to have his name taken off the picture, but he lost. 34

After this, Edwards broke with the Hollywood industry and moved to Switzerland.35

Today, the film has largely been forgotten. Its stylistic shortcomings might be to blame, but probably not as much as the daring way in which it dealt with the controversial
subject of abortion. The evolution of a polite moral disagreement into an extremely divisive issue—starting mostly in the early 1980s with the emergence of a powerful and violent anti-abortion movement—has undoubtedly contributed to keeping this film from being better known today.

Sources


http://philpapers.org/archive/credti.pdf


Sanger, Margaret “Birth Control Advances: A Reply to the Pope,” 1931.


NOTES


2 In its *Roe v. Wade* decision of 1973, the United States Supreme Court ruled that a Texas law prohibiting abortion was unconstitutional. It argued that the right to privacy, which had been used to establish that couples had a constitutional right to use birth control (*Griswold* and *Eisenstadt*), also protected a woman’s right to choose. This ruling invalidated the abortion laws in 47 of the country’s states.


4 I have chosen to use the term “abortionist” as it was the preferred term employed to describe illegal abortion providers in the years preceding *Roe*. However, I have also decided to place it between inverted comas to draw the reader’s attention to the fact that it has always had negative connotations because of the potential dangers of performing a medical act in a clandestine setting. It is interesting to note that, in *The Carey Treatment*, the character of the “ethical abortionist”, Dr. Tao, as well as his friends, avoid the pejorative labeling by using the phrase “to do abortions” instead.

5 See for instance Chandler’s definition of the hero in his 1950 essay entitled “the Simple Art of Murder”

8 Creenshaw, p. 140.
10 In 1968, the Motion Picture Production Code shifted from restricting filmmakers to alerting audiences, using the film-ratings system we know today (PG for Parental Guidance, R for Restricted, etc.)
11 Compare for instance with the popular 1966 movie Alfie, in which the abortion takes place behind a curtain.
13 See Nancy Howell Lee.
14 It is interesting to note that both this scene and the following one are echoed later in the movie when one of the shady characters responsible for Karen Randall’s death attempts to murder Dr. Carey by hitting him with a car. In this second scene, the car is entirely red and Dr. Carey, who is bleeding profusely, is not rescued immediately. When he reaches the hospital, the internal focalization of the camera leads the viewer to be more optimistic about the hero’s chances of survival.
15 The Carey Treatment 0:16:10-0:16:56.
16 The Carey Treatment 0:50:33-0:51:38
18 The Carey Treatment 01:00:45-01:00:54.
19 Our Bodies Ourselves was commercially published in 1973 by Simon and Shuster.
22 The Carey Treatment 00:20:08.
24 Carmen and Moody, p.78.
26 The Carey Treatment. 00:23:06-00:23:20.
27 Carole Joffe.
The concept of feminine hysteria was popularized when Freudian theory became a mass phenomenon in the US after World War II. Interestingly, the film industry played a key role in popularizing these ideas. See for instance Hitchcock movies such as *Spellbound* (1945) or *Psycho* (1960.)

We unfortunately do not know how successful the movie was at the box office.


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