

**ABUSE IN CARE ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY  
LAKE ALICE CHILD AND ADOLESCENT UNIT INQUIRY HEARING**

**Under** The Inquiries Act 2013

**In the matter of** The Royal Commission of Inquiry into Historical Abuse in State Care and in the Care of Faith-based Institutions

**Royal Commission:** Judge Coral Shaw (Chair)  
Ali'imua Sandra Alofivae  
Mr Paul Gibson

**Counsel:** Mr Simon Mount QC, Ms Kerry Beaton, Mr Andrew Molloy,  
Ms Ruth Thomas, Ms Finlayson-Davis, for the Royal  
Commission  
Ms Karen Feint QC, Ms Julia White and Ms Jane Maltby  
for the Crown  
Mrs Frances Joychild QC and Ms Alana Thomas for the  
Survivors  
Ms Moira Green for the Citizens Commission on Human  
Rights  
Ms Susan Hughes QC for Mr Malcolm Burgess and Mr  
Lawrence Reid  
Ms Frances Everard for the New Zealand Human Rights  
Commission  
Mr Hayden Rattray for Mr Selwyn Leeks

**Venue:** Level 2  
Abuse in Care Royal Commission of Inquiry  
414 Khyber Pass Road  
AUCKLAND

**Date:** 14 June 2021

1 Youth – something was achieved, and also acknowledging the three of you and the work of  
2 ACORD on institutional racism.

3 **DR SUTHERLAND:** There are others of us here as you know.

4 **CHAIR:** Yes, to all of you as well, the work on institutional racism which was pioneering and  
5 should be an inspiration to Tauwiwi in this country to take on board some of this kaupapa  
6 and, you know, I think you uncovered something more than that, something perhaps  
7 compellingly sinister, and thank you and thank you for persevering and waiting 45 years for  
8 something to happen. And we hope we can do something with that, kia ora, thank you.

9 **MS R THOMAS:** Thank you.

10 **CHAIR:** On that note, we invite you to now have a rest for a short time, I know you never stop,  
11 but in the meantime this afternoon it's time for afternoon tea. I think if we resume at  
12 about – in terms of timing, sorry to do housekeeping all around you, feel free to go. Timing  
13 for when we should start again?

14 **MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** As I understand it the next witness is waiting to be called, he's  
15 appearing from Australia so we can start whenever you see fit, Madam Chair.

16 **CHAIR:** All right, let's give ourselves 15 minutes and we'll come back in 15 minutes, is that all  
17 right?

18 **MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** Thank you.

19 **Adjournment from 3.19 pm to 3.38 pm**

20 **CHAIR:** Ms Finlayson-Davis.

21 **MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** Tēnā koutou e ngā Kaikōmihana o te ra, tēnā koutou o te whare, ko  
22 Emma Finlayson-Davis tōku ingoa. The next witness to be called is Tony Sutherland who  
23 is appearing, as I indicated earlier, by video link from Australia.

24 **ANTHONY SUTHERLAND**

25 **CHAIR:** Hello.

26 A. Hi.

27 **Q.** That means you can see me so that's a good start.

28 A. Well done.

29 **Q.** How would you like me to refer to you? I see you're Anthony in your brief of evidence, the  
30 lawyer's just referred to you as Tony, how would you –

31 A. My mother called me Anthony, I like to be referred to as Tony.

32 **Q.** I'm not your mother so I will refer you to as Tony.

33 A. Thank you so much.

34 **Q.** Let me just give you the affirmation and ask you to agree. Tony, do you solemnly,

1 sincerely, truly declare and affirm that the evidence you'll give before this Commission will  
2 be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth?

3 A. I do.

4 Q. Thank you. I'll hand you over to Ms Finlayson-Davis.

5 A. Thank you.

6 **QUESTIONING BY MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** Good afternoon Mr Sutherland. Before we  
7 begin, can I just check that you have somewhere in front of you the statement you prepared  
8 for the Commission dated 20 October 2020?

9 A. Yes, I have.

10 Q. And just to let you know, Mr Sutherland, that statement has already gone to the  
11 Commissioners and they have read it in advance, so today we'll just be taking -- I'll just be  
12 taking you to certain parts of that statement.

13 A. Yes, fine, thank you.

14 Q. To begin with, Mr Sutherland, just to cover your professional background, you joined the  
15 Police in 1965 and you were a Police Officer through until 1979; is that correct?

16 A. That is correct, yes.

17 Q. And in the beginning part of the 1970s, you became a Juvenile Crime Prevention Officer?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And at some point in time that transitioned into a role known as a Youth Aid Officer?

20 A. That's right, I think that was about 1973.

21 Q. That new role had a number of different aspects. One of them was to participate in weekly  
22 meetings with what was then called the Child Welfare Department?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. And the Māori Affairs Department; is that correct?

25 A. That's right.

26 Q. What were the purpose of those meetings?

27 A. All juveniles, people under the age of 17 years who were referred to or apprehended by the  
28 Police, a file was prepared, the file came to my desk. Before a decision was made as to the  
29 action by the Police, I took that file to a weekly meeting with The Welfare and Māori  
30 Affairs, and the child subject to the file was discussed and we, at the end of the meeting,  
31 would make a recommendation. I would go back to the station and report that, the written  
32 report, to the District Commander who would then make the ultimate decision as to  
33 whether the child was prosecuted or otherwise disposed of, the matter was disposed of.

34 Q. And another part of your role was perhaps community outreach where you would go out to

- 1 various schools and talk about the role of a Police Officer; is that correct?
- 2 A. Yes, trying to lift within the juvenile population the image of the Police and trying to break  
3 down barriers that may have been there. Also – [screen frozen].
- 4 **CHAIR:** I don't know if you can hear us, Tony, but you've frozen on the Zoom. We'll just wait  
5 for a moment and see if that's going to come right. We don't have a living human being  
6 who's coming forward to assist us. I think we might have to have an adjournment. Sorry  
7 everybody, we'll just take a few minutes while we get the technicalities sorted.
- 8 **Adjournment from 3.44 pm to 3.49 pm**
- 9 **CHAIR:** Sorry that we lost you, Tony, we're back again.
- 10 **QUESTIONING BY MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS CONTINUED:** Mr Sutherland, before  
11 technology got the better of us, I think I'd asked you about your role going out to speak to  
12 various schools in the local area.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 **Q.** One of those schools was Holdsworth residential school, wasn't it?
- 15 A. Yes, that is correct.
- 16 **Q.** You visited Holdsworth a number of times I think in that role; is that correct?
- 17 A. Yes, a whole series of visits to various classes within the institution, like a classroom  
18 situation.
- 19 **Q.** I think at paragraph 15 you touch on this, but what did you perceive the environment to be  
20 like during your visits to Holdsworth?
- 21 A. It was very much an institution and not a classroom, not a school environment. The  
22 children -- I almost perceived that there'd be a prison-type attitude and environment as  
23 opposed to a classroom where the students were involved and active.
- 24 **Q.** Now I want to turn now to a particular conversation that you had on one of these visits to  
25 Holdsworth school and you start discussing this from paragraph 17 of your statement,  
26 Mr Sutherland. You talk about a conversation you had with Assistant Principal John  
27 Drake.
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 **Q.** Can you tell us about that conversation?
- 30 A. As well as going into the classroom I also spent time with the teachers and/or masters in the  
31 various – outside of the classroom, like have morning tea with them or even have lunch  
32 with them on occasions. At one stage we were returning back into the school area, the area  
33 where the (inaudible) – walking through the foyer with John Drake who I think was the  
34 Assistant Principal then, or one of the management of the school, and as we walked through

1 there was a notice board which was behind the glass in the foyer up on the wall of the  
2 foyer.

3 That was a list, I asked him, and it was a list of all the students, all of the inmates  
4 of Holdsworth. Beside each name there was a number, I don't recall what the range was,  
5 but I asked him about was this the list of the inmates, yes, it was, and in the conversation  
6 what did the numbers refer to. And he said "Well, that's how the kids know when they're  
7 going to be discharged or otherwise." I said, "So what do you mean?" He said, "Well, if  
8 they get a certain number of points, when they get a certain number of points they will be  
9 sent home or released or move out of Holdsworth."

10 I looked at him and said, "How do you control that? How does that happen, how  
11 do they get the points?" He said, "Oh we give them the points as masters and myself as  
12 the -- he may have been the principal then -- we award the points or deduct the points as we  
13 see fit", and he said, "mysteriously they get the right number of points when they are ready  
14 to go." And we both smiled and understood what that meant.

15 I said, "So what about losing points?" And he said, "Yes, well we control that, we  
16 allocate minus points if they misbehave." I said, "So if they get the right number of points  
17 they can go home and they can see their progress on the board, if they get a negative  
18 number of points, a certain number, they don't go home?" He said, "That's right." I said,  
19 "So what happens to the kid who goes out the back door, who gets a minus point?" He  
20 says, "Then they go to Lake Alice." I looked at him and he said, "Rest assured they come  
21 back with a totally different attitude." And that comment stuck in my head. I wanted to  
22 talk about that further. And he more or less cut the conversation short and we went off our  
23 separate ways. We never developed that second part of the conversation.

24 **Q.** As a result of that conversation, you talk about, I guess, the concerns that left in your mind  
25 about what was happening and you go on --

26 **A.** Yes.

27 **Q.** -- to talk about what you did in response to those concerns. I think you --

28 **A.** I -- yes.

29 **Q.** Sorry, you take it from there.

30 **A.** I went back to my office and I thought about it for a couple of days and it worried me in  
31 that the Police Department had a procedure if you wanted -- if a person -- if a citizen had to  
32 go to a mental hospital there was a procedure you had to follow. But that didn't appear to  
33 be consistent with these children out at Holdsworth going to Lake Alice. It worried me.  
34 I arranged the matter with -- at the next weekly meeting that I had with the Welfare. Ray

1 Wallace was then – he was the second in charge of the Child Welfare in Whanganui, he  
2 was the one who presided – he chaired the weekly meeting.

3 I raised it at the end of our meeting, I raised it with him what I'd seen at  
4 Holdsworth, and he pretty well closed me down, again, "I don't want to talk about that here,  
5 this is a weekly meeting about juveniles going prosecuted by the Police, it's not about  
6 Holdsworth, that's a Welfare matter, I don't want to get involved." This is Ray Wallace  
7 talking. Ray and I knew each other pretty well, we'd spent some social time together, but  
8 he still wouldn't give me the opportunity to discuss the matter further.

9 Subsequently for some other reason I ended up in Eric Medcalf's office, Eric  
10 Medcalf was the District Officer in charge of the Welfare, Child Welfare. I raised it with  
11 him that I had observed this at Holdsworth and I was a little concerned about was it a  
12 policy, was that what they did, and he also shut me down and said, "Look I don't really get  
13 involved with Holdsworth, it's not an area of my concern, can we move on to other things."  
14 So we talked of other things.

15 Subsequently I had the opportunity to discuss with my – I had two senior officers  
16 in the Whanganui Police Station, Superintendent Brian Dean who was my District  
17 Commander, the man I reported to and his second in charge was Inspector John Turner.  
18 John Turner and I had had an opportunity to have a discussion and I raised it with him as to  
19 what I -- my reservations of what I saw, being what was happening at Holdsworth. And  
20 he'd also closed me down again saying that, "We're the Police department, we're interested  
21 in offenders, we're not – this is a Child Welfare Department, they'll handle what happens up  
22 there."

23 Subsequently I had an opportunity to have a discussion with Superintendent Brian  
24 Dean, I raised it with him and expressed my concerns and he also said, "Look, you know,  
25 we've got enough to do as a Police Department, let's not get involved with what the Welfare  
26 are doing, I'm sure the Welfare and Eric Medcalf are capable of looking after what they  
27 do."

28 I came away from all of that pretty frustrated, but with the level of what I'd seen I  
29 was disturbed but not – I wasn't motivated enough to escalate it, after having been closed  
30 down by those four in authority people.

31 **Q.** So Mr Sutherland, at that stage we've talked generally about it being "concerns", what was  
32 your concern that the children were being taken from Holdsworth to a psychiatric unit, did  
33 you know anything more than that at that stage?

34 **A.** No, I had no indication of anything else, other than the fact that they were in an institution

1 and I was aware, I was totally aware that the Welfare Department controlled these kids in  
2 that environment. The kids didn't have any avenue to appeal, to talk about their problems,  
3 they only had the environment they were in.

4 Because I was aware of how (inaudible) went to Lake Alice, went to any mental  
5 institution, and as a policeman I'd been involved with that with various people, I mean it  
6 was a fairly good system. The system that existed outside of Holdsworth seemed to me to  
7 be quite a fair system, and an individual who was involved in that system stood a fairly  
8 good chance of having a reasonable hearing before he got to Lake Alice.

9 But it appeared to me that at Holdsworth if you upset a teacher – and there's  
10 another little aspect of that – but if you upset a teacher he could give you a negative points  
11 system and that teacher could actually get a child to go to Lake Alice. And that didn't  
12 appear to me – and we're talking of 8-, 10-, 11-year-old kids, we're not talking of adults,  
13 we're not talking of people who have got a voice. And that wasn't the system that I wanted  
14 to be part of.

15 **Q.** Perhaps just going back a little. This conversation, or these series of conversations you  
16 had, can you help orientate us with what year that might have been?

17 **A.** I think I was made the Youth Aid Officer about '73 and it would have been subsequent to  
18 that, may have been '73, '74, '75, I don't have any paperwork or any record of that.

19 **Q.** Certainly. The attitude that you got when you raised it on these four separate occasions, did  
20 that surprise you?

21 **A.** Yes, from the Welfare Department it surprised me, but perhaps I can explain why I was so  
22 concerned, was that I had identified a master who was at Holdsworth who I had some  
23 reservations about, his behaviour. And I had raised that previously with Ray Wallace and  
24 with Superintendent Brian Dean, and as a result the Welfare instigated from Wellington  
25 Head Office an investigator who came to Holdsworth, investigated what I suspected and the  
26 master was, I understand, transferred out of Holdsworth.

27 That was almost an immediate response within a couple of days of me raising my  
28 reservations through Brian Dean, and then he raised it back at the Head Office and then at  
29 the Welfare Head Office, that was an immediate reaction. Now if that same master had  
30 been able to control these kids with his negative points, heaven alone knows where that  
31 could have gone. That master was a paedophile.

32 **Q.** So in terms of that, you're contrasting the immediate response with that other issue, which  
33 we –

34 **A.** Yes.

1 **Q.** – perhaps will leave there with the response you got when you raised the transfer of  
2 children?

3 **A.** This issue, yes.

4 **Q.** You say in your statement, Mr Sutherland, that you didn't know about the electric shocks  
5 being given at Lake Alice or that that was part of the treatment there. If you had known at  
6 the time, and I appreciate this is a hypothetical question, if you'd known that that was  
7 occurring, would your response have changed in any way to hearing of that?

8 **A.** Yes, I would have pursued it and I wouldn't have been shut down. I had another avenue, if  
9 you like, being a Youth Aid Officer, the Youth Aid Section had its own national division  
10 within the Police and we had our own officer in charge who was at Police headquarters. If  
11 I'd known of the shock treatment I would have escalated it first to John Turner, then with  
12 Brian Dean, and if I hadn't got a response I would have involved the CIB, and if I got no  
13 response I would have escalated it myself until I found out the – how it could be justified,  
14 how it could be rationalised.

15 To me – I use – in my statement I use the word "shocking", which is an  
16 unfortunate term in the context of what it's all about, but to me that's horrendous that we  
17 take a 10-year-old kid and give him electric shocks. But I didn't know that, I didn't know of  
18 that shock treatment until subsequently.

19 **Q.** Was that, if you like, once you were shut down following your attempts to raise concerns,  
20 was that the end, as far as you knew it, of the matter, for your personal involvement at  
21 least?

22 **A.** Yes, subsequently I've been reminded of a hearing that happened that GRO-C  
23 subsequently, for some reason I thought, I understand took action, civil action against one  
24 of the GRO-C and –

25 **Q.** Right, I might just –

26 **A.** – and that was the time that I was involved.

27 **Q.** Certainly. In terms of raising any further concerns, though, that was the end of your  
28 involvement?

29 **A.** Within the Police Department, yes, yeah.

30 **Q.** Thank you Mr Sutherland, I'll ask you just to remain there in case the Commissioners have  
31 any questions for you.

32 **A.** Yeah.

33 **CHAIR:** Tony, can I just – you've raised a very interesting area for me. And that is, and I know  
34 we're talking back in the '70s, but I'm interested in the relationship or the culture of the

1 relationship between the Police and what we all called the Welfare back then in those days.  
2 It seems to me that from what you've told us here that the, at least the senior police officers  
3 who you spoke to, had the feeling that Police was Police and Welfare was Welfare and you  
4 didn't get involved across the board. Is that a fair summary of the situation?

5 A. I think it was very divisional: Police Department on their side of the fence, Welfare on the  
6 other and the Police Department was having enough problem coping with the Youth Aid  
7 Section as being a whole new approach to juveniles and doing something other than just  
8 taking them before the courts. And we – I was a bit of the meat in the sandwich, I think,  
9 and we had to forge our own way ahead and I'm only a constable and the other – the  
10 hierarchy is there around you.

11 I was a bit of a go-between and I had very good rapport with initially Eric  
12 Medcalf, because he chaired the weekly meetings, and secondly with Ray Wallace, and as  
13 I say, the relationship with Ray Wallace was a personal one as well. But the Police  
14 Department as a whole operated out of the Police Station and the Welfare operated out of  
15 their office. And there wasn't a lot of – in terms of community involved there – much  
16 discussion about that at that level, I saw, I didn't see.

17 Q. I think you are right, you were forging ahead, it was a new and important social initiative,  
18 wasn't it, for the Police to have the Youth Aid officers engaging with the community and  
19 facilitating, trying to keep children away from the justice system?

20 A. Exactly, that was what we were about. And that's where the talking with schools was, so  
21 we had a better rapport with the kids.

22 Q. And that's where the rub was between you and the Welfare Department, wasn't it, because  
23 you inevitably came up against each other or had to work side by side sometimes with the  
24 same children?

25 A. Yes, that's why we had the weekly conferences was to try and not have the confrontation  
26 and I think that we reduced the prosecution rate very substantially.

27 Q. Yes.

28 A. And those kids got dealt with differently and I think positively.

29 Q. Thank you for that. My colleague, I've stirred up something for my colleague Sandra  
30 Aloffivae, she'd like to ask you a question.

31 **COMMISSIONER ALOFIVAE:** Good afternoon, Mr Sutherland. Thank you for letting us  
32 know that the prosecution rates have gone down. My question is really around, we've heard  
33 a lot of evidence both in our private sessions and also hearing our public hearings that  
34 young people were getting picked up for things like stealing chocolate bars.

1 A. I'm sorry?

2 Q. Young people were being brought before the Youth Court –

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. – for things –

5 A. Juvenile.

6 Q. – for things like stealing chocolate bars, so things that today we would consider completely  
7 minor misdemeanors, if that.

8 A. I don't know what's going on in New Zealand now, but certainly back then a decision made  
9 by a juvenile – not a juvenile, a young constable only recently made a constable at 19 could  
10 end up with a child being in court. Whereas by bringing in the Youth Aid Section and the  
11 system, that kid would end up with a warning and go a different way and not end up in  
12 court. It really was a very positive move and – but we had to argue against policemen who  
13 had been policemen for 40 years and "Put the buggers before the court", that's all you did.  
14 And that was your part done then, if you put the matter before the court that was the  
15 judicial system. And that was the environment that I found the Youth Aid Officer was  
16 working within.

17 Q. Thank you, I think the philosophy behind the Youth Aid division is something that should  
18 certainly be supported and we understand that, but even back then in the '70s in your day,  
19 this is the some of the material that we're hearing, and –

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. – it's quite concerning, I suppose, around attitudes of the times that children could be put  
22 into care for things so minor. I guess I'm just wanting to understand really from your  
23 perspective now that you're able to reflect quite frankly where that was heading back in the  
24 '70s and into the '80s?

25 A. From my point of view I saw – initially when I was made the Juvenile Crime Prevention  
26 Officer that was a shared role with court orderly. So not only did I have the kids coming up  
27 on one half of my desk as a juvenile crime offender, but then the next – if he was  
28 prosecuted, as initially he automatically was, I would see him in the court, and then you  
29 saw that kid up the street, that child up the street walking the street when I was on patrol or  
30 whatever and he was aggressive.

31 Go back to six months later, eight months, 12 months later when we had the  
32 conferences organised and I was doing Youth Aid, we would deal with the child, I would  
33 visit his parents before I had the conference at Welfare, I would assemble all of the facts of  
34 the file, I would take the file then to Welfare, I would get the input from the Welfare people

1 if they knew him and knew the family, or – and if the child was a Māori boy – if the child  
2 was a Māori person the input from the Māori Affairs officer who was at the conference,  
3 very worthwhile and totally positive outcome. We would then formulate what we thought  
4 the best way to handle this kid going forward as opposed to punishing him for what he did.  
5 We weren't so interested in punishing him, we were interested in making sure that he went  
6 on a better path going forward.

7 And that system worked. I would then meet that child perhaps in a classroom or  
8 walking up the street and he was a positive kid. He – most of them, I mean there were  
9 some ratbags, of course there was – but most of them benefitted by the opportunity and you  
10 would give them one or two opportunities and then after a while would decide he's not  
11 benefitting, he needs to get a lesson somehow. But the whole role of Youth Aid broke  
12 down in the Police Department this "prosecute them" attitude, I believe.

13 **Q.** Thank you very much Mr Sutherland.

14 **CHAIR:** You've painted a very fine – or given a fine model of how to deal with young people and  
15 it's a great pity that many of the people who were children when they were taken into care  
16 didn't come into your benign presence and they might have come out rather differently.

17 Tony, can I thank you most sincerely for making yourself available through the  
18 Zoom, the magic of Zoom, and to thank you very much for a very important insight into  
19 what was happening back there in 1973. I also want to thank you for raising it, you know,  
20 you had the courage to raise it at the time, the fact that you didn't get any traction I think is  
21 no fault of yours, but is something that we're looking into in terms of accountability for  
22 allowing things to happen. So many thanks to you and for engaging with the Royal  
23 Commission.

24 **A.** Thank you, thank you for the opportunity.

25 **Q.** You are most welcome. Goodbye.

26 **A.** Bye.

27 **MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** Thank you. The next segment of evidence relates to the efforts of  
28 Craig Jackson. As we are all hearing, there were a number of people that raised concerns  
29 or made complaints during the 1970s about the operation of the Lake Alice Child and  
30 Adolescent Unit. We've heard today from Oliver Sutherland, Ross Galbreath and of course  
31 just most recently Tony Sutherland of their efforts.

32 We also heard from Oliver Sutherland about some of Craig Jackson's efforts. Craig  
33 Jackson was an acting district educational psychologist for the Department of Education.  
34 He visited the Lake Alice school approximately once a month between 1972 and 1974 in a

1 consultative role. He worked with the principal and the staff to advise on programmes and  
2 on the educational needs of the students.

3 You will hear that during the 1970s Mr Jackson tried on a number of occasions and  
4 through a number of different government departments to raise concerns and to advocate  
5 for an inquiry or an investigation into what was going on in the unit.

6 You will also hear that Mr Jackson's boss, Don Brown, who was Acting Chief  
7 Educational Psychologist at the time, also intervened. Both Mr Jackson and Mr Brown  
8 have passed away and are not able to give this evidence themselves. Their efforts have  
9 been collated into a timeline which will be played now and I will narrate for accessibility  
10 purposes.

11 I should note that the source documents for each event on the timeline have been  
12 obtained by the Commission pursuant to section 20 notices. Their contents have been  
13 summarised in the interests of time, however the full documents are available of course for  
14 a review. Thank you Lucas.

15 **CRAIG JACKSON** - (video played)

16 **MS FINLAYSON-DAVIS:** So in September or October 1974 educational psychologist Craig  
17 Jackson informs Acting Chief Psychologist, Don Brown, that he has no direct knowledge  
18 that improper use was being made of ECT. However, he was aware, through discussions  
19 with the principal of Lake Alice school, that ECT was being used in what appeared to be a  
20 punitive fashion at the Lake Alice Child and Adolescent Unit.

21 As a result of that conversation, on 6 November 1974 Don Brown acting on  
22 instructions from Head Office Department of Education met with Lake Alice Medical  
23 Superintendent Dr Sidney Pugmire.

24 Following that meeting on 11 November 1974, Dr Pugmire writes to Don Brown.  
25 He says he has investigated the unit's therapeutic techniques and found that the anxieties of  
26 the educational psychologists were completely unfounded. However, to avoid confusion,  
27 the nursing staff had been completely changed, including the charge nurse. Further, he  
28 advised that Dr Selwyn Leeks agreed to discontinue the use of – it is noted as  
29 "electrotonus", but we believe this should be a reference to "ectonus" – to discontinue the  
30 use of ectonus and to always give an anaesthetic before ECT treatment.

31 Don Brown responds to that letter on 14 November 1974 thanking Dr Pugmire for  
32 his assurances and advising that he would pass on the information to the psychologists  
33 concerned.

34 15 December 1976, we have a letter from Craig Jackson to Rod Sinclair, the Chief