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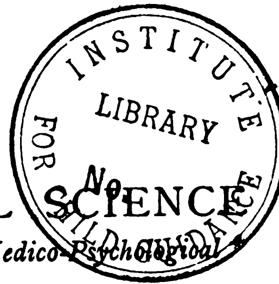

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EMIL KRAEPELIN,*

Psychiatrist.

EMIL KRAEPELIN was born at Neustrelitz in 1856. It is said that his interest in psychology was first aroused by reading Wundt's *Menschen und Tierseele* during his last year at school, and that this led him to adopt medicine as a career with the definite aim of becoming a psychiatrist.

While still a student at Wurzburg he gave much thought to philosophic problems, and during his spell of military service wrote an essay upon the treatment of criminals, containing ideas which were considerably ahead of those usually held at the time. These ideas (notably that of replacing vindictive punishment by protection of society against the criminal, and the criminal against the consequences of his own tendencies) have been developed by Aschaffenburg, who was one of Kraepelin's pupils, and they are affecting German legislation in increasing measure.

In 1876, while studying at Wurzburg under Rincker, he wrote a prize essay entitled " The Influence of Acute Illness in the Causation of Mental Disorders." About the same year he was greatly impressed by a holiday course of lectures given by Wundt at Leipzig.

Soon after qualification he worked for short periods as assistant to Gudden and to Flechsig in their respective psychiatric clinics. He appears to have been discouraged by the comparative sterility of their method—a premature attack upon the problems of psychiatry with the concepts and technique of the neurologist. He abandoned clinical work in favour of research in Wundt's laboratory for a time, and contemplated doing so permanently. From this project he was dissuaded by Wundt himself, and in 1883 returned to the Munich Clinic.

* For photograph see frontispiece to July Journal.

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The chance that he would achieve his ambition—the chair of psychiatry at one of the universities—then seemed somewhat remote, and it was certainly not improved by his forced acceptance during the next three years of posts at asylums for chronic patients. Nevertheless he first reached his objective in 1886, when he was appointed Professor at Dorpat, at the age of 30. An increasing reputation led to his transfer within four years to a similar position at Heidelberg. His teaching and writings during the following fourteen years which he spent there had raised him already to a unique position among psychiatrists, when in 1904 he accepted the position of Director at the newly opened Munich Clinic, carrying with it the Chair of Psychiatry at the University. These appointments he continued to hold, until in 1922, at the age of 66, he relinquished them in order to devote himself exclusively to the creation of the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie.

Space compels the most cursory reference to all but the three main aspects of Kraepelin's work. One can only just mention, among practical matters, his devotion to the crusade against alcoholic excess, and amongst theories, his advocacy of the conception that many symptoms seen in both transitory and progressive psychoses as well as in congenital mental deficiency represent regressions to earlier stages in the development of the race. He was profoundly interested in the comparative psychology of different races, had undertaken journeys to investigate the mentality of inferior races in Java, India, Mexico and North America, and was, in fact, about to start on another extensive journey in the East at the age of 70 when he died.

The work which Kraepelin personally carried out in the laboratory, especially during his earlier days, consisted mainly in the application to those suffering from mental disorder of the methods of experimental psychology which he had learnt from Wundt. By these methods he endeavoured to elucidate the effects of different intoxications, and particularly those of alcohol in various doses. He studied the influence of these and of many other factors upon the capacity for work. Some of this research has considerable interest in its relations to industrial psychology which has been growing up in the last few years. On the whole the application of the methods of experimental psychology to the abnormal has not yet proved so fruitful as Kraepelin hoped, but it was at least a forward step in developing psychiatry into a scientific study. It served as hardly anything could then have done to emphasize the need of substituting the laborious and critical accumulation of observed fact for uncontrolled generalization on the strength of a few instances.

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In order to appreciate the epoch-making influence of Kraepelin's thought upon psychiatry, it is necessary to indicate briefly the state of affairs when he started his work about fifty years ago. Psychiatry had then recently emerged from the stage when metaphysical speculation was regarded as the proper method of attack upon its problems.

The triumphs won in other fields of medicine by the application of the methods of natural science, and the enunciation of the axiom that mental disease was brain disease, had led to two forms of over-reaction. The more credulous among the neuro-psychiatrists of the time had accepted this aphorism as a sort of licence to indulge in what has been termed "brain mythology"—a reference of normal and abnormal mental processes to definite cerebral structures, and to derangements of their alleged functions in a manner hardly more supported by observation and experiment than the extravagances of their metaphysical predecessors. More sceptical minds had taken refuge in an unduly helpless agnosticism regarding functional disease, in an ostentatious limitation of interest to those types in which obvious causes, or clear cerebral changes, could be identified. They adopted an attitude of despair as to the prospect of devising for practical purposes, in respect of the great mass of functional cases, even a provisional working hypothesis, until developments of technique had made it feasible to submit these also to the methods of neurology. Bernhard Gudden, who was Kraepelin's teacher, made it his almost invariable practice to answer "I don't know" to all questions about functional psychoses.

Such classification of functional syndromes as existed was based solely upon the principle of grouping under one head all cases presenting at the time of observation, one salient anomaly, without regard to causation or course.

Kraepelin, from the first, addressed himself to the problem of bringing order out of chaos by the isolation of definite diseases from the mass of functional cases. How far he succeeded is even now disputable, but there is no doubt whatever of the abiding value of his recognition of certain syndromes, *i.e.*, of the tendency for certain extremely diverse symptoms to coexist, and for certain clinical pictures (between which it would be hard to see logical links) to succeed one another, in cases constituting distinguishable groups.

Kraepelin sought, of course, to go farther. The aim of at least his early work was to establish practically constant correlation between certain syndromes and their course. Naturally he felt that any clinical unit, in respect of which such coincidence could be established, would be entitled to rank as a "disease" in the full

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sense. Since course is determined by causes, one might assume that a constant ætiology of such a "disease" awaited discovery, and that there was a probability of ascertaining a material pathology related not merely to the form of the symptoms, but to essential causation.

From Kraepelin's early attempts to extract clinical unities from the mass of the graver functional cases, which constitute the population of an asylum, there emerged the concepts of dementia præcox, manic-depressive psychosis and paranoia—terms used by Kraepelin in a far narrower and more defined sense at that time than later.

Kraepelin's views met with the usual reception of innovations, and this passed through the customary phases.

In Germany, under the personal influence of Kraepelin and his pupils, acceptance spread fast and wide. Elsewhere the resistance included the traditional objections that the proposed views, so far as they were new, were not true, and so far as they were true, were not new. It was easy to point to the fact that Kahlbaum had propounded the principle of correlating the current symptoms in patients when first seen with their previous history and subsequent course, in order to find the basis for ætiology and pathology. Kahlbaum had not carried into practice this relation of transverse to longitudinal section. It was easy, on the other hand, to show that Clouston had vividly described certain of the clinical pictures grouped by Kraepelin under "dementia præcox," but Clouston had combined cases of such form under the term "adolescent insanity" with others arising about the same age, but approximating rather to Kraepelin's manic-depressive type; he had, moreover, failed to indicate clearly the different frequencies with which these syndromes followed certain courses.

To depreciate Kraepelin's attempts to establish correlation by laborious clinical observation on such grounds was as superficial as to dispute the originality of Darwin, because others had suggested the idea of evolution before he did the twenty-five years' work leading to the publication of *The Origin of Species*.

Nevertheless, in 1908, over twenty years after Kraepelin had started teaching, and more than ten years after he had systematized his views in the fifth edition of his *Lehrbuch*, it was possible for one of the most prominent English psychiatrists, after a meeting of the Medico-Psychological Association for discussion of the concept of dementia præcox, to express his personal conviction that this concept might now be regarded as buried. Naturally some of his junior colleagues silently disagreed. Fifteen years later at a similar meeting to discuss the pathology of this lively corpse, some of them had the satisfaction of hearing the same psychiatrist, now still

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more eminent, refer to " the epoch-making conception of dementia præcox which we owe to the genius of Kraepelin."

Most of the rebel juniors had by then naturally reached the age when the innovation which they had supported in youth seemed the limit of sound progress; meanwhile Kraepelin had moved steadily on—the customary second phase.

Once the shock of novelty had passed, the crudities of Kraepelin's early categories had proved irresistible to those with a taste for such simplicities, and had been stereotyped in text-books, which emphasized rules and distinctions, and minimized, if they did not ignore, the great mass of exceptions and intermediates. The application of any one of the terms "dementia præcox," "paranoia," "manic-depressive psychosis" implied belief in the all-importance of endogenous causes, and a sort of fatalism regarding prevention, and anything but symptomatic treatment. The two former terms tended to become a synonym for hopelessness; the term "manic-depressive psychosis" was reserved for those examples of syntonic anomalies that spontaneously show complete intermission and recurrence.

Kraepelin's early descriptions had largely been of striking types *e.g.*, of those dementia præcox patients who arrest attention by steady progress of the disease, as well as the depth of their final degradation, and of those manic-depressives who do so by the contrast between the severity of their attacks and the completeness of recovery.

Everyone could find in his experience instances showing "typical" correspondence between symptoms and course; it was easy to forget the mass of cases that inconveniently refused to fit the frames. Nothing could have been more remote from Kraepelin's own method. From beginning to end of his life he taught as the foundation of knowledge unfailing readiness to disregard all previously expressed opinion, including his own, and to submit all concepts afresh to correction by clinical experience. His method was to insist upon a record in every new case at the Clinic of his own initial judgment as to the symptomatic category and the prognosis, upon a similar record of his assistants' views, and upon a comparison of these opinions with progress both during stay and later.

Kraepelin, even as he neared seventy, steadily progressed in his views—in fact it might be said that he obtained his position of unique authority in virtue of opinions which he profoundly modified later. He came eventually to apply the term "manic-depressive" to all syntonic anomalies that were mainly of endogenous and psychogenic origin, regardless of intensity and course. Within the schizophrenic-paranoid series he tended to multiply subdivisions in what seemed

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rather a useless way. But he had, in a large measure, come to appreciate that the differences were merely expressions of the personality at the date when derangement became manifest, and thus depended to a great extent upon the patient's age at onset. He entirely rejected the speculative psycho-analytic reference of differences to deviations of infantile sexuality, whether innate or provoked by experience. He had also approximated to the modern view that all type-forms represent syndromes which may be combined in varying measure, and that any syndrome may run every possible course, though a statistical correlation exists between certain forms and courses. The value of distinction of the main forms of reaction remains untouched; it was the starting-point of every important advance in clinical psychiatry within recent years.

In these generalizations, as well as in vivid presentation, Kraepelin showed the imagination of the artist. But his insistence on complete objectivity in collection of facts and upon an optimism unspoilt by self-deception, and his contempt for uncontrolled speculation, made the Munich School a model in scientific method.

Kraepelin combined in rare degree the gifts of the administrator with those of the pure scientist, and these he spent in the development, first of the Munich Clinic, and later of the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie.

The work already done at the Clinic and future contributions of both to knowledge will form a growing monument when, as is inevitable, his own scientific work is regarded as a historic stage in progress.

As a result of his organizing gifts the Clinic became in all ways a model for the world. In respect of the kindness and skill lavished upon the patients as well as the material equipment for treatment it remained unsurpassed. The number of doctors actually engaged in clinical work was always great, because Kraepelin insisted upon the necessity for combining this with research, and so, for such leisure as made the combination possible. He created a training centre to which post-graduates of every kind resorted, and particularly instituted an arrangement whereby every state of the German Reich contributed to the laboratory, so that constantly one medical officer in its asylum service at least should have the opportunity of work there.

In addition Kraepelin had gathered round him a more permanent staff of brilliant men as teachers and directors of research in various branches. At Heidelberg he had already attracted Franz Nissl, one of the founders of the histo-pathology of the brain, and at Munich, Alzheimer, Spielmayer, Brodman, Plaut, Rüdin and Jabnel. He succeeded in keeping them by his great gifts for the handling of

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people, and by untiring effort to obtain for his chosen band of workers the material conditions that made their co-operation possible.

As a teacher his success was based on conscientious preparation rather than upon flashy brilliance. His life was one of unceasing work, and spent almost solely in the pursuit of one great aim. Age left him unchanged: to the end he was full not only of wide visions of the future, but of zest for the daily struggle involved in pursuit of immediate ends.

In manner he was rather stiff and impersonal, but none who had seen him with his patients doubted that this covered a real capacity for sympathy. He did not suffer fools gladly, and demanded of all his associates a high standard of interest, both in the welfare of their patients and in the scientific aspects of their work; he could exhibit a cold rage with those whom he considered lacking in either, and he occasionally displayed a somewhat caustic humour.

In the Museum of the Clinic was a chamber of horrors containing obsolete apparatus for restraint, labelled to show their sources and dates—mostly a century old. Prominent among these exhibits was a photograph showing a patient in a bed covered with a net. This was labelled "From the Clinic of Professor X, 1920"—the outward sign of a feud that had persisted since their association just after Kraepelin was qualified. Such vindictiveness was, however, exceptional.

Though he was intensely patriotic, his one feeling after the war was the need for the restitution of scientific relations between all countries. The writer has vivid memories of the courtesy with which he was treated, and with which all information was placed at his disposal during a week spent at the Clinic in 1921. Munich was still suffering badly from the war and the Red Revolution which had followed it, and bitterness might have been excusable.

To few is it given to attain so early an unquestioned and universal recognition that is really justified by achievement. At the end, however, one of his chief ambitions remained unfulfilled—the foundation of the Deutsche Forschungsanstalt für Psychiatrie.

Such an institution for pure research had already been contemplated before the war, and the necessary funds had been laboriously accumulated, but the subsequent economic disasters of Germany rendered the sum quite inadequate. Slowly and painfully Kraepelin had managed to restore the possibility of realizing this dream, and he was on the eve of its materialization when he died of heart disease on October 7, 1926. EDWARD MAPOTHER.

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advance of his time; that he knew, for instance, of the circulation of the blood—a claim resting on the line which records the effect that the wolf had upon him:

> " Ch'ella mi fa tremar le vene e i polsi."*
>
> *Inf.*, c. i, 90.

There are numerous references in his works which show his practical knowledge of medicine, his accuracy and scientific methods of observation. Here are two instances:

> " Qual è colui, ch' ha sì presso il riprezzo
> Della quartana, ch' ha già l'unghie smorte,
> E trema tutto pur guardando il rezzo."†
>
> *Inf.*, c. xvii, 85–87.

Again speaking of the diviners, those who pretended to foretell the future—

> " Come il viso mi scese in lor più basso,
> Mirabilmente apparve esser travolto
> Ciascun tra 'l mento e 'l principio del casso;
> Chè dalle reni era tornato il volto,
> Ed indietro venir gli convenìa,
> Perchè il veder dinanzi era lor tolto.
> Forse per forza già di parlasìa
> Si travolse così alcun del tutto;
> Ma io nol vidi, nè credo che sia."‡
>
> *Inf.*, c. xx, 10–18.

It is a matter of dispute whether the poet Chaucer ever met Petrarch when he visited Florence fifty years after the death of Dante, but I have no doubt that Chaucer had studied the manuscripts of *La Commedia*, for, in his description of the Parish Priest, he uses the exact words Dante applies to St. Francis of Assisi:

> " Predicò Cristo e gli altri che il seguiro."§
>
> *Par.*, cxi, 102.

The sketch that Chaucer gives of the physician in the Prologue to the " Canterbury Tales " is so drawn that it appears as if he had had Dante in his mind.

In the first place, it was essential for a " Doctour of Phisik " to have a knowledge of astrology and astronomy. The chapter in *La Vita Nuova*, already quoted, is an evidence that Dante had studied astrology and was acquainted with the phenomenon now known as " the procession of the equinoxes," and the Ptolemaic system is the basis of the universe of the Commedia.

* For she makes my veins and pulses tremble.

† As one who has the shivering of the quartan so near, that he has his nails already pale, and trembles all, still keeping the shade.

‡ When my sight descended lower on them, each seemed wondrously distorted, (between) the chin (and) the commencement of the chest; (for) the face was turned towards the loins; and they had to come backward for to look before them was denied. Perhaps by force of palsy some have been thus quite distorted; but I have not seen nor believe it to be so.

§ " But Christès loore, and his apostles twelve He taught."
Chaucer's Parish Priest, *Canterbury Tales*.

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Dante was a firm believer in the influence of the stars on human destiny. Born when the sun was in Gemini, he alludes to the significance of this belief in the stars in the advice given to him by his old teacher, Brunetto Latini :

> " Ed egli a me : ' Se tu segui tua stella,
> Non puoi fallire al glorioso porto,
> Se ben m'accorsi nella vita bella :
> E s' io non fossi si per tempo morto,
> Veggendo il cielo a te cosi benigno,
> Dato t'avrei all' opera comforto.' "*
> *Inf.*, c. xv, 55–60.

The astrologers of the time were of the belief that children born when the heavenly twins were in the ascendant were so influenced by these stars as to be gifted in writing, in science, and in wisdom.

On the green enamel of the plain in Limbo, the second circle of the Inferno, Dante enumerates the great intellectual spirits in the very manner that Chaucer has followed in describing his physician's library, numbering among them five of the fifteen medical names used by Chaucer. Further, the description of Chaucer's physician's diet is a poetical version of what Boccaccio writes of Dante:

> " Of his dietè mesurable was he,
> For it was of no superfluitee
> But of greet norissyng and digestible."

The pathetic and humorous statement with regard to the " Doctour of Phisik "—

> " His studie was but litel on the Bible "—

is the only one which cannot be applied to Dante, for his knowledge of the Scripture manuscripts was delicate and profound.

The French critic, St. Beuve, is of opinion that in forming a judgment on the author of a book and the book itself, especially if the work treats of subjects of general importance, we must know what were the author's virtues and what were his vices.

It is essential to a clear understanding of the philosophy of both Dante and Rabelais that we should know something of their lives, something of their virtues and their vices, but what seems to me more important is to ascertain what effect the times in which they lived had upon them. This is a consideration which I believe is more important than any other.

Dante was an exile from his beloved Florence for political reasons; Rabelais was subjected to persecution for his classical tendencies. Dante typified the man who would go to the stake for his opinions. Rabelais would express his opinions *au deça du feu*. The one had

* And he to me: " If thou follow thy star, thou canst not fail of glorious haven, if I discerned rightly in the fair life : and if I had not died so early seeing heaven so kind to thee, I would have cheered thee in the work."

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to pass through the hard path of exile and learn how salt it was to eat another's bread, how hard it was to climb another's stair.* The other had to shroud his philosophy in allegory, to pretend to be a buffoon and a drunkard, and to use a cloud of words and sayings which descended to the lowest depths and were quite independent of his philosophy. Having reference to his wisdom, the words which were spoken to Job out of the whirlwind might be applied to Rabelais—"Who is this that darkeneth Counsel with words devoid of understanding?"

Ronsard and du Bellay did not laugh as you and I do at the humour of Rabelais' description of the Limousin scholar who came "de l'alme inclyte et célèbre Académie que l'on vocite Lutéce"—words which, when explained, mean "from the sweet, glorious and celebrated University of Paris." The pretentious, solemn and obscure speech of useless words made Pantagruel, who did not understand the language, open his great eyes and threaten to skin the scholar who, finally, in fear, asked mercy in good Limousin patois—mercy which Pantagruel accorded to him on the understanding that when in France he should speak French.

The Pleiade school of poets felt the shafts of satire and ridicule. Ronsard was the leader in coining new words of Greek and Latin origin. Does he not address the lady he loved in these words: "N'etes-vous pas ma seule Entéléchie"? Ἐντελέχεια is a Greek word which means the best that is in each one of us.

Ronsard did not attack Rabelais while he was alive. It was only after his death he called him a buffoon and a drunkard and gave him that character which has since clung to him.

The humour and temperament of Rabelais were of a type which does not leave him wholly excusable on the ground that his life would have been endangered had he not resorted to a verbal embroidery of uncleanness and impurity. He had an impish disposition, and was wont to play on words in such a manner as to overstep the bounds of decency.

He was probably the author of one of the Sotties or Moralities which it was the custom of the students of those days to play at Montpellier University, and this illustrates the boisterous type of his humour:

"It was a matter," said Carpalim (*Pantagruel*, Bk. 3, Ch. 34), "of a husband who had married a deaf wife. The husband wanted her to speak. She spoke through the art of a doctor and surgeon, who cut the little fillet beneath her tongue. Having recovered speech, she spoke so very much that her husband went back to the doctor to ask for a remedy to make her silent. The doctor did not

* Par., c. xvii, 58–60.

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know of any one, and suggested that he should make the husband deaf. The remedy was applied and succeeded. The wife, seeing that her husband no longer heard and that she spoke in vain, became very angry. The doctor then asks for his fee. The husband answers that he is deaf and does not hear what he is asking. The doctor then throws on the back of the husband some kind of powder, by virtue of which he makes him mad, then the mad husband and the angry wife join against the doctor and surgeon and leave him half dead." Molière has remembered this scene in his *Médicin Malgré Lui*.

Dante was obviously of a different temperament: he was captain of his soul, and where he uses words—and he rarely does this—which are unseemly, they correspond fully with the matter of which he treats; they are fitting to the quality and character of the persons he describes, and are used as a consummate artist would employ them. The type of humour he exhibits is different from that of Rabelais. It is whimsical. In his work *De Eloquio Vulgaris* he argues that to man alone was the gift of speech given. If it be replied to me, that the serpent in the Garden of Eden and Baalim's ass both spoke, I should answer that they both used speech, but it was the angel in the ass who spoke and the devil in the serpent. The ass was only braying, and the serpent hissing.

And just as Rabelais was not the traditional fool and wine-bibber, so Dante was not the grim, stern and pensive man of popular belief.

When living his fame was spread abroad through his published works. "Walking with a friend," writes Boccaccio, "the poet passed before a door where a number of women were seated. One of the women said quietly (but loud enough to be heard by Dante and his friend) to the other women: 'Look at him who goes into the Inferno and carries back news of those who are down there.' To this one of the other women said: 'In truth you are right. Do you not see how crisp his beard is and how brown his colour through the heat and the smoke that are down there.'" Which words, the poet hearing and recognizing that they were said in all sincerity, pleased him, and he smiled and went on his way.

After death a cast was taken from Dante's face, and we have thus an authentic record of his features.

The giggling caricature which is placed as the portrait of Rabelais in the frontispiece of some of the earlier editions of his works certainly bears no resemblance to him. The real Rabelais is probably revealed in a painting at the School of Medicine of Montpellier University. It shows him of noble and majestic bearing, with regular features, a fresh and florid complexion, a fine golden beard

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and a spiritual physiognomy. His eyes are full of sweetness and fire at the same time, and he has a gracious, though grave and reflective air.

Most important of all we have pen drawings of each of the two authors from contemporary sources.

Writing of Dante, Boccaccio says, the poet was of medium height, and when he arrived at mature age he walked somewhat bent and his walking was precise and meek. All his clothes were very good, in that dress which was suitable for his age. His face was long. The nose aquiline and the eyes rather large; the jaws were large and the upper lip protruded over the lower. His colour was dark, his hair and his beard thick, black and curly; he was always thoughtful and melancholic in appearance. In public and domestic customs he was wonderfully composed and ordered, and in everything, more than any other person, courteous and civil. In his eating and drinking he was most moderate, both in taking food at regular hours and not trespassing—the sign of necessity—nor had he any gluttony either in food or drink. He praised delicate things, but ate mostly substantial food, blaming those who study much to have choice fare and pay great attention to it. He affirmed that such people did not eat to live, but rather lived to eat. He spoke very seldom unless asked, and at those times in a weighty manner and with a voice suitable to the matter of which he spoke. He was most eloquent and fruitful at the best.

Pierre Boulenger,* a doctor of Poitou, who had personally met the author of *Pantagruel*, thus apostrophizes him: "Under this stone lies the first of the sayers of trifles. He will be an enigma to posterity, for whoever lived in his time knew how this Rabelais was known and loved by all. Perhaps people may see in him a buffoon, a player who spoke fine words to gain a good dinner. No, no! He was not a buffoon, nor a charlatan of the market-place, but a man—thanks to the penetration of his chosen spirit—who seized the ridiculous side of human things, another Democritus, who laughed at hopes not less vain, at the vulgar and great in the world, as well as the anxious labours which filled this short life. Yet one could not have found a wiser man than he, leaving aside raillery, if it pleased him to enter into serious affairs. He had solidity at his back. When he was concerned with solving the most difficult questions you would have said that Nature had opened for him alone its mysterious bosom. All that Greece and Italy had produced was familiar to him, and his eloquent discourses struck the

* *Hippocratis aphorismorum Paraphrasis poetica*, Paris, 1587, by Pierre Boulenger.

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admiration of all those who had never discerned the wise man under his biting satires and masterly ironies.

Before soaring into the atmosphere which was the life of their philosophy each of the two writers tested his powers in short literary flights. Dante closes his earliest work *La Vita Nuova*, where we are throughout in the region of pure poetry, with a vow to write of Beatrice " what ne'er was writ of woman," and gloriously he fulfils this in the " Divine Comedy '* which he finished a few years only before his death.

After the death of Beatrice there appeared to him the vision of The Lady of the Window—philosophy or learning in person, a vision like to that which soothed and comforted Boethius when in prison.

This vision raised in Dante the great missionary ardour of bringing the delights of knowledge within the reach of those of his fellow countrymen who could not read Latin and thereby walk in the way of wisdom. The great thoughts of Aristotle—the " Master of them that know "—were available only in Latin, and had come from Greece through the medium of the Arabic versions of Averroes. Dante knew Latin and possibly Arabic, but he did not know Greek, otherwise he would not have referred to Plato as one of the philosophic throng surrounding Aristotle, and would certainly have used more than the one quotation he uses of the noblest of philosophers. So Dante began the *Convivio* or Banquet in the vernacular. The *Convivio* took the form of a commentary on his lyrical poems, which dealt with the subjects of philosophy and virtue.

The *Convivio* remained unfinished, and was abandoned when the political outlook on which Dante's hopes were based were dashed to the ground by the death of the German Emperor Henry in 1313. He left the world of action for that of ideas and resumed his great theme of the *Commedia*,† of which he had written the first seven cantos some thirteen years before, and now he carried it to its conclusion.‡

In the life-work of Rabelais, his earliest literary work, excluding medical translations, was written to gain a livelihood. He took to the making of almanacs—the most profitable source of literature then in vogue. Of his works in this direction his Pantagrueline prognostications were the most important. Rabelais himself informs us that one of these books—it may have been the *Chronicle*

* *Note*.—The word " Divine " was applied to *La Commedia* long after Dante's death. Dante called this work *La Commedia*, because he said it begins sadly amid the horrors of the Inferno and ends brightly in the perennial sunshine of Paradise.

† Io dico, sequitando, Inf. c. 8, 1.

‡ See Note (a), p. 170, "Vita di Dante," where it is related how the first seven cantos were sent on to Dante, then in exile at Lunigiana.

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of Gargantua—was so popular that more copies were sold in two months than Bibles in a year.

The first two volumes of *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* were published in 1533, but their sale was prohibited by the Faculty of Theology in Paris. For thirteen years, like Dante, no work of Rabelais appeared.

In the destiny of men, illness has often caused a complete change in the sick person, precisely because he is removed from his common everyday life and his mind is confronted with the problems of Eternity. So these thirteen years of stress and strain borne by Dante and Rabelais had taught them to distinguish between true and false philosophy, to discern the substance from the shadow, and to record their experiences and thoughts—the one in poetical form which soars to the highest flights, the other in prose, which has never been excelled.

Like Telephus and Peleus, when each of the two is poor and in exile, they "cast aside their swellings and words a foot and a half long, for they now cared to touch the heart of their audience with their complaints."*

Both writers cloak their philosophy in allegory. You can have no better idea of what allegory is than that given by Dante in the well-known *Epistle to Can Grande*:† "The sense of this work (he refers to the *Paradiso*) is not simple . . . it is of more senses than one; for it is one sense which we get through the letter, and another which we get through the thing the letter signifies, and the first is called literal, but the second allegorical or mystic . . . although these mystic senses have each their special denominations they may all, in general, be called allegorical, since they differ from the literal and historical, for allegory is derived from *alleon* in Greek, which means the same as the Latin *alienum* or *diversum*."

The literal aspect of the *Commedia* is the state of souls after death. The allegory is man in this world using his freedom of will for evil or good, earning punishment or reward from the Divine justice.

In the third volume of Rabelais' work we read of Panurge asking Pantagruel if he (Panurge) should marry, and if he married, would his wife deceive him, and the reader has difficulty in following the labyrinthine means and voyage undertaken, as it were, at random, to answer these questions. The questions of Panurge, from the point of view of allegory, resolve themselves into a defined plan and reasoned attempt to find out what is the destiny of man.

* "Proiicet ampullas et sesquipedalia verba
Si curat cor spectandis tetigisse querella."
Ars Poetica, 96.

† *Espist.*, x.

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We are told by Dante in the *De Monarchia* that man is ordained for two ultimate ends—blessedness of this life, which is figured in the Earthly Paradise, and blessedness of life eternal, which consists in the fruition of the Divine aspect in the Heavenly Paradise. How to gain the latter of these beatitudes is the office of spiritual teachings.

The former, blessedness of this life, may be reached by following philosophical teachings in accordance with the moral and intellectual virtues. It is the utmost limit of the only province through which the psychologist and psychiatrist may travel in the voyage of life. In the company of Rabelais we pursue it from the time Panurge asks if he should marry to the end of his great work, to the rendering of the oracle of La Dive Bouteille; we travel to attain it, with Dante, through the Inferno and Purgatorio, until human reason crowns and mitres mankind, and leaves him with his impulses sound and wholesome, and fitted to enjoy the delights of the Earthly Paradise.

The moral treatise of the Inferno where the effects of sin are witnessed is modelled on the *Ethics of Aristotle*. On the other hand, the Order of Purgatorio is Platonic, and the faults are considered, not according to their effects, but according to their causes. Human wisdom, as personified in Virgil, who is Dante's guide through both these regions, does not always suffice in life's journey to lighten the darkness of intellectual bondage, and so we have the intervention of the heavenly messenger before the Gates of Dis and, at times, uncertainty of the way in Purgatory is shown by Virgil.

The truly impenitent are within the Inferno proper. The trimmers, the Laodiceans, those who are neither hot nor cold, are, with, those angels who were neither for God nor against him when Satan was cast from Heaven, within the Gates of the Inferno. But Dante has no place for them, either in Heaven or Hell; they do not cross the river Acheron, like the unbaptized children and the virtuous heathen. Unlike the latter, they do not spend their Eternity in the noble castle of Limbo—that exquisite symbol of human knowledge, girded by its seven walls typifying the seven moral and speculative virtues or seven parts of philosophy defended by the fair stream of eloquence, with its seven gates, each representative of a liberal art—the arts of the trivio and quadrivio, and its green meadows crowded by the philosophic throng. From Limbo the shade of Virgil had to come to lead Dante from the Wood of Error, to Limbo he returns when his mission is accomplished.

The true Inferno begins in the second circle, where Minos sits and awards punishment according to the nature of the sin.

Aristotle divides evil actions which prevent man from attaining

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earthly bliss into incontinence, brutishness, and malice or vice. Virgil, in describing the Aristotelian evil actions, takes no notice of Dante's first and sixth circles of the Inferno. The former has been referred to; the latter is the place where Dante has the heretics and those, such as the Epicureans, who denied the immortality of the soul. Virgil—a heathen like Aristotle—did not recognize sins of unbelief. In the journey through the Inferno we pass through the circles for the incontinent, the brutish, and finally those for the fraudulent, who are placed in the lowest part of the Inferno, since fraud, being peculiar to man, is the most heinous crime.

Thus Dante, with his guide, travels through zone after zone of blacker vice, of intenser torment, to the centre of the Earth, the very centre of the Universe, the point in cold and darkness furthest removed from the light and love of the celestial dwelling-place.

In the punishments of the Inferno we are given graphic pictures of the mental agony of human souls which have chained themselves and have refused to leave the darkness of ignorance and vice, who waste their powers on fleeting material attractions. Throughout their life they remain in the Wood of Error—the *Selva oscura*; they may have had glimpses of light; they may have caught a sight of the hill-top lit by the morning sun, as Dante did, but like him they turned back into the darkness, for to climb and reach the light they would have had to pass the three wild beasts—the leopard, the lion and the wolf, symbols of pride, avarice and envy. But, unlike the poet, they do not find the true path out of the Wood, for they refused the guidance of earthly wisdom.

Among the incontinent are Paolo and Francesca, condemned for carnal sin to be continually tormented and driven before a terrific whirlwind. Yet amidst this torment there is to Francesca no greater grief in misery than to remember a happy time when she was alive.

Filippo Argenti, noted for his brutal anger in life, and others who thought themselves great kings in the world, lie like swine in the mire of the Stygian marsh.

Pope Nicholas the Third, guilty of simony, is fixed head downwards in a hole, one of many, in the fiery rock of one of the dens of Malebolgia, with flames of fire perpetually running on the soles of his feet. "How much money did our Lord ask of St. Peter when he gave the keys into his keeping?" the poet demands of him, and not waiting for an answer, tells him, "Nothing but follow me." And here we may note the meticulous accuracy of Dante, for the glowing cauldron of the Pope is neither greater nor less than one of the baptismal fonts of the beautiful Church of St. John, one of

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which Dante himself broke to save an infant who was drowning therein.

The hypocrites go the round of their allotted place, wearing gilded mantles, but these are not what they seem—they are all lead within :

" O in eterno faticoso Manto." *
c. 23–67.

Time will not permit me to give you more than another example. It is the circle where the traitors are embedded like straws in ice. Ugolino is seen at his loathsome feast on the head of Archbishop Ruggieri, but leaves it for the moment to tell the pitiful story of the Tower of Famine.

The dominating note of the Purgatory is ethical, and as it is the express function of human reason or philosophy to guide man to earthly blessedness, consisting of the exercise of the moral virtues typified in the Earthly Paradise, Virgil remains Dante's guide.

Beneath the gate of entrance to Purgatory are those spirits who neglected to repent until the extremity of their life, and they are placed under the guardianship of Cato, who opposed all negligence of duty.

Though Cato, the stoic—the ideal representative of moral liberty —committed suicide, Dante does not place him in the wood of the suicides of the violent against themselves in the Inferno. He regarded his act as symbolical, as analogous to the act of crucifying the flesh that the spirit might be made free. He (Cato) was the type of man whose judgment and will were free, because he did not allow them to be swayed by appetite, and his moral excellence brought him the equivalent of that revelation in which Christians rejoice.

The seven Kingdoms of Purgatory are the seven states of those spirits who were slow to repent and were sinners up to their last hours in one of the seven disordered states of love—three excessive, one defective and three perverted. The spiritual purgation shows itself in the souls doing sensibly acts of love opposed to the sins they have committed. The most perverted disorder of love (pride) is punished in the lowest terrace, the least excessive (luxury) carnality) in the highest, and as Virgil appears to Dante in a wood —the dark Wood of Error—so he leaves him in a wood, but of a very different nature—the Divine Forest of the Earthly Paradise. There the sun shines on Dante's brow, and the tender grass, the flowers and the shrubs can be seen, and there Beatrice, the emblem of heavenly wisdom, awaits him—Beatrice who is henceforth to be his guide.

* " Oh weary mantle for eternity."

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I shall cite the order of one of the terraces only. Take that where the proud purge themselves. They creep round the terrace bearing heavy masses of stone. They meditate on examples of humility graven on the rocky wall, the image of the Virgin Mary, King David dancing before the ark, all sculptured in white marble, so that not only the artists of Greece, but Nature there would be put to shame. As the humble are exalted on the rocky wall of the terrace, so the proud are depicted laid low on the pavement, from Lucifer and Briareus to Cyrus and Holofernes. In their round of the terrace the proud repeat the Lord's Prayer and bless those who are poor in spirit. It is not the sins that are committed that are the causes of one being placed in the Inferno and another in Purgatory. The poet's master, Brunetto Latini, who taught him how man makes himself eternal, could not temper his lust, and because of his impenitence he walks in the Inferno in a burning sandy plain under a perpetual rain of fire.

Guido Guinicelli had likewise failed to restrain his carnal appetite within the limits of the social institutions of humanity and Nature's laws, but he repented of his sin and purges himself in a fiery furnace so that he may be pure in heart.

Guido Buonconte, of Montefeltro, is in the Inferno, for though in life he had repented of his sins and become a monk, he gave evil counsel to the Pope, who told Guido that he could shut and open Heaven and would therefore absolve him from his sin; but the Devil took Guido at his death, saying that he, the Devil, was a logician, that it was not possible for a man to repent and will an evil thing at the same time.

Buonconte's son, mortally wounded in battle, is in Purgatory, for before he died he repented, and as the Angel of God took his soul the Devil cried, "Why robbest thou me? Thou bearest away the eternal part of this man for a little tear."

As MacConnachie is the unruly half of Sir James Barrie, so Panurge represents the disorderly side of Rabelais. It is Panurge who is the linguist, who speaks thirteen different languages at an inopportune and inexpedient time; it is Panurge who is guilty of much mischief; it is Panurge who begins the day poor and ends it rich. In visiting the Churches of Paris he puts a little piece of money in the confessional box and takes out a big piece, excusing himself for not taking a hundredfold, for above the boxes he reads that whatever one gave would be restored to him a hundredfold. It is Panurge who gives his bonnet to a page and asks him to go into the courtyard and swear for him for a short half hour; it is Panurge who acts as physician to Epistemon and restores him to life; it is Panurge who is the coward in the storm; and, finally, it

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is Panurge who asks the advice of Pantagruel as to his marriage, and if he married would his wife deceive him. πανουργος is a Greek word meaning ready for anything, mostly in a bad and knavish sense. It is derived from πᾶν = every, ἔργον = work. Human energy, unless it is directed by wisdom, drifts hopelessly on the sea of life. As Virgil guides Dante, so Pantagruel advises Panurge.

Pantagruel is contemplative and always maintains a moral greatness. To him classical learning would be meaningless if it did not teach something. Did it not form, as it were, a stepping-stone to higher things, to confirm one's faith in the progress of the human race, to add to one's confidence in the future of humanity, to arm one against dallying in the journey of life with the deceptions of the moment.

The question of the marriage of Panurge is a general one—no woman is named. Indeed, in all Rabelais' writings, references to women are singularly absent, and only once does he have a passing sympathetic reference to them. In his *Abbey of Thélème* he has a place for women beloved and deserving to be loved. The question of Panurge is allegorical, and as the plan of Pantagruel is unfolded, the object of the marriage is revealed—it is the vision of Dante's Lady of the Window ; it is the search for my Lady Philosophy.

Frère Jean advises Panurge to consult the clocks of Varennes. What do they say ? They repeat the experience of the widow who consulted her *curé* as to whether she should or should not marry her valet. " Consult the clocks," says the *curé*, after hearing her arguments for and against the marriage. " Marry," said the clocks, but after some months she returned to the *curé* and complained that she should never have married, and again the *curé* advised her to consult the clocks. " Do not marry," said the clocks. This consultation of echoes failing, Pantagruel advises Panurge to try the Virgilian lots—that is to say, to open three times at random the works of Virgil or of Homer, and to take as an answer the first verses which strike the eyes.

Pierre Amy, the Franciscan and friend of Rabelais, we are told, consulted Virgil after a search conducted in his rooms and in those of Rabelais, and Virgil answered :

" Heu fuge, crudeles terras fuge littus avarum."*

This counsel he followed and came happily out of the affair. Panurge uses dice in selecting his verses from Virgil, but gets no satisfaction.

Dreams are resorted to on the ground that when the body is asleep and when the functions of digestion are completed, nothing

* Flee this greedy bank and these cruel lands.

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being required until awakening, the soul frolics and reverts to its own country, which is Heaven, and notes there future things and carries them back to its body, making them to be known by the senses and organs to which it has communicated them. Panurge dreams that he is married to a charming woman, who, in loading him with caresses, grows two pairs of horns on her brow. Then all changes; he finds he is transformed into a tambourine and the lady into an owl. The beginning of the dream makes him happy, the end perplexes him, and he is no nearer an answer to his questions. Let us consult the "Sybil of Panzoust," says Pantagruel. Having found her the Sybil writes her oracle on leaves and throws them to the wind. From reading the scattered leaves Pantagruel reads that Panurge will be deceived by his wife if he marries. Panurge interprets the leaves in a contrary sense. "One thing is clear," says Pantagruel; "it is that the oracle is not clear." Then in turn the dumb, the dying, and Her Trippa (the astrologer) are consulted: none of the three is satisfactory.

The dumb communicates by signs, reminding one of the famous contest by signs of the philosopher and the man blind of an eye. Finally, the theologian, the doctor and the lawyer are asked their opinions, but none of them is competent to give a clear answer. They are full of words, but their words are devoid of matter.

Pantagruel, seeing Panurge thoughtful, advises him now that he has consulted all the wise to ask advice of a fool, and tells how easily a fool decided the dispute between the proprietor of a cook-shop and a porter. The former demanded money from the latter because he stood where he could smell the dinner, and the fool decided that the porter should pay the keeper of the restaurant by letting him hear the rattling of the few sous he possessed.

Triboulet, the King's fool, is consulted, but only three words can be drawn from him liable to favourable and unfavourable interpretation. The man of instinct has failed them—they set out to consult La Dive Bouteille.

Superstition teaches nothing; it only confirms the wisdom which holds that the world is not ruled by caprice but by precise laws. There is no virtue in inanimate things whereby the future can be unrolled, nor have animate beings in their dreams, by magic, by their signs, in instinct, in the hour of death, in their reading of the stars, any gifts of revealing the future, and therefore a voyage is undertaken to La Dive Bouteille.

In setting out on their voyage Pantagruel and his companions make a great provision of pantagruélion. The charming and lively description of hemp, from a scientific point of view, has gained the approval of botanists as a work of prime importance. According

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to Rabelais, this plant plantagruélion is the ideal and example of all joyous perfection. If its merits had been known when the trees thought of choosing a king (Judges, x, 8–15), Le Chanvre, he believed, would have been elected.

Above all it is its uses in mechanics and navigation which attract Rabelais' praise. Through it the powers of man are exemplified in the form of sails and ropes, in that the most distant peoples are brought into relationship. He prophesies that through it man may be able to raise himself into celestial space, and be enabled to discover the hidden causes of phenomena which at present astonish us.

To take a great provision of pantagruélion is to furnish courage and boldness in the long and venturesome voyage about to be undertaken in the search of truth.

The first steps of the voyage are to islands where the five senses are seen in action, and here Rabelais in allegory uses somewhat similar symbols to Bunyan in his Holy War, but the misuse of the senses in the islands visited, and of the faculties of mind in those reached later, are more allied to the sculptures, engravings and warnings witnessed on the terraces of Purgatory; they are all intended to strengthen and uphold the mind in its endeavour to rid itself of all that is false, of all that may lead it astray from the narrow ways of true philosophy. Rabelais, when he writes seriously, never writes at random: each island visited conveys its message and each episode is used to encourage the voyagers to persevere to the end. The well-known narrative on which the proverb "Les Moutons de Panurge" is based is told just after the island of Médamothi—the island of appearances and ostentation—has been visited. In Médamothi Pantagruel acquires a chameleon, great as a young bull, with the horns and feet of a stag, and clothed like a bear. It was not the skin which changed colour but the hair. Thus the chameleon became grey when near Panurge, scarlet beside Pantagruel, and white near the Pilot. Abandoned to itself it had the colour of an ass.

The chameleon is the prototype of the inhabitants; they abuse the faculty of sight. On leaving Médamothi the incident of the sheep takes place. Panurge buys a sheep of a merchant with whom he has had a quarrel; he throws the sheep overboard, and its comrades follow into the water and drown themselves because of this servility. Even Dindenault, the owner, in attempting to save one is carried overboard by it. It is natural of the sheep to follow the first wherever he goes, and there is danger that they may drag the shepherds with them. The sense of smell is in evidence at Ennasin, taste at Chéli, touch among the Chicanous at Tohu-Bohu. The sense of hearing is satisfied with melted words (paroles

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dégelées). Antiphanes compared the teachings of Plato to children to words which, carried into northern countries, freeze, or subsequently melt if taken into a warmer country. The teachings were not understood at the moment when children receive them; they re-awaken and melt later in their minds as they grow older. The voyagers are in the neighbourhood of the Arctic Sea, when frozen words fall on deck as dragées, which melt in the warmth of the hand. The travellers hoped that the words of the past would contain an interesting revelation, but the melted words only spoke of battles. The history of the past is full of them. The strongest ends by crushing the weak. Man has used his liberty badly in the past. The history of battles and wars may at the most warn us of what we should shun; it throws no light on the questions which the travellers set out to answer.

It is easy to find in the voyage illustrations of the seven capital sins in action in the many islands visited, but while the passions and emotions are most powerful in diverting from the truth, there are vices of the intellect which also lead one from the true way.

In the island of Entéléchi the inhabitants are full of exaggerated politeness; they will not warn you of danger lest they might contradict and be impolite. After dinner they have a ball, which is the game of chess played by living persons, and their pleasures, like their work, are pedantic and *précieuse*.

In the island of Satin, where one sees *au naturel* all kinds of unnatural wonders, we are in the country of printed and spoken lies and of deceptive legends. Here Oui Dire (Hearsay) reigns—Oui Dire, the father of history, the narrator of the true and the false. He is a little, old, and hunchbacked man with his throat split to the ears. Within the throat are seven tongues. Each tongue is split into seven parts. All seven parts of each tongue give vent to different propositions and diverse languages. Oui Dire has also on his head and on the rest of his body as many ears as formerly Argus had eyes. Otherwise he was blind and paralysed in his limbs. It is interesting to us in Scotland to know that one of his Court was Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, that same Pope Pius the Second who made the historical pilgrimage to the White Kirk, near Dunbar, in the reign of James the First of Scotland. Pope Pius the Second is placed here, for, as a theologian, he had fought against the infallibility of the Pope and maintained infallibility energetically when he became Pope himself.

Finally, the voyagers reach the islands of the Lanterns, and to one of these they are conducted by the priestess Bacbuc to La Dive Bouteille.

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La Dive Bouteille is a kind of jar placed in a hexagonal fountain. Bacbuc leads Panurge forward and asks him to listen.

Panurge heard the word of the bottle, "Drink." "Is the bottle broken or cracked?" he cried. Is our search a deception? Is the last word in the journey of life the philosophy of the Epicurean, the finding of Ecclesiastes? "Drink thy wine with a merry heart. Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might, for there is no work nor device nor knowledge in the grave whither thou goest."

This is not the conclusion of Rabelais, for the priestess has a later word—somewhat oracular too—but the general sense of which is clear. It is work, seek, study, instruct yourselves. In carrying on the work of your predecessors you will go further than they. Each age brings new knowledge. Truth is the daughter of time, but in seeking truth do not isolate yourself from your fellow men. Love each other. To perfect the way of knowledge and of wisdom —all philosophy, all wisdom have recognized the necessity for the guidance of God and the company of men. "Go," said the priestess, and Pascal has used her famous saying as the text of a sermon— "Go, my friends, in the protection of this intellectual sphere (which we call God), and of which in all places is the centre and in no place is there any circumference."

In his Republic Plato symbolizes his theory of knowledge in the image or myth of the Cavern.

The majority of mankind are pictured as prisoners in a subterranean cave, chained with their backs to a fire, looking on the shadows thrown by it on the rocky wall and mistaking them for realities.

The turning round of some of these prisoners to the light, the toilsome ascent up the slope to the mouth of the cave, and the gradual training of their eyes, bewildered in the sunlight, to see the real things in the upper world, and finally to look up to the sun itself, represent the education of the philosopher.

When Dante arrives in Purgatory he sees the angel pilot bringing to its shores the saved souls, and as the vessel approaches he hears them singing the psalm, "In Exitu Israel" ("When from Egypt out of Bondage"). Before Pantagruel and his companions set out on their voyage they sing the same psalm.

Both writers recognize the bondage of the intellect—the one has painted it in the glowing colours of the impenitent in the Inferno, the other in its servility to superstitious customs, to unseen powers to foretell the future, to that introspection which pretends to plumb the depths of any human mind.

Both have told us how easy it is to descend to perpetual darkness;

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how difficult it is to cast off intellectual bondage; how painful to ascend to the light—to purge ourselves of the "blossoms of passion," those "gay and luxuriant flowers," which deceive us by their brightness, but bring death in their odour.

Both lead us to an earthly paradise, where, drinking of the streams of Lethe and of Eunoc, the memory of evil is lost, and the good, which was overlaid and withered, is resurrected, and—like Dante himself—Philosophy is rendered "Puro e disposto a salire alle stelle."*

* Pure and disposed to mount to the stars.
Purg., c. 33–145.

The Provisional Treatment Order of the Royal Commission.† By

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Introductory.

The Lunacy Acts of England and of Scotland are in urgent need of amendment. The parent Act for Scotland dates back to 1857, since when great changes affecting its serviceableness have taken place in the social life of the country as well as in the scientific world. It, however, definitely recognizes the paramount position of the medical profession in the treatment of mental diseases, for under its provisions no layman or magistrate is called upon to interview the patient before he is placed in a mental hospital, and no layman or visiting committee is held to be responsible for his removal when recovered. Medical men discharge these and all similar duties, and to this feature must be ascribed the success of the Scottish system. It has gained the confidence of the people and in place of misgivings and suspicion, there is pride in our mental hospitals and in their management. No case of improper detention has ever been recorded in the law courts. The Act of 1857 has served its day and generation well, and its principles of medical responsibility and of reliance on the honour of the medical profession are established in Scotland.

The Lunacy Acts for England and Wales were consolidated in the Act of 1890.

From the legal and administrative points of view it is a complete

† Being the address which opened a discussion on "Points in the Report of the Royal Commission on Lunacy and Mental Disorder (England and Wales) at the Annual Meeting of the Association held at Edinburgh July 22, 1927 (*conjointly with the Section of Mental Diseases of the British Medical Association*).

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