THE OPEN MIND:

B-ZP (Southard)

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The OPEN MIND

"He bestowed on us the benediction of the open mind, a golden treasure if we can but preserve it."

M. M. Canavan

The OPEN MIND

Elmer Ernest Southard

1876-1920

BY FREDERICK P. GAY

With an Introduction

BY ROSCOE POUND

NORMANDIE HOUSE

1938

TO A WIFE WHO, IN ADDITION TO MANY
OTHER VIRTUES, HAS THE FACULTY
OF MAKING MY FRIENDS HER OWN

Author's Preface

TWENTY YEARS *ago the curtain of ignorance that still hangs over the problem of mental disorder was being lifted by a widely understanding person. Ernest Southard, philologist at heart, psychologist and philosopher by predilection, and pathologist by rigorous training, let his prodigious energy in its maturity flow over into the most baffling of all fields, psychiatry. In his approach towards an understanding of "the insanities," as he liked differentially to call them, Southard brought to bear the several techniques and bodies of fact that his wit, industry, and wisdom had mastered. He was equipped as a profound student of scientific methodology, and as a believer in the oneness of the technique of discovery, to consider the problems of mental disease in the light of each and all the several disciplines with which he was familiar.*

Southard has been erroneously classified as an "organicist," because his predominant role as pathologist led him naturally to emphasize the objective revelations of the autopsy knife and the microscopic section; in reality his studies were directed fundamentally toward the demonstration of a constant interrelationship between structure and function, or more specifically, the inseparable correlation of mind with body. In his own words he was an "interactionist."

But neither the still debated genesis and nature of mental abberation, nor the far from exhausted field of diseased brain

anatomy, sufficed to monopolize this man's eager intelligence. In the latter years of his life his encompassing mind sought a system of order in the entire list of ills to which flesh is heir. He sought for a new form of social ethics through research, which as its first step outlined a "Kingdom of Evils," a conceptual geography that includes all human difficulties; a kingdom divided into the realms of Disease, Ignorance, Vice, Resourcelessness, and Legal Entanglement. In face of so fundamental and embracing an outline, efforts at ordinary Social Service, Social Uplift, and Mental Hygiene become detail methods, and they lend themselves too readily to propaganda rather than to understanding.

The emphasis on evil rather than good is no philosophy of pessimism. Southard was by nature an optimist who realized that the logic of life is best served by indirection. Positive values are better attained by knowledge of their opposites. Southard deliberately adopted the "pathological approach" to all human problems. Not only has the normal structure of the nervous system been learned by study of degenerated nerve tracts, but normal mental functions are understood by the study of their exaggerations in the insane. Health is preserved through knowledge of disease; education depends on understanding of the forms of ignorance; reformation predicates a conception of the vices; social security depends on understanding that resourcelessness is more than simple poverty; and legal entanglements are avoided by knowing their causes. In fact, all life's adjustments depend on an understanding of the Kingdom of Evils. And finally, the cure itself comes not through extolling the good things of life but by eradicating the evils.

Southard in the forty-three years of his existence never arrived at the full eminence to which his intellectual power,

originality, and zeal for work entitled him. The world has not yet grown up to his ideas. Few geniuses with the powers of a polymath, such as he possessed, arise in a generation; and from such alone might we hope to see his successor appear.

But Ernest Southard was a good deal more than an intellectual prodigy who scattered inspiration, and, it must be confessed, at times, dismay, among the orthodox. He was a great human being. He was a unique, directive, and often a predominating influence in the lives of many men and women. He seldom left anyone, who passed more than a fleeting moment in his company, indifferent. The innumerable instances of his unselfishness, kindliness, patience, and help are here for the first time gathered for inspection, although they have long been cherished as unique memories by those who enjoyed them.

Whatever the faults of this biography may be it has lacked neither enthusiasm nor source material. It started with the sixty odd letters that the wide intervals of separation during the thirty years that I enjoyed intimate friendship with Ernest Southard, allowed me to receive. No one of these letters was ever knowingly destroyed—an unusual treatment that was due not only to personal fondness but to a love of their literary flavor. And when I began to write, three years ago, to an ever widening circle of his friends, his teachers, his classmates, his colleagues, his associates, and his pupils, I was amazed at the response. Associates and pupils had often treasured not only letters but rough notes, categories, lists, prospectuses, indeed, every line he had penned that came into their hands. When close and continued association replaced written communications there were memories—memories that were seldom perfunctory. Remembered aphorisms, striking incidents, unforget-

table phrases and words. Poignant and unusual characterizations by sentences, by paragraphs, by pages, poured in to delight me.

Mabel Southard who, with rare discrimination, had saved the letters, diaries, notes, and the finished, as well as the unfinished, manuscripts of her husband, has generously entrusted them to me, and has permitted quotation from his writings wherever found. Mary Jarrett, who had been given Southard's entire correspondence and memoranda in relation to psychiatric social service and the mental hygiene of industry, has aided me in every way in orientation on these phases of his career with which she was so closely identified. Marion Perkins, Southard's favorite cousin, has opened to me a complete understanding of his devotion to his parents, through personal reminiscence, and particularly as mirrored in his letters to them, from which I have liberally quoted. And most of all do I owe a debt of gratitude to Myrtelle Canavan, for many years Southard's devoted and accomplished research associate, an enthusiastic and unending source of information on all phases of the "Master's" scientific and professional work in neuropathology and psychiatry. She has been the recognized source of information to the many who, for personal or public purpose, have sought to know more of what Southard accomplished, or planned to accomplish, in his chief field of endeavor. The accuracy that I believe this story possesses is in large part due directly or indirectly to her never failing aid.

Fortunately several of Southard's teachers, and many of his contemporaries remain, and have been not only willing but enthusiastic in recalling a still vivid personality whom they admired and loved. All of the uncounted disciples and students of Southard's that I have reached have been equally generous

and even more devotedly expressive of their reminiscences. These latter have excelled the contemporaries in documentation; with many of them, every scrap of paper on which Southard wrote those characteristically legible and balanced words has been carefully garnered and generously contributed: lists of volumes planned, outlines and chapter headings of projected articles, and monographs; orderly columns of comparisons, synonyms, antonyms, and paradigms; in short, all those evidences of the long hours of joyous toil that filled his life.

The backbone of this biography lies, as it properly should, in extensive quotations from what Southard himself wrote and said. The interpretation of his motivation and action rests on the descriptions of many collaborators but, in last analysis, is of necessity in many instances my own. The preconception that I was writing not only about a friend, but concerning a unique personality of astounding intellectual power, has intensified as the record grew. It has been at once a never-ending source of delight and at the same time a liberal education to attempt a reconstruction of Ernest Southard's life.

F. P. G.

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Introduction

IN 1915, I published in the HARVARD LAW REVIEW an article on *Interests of Personality*—the claims or demands or desires involved in the individual existence (physical, mental, and spiritual) which press upon the legal order for recognition and security. Dr. Southard's habitual reading of everything related to human life led him to read this article, and he called at my office to talk with me about it and about how far some of the ideas were usable in the work he was doing. His orderly mind seized upon the classification of the interests which the legal order seeks to secure as individual, public and social. He saw possibilities in this legal classification for systematizing an account of the ills with which he had to wrestle as director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. He told me that not the least of his major problems was what cases to deal with himself, what to turn over to others and to whom, and how to determine with reasonable assurance which course to take. Thus began an acquaintance which quickly developed into a most valued friendship. I soon learned to appreciate and admire his all round scholarship, his sense of scientific values, his bent for system and order, leading to a zeal for arrangement and classification, tempered by good sense and a philosophical awareness of the function and limitations of classification, and his urge to bring everything relevant to bear upon the tasks which were in his special field. With all, I came to know a sterling character which was an example of what a professional man should be to the followers of every profession.

Three sides of Dr. Southard call for notice: a practical side, a professional side, and a scholarly side. Not that a professional man should not be both practical and scholarly, or that a scholar cannot be practical nor engaged in a profession. But certain activities are characteristically practical, others are

characteristically professional, and still others are characteristically scholarly. In Dr. Southard all three types of activity were in evidence and were maintained in a well reasoned balance. On the practical side he was a public-spirited citizen, an effective administrator, a teacher, and a social worker. On the professional side he was a neuropathologist and psychiatrist. On the scholarly side he was a philosopher, a psychologist, a sociologist, but with broad literary as well as scientific interests. But no desultory scattering of his energies was involved in this all round development of interests. He knew how to unify them and direct them to the purpose of his life work.

Of Dr. Southard as a public-spirited citizen it is enough to refer to his useful activities during the World War. As to his capacity as an administrator it is enough to vouch his work as director of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. Of his skill as a teacher I know chiefly from accounts of some of those who worked under him in the Psychopathic Hospital. But his feeling for effective teaching and scientific interest in the instruments of teaching are attested by his investigation of the case method, developed by Langdell in the Harvard Law School, and endeavor to adapt it to the purposes of his special field.

When we think of Dr. Southard as a social worker, we are led to compare his "Kingdom of Evils" (published posthumously, 1922) with the earlier book of Miss Richmond *(Social Diagnosis,* 1917) and the later one of Dr. Young *(Social Treatment in Probation and Delinquency,* 1937). There has been great progress in the scope and method of social work, and better understanding of its purposes and methods, since Dr. Southard wrote. Also there has been much development of co-operation of agencies of every description with each other. But Dr. Southard's contribution to this progress and development is notable. Miss Richmond's book had to do with technique. Dr. Southard was concerned with social therapy, and with the co-operation that is attained by assigning to each agency the cases with which it is best adapted to deal. Cases came to him as a result of some nervous or mental disturbance. That disturbance, however, might be a result of some other condition. He sought to know whether he was confronted with disease or defect of

mind or body calling for cure, or with educational deficiencies and misinformation calling for teaching, or with vices and bad habits calling for training, or with the results of legal entanglements calling for counsel, or with poverty and other forms of resourcelessness calling for aid. Today we realize that these things, distinct enough at the core and in typical cases, are not always separable. Also we have learned that diagnosis must go forward to much more detail. This is true particularly in the case of delinquent children. But in the case of adults, with whom Dr. Southard was concerned, he not only pointed the way but provided an effective method which is still useful. He not only indicated the main lines of diagnosis, he showed the end of diagnosis, namely, to point out the agency to which we must turn for the best results.

Others must speak of the professional side. I know of his work as a neuropathologist and psychiatrist only from his two case books and the reprints of papers which he regularly sent me. I can claim no competence to estimate them.

At the beginning of the present century a tendency arose to unify the social sciences. It was a part of a growing tendency to look outside of the academic limits of different fields of learning and break down the hard and fast partitions which had been set up partly because of the accumulation of detail in every subject and minute specialization required by the mass of facts worked out in an increasing variety of institutions for research, and partly by the demands of professional courtesy in an era of multiplying chairs and devotion of professorships to narrowly defined specialties. One result of the reaction from excessive specialization and rigid setting off of subjects of teaching was a movement to bring all science and indeed all organized knowledge to bear upon social work. Dr. Southard was especially active and zealous in the beginnings of this utilizing of all knowledge in the social sciences upon the problems of each. He had a clear sense of the bearing of the history of science upon the thought and methods of today, both as pointing us to old paths by which to reach new objectives and old instruments capable of new uses, and as limiting our effectiveness by the need of using the old paths and old

instruments for new tasks to which they have still to be adapted. In this way, for example, he was brought to study the taxonomic method of Linnæus and to find in the latter's Genera Morborum possibilities for classification beyond the taxonomy of organisms. We master nature by understanding it. This is true of human nature no less than of external nature. We understand it by organizing its phenomena. If system and classification have become discredited for a time, it is because for a season men had thought of them as ends, had pushed them for their own sakes to purely logical refinements, and had thought of taxonomic categories as having intrinsic validity instead of as instruments. Dr. Southard understood this well. It is characteristic of him that the fashion of the time, which discredits system and classification and thinks of single phenomena as significant and self-explanatory, did not deter him from attempts to organize by classification the phenomena with which he came in contact in social work and in psychiatry. He was interested in classification for its possibilities as an instrument of diagnosis, and in the "Kingdom of Evils" gave an example of what can be achieved for social work in this way.

One need not say that the title "Kingdom of Evils" was suggested by his reading of Linnæus. Dr. Southard had seen that there were things of enduring value in Linnæus' philosophy of taxonomy and had known how to use them. Evidently he had thought much on this subject for, unless I mistake, we may see the same combination of philosophical organization and taxonomic skill as instruments of diagnosis in his case books. His philosophical training had taught him to seek a balance between types and classes of phenomena, on the one hand, and individual features of concrete cases, on the other hand, and to avoid the common mistake of seeing only the one or the other.

Thus as a philosopher, widely read and well informed in that subject, which was beginning to reassert itself in the sciences after a long period of neglect, he conceived of the social sciences as organized knowledge of human life and pursued them in that spirit. To him knowledge of human life was of immediate significance as a means toward treatment of

the ills with which humanity is afflicted. This was the instrumental point of view which he had learned from William James. Others must speak of Dr. Southard as a psychologist.

Dr. Southard became interested in sociology at a time when it was little thought of in his vicinity. With the broadmindedness William James had trained him in, he turned to a new subject and read in it widely and yet deeply. It appealed to him as a science of society which could teach us to do things in the other social sciences and to work out ideas fruitful for social activities. He sought to relate what he drew from sociology to the bearing of social conditions upon the maladjustments of individuals thereto, with which it was his immediate task to deal. He was gone before the rise of the sterile methodologies for their own sake which are now sometimes proclaimed dogmatically as the whole of sociology. But methodologies would have interested him and very likely he would have found in them things which he could put to good use. I know these things from many talks with him. It is a real loss to sociology that he was cut off before he could put his matured ideas into print.

As a man, Dr. Southard was unselfishly helpful. I had many occasions to invoke his wise good counsel for students who had developed nervous conditions, and once, occasion to ask his help for an old friend who had fallen into a bad state of nerves. Pressed as he was, he never hesitated to take time for such cases, and he devoted to them infinite pains and brought to bear on them a cheerful, intelligent common sense that was almost uniformly successful.

The Greek ideal was one of a man in hand and foot and mind foursquare, fashioned without flaw. Today we do not set so much store by ideal physical development as did the Greeks. Today a man in mind and heart and soul foursquare, well rounded in character, in training, in interest, and in achievement is perhaps all that we may ask. The life of such a man should make a wide appeal.

ROSCOE POUND

Cambridge, Massachusetts
28 June 1938

Chapter One

Background and Beginning

ELMER ERNEST SOUTHARD[1] took a serious and wholly justifiable pride in his ancestry, when he came to know about the matter. The fact that his pride was in a sense a defense reaction, as he leaves us in no doubt in an autobiographical note, against the more obvious aristocracy of Bostonian Brahminism, makes it only a bit more human.

For the parents to whom Ernest was born, as an only child, were frugal and unpretentious people who had migrated from a Maine village to Boston, only a few years before his advent on July 28, 1876.

The father, Martin Southard, had been born in Exeter, Maine, on June 8, 1838, and on January 5, 1868 had married Olive Knowles Wentworth. Although a quiet and simple man, he had been ambitious enough to come to Boston as superintendent of a cotton waste factory, and later developed a small but profitable trucking and draying business of his own. His industry brought in enough to enable him to care for his little family in comfort in the not very fashionable district of South Boston; and to own his own home, first at 268 Gold Street, where Ernest was born, and then, for the greater part of their lives, a relatively large corner house at 66 "G" Street. When he

died in 1910, at the age of 72, he left his wife an estate which subsequently became sufficient to provide in large measure for the education of their three grandchildren.

Martin had no very extensive formal education, although he had graduated from the local academy, and had taught for a time. He had, however, a great respect for learning and "an interest in languages" and the precise meaning of words. He was, for example, well grounded in Latin, had read rather widely, and pridefully facilitated his son's scholarly aspirations. Ernest, moreover, was never at any time during his scholastic, college, or graduate education obliged to engage in outside work.

Olive Southard was the more positive and progressive of the two parents. She had been born in the town of Corinna in the south central part of Maine on September 7, 1845. She was a woman of kindly and friendly nature, alert, and possessed of a distinct sense of humor. She was, to use her son's description, "strong intellectually . . . looking on both sides of questions," and smilingly determined in her own decisions. She also had graduated from the local academy and taught school for several years in surrounding towns. Olive Southard had a distinct appreciation of art, and sketched and painted better than the average amateur. There is no doubt that the maternal influence was the first decisive factor in the intellectual development of her gifted son, whose education she forwarded through constant appreciation and understanding. Although her physical limitations were definite during the last forty years of her life, there is reason to believe that she was usually in excellent general health, until the final and brief cardiac episode that caused her death in October, 1921, at the age of 76. She was deeply shaken by her son's untimely decease which preceded her own by a year and a half, although she accepted her loss with philosophical fortitude.

The modest educational accomplishments of Ernest Southard's parents do not fully depict the entire intellectual stimulus that came from his earliest environment. The particular relative outside his immediate family of whom Southard was fondest was his father's sister, Mary Ann Calista Southard

FIGURE I

Olive Wentworth Southard as a girl, probably about 1868

FIGURE 2

Family group including Martin Southard, Olive Southard, and Ernest Southard at the age of 8

("Aunt May"), who was born in 1824 and who was later reputed to be "the best Greek scholar in New England." At all events this determined lady, whose educational opportunities were delayed, finally graduated from Oberlin College in her fortieth year, an infrequent accomplishment for a woman of any age, in the early sixties. Another relative that Ernest admired was his cousin, Frank E. Southard (1854-1906), educated at the University of Maine, and a prominent lawyer in Bath.

The letters that Ernest Southard wrote his parents, a series of which his mother had naturally preserved,[2] extend from the age of ten years to the time of his death. They mirror not only the successive stages of his increasingly significant life, but clearly trace the precocious development and depth of his intellectual power. They were sent for the most part to his mother, and to her he wrote not only in terms of simple and deep devotion, but with an exceptionally free expression of his emotional feeling. These letters were, until the latter phases of his life, unhurried and full of literary expression. A somewhat unusual family belief that "each one is entitled to his own individuality," is evidenced in the fact that Southard almost invariably addressed his mother's letters to "Mrs. Olive Wentworth Southard," rather than to the more conventional "Mrs. Martin Southard." He later used a similar method in addressing letters to his own wife. This detail is significant in view of his later social philosophy of the danger of individual dominance in a family.[3]

The pitch and simplicity of the mutual devotion in the Southard family is indicated by the fact that the superscription "Dear papa and mamma" did not become "My dear ones," or "My dear people" until Ernest was fully eighteen years old. Indeed, a touching letter of encouragement that he sent his father in 1910, when the latter was already incapacitated by his final illness, was still addressed to "Dear papa," and since it happened to have been written on the son's birthday, ended with "Your thirty-four year old boy." The excerpts that follow are given, not so much for the purpose of outlining Ernest Southard's life, but as suggesting the reasons for an answer he

gave in an autobiographical questionnaire in 1917.[4] The question read:

Please state by arrangements of letters the relative strength of influence of home (a), of school (b), of early companionship (c), of private study (d), of contact with men in active life (e), upon your own success in life.

Home (a), was placed first in order.[5]

An excerpt from a letter that Ernest wrote from East Deering, New Hampshire, when he was fifteen, suggests both the religious liberality of the family, and the early orientation of the boy in literature and life:

The Smiths are Episcopalians and confessedly lovers of form . . . Universalists! Faugh! ! ! But I hope some day to prove that Universalists and Unitarians are something . . . To tell the truth I am somewhat homesick. I should like to see you astonishingly . . . Miss Fitz says that a book by Voltaire is not wholesome, because he was an infidel; I said that I should think he would be more impartial than another in matters of history; she replied that a line must be drawn somewhere. What do you think of that? Don't say that I am getting disputatious now.

I am reading Voltaire's History of Charles XII. One expression struck me: 'It is difficult to deceive a free people respecting its true interest.' Charles was born in 1682 . . . etc.

There are a group of letters written from a geological trip in New York and Connecticut in 1894, which show not only his enthusiasm but his more developed literary expression:

Nine hours of dust and weariness and unappreciated landscape . . . Mills in the wooded Berkshires, lily ponds, dry uplands, the Mohawk, steep embankments, noisy cuttings, and a sky growing lighter and lighter . . . brought me to Utica.

And to his mother alone in Dover, New Hampshire:

You can sketch but little. If you do much in that way, why not try the willowed brook with a cow or two under a cider apple tree from Mr. Ham's clover-field fence. Or the swale

and the 'crik,' with a hay-cart tilting up the slope, from a pair of bars down the road a little way from the Emerson's. Get your hand in with the sheep. It is seldom you will find them in all their pristine *tailedness*. Good night. ERNIE

And a week later:

One week has passed in an unbroken series of tramps and slumbers. Nooks of rock and chiaroscuro'ed green have pleased my mother in me, and tall corn fields, bits of pebbly brooks, quiet country roads, rich green hop-gardens (the hops growing as the beans do not), farms that look prosperous, have been passed in a hurry as if by my father in a rush of health.

The first third of the best summer school course there is, has ended. The landscapes, the weather, and the work have been astonishingly interesting and beautiful. As for me, I am of course not *tough* or wiry; but manage to stand the strain with no more than a healthy flush and, indeed, with some degree of hardening—I can write few letters, and those but brief, but I think letters, and you can, I am sure, telepathically.

We are so steeped in our work that we find little time to think of aught else. A thought of you will slip in now and then and I can but welcome the pleasing interloper.

In August 1896, just before beginning his last year of college, he writes his mother, who is summering in the country, from the depths of a philosophical thesis:

MY DEAR MOTHER:

There is an autumn coolness by the window, and the children are crying up from the street in a despairing finale of joy on the eve of school-time. My readings get on well in the novel weather; it remains to be seen whether writing will go as smoothly. The pen, as you see, works like Robin after a spell in his stall.

Papa, that what was said might not come to pass, is as blithe as the horse. He drinks his milk and lets Mr. Mammon go to pot—the proverbial pot of gold that rests at the misty ankles of the rainbow, at least as attainable. The out with Mr. Mammon is that his gossip, homogeneous and eternal, per-

petually clips off the rainbow—and what is so humdrum and unentertaining as a mere pot of gold!

How is grandmother and her apple pies, the archetypes of your own? How are the sheep and the Spanish Blacks? And did you get over the road at a frightful clip? And, above all, are there any big oxen? Or perhaps they are young yet and their bigness to be is only in the bud. Do all the old proportions of size and volume hold everywhere and across the road? Are cows ever driven by Harold P. with pups? School teachers are as ever puffed up with spiritual pride? Former ratios between labor and result still hold up at the fork in the roads, I presume.

Write anyhow and don't get weary resting. ERNIE.

Another letter from a Maine vacation during the summer after he had begun the study of medicine shows that he is still addicted to philosophy:

MY DEAR PEOPLE AT HOME!

The stage goes earlier than usual of late and I'm not sure of catching the garrulous John to deliver this letter into his hands. Though the post office is within an easy radius.

Our Orchard dips down into the pond almost, with pea vines and cucumber vines between. The ponds lie in a chain, with roads winding very precisely round the shores looping in and out. Beyond is a longish ridge, somewhat high, broadside on, partly cleared for a space almost to the top, fluffy for the rest with trees. Down the pond is a boom, hiding the outlet into a stream which gives power to a sawmill and a creamery; the brook has many depictable nooks in it.

Foggy weather (due they say to the vicinity of the lakes) soon burns off but the hot time lasts not long. We walk, read, talk, eat, row, sit on 'our' rock and tree and bridge and swing. Today we plucked over two hundred pond lilies from the shallow almost stagnant water of Lily pond which lies between Casco and Parker's.

I am well into Wundt. Mrs. Lesser reads 'Cape Cod Folks'; Mr. Lesser continues being addicted to theology (so Bradstreet's reported on him). Then we play games from Vienna,

FIGURE 3A

House of the Southards at 268 Gold Street, South Boston, where Ernest Southard was born

FIGURE 3B

House at 66 "G" Street, South Boston, where the Southards lived through most of Ernest's life

as the 'Sun' comes. We play Letters (you may remember my set) at which Mr. Lesser is proficient.

The people are good Maine people, if I know such; and they all testify!

I could stay long.

I am to hear from Brinck (Brinckerhoff) about 'City' (Boston City Hospital). He will come for the library card probably.

Shall I see the little mother before she goes? ERNIE.

A few days later he writes his mother in East Wolfeboro, New Hampshire, a description of his first out-patient clinical work in some detail, and then concludes:

. . . You must not feel sad for us alone here at home; for the thought of your comfort (which one should never strain to get, for fear of setting up a pendulum alternation of exaltation and depression)—that thought is sweet enough to us.

I hope you may find time and strength to sketch a little, with a lake in sight and such breezes! I hope the companions will prove kindly and reasonably still. But so little is to be presumed in the average summer boarder—save perhaps presumption itself. I never felt till this summer at all interested, much less perturbed, by the character of such associates. Perhaps thus I grow more worldly (on all which I must expatiate to Mr. Walter Arensberg, whose knowledge has now probably emerged in its measured progress into scientific and aesthetic fullness).

I play a little chess and am looking forward to another letter from Arthur. Your own little Boy, ERNIE.

In December of the same year he is again playing his, by now, championship chess for Harvard in the New York intercollegiate tournament. The essential modesty of his appraisal of his own unusual ability in the game is evident:

MY DEAR GOOD PEOPLE,

The first day's play is over and we have good courage—a bit better than at two o'clock. At two I at least felt the old epigastric feeling—the slight sinking of the first moment in a cold water plunge. But that I look upon as hardly pathological. I

won my game from Webb of Yale almost too readily. He was scared but was evidently playing sturdily to the ideas given him by Mr. Marshall, the Yale coach. The ideas somewhat too large for him. He played very, very slowly—so that he would have lost on time limit if I had not nobly granted him time. C. says that, reducing it to a very fine ethical point, I was really not treating the other players of the tournament right by such allowance. The most Philistine view of it is that I would rather have the game recorded as won regularly by play than on time limit. Charlie drew his game playing very well after getting into difficulties. I am sure he feels that he is in the class of the other players now. He has after all a very determined tranquil manner marked at appropriate intervals by a steady up-glance which may be said really to hypnotize a bit. Probably my hardest game comes tomorrow—with Meyer of Columbia. Charlie has Ely of Princeton who we surmised wasn't to prove much but tore through Cook of Yale very cleverly. On tomorrow's results will hang a good deal of peace of mind. All the games were finished before adjourning time; but, as Charlie and I came away before Cook's loss was assured, we didn't know that there was to be no evening play. We walked many blocks roundabout and, repairing to 51st street, found Ely's victory recorded. Hence we walked hotelwards and are this evening to rest and write letters.

I have met many whom I knew in other years, and the customary thing is to speak of old times and to inquire whether we are to have the usual walk-over! I wish however I were at home—with my dears. ERNEST.

There are letters home, written from a walking trip on Cape Cod in 1901, following in the steps of Thoreau and done "Thoreauly," as he expresses it, but there is little that is striking in them. Quite otherwise are the glimpses and activities on his first European trip six months later. From Genoa he writes in February:

MY DEAR GOOD PEOPLE,

After the grime and foreignness of Algiers, Genoa was a relief both from the cleanliness of the streets, with electric

tramways and a subway to show modernity and from its relatively few, but (for your first glimpse of Italy), sufficiently swarming antiquities. The town still grows; and there is abundance of newish warehouses, docks, and the like to warrant its being the port of Italy. The new and the old meet surprisingly enough in the old ducal palaces. The office of the Dominion line, for example, is on the third floor of a palace, and you reach it by broad staircases with ornate stone balustrades. The doorway is a sort of court with a fountain-place let in to the wall; and from above down at you looks a grotesque figure in marble; but the figure is dusty, the fountain dry, the court blocked by a truck with a heap of gunny bagging. So also the Palazzo Doria, which dated from 1530, is now chiefly occupied with offices. But, strange to say, many of the palaces were really inhabited and properly decked by true dukes and the like till 1895, when everything fell with a crash in the failure of the Banca Romana. Now, it is said, the dukes live in apartment houses.

The show place of the town is the Campo Santo or Cemetery. Here the rich are buried permanently, the poor for five years or so. And whereas the poor are dug up again, or rather the soil (which by some quality will show hardly a bone in a short interval). The rich are reproduced in marble (sparing $10,000 to $15,000) in some scene surrounded by relatives. Or, less harrowingly, allegorical figures are introduced. These marble tableau—though meant to express emotions which for Anglo-Saxons are tranquil—are all alive with a kind of active sorrow. I bought a few photographs of certain groups which you will be pleased with (when I get back so shortly)—one of two sisters whose deaths were briefly separate and foreseen, one of a monk reading, which startled us when we came in.

At Genoa the young stockbroker who offered me $125 a week to write circulars for his firm left to join his wife in Florence. They are then to leave for the Engadine. With him I saw the Royal Palace (with polished floors of composition stone, silk hangings, a bed seven feet square, pictures by Van Dyke), the town hall with the violin of Paganini, the Campo Santo, the Arcade where we had lunch upon macaroni and a

native fresh fish, and the central station (where I saw him off for Milano).

Nothing has pleased me so much as Algiers in the panorama style. But Genoa also is built at the base of a hill, crowned with Napoleonic fortifications. On the side of the hill is an enormous bas-relief representing the saint (whose name I have forgotten) who had his wounds licked and so cured by dogs . . .

The young stockbroker who tried to buy Southard's brains must have been the one he was fond of quoting in later years as representing the essential spirit of the business executive. The story goes somewhat as follows:

E. E. S: I am interested that you think you could make use of my particular type of mind.

EXECUTIVE: Yes, indeed, we recognize brains whenever we find them and are willing to pay for them. We never, however, by any chance let those who possess them get control of anything.

From Frankfurt, where he settled down to begin his first intensive work on the architecture of the brain, with Weigert, he writes in part:

MY DEAR PEOPLE,

America and home are none the less sweet because I have been unfaithful in writing.

I am now well settled in Frankfurt, well enough pleased with the process of events, and already scheming what to do in July quite in particular.

In Venice already I was a bit worn with seeing and deliberately stayed a couple of days beyond the sightseer's bare needs. And those two days of wandering about Venice, hanging about St. Mark's, watching the pigeons, and listening to the band were quite the most rational days I had spent since leaving the 'New England' at Naples.

Already in Florence the wish to work at something medical had risen to the top once more. And, though my days in Italy were luminous enough to seem at first one's last delight, yet

I found myself blinking away at the dazzle, quite content to let the Baedeker go unread.

And, now after these few days in Frankfurt, Italy and art seem so remote that fresh impressions I can never give you.

Frankfurt is a very clean, quiet, and modern town. The shops are the whole town. The inhabitants are well content with themselves and with the whole world—always excepting the English whom everybody positively and openly detests.

The distances are shorter than for some reason I had supposed. My pension is within hail almost of the Senckenberg Institution, the Opera House, and the Exchange. My room overlooks a park, and as the days get continually warmer, I do not mind the absence of a fire. . . .

Weigert cried,'Ach! so!' when he saw me and said they had been waiting for me for some time.

I was assigned a desk and was fortunately allowed to borrow one of the Institute's microscopes, which were just being released by the closing of the winter semester. I have as yet not done any staining, as it takes several days for the material to come through to that stage. But Weigert has been very kind, and has given me a number of preparations of his own, as well as answers to numerous questions couched in very lame German; not the least of his services was to recommend me a a good pension. . . .

Good-by. This is Sunday morning, the 16th of March. Your little boy, ERNEST.

Later from Heidelberg he says:

. . . But Heidelberg, though not so clean and after all American-seeming as Frankfurt is much prettier. The city lies cramped between the Neckar and two mountains . . . Heavy clouds make and break all day long in this valley; indeed the variableness of river weather I had no conception of till I took the Rhine trip. . . .

. . . You must not think my life so particularly strenuous, as papa puts it. One can't really do more than about so much. And I still work as ever spasmodically. My work with Nissl is the most encouraging contact I have ever had with this

goblin of a nervous system. Nissl is a stout round-shouldered man with a yellowish complexion and reddish hair, glasses perched on a turned up nose, a mole of the size and distribution of Prexy's (C. W. Eliot) and a cigar perpetually in his mouth—a veritable ogre externally but the most amiable person in the laboratory you could imagine. I fancy he is very happy tho' his smoking is doubtless not doing much to better a bad heart.

It was interesting at Baden-Baden to see the consideration for Nissl shown by everybody. It was as if he were admired but at the same time pitied so that there could be no room for envy. He is perhaps forty-five years old now and is Ausserordentlicher Professor with the extraordinary salary of $500 a year with 'keep.' But it is perhaps something to be the greatest cortex pathologist in the world . . .

There are random letters from skimpy vacations in 1903 and 1904, usually taken for the purpose of attending scientific meetings, or to coach the Harvard Chess Players in New York tournaments, but they are factual rather than descriptive. A brief one in April of 1904 is, however, characteristic:

My Dear People,

Safe in New York. The meeting is one of extraordinary interest—and probably worth the money! I have attended two sessions and, at the last, listened to Ehrlich (understood quite a bit of him—papa will excuse the term *bit*!).

Shall go back Saturday night.

Tomorrow I read my own slip of a paper. Good-by.

April first Ernest.

The letters home in 1905 and 1906 deal in brief but trenchant statement with scientific meetings or, by implication, with that most significant incident in Southard's life, his choice of a wife. The hope is expressed that they will be pleased with his paragon. Then come the hurried plans and announcement of the precise hour of the quiet wedding. And finally there are the more detailed and frequent descriptions of his

happiness written on the wedding trip to Maine, that end with a paean of joy:

Well all I can say is, it is much deeper and lovelier than I had fancied. Like the others, I suppose we both entered the new life blindly enough. As for me I hardly knew what it was all about. The fullness of the thing is barred from one, I am disposed to think, till the end—a Greek idea, I think. All is, now we are transcendently happy and hide no thoughts the one from the other. I used to love the betrothal and ante-betrothal mysteries, but they are nothing to the noon-day. E.

There are several letters from Ernest to his mother from England, from Switzerland, and from Germany in the summer of 1907 whither the young married couple went on a more extended vacation following a crowded year of professional activity on both sides of the house. Thus a letter from Liverpool recounts his stimulating contact with the great English neurophysiologist Sherrington and is filled with succinct plans for his future development and work at home. It ends with:

Love in extraordinary masses. ERNIE.

Later he writes from Mainz:

It becomes increasingly difficult to figure out the technique of becoming a great man. But it is a good hope to live in, is it not? 1907

I hope you are full of health and wish you all the joys. We often speak of your perfect lives and wish ours could flow so.

The letters of following years that have been preserved are fewer in number but one need not assume that Ernest, even with the pyramiding of his responsibilities, was any less thoughtful of his mother. In the summer of 1910 when Martin Southard became acutely ill his son was active both in seeking the best possible care for him until he died, and in consoling his bereaved mother. One can imagine how great a comfort

this particular one of the daily letters must have been to Olive Southard:

St. Botolph Club, Boston, Mass.
11 A.M., August 9, 1910

DEAREST MOTHER,

Perhaps it has been a godsend to be so stupefyingly busy these last days! . . .

I am getting calmer over the great sorrow. I'm sure now it was for the best and might have been sooner. But the whole thing has shaken and terrified me more than anything ever before. It is as if I had fallen into a new set of perspectives, and the exciting chase of life, as I have lived it, has receded.

What a good physician papa would have made! Did he ever speak of it? If he only had not had to lead a competitive business life and could have lived quietly on a salary and spent more days like those of the last years! Well, his grandchildren must have their chance, and grow up for years with a grandmother who can tell them about him.

Mabel was touched by the opera-glass present to me. She sends all her love. She keeps saying what we must do for you.

With a heart full of love,

Your little Ernie.

» «

There is usually at least one member of each established American family in a generation who is interested enough in his or her ancestry to become a genealogist of varying competence. The simplest and most common motive in this search of ancestors, lies in the pride of vicarious achievement. As one's skill develops, a less personal research interest in the technique involved, may yield a reward in the joy of discovery. Southard's persistent interest in genealogy involved not only the simpler motives but more complex and scientific ones. Genealogy appealed to him not only in terms of social self-justification, and through its specialized source literature and libraries, but as affording data in etymology, in heredity, and in eugenics and cacogenics.[6] And hereditary influence was broadly conceived to include religious belief and the choice of trades.

Both of Southard's parents were aware through family tradition of a distinguished colonial ancestry. Perhaps the first of Ernest's reasons for authenticating this tradition was compensatory or, as he has expressed it, in an autobiographical fragment:

. . . A very living thing with me is to honor my ancestors by advancing as they did (I mean within definite genealogical periods), and in this sort of ancestor-worship I find literally nothing of the *holier than thou,* although I see what that means.

Then I want to emerge superior to various classmates who were of 'society' in college (here enters a bit of the *holier than thou* feeling on my part, but against a type and not any individuals) . . .

And later on came the whimsical overstatement:[7] "Genealogy is no longer of so much interest, as I find I descended from so many kings."

There is no evidence that Southard drew one of the customary "family trees," or that he ever obtained the data concerning the two hundred odd immigrant ancestors which we may assume preceded him. Many of the index cards, however, on which are inscribed the successive generations exist.[8] To summarize the record we learn:

Martin Southard was the eighth generation in direct descent from Alice Carpenter Southworth, the immigrant who, after the death of her first husband, married Governor William Bradford. Edward Southworth of the third generation had married Mary, the daughter of William Pabodie (Peabody) who had married Elizabeth Alden the daughter of John Alden, a Mayflower immigrant. Other notable immigrant ancestors on the paternal side include William Molines, the father of Priscilla Mullins, who had married John Alden, Jean de Launy (Delano), and Miles Standish.

Olive Wentworth Southard had an equally interesting ancestry. She was descended in direct lines from William Wentworth, John Allen, Bartholomew Stevenson, Ralph Philip Chesley, James Stackpole, John Cousins, John Lazell, all of

them among the earliest settlers in New Hampshire and Maine. She was a member of the Old South Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

But Ernest Southard was by no means content with the mere collection of immigrant ancestors however distinguished they might be. He found two lines of particular interest—the Ordways (paternal grandmother), perhaps because little was known of them, and since the origin of the name presented a neat etymological problem; and the Cousins branch (maternal great-grandmother), as soon as he discovered that various individuals named Cousin, Cousins, Cousyns, and Cognatus, appeared rather frequently in English and French biographical dictionaries and that their writings were well-known. These particular investigations were carried out in some detail at the British Museum during the "wasted year" (1911), when he was recovering from a severe infection. During the same period he also searched the parish records in Wales for the origins of the Ordway family. It is characteristic of him that:

> He talked before my class (in medicine) on Genealogy in general, and particularly as illustrated in his search for the Ordway family in Wales.[9]

Excerpts from many pages of notes gathered by Southard for a projected history of the Ordway family may be of interest to some as indicative of his competence as an etymologist and genealogist. (*See Appendix "B".*)

We shall elsewhere take up in detail Southard's interest in genealogy in its relation to heredity in general, and particularly in relation to the possible heredity of insanity. And closely connected thereto came his concern with heredity as related to genius, and again the possible relation of genius, or at least of eminence, to insanity. Our concern here has been merely to sketch his own particular ancestral and parental background in view of his belief of its influence on his own development and achievement.

Chapter Two

Body, Mind and Soul

MEDICAL MEN with a biographical turn of mind have, in increasing numbers, delighted to describe eminent historical personages in the light of their physical frailties. Southard, himself, had gathered extensive information of this sort, in his studies on "Psychopathy Among Eminent Men."[1] Nothing interested him more fundamentally than the relationship of mind to body, unless it be the underlying relationship of function to structure. In most instances accomplishment and failure in the lives of great men are recorded with greater accuracy than any possible anatomical basis that may underlie them. It may be surmised with some plausibility that Napoleon lost at Waterloo because he had an attack of "petit mal." It is more difficult to feel certain that many of the great figures of the world, such as Wagner, Schopenhauer, Chopin, Turner, Poe, and Jonathan Swift, owed their disabilities, their peculiarities, their pessimism, and possibly their productivity, to eye strain, as Gould[2] has insisted.

Southard's own mind and body offer more complete data for analytic comparison. The assets and the handicaps of his body were not only apparent to himself and to others, but have been explored in rare detail.[3] Although no final relationship

of cause and effect can be offered, we feel that a full account of Ernest Southard's physical personality is particularly needed before beginning the story of his life in detail. The reconstruction of his brilliant mind and an appraisal of his accomplishments are the chief concern of this volume; and only certain aspects are hinted at for the moment. His soul, which we would define here as his own subjective and emotional concept of his personality, is given in his own words and particularly as he contrasted it with his body.

Ernest Southard was born of parents who were of relatively advanced age (father 39 and mother 31), and after they had been married for eight years. He was the healthy child of a robust stock, and grew to be a man of large frame and over six feet in height. Of the diseases of childhood he contracted whooping cough, measles, and chicken pox but was otherwise never seriously indisposed during his early years. His frame was tall and large, and in one respect disproportioned, in that his legs were short in relation to his trunk. He became, after puberty, distinctly overweight and attempts to reduce were only partly successful. A complete physical examination by Dr. Walter Timme in December 1919, barely two months before his death, found him to weigh 211 pounds, and gave evidences of an abnormal set-up or activity of the endocrine glands. A distinct thymic shadow was noted in the radiograph. On an X-ray examination of the head the sella turcica, or bony receptacle on the under surface of the skull that holds the pituitary gland, was markedly deepened, a fact confirmed in the final examination of the brain. All these facts, obesity, partial sex differentiation, headaches that were habitual, and even unusual mental capacity, are consistent with some maldevelopment of the pituitary and other endocrine glands (dyspituitarism; hypopituitarism).

The only serious ailments of his adult life were an attack of colic, diagnosed as gallstones, at thirty-three years of age which never recurred, whether or not owing to a protein diet he persisted in for a few months; and a severe streptococcus infection two years later (1911). This latter episode resulted from an autopsy prick wound that occurred in removing the brain of

a victim of a severe, milk-borne, streptococcus epidemic *(Str. epidemicus)*. The infection produced a rapidly ascending lymphangitis that Southard watched in hospital progressing up his arm "a millimeter an hour." Vigorous surgical interference saved his life, but it was several months before he fully recovered. And he wandered in Europe for the first time in several years, restless, unable to fix his attention on research, and ostensibly unproductive. He often referred to it afterwards as "the wasted year." In reality his mind was still very active, as is shown by copious genealogical notes, the outline of an autobiography, and lists of books he "would like to write if life were to continue indefinitely." There was also extensive travel, and inspection and comment on psychiatric institutes.

Southard frequently prophesied to his intimates, even before this prostrating infection, that he was not destined for long life "with my particular habitus." Indeed his overweight irked him not only physically, but aesthetically. On returning from his first trip abroad with a slight loss of weight in 1902, he speaks of approaching "an ideal of sylphlikeness," and at another time he complains that, "I have not as yet become Adonis-like." This persistent feeling of dissatisfaction in his somewhat ungainly body is reflected in what he said to Mrs. Richard Cabot:[4] "You know that in many people the soul is unlike the body—I, for instance, have a slim soul." "He felt that his personality or at least the effect that he produced on others was that of a little, dark, energetic being who hopped about with more activity than substance."[5]

Frederick Adams Woods has contributed a remembrance in commenting on Southard's physique which shows that he also interpreted his bulk in a lighter vein:

Here is his contribution to a theory of mine to which he agreed; namely, that all human beings naturally resemble certain animals and these animals are for them 'simpatica' as the Italians say . . . Ernest said that he resembled the elephant and of all animals this was the one for whom he felt the maximum kinship. An elephant, as we all know, is very intelligent, loves to be with the herd and, though brave, is also extremely

cautious,—testing a bridge before he crosses it. An elephant also has large legs and is not much given to high jumping. He can easily be induced to sit down.

The animal analogy is, of course, a not uncommon conception, but its follow-up through life and its detailed development is more unusual. In his lectures to social workers on temperaments, Southard contrasted "dove-like" with "bearish," and other less agreeable kinds of personality. As an example of his thoroughness and the persistence of an idea, we find a sheaf of notes on the parallelism that might be drawn between the various categories of Mental Hygienists, and breeds of Dogs:

WOLFHOUND *Sheepdog,*[1] *Collie*	NURSE
GREYHOUND[2]	POLICEMAN, PROBATION OFFICER
SPANIEL[3] *Setter, Retriever, Newfoundland,*[4] *St. Bernard*[5]	SOCIAL WORKER
HOUND *Beagle,*[6] *Turnspit,*[7] *Bloodhound,*[8] *Foxhound*	OCCUPATION TEACHER
MASTIFF[9] *Bulldog,*[10] *Bull Terrier*[11]	CHARGE OFFICER
TERRIER[12]	MENTAL TEST WORKER

1. The primitive hunting instinct is altered to herding.
2. Built for speed; hunt by sight not scent.
3. Brain relatively large, and intelligence high.
4. An enormous spaniel; developed to save humans.
5. Also nearest the spaniel.
6. Cunning; perseverance; slow; can be followed on foot.
7. Extinct with invention of mechanical jacks.
8. Or sleuthhound; trained to trace man; quest slowly, cast backward on losing scent.
9. Fighting or watchdogs; of uncertain temper and low intelligence.

10. Have a *reputation* for ferocity and low intelligence, but in fact are intelligent as puppies and, well trained, have a sweet disposition through life; are universally friendly and poor guardians.
11. Clever, agile, powerful, pugnacious.
12. Agile, light, brains larger, educability high.

Ernest was never particularly interested or competent in any form of physical exercise. He did, however, skate and bicycle as a boy. From a child his accomplishments were along intellectual lines rather than in physical labor, games, or sports. The only exception to this statement lies in his persistence as a pedestrian until he was perhaps twenty-five. Dudley Pray, who lived near Southard, was accustomed to walk with him to and from the Boston Latin School, "about four miles a day and at a good round pace." His geological trip in 1894, to which I have referred, and a walking trip on Cape Cod, with Jack Cunningham in 1901, seem to mark the limit of his activity on foot.

Southard, himself, reports in an autobiographical statement (1917), "I seemed unable to do good manual work and was poor at errand-running, always having my nose in a book." He made, however, constant and repeated efforts to enjoy any form of exercise in which the friends with whom he happened to be, were interested. This marked and complete forgetfulness of self in the interests of others was one of the characteristics that endeared him to all those who were so fortunate as to enjoy his intimacy. I shall later recount how he threw himself for considered stretches of time into the lives of others, not only for the mutual joy of companionship but in a purposeful and uplifting fashion. But I am here concerned with his willingness to "play the game" however little his aptitude for, and enjoyment in it, might be. Dr. J. H. Cunningham, as well as anyone, has recalled Southard in this connection when he writes:

As you know, Ernest was not much of an athlete or particularly interested in any form of sport. I have very amusing recollections of taking him on a racing boat which I had, one

of the Sonder boats. Perhaps you remember them as being introduced here by the Germans and being raced in several international contests. These boats were skimming dishes, over-rigged with sail, delicate in handling, and very fast.

Ernest used to enjoy going with me but was just as much lost in any attempts to help, as it is possible to imagine. He was very amusing on all occasions, and really thoroughly enjoyed everything in connection with the technique of sailing, but insisted that he could not comprehend it. He was very clumsy and I recollect his trying to get out of the way when we were about to jibe about a buoy; he lost his balance and went overboard. We fished him in and he insisted that, although he could not swim, his 'blubber' kept him afloat.

Experiences in Buzzards Bay and the pond behind Wareham were other fields of novelty and amusement to him. We took several trips in a canoe down the Wareham River, across Buzzards Bay and up a river running behind the town of Onset, bringing us back quite near our starting point. Ernest, I recollect, would never sit up on the canoe seat but insisted upon remaining on the bottom, and with a back rest he would paddle from this position, which of course was not very helpful. Ernest in a canoe was quite an amusing event to me.

I had a camp on a small island in the Agawam River, about four and one-half miles above Wareham and a very isolated spot. Here Ernest and I often went together in the summer. On this small island were three fair-sized pine trees so near each other that it was simple to build a platform about 25 to 30 feet above the ground. With boards nailed onto one of the trees, we used to climb up and sit on the platform among the branches. Ernest was most amusing in going up the tree, and we spent many hours on the platform together reading, or working out something or other in which he was always so interested. In the tree, however, he was an odd sight.

It had been my habit to go stripped to the waist at this camp and on Ernest's first visit he thought he would do likewise. No warning of mine against getting a sunburn had any effect, and after a prolonged exposure while we were fishing

in the pond, he developed perfectly enormous blebs as large as saucers. He became really acutely ill and was confined to one of our crude bunks for several days. Fishing seemed to amuse him, especially when fishing with a bob for perch, and he would sit by the hour on the little wharf near the camp but I could never get him to wade the stream for trout.

All this sort of thing Ernest seemed to enjoy and I certainly enjoyed being with him, initiating him into things quite foreign to his early bringing up or natural disposition.

Although somewhat unwieldy, unaccustomed, and uninterested in prolonged physical effort, Southard was brisk and decisive in his movements. He was, moreover, endowed with very considerable physical strength as will be remembered by those who watched him bowl down opponents in the line as he stood at guard in a hastily assembled class football team at the Boston Latin School. His threat of physical punishment, indulged in a few times in his life in response to some palpable injustice, as when he was pushed off the sidewalk in Cambridge by a crew man in training, was sufficient to calm even this "raw meat" adversary.

One glance at the eager and energetic face of Ernest Southard sufficed to dispel any preconceived notion as to the depressing effect that overweight may have on accomplishment. The plump red-cheeked boy with, as he himself expressed it, "bovine eyes," retained in manhood a delicate peaches and cream complexion with high color and a quick capillary flush that rapidly came and went with excitement, whether emotional or purely intellectual, and which deepened in particular in a localized area of reddening that spread over the middle of his forehead. In autobiographical notes he describes it:

It is more prominent under certain vascular conditions, as today when I have drunk coffee at lunch. The area is a truncate wedge with the base in the roots of my hair and the narrower part tapering to about three centimeters at an imaginary line uniting my eyebrows.

It seems that the area was much more marked just after I was born, so that my mother feared I would be marked ('like

President Eliot'). After a while the mark faded only to reappear at particular times.

His large expressive eyes opened widely in an emphasis that was rendered still more decisive by sweeping and incisive gestures of finality.

He was a master at controlling his facial expression, writes Josephine Foster, and would hold long conversations with perhaps a twinkle in his eyes and perhaps a wholly solemn expression, to burst out suddenly into real laughter. He was ready to laugh at himself, too.

His whimsical bubbling smile gave him the appearance of witnessing perpetually some inner comedy.[6]

Southard's mobile mouth seemed to some a bit grim in debate or decision, particularly when reenforced by his firm, well moulded chin, but was instantaneously softened by a pleasing smile bestowed on those who had his confidence. His fine brown and, in youth, abundant hair thinned over the vertex to approaching baldness as he reached adult manhood. By the time of his graduation in medicine he had acquired a mustache which was kept rigorously cropped. He was a bit uncouth and untidy in appearance on account of his weight and never took any excessive care in the choice or excellence of his clothing. On the other hand, he was scrupulously clean in his personal habits abhorring dust and disorder in his surroundings. Particularly distasteful were those "anhydric" individuals who avoid the daily tub. His plump hands, with spatulate and recurving fingers and somewhat over-trimmed nails, although scarcely elegant in appearance were marvelously expressive and possessed of unusual tactile delicacy.

His prowess, however, was largely of the mind from childhood on, and even here he suffered from a physical handicap, the precise nature of which was never clearly understood until after his mind had ceased to function. "How would it seem to feel clear headed, I wonder," was a question he sometimes asked. "Never have I felt perfectly free of a headache, not a throbbing, but a dull far-away ache that keeps me feeling as if always working in a mist that I have to disregard."

Dr. Canavan[7] says: In a more detailed and intimate autobiography which he had started to write, he mentions the occasional near-convulsive attacks which came over him when he had been working too hard, preceded by a glow and burning of the ears. If he disregarded this subjective symptom, he was sure to have an attack, the description of which is much clearer in his own words: 'On the evening of August 11, 1914, I had a peculiar mild seizure which Dr. Isaac Adler termed a vascular neurosis. I had done some walking in the woods on previous days (having arrived in Keene Valley, August 8), and on the day in question had had dinner and a long, rambling discussion about my work with Professor Felix Adler. This discussion had left me feeling flushed as to head.'

'The seizure began with a faint feeling, but this feeling and the entire immediate seizure lasted hardly more than a quarter to half a minute. I rose with a half-formed intention of lying down, went into my room (adjoining the room where I was sitting with attack) to Dr. Adler, who found my pulse bounding and rapid. My forehead and neck were cold and dry. The top of the head, to a plane forward of the ears, was palpably hot (these temperatures verified). I felt a general constriction of the head. There was a sense of interior heat in frontal region. My eyes felt tired. I had a faint taste of blood. My belt felt tight.'

'Faint headache and fullness of head, with disinclination to read, lasted all evening. Next morning, after a heavy sleep, I had no symptom except a faint bile taste (though I had not vomited).'

He rationalized some five other attacks of this sort in an objective fashion; and there were more that he at the moment forgot, as, for example, a quite serious episode concerning which he wrote me on January 3, 1901 from the Boston City Hospital:

Christmas day I went up into Ward R and lay abed thereafter till Friday. I was discharged Saturday. I have been moving about in a dull dream ever since. Acute brain tire

was the diagnosis. Certain interesting psychoses I will have elaborated into something decidedly picturesque, by the time we next meet.

This episode which brought him to bed for a week was not interpreted so lightly by one of his contemporaries who has referred to him as "irrational" at the time. This is probably more accurately described by H. A. Christian in a letter to Myrtelle Canavan in which he remembers "our puzzlement and concern at the time on account of his mental reaction . . . with much restlessness and a flight of ideas."

Southard described yet another of these near-convulsive attacks as being followed for half a day by loss of the lower half of the field of vision.

These dire and pathological accounts, which were certainly more distressing than he cared to admit, are lighted in another instance by a charming bit of whimsicality. He describes bumping into a man on emerging early one morning from the Boston Chess Club after a prolonged bout at the game, and groping blindly in a sudden darkness that had once again descended on his brain, "Don't touch me," the man exclaimed, "I've got rheumatism."

It would have pleased Southard to know that these attacks while doubtless precipitated by mental over-exertion, in which he indulged constantly throughout his life, had an anatomical correlation. We can scarcely assert that the distinctive anomaly in cerebral circulation, found by Dr. Canavan[7] when she examined his brain, accounted for these attacks, since he was capable of prolonged mental exertion far beyond the power of the average man. Throughout life Southard had normally a slow pulse rate, sub-normal temperature, and low blood pressure. Dr. Timme noted on his examination that the retinal vessels were extremely tenuous.

Dr. Canavan's comparative study of the brain of Ernest Southard and those of his two parents is a pioneering effort designed to investigate what influence, if any, heredity may have on brain pattern; and furthermore, the more fully considered question, as to what relationship may exist between

brain size and configuration, and mental traits. It should at once be stated that no hereditary relationship was found between the brains of Ernest Southard and his parents. The following excerpts from the record bear on the physical history of our protagonist:

The convolutions of Elmer E. Southard's brain are well rounded with the possible exception of the left first temporal. The complexity of the brain is marked as shown by the large number of secondary sulci, the numerous turns in the convolutions themselves and the difficulty in finding the fissure of Rolando. The *frontal lobes* are prominent, probably associated with his planning and judicial mind, and the calcarine regions are full, indicating the remarkable visuo-psychic ability (chess). Unequal first temporal gyri strike the first note of anomaly . . . The blood supply of the brain is exceptional in the smallness of the arteries at the base . . . The tiny vertebral, one almost non-patent, automatically decreases the possibility of the basilar carrying much blood. It ends not by splitting into posterior cerebrals, posterior communicating and collaterals, but by all collaterals terminating in a brush-like arrangement around the pons . . . The bulbs of the olfactory tracts in the brain were small. He had been notably poor in recognizing odors (not an intellectual process, he would have said). The bulbs of the olfactory tracts of the father's and mother's brains were of usual size.

There is nothing, in my opinion, in Dr. Southard's physical history, in spite of his premonitions, in his severe and prostrating infection at the age of thirty-three, or indeed in his terminal rapidly fatal pneumonia, to indicate that his resistance to bacterial infection was demonstrably below the average. In the case of the autopsy infection it should be noted that a very virulent variety of streptococcus was involved from which anyone might, and indeed, in what may be called a controlled experiment, his assistant Dr. Emma W. D. Mooers, did die. His final infection with the staphylococcus is of the type that has a high mortality.

Chapter Three

Early Years and Secondary Education

I HAVE ENDEAVORED in the first chapter to reflect the devoted family life of the Southards through excerpts chosen from letters of Ernest to his parents; and the impression gained from these is intensified by communications between his father and mother both before and after Ernest had begun to write. In nearly every instance the narrative hinges on simple doings of the only son, whether vacationing with his mother in Maine, or keeping bachelor hall with his father in the mother's absence.

Ernest was sent to school at the age of five, and as soon as he arrived at the age of home work, it was never necessary for his mother to suggest that he study. In fact, she was wont to remark that once her son had learned to read, his further education rested entirely in his own hands. It is evident in his own autobiographical remarks and early diaries as well as from the family letters that the little household on G Street revolved for years about a small boy curled up in a corner with a book in his hand. His parents would actually creep about the house on tiptoe so as not to interfere with his study.

Southard entered the Sixth Class of the Bigelow School in South Boston at the age of eight, on September 8, 1884. He

had previously studied in some unidentified primary school, perhaps the Hawes Hall School, although this is mere surmise, since the admission records of the Bigelow School for this period have disappeared.[1]

The Boston Public Latin School,[2] when Southard and the writer entered its portals in 1887 and 1888, respectively, had been in existence for over two hundred and fifty years. It was, and is, the oldest public school in America, having been founded by the Town of Boston on April 23, 1635—thus antedating Harvard College by over a year; its founding marks, indeed, the beginning of secondary education in this country. But this school boasts of more than antiquity; its establishment, due in large measure to the influence of the Reverend John Cotton, was for the purpose of teaching the classics and particularly for preparing those children who were looking forward to university and professional careers. From this purpose, and from its rigorously high standards of scholarship, the school has never departed. *"Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit"* was written over the school door, and it is safe to say that no one who has received the accolade of graduation can help but remember with satisfaction and pleasure, this joy of accomplishment.

The school has had no less than eight habitations since it opened in the home of its first Headmaster, Philemon Pormont, until it was housed in the dignified and modern building that served as the background of its impressive tercentenary celebration in 1935. No less than twenty-one notable educators have guided its destinies and fought to maintain its classical standards in spite of the fact that the community it serves has grown increasingly practical. Forty years ago the Latin School was housed in its seventh location, at the corner of Dartmouth Street and Warren Avenue in what seemed to the youth that entered it the spacious and impressive half of a double building shared with the English High School, with which institution it utilized in common a large drill hall and an enclosed open courtway. One remembers both the athletic rivalry between these schools and the sense of intellectual superiority with which the Latin School boys viewed their neighbors, who

were frankly heading toward a commercial career, and who were soon to be done with formal education.

In those days one entered the Latin School by certification from the city grammar schools, preferably one or two years before graduation therefrom, or in less advisable instances, following such graduation. The course, then, for college preparation was from four to six years. Southard took the full six year course, which meant six years study of Latin and four of Greek. As an exceptional variation we were allowed during our senior year, and for the first time, to elect German instead of the final year of Latin.

But the shift from Grammar to Latin School meant much more than a plunge into the classics for better or worse; it meant instruction exclusively by men instead of largely by women as in the primary and grammar grade schools. And they were real men. A series of these teachers passes in retrospect across the screen of memory, as something more than mere names and a vague blur of features. In the lower grades each room master taught all, or several subjects. In the last three or four years there was a degree of specialization among the senior masters. Conscientious and good drill masters they all were, but some indeed have etched something on the memory that remains lasting and distinctive after more than four decades. Richardson of the early grades, middle aged, side-whiskered, seems hardly significant, except that he suddenly appeared again in our senior year as teacher of the newly devised German course. Rollins, large, stout, mellifluous. Jackson who taught physics with an air of boredom, was reputed to be a surreptitious writer of popular novels. It may be that Southard was the only one in our class who took the pains to read Jackson's "Demi-God," but even he made no specific comment on it in his diary of 1891 as was his custom. Emery was lame and rather put upon by his students; a teacher, uninspiringly, of mathematics. Byron Groce, stout, chunky, and irritable, who demanded "Who? Where? When? What?" of History, but somehow took all taste out of it, to many students at least, forevermore. How often it is that a passing, early personal prejudice may spoil what might have become a life-

long scholarly interest. "Cudjo" Capen, an enthusiastic if not very scholarly teacher of French for over fifty years, whose name had become a tradition even in our time, continued to flourish for some years after. Chadwick in advanced Latin, greying, scholarly, and alert.

Two there were, Mullen and Fiske, who at the beginning and end of my own career in the school stand out vividly in memory. "Tommy" Mullen was a brilliant young Irishman destined subsequently for the law and political preferment, who passed through a Latin School teaching career like a comet on his way to other things; his vivacity, wit, and keenness, and perhaps most of all his gratuitous but impassioned readings from Hamlet and Ecclesiastes endeared him to all who came under his spell. Arthur Irving Fiske was connected with the Latin School for thirty-seven years (1873-1910), during the last eight of which he served as Headmaster. This quiet, unassuming, quizzical, myopic, and polished gentleman somehow transmitted the feeling of profound and devoted scholarship to all who came under his guidance. He presided over the graduating class room and taught Greek.

Southard's fundamental and continued interest in the precise meaning of words, in so far as it was inspired, can, we may believe, be traced to his "Aunt May," to his father, and to Arthur Fiske. The latter was perhaps the first great living hero of his ardent disciple. Certain it is that he remembered Fiske with gratitude and admiration and often quoted him. And Southard used words and phrases both in speech and writing from his earliest years that not only show selective ability but are full of charm. He was a rare teller of romantic tales as a young boy according to one of his playmates. A *"Story Book"* of 1886 (age 10) still survives. It evidences a school room stimulus to be sure, but *"A History of Two Little Boys"* and *"Harry's Goose"* seem to have been written for his own pleasure. A year later there is a charming description of *"A Shower"* and *"An Old Farmhouse and Its Surroundings"* from which an excerpt runs:

Just in front of the house, a little brook, dotted on either edge with willows, runs quietly along to meet the sea, while

here and there beautiful elms have sprung up and grown at their own sweet will, adding much to the beauty of the place and making nice homes and singing places for the birds, and squirrels chatter unmolested all day long, having little fear of the owner who has a keen insight into the habits of all dumb creatures.

The boyish essay from which we have quoted would, we believe, interest anyone who was familiar with Southard in his mature years for reasons apart from its intrinsic choice of words. The precise Spencerian handwriting, in which the boy wrote, gave way through two successive grades of chirography to the "manuscript" writing of his mature years. As in everything else about him, Southard's handwriting was distinctive and interesting. The appended illustration shows his handwriting at the ages of 11, 15, 18, and 21. It will be seen that each successive form is extremely legible, except when hurried in the finally adopted script.

Southard's knowledge of the meaning and power of words became phenomenal, and his unerring choice and use of them in writing and speech was to the uninitiated, startling and usually pleasing, although a few resented this arresting peculiarity. This latter reaction was particularly likely in those who were unable or unaccustomed to think at his intellectual level. He never tempered his discourse to the shorn lamb. Being somewhat mystified at the unaccustomed words that reached them, such listeners might think that they were being made sport of, or that Southard was putting on an intellectual "side." His elevated and sparkling conversation was, however, habitual; it obviously gave him satisfaction to pull out unusual words and phrases with a descriptive gesture and a characteristic wide opening of the eyes, much as a magician produces an unexpected rabbit. Such verbal demonstrations were not, however, so much a matter of showmanship, as a delighted insistence on what he knew to be most exact and expressive.

To those whose mind was agile enough to follow his discourse, he was a constant joy. As Gilbert Lewis once remarked: "Ernest hits the dictionary below the belt"; "the belt" of

An Old Farmhouse
and its surroundings

I spent a part of my vacation in 1887 at Rollinsford N. H. at an old farmhouse

East Deering, Aug 6, 1891

Dear papa and mamma,

8 P.M. I have just returned from a delightful trip to Gregg: Pond. This pond is a reservoir for the Manchester mills, and all the

"The Newell," Utica
August 19, 1894.

Dear papa and mamma

One week has passed in an unbroken series of tramps and slumbers. Nooks of rock and chiaroscuro d

1897

Grays Hall.
Cambridge, Mass.

My dear mother,

I send you one ticket — all I have left. Your note reached me too late for the last sale, at which your tickets went at 25¢ apiece.

FIGURE 4

The successive phases of Ernest Southard's handwriting: 1887, 1891, 1894, and 1897. Ages 11, 15, 18, and 21

course being the line across the page of certain larger dictionaries that divides the upper words in common usage, from those "below," which ordinarily nestle in the security of the unaccustomed classics.

The words were unusual, not because they were derived from any professional jargon, but rather because they were either Elizabethan, and outmoded, or so new as never to have borne their full significance. They were not infrequently "coined," but always of sound metal. These words, occurring alike in deliberate discourse, in writing, or in ordinary conversation, were employed, not so much for effect, as because they were inevitable to express fully the meaning intended.

Samples of these apposite words and phrases may serve for the moment to show the quality of his mind and speech; they will be widely extended in the pages that follow. Indeed no one can read a page of his writings without encountering them.

When greeted with the usual health inquiry he would frequently reply, "I flourish." In reserving a room in a New York hostelry that he frequented, he telegraphed his preference as follows: "Reserve for arrival tonight room and bath *Type* 246."

He coined, during his brief contact with the Army, a Greek euphemism, "Elaphodosis," to avoid the odious "passing the buck." When pressed for enlightenment he was only too glad to explain that it was derived from ἔλαφος = a buck, plus δίδωμι = to pass or give.

It is interesting to note the effect of conversations with Southard on various individuals who have spontaneously described it. A classmate at the Latin School and Harvard says: "I think perhaps what impressed me as much as anything (about Elmer Southard) is that,—although I am a very poor conversationalist, I seemed to myself at least to be quite brilliant when I was talking with him."

Dr. Harvey Cushing, concerning whose level of intellect little comment is needed, writes me: "He and Lawrence Henderson, I presume, were the most brilliant minds of their time in Cambridge. . . . Soon after I went to Boston I was taken into

the Royce Club—Josiah, that is. They used to meet once a month, Sunday night for supper at the Harvard Club, and then have a meeting afterwards, and I always came home simply exhausted. My wife used to refer to it as the 'Brainstorm Club.' It would usually end up with a discussion on mathematical physics between E. B. Wilson, Lawrence Henderson, Southard, and Professor Royce, on such subjects as plotting four variables and so on. I enjoyed it all greatly, but it was a club in which I was wholly outclassed, and I wasn't even always a good listener."

And Carl Alsberg says, "He loved the epigram and paradox and he filled his ordinary conversation with them. That made his ordinary talk what is called brilliant, but it also made it wearing to be with him for any considerable continuous period of time. For a person who is no quicker on the uptake than I am, it was a strain to spend an hour with Ernest. It always made me feel that I had to play up to him and the effort to cap his bright sayings with a bright one of my own sometimes left me quite fagged."

These divergent results of being stimulated on the one hand and fatigued on the other, are not of course, inconsistent, but dependent on the particular individual involved. The examples chosen represent the more casual contacts, but Southard's effect on his intimates, although productive of enthusiasm and delight, was calmer and less intoxicating. It was tinged with a sense of kindness and dependability which we shall elsewhere express more fully. Southard's philological knowledge and sense was unerring just as his spelling from boyhood was inevitably correct. With his approachableness, it was easier for those who worked near him to consult him for etymological meaning rather than to resort to a dictionary. He was always ready, and always right.

It should be explained that we of the Latin School were a gradually diminishing group through the five or six years of residence. Beginning with three, or maybe it was four rooms, in the first year each under a separate master, we became in the final year, by true survival of the fittest, a discreet group of 36, who, in 1893, graduated from Fiske's room.

Southard's record at the Latin School is one, not merely of acceptable, but of exceptional scholarship. He received the classical prize, which meant that he led his class in this particularly emphasized field of activity, at the end of each of his first five years in the school; and during his entire course he was awarded a prize each year for exemplary conduct and fidelity. This record of accomplishment in the discipline of ancient languages meant in his case far more than mere scholarship—it meant a laying down in his retentive mind of a foundation stratum of etymology and philology that was destined to serve as a source of pleasure and influence throughout his entire subsequent career, and to clarify each and every problem he tried to solve. [3]

In his senior year at the Latin School, at the age of sixteen, Southard would seem to have begun emphatically to utilize his own imagination and to use his discipline in the classics in broader activities. As we progress, this will be found to be the greatest characteristic of his whole life, namely, the thorough acquisition of successive fields of scholarship and their application toward the enlightenment of increasingly larger types of endeavor.

Southard in his junior year was President of the Debating Club. In 1892 he became Editor-in-Chief of the Boston Latin School Register, and soon thereafter President of the Boston School Editor's Club. The latter position gives the first glimpse of his inherent power of leadership. He began to write both prose and poetry, tinged from the beginning with rhetorical soundness, with lucidity, with originality and a peculiar aptness in the choice of word and phrase.

After five consecutive years the classical prize went to another, but Southard secured both the prize for Excellence in Reading, and the highly coveted and irregularly bestowed Gardner Prize for an Essay on "Columbus in the Light of Latest Research." Perhaps it was in part through a scholastic change of front and editorial responsibility that Southard, who in common regard was "facile princeps," finally ended his secondary school life as only sixth in ranking, thus barely capturing one of the much prized Franklin Medals.

The world-wide interest in 1892 in the quadricentennial of Columbian Discovery is reflected in Southard's editorial writing as follows:

This is the year of Columbus. It is doubtful whether any man was ever so widely discussed so many years after his death. We have not only learned books on Columbus but we seem to be in a Columbian atmosphere and to breathe in with every whiff Columbian germs of thought. Our library has lately become possessed of two valuable books on Columbus or his times—Prof. John Fiske's *Discovery of America,* and Justin Winsor's *Christopher Columbus.* Of these the first is conservative and does not materially change the views most of us have held from our infancy. The second asks us to believe that Columbus's only aim was gold, like that of his companions, and strives to remove the romantic, hero-worshipping veil that has so long obscured him. Time will tell which view is truer.

We also discover that the year of Columbus has had something to do with the selection of subjects for prize-essays. 'Norumbega,' 'Who Discovered the Continent of America?' 'World-Fairs and Their Uses,' and 'Columbus in the Light of Latest Research,' are subjects suggestive. And who knows but 'The Evolution of the Bicycle' will turn out something quite Columbian, too?

This and an article in a previous number called "Library Sketches," which amusingly describes encounters with books and people at the Boston Public Library, shows that Southard had precociously acquired the technique of search after original sources of information, which remains for a later development in most—if it appears at all.

The Gardner Prize Essay on Columbus, above referred to, is not only a mature research of historical source authorities but a model of organization.[4] After reviews of the then most recent authoritative treatises, including Henry Harisse,[5] the second section presents a chronological table of the epochs in Columbus's life, which are briefly summarized in succeeding sections. The man Columbus is there, as are his misadventures

and triumph with sufficient historical background to set the scene.

By this time Southard had, as intimated, acquired the habit of extensive extracurricular reading. He frequently spent his Sunday afternoons and evenings with Dudley Pray in the Boston Public Library, then on Boylston Street, walking back and forth from South Boston as on week days. The Latin school library was also used extensively.

To judge from his diaries of 1891 and 1892, he must have devoured a book a day in addition to his required study. The books that are being read, with shrewd comments thereon, form a large part of his daily record. In English they range from boys' books, Alden, Verne, Mayne-Read, and Henty to a *"Boat Sailor's Manual,"* to Stanley's *"Livingston,"* P. T. Barnum's *"Life,"* Boswell's *"Johnson,"* Macauley's *"England,"* Mary Willard, Dickens, Thackeray, and Motley's *"Rise of the Dutch Republic."* He astonished, even confused his French teacher, Capen, by commenting on French novels that were not required in the course of instruction. He frequently attended a French Mission on Sunday afternoons not only for religious comparison but to accustom his ear to the spoken language. He even moved on to Voltaire one summer to the horror of his religious Maine relatives. He read Plautus to parallel the required Sallust. For an entire week he kept his diary in Greek.

The remaining numbers of the Register for the year are liberally scattered with Southardiana, ranging in prose from a simple travel narrative of a steamer trip to Provincetown to, *"Night Thoughts of a Drunken Scholar,"* a weird bit of dream phantasy lighted up by puns based on Latin derivatives and curiously suggestive of his later essays in the philosophical field.

Versification is the inevitable attempt at expression of a feeling of ecstasy that must occur in every life. When linked to a natural love of the precise meaning of words, particularly when conditioned by a classical training in their derivation, it may reach or approach what we accept as true poetry. Southard's particular joy of living found expression in the Register of 1893, in a Columbian Poem, *"The Glimmering Torch"* and

in the lighter Class Poem. *"The Glimmering Torch"* is not without its worthy lines and rhymes but more than all perhaps is pervaded by the Columbian romance and historical research lighted by the spark of inventive detail:

THE GLIMMERING TORCH

The watch on board Columbus' caravel
Was wont to gather round La Cosa's feet
And nearer press and closer as the night
Grew on. For broad Atlantic was named well
The Sea of Darkness; naught upon the sheet
Of waters saw they, save the broken light
Of beaming stars and, flashing 'cross the sky
Some meteor's course, that augured ill for ships
Across the Sea of Darkness bound for lands
Of Tartar Khan. The calm, untroubled eye
Of Cosa looked with pity on the lips
That prayed for mercy, and the shaking hands
That made the holy sign of Mother Church. . . .
The watch on board Columbus' caravel
Was wont while gathered round La Cosa's feet
To tell strange tales of sadly-fated barks;
That sank, they said, beneath the white-capped swell
Of ocean's fair, Circean, deep deceit,
And left upon its tumbling waves no marks
To warn the future mariner. . . .
Then Cosa, smiling at their maundering tales
Their gallimaufry fancies fabling fallacy,
Addressed them: Sailors, comrades, he that pales
In this our trail sadly will he rue,
As all that watch the Admiral shall see. . . .
Then
Columbus, standing by the fore-chains, eyed
Intently ocean's broad expanse, But naught
Upon the sheet of waters saw he, when
He sudden seemed to see a light that died
Out often, often gleamed again. He sought
The crew to tell them. None were near him there.

And when he turned the light was gone. Again
Natheless the light appeared. One sailor sees—
Sole witness. Then Columbus goes to bear
The happy news. And dark-browed, frowning men
Now sing "Hail Queen," remorseful on their knees.

The Class Poem is at once better verse and more original in its handling. The author, again in a mood of dreamy and bucolic restfulness, is supposedly wakened by the Genius of the Latin School with his record of past accomplishment. He is about to prophesy when, instead of indulging in the banal and obvious device invoked by class poets in perpetuity, he is put to flight by Father Time in whose hands alone the future lies:

One summer day I had a waking dream
Far rambling down a piny woodland road
A path untrodden save by snowy team
Of steers in winter dragging barky load.
Within the deep cool woods I walked alone
I only heard the forest's deep voiced tone,
Sweet drowsy dreams stole o'er me. For the way
As cool and quiet as a cloister lay;
And like a cloister's columns were the trees
That bore a mystic medieval frieze
Of green, all grounded in with tiles of blue;
The furry branches lacing, hid the view
Of worldly men. A mossy ledge rose high
Just by the leafy road. And only I
Before my altar with its cloth of pine
Stood holy abbot of this sylvan shrine.
I heard the piny carpet rustle. Lo!
A stranger, walking, with the glow of youth
Like splendid Phoebus of the silver bow,
But with deep eyes of living, speaking truth
Like Pallas with her knowledge-proving spear
With stately, springing, steps soon came he near
He held a worn old calf-bound, dog's eared book
Whose quaint gilt title caught my fleeting look

And kept it for a moment. For I read
These words, Haec Studia. And then I said
As dim ideas darted through my head
'Who are you, Sir' . . . . . .
'Men call me genius of the Latin School;
For I was born and bred beneath the rule
Of Strait-laced Puritans.' . . . . . .
Said I 'Ah! please read
To me about the Class of Ninety-three
How interesting that would be to me!'
The bursting bud presages bloom to come.
So, too, his lips did promise prophecy.
But swinging like a mightly pendulum
And stalking down the piny road, saw we
A stooping figure, gaunt, gap-toothed and old
And like a cannon ball along he bowled
And swung a long, sharp scythe. The dream's light tread
I heard fast flying down the road. I said
'O mad old man you've robbed me of my fate,
Who are you that thus dare to break the spell?'
He spoke long loping at the same swift rate,
'I'm Father Time, and Time will always tell.'

Having once been established as Class Poet it was perhaps natural that at several successive meetings of B.L.S. Class of '93 during the collegiate years, when the Harvard group of graduates more or less formally foregathered, the notes of the successive secretaries recount: "Southard read a poem." Unfortunately none of these are known to exist. Indeed, the silver thread of poesy must have run through the increasingly compact tissue of his life, for we shall find it again shining with new luster in the last phase when he cultivated it as a form of release from the encroaching cares of a too busy and harassing world.

Chapter Four

Harvard College Years

SOUTHARD entered Harvard College in the fall of 1893. He lived in the yard during his entire course; and for the first three years with his Latin School classmate, Charles D. Drew, in No. 1 Thayer Hall facing the venerable Hollis. The readily accessible location of this room on the first floor might well have disturbed a less tranquil soul, for his room soon became a loafing place between classes for those who had already learned, or were beginning to appreciate his twinkling accessibility and the growing profundity of his remarks. He allowed himself to be disturbed not only by those of whom he was fond, but by many others, for he was somehow always interested in all and sundry. He did not temper his discourse to the intellectually unprepared, which accounts for the misunderstanding and suspicion awakened in some of those who met him only casually, but endeared him to those of his intimates who knew and appreciated him. In his senior year Southard roomed alone upstairs (room 25) in Grays at the entrance end of the campus.

Those were the days of the unrestrained elective system of education introduced by the great liberal Charles W. Eliot. Barring certain prescribed courses in English (English A.B.C.)

in each of the first three years, and a modicum of science, Chemistry A, to which the venerable Professor Cooke felt that all liberally educated students should be exposed, the undergraduate was left largely to his own devices, subject to attainment of eighteen full courses in the four years, in order to obtain the B.A. degree. There were, to be sure, advisors for freshmen, usually genial and refined gentlemen, who often lacked knowledge of the essential prerequisites for any subsequent career. The result was desirable in stimulating self-determination along lines of immediate interest but of little value in accomplishing professional requirements. Some, imbued with the purpose of a balanced education suitable for a gentleman, endeavored to take all the introductory courses, as for example, "History 1" and "Economics 1"; others, with less scholarly interests sought lines of least resistance in "snap" courses, the reputation of which passed rapidly into currency.

Thus the drift or the drive of the elective curriculum in the late nineties. A subsequent professional career, and collegiate preparation for it, was more haphazard than today and the college course often more liberalizing if less usefully vocational in its content. The eventual student of medicine would seem to have planned his future much later than he does today, although we know of no statistical proof to this effect. At all events, he could stumble into the medical school after college as the result of a decision arrived at during his senior year, for there were, by and large, no prerequisites to fulfill, except for that then esoteric group who might choose the newly devised plan of the Johns Hopkins Medical School, which demanded not only a bachelor's degree, but a certain minimum in chemistry, physics, biology, and modern languages. In most medical schools any A.B. was not only acceptable, but embarked on his professional career with many advantages over his predominantly high school colleagues, even if he knew little or nothing of the barely emerging chemistry of his day.

Some men could and did look forward to the practice of medicine, throughout their college course, stimulated thereto by family example or by that confessor and admiration of

youth, the family doctor. But by and large it was a last minute choice, based often, in the case of the college graduate, on some sudden stimulation by facts acquired in biology, physics, or chemistry.

In Southard's case the decision to study medicine would seem to have been both late and indirect. To quote his own remembrance of the matter as given in one of his successive short biographies contributed to the Harvard Class Reports:

> In college I had conceived the idea of learning more about the mind. The medical curriculum struck me as necessary to that design . . . My real mental set was given me, I now think, by William James in his course (1896-97) on abnormal psychology, and especially in a certain walk back from McLean Hospital (for mental disorder) after a class visit.

Southard's choice of college courses is interesting and increasingly well defined. In his freshman year he manifested his continued interest in the classics to the extent of a single reading course on Homer, Plato, and Euripides (Greek D), and pursued the German language, in which he had taken the elective in the Latin School, through an intermediate course known as German C. He continued to read Greek, Latin, German, and French from this time on for his own delectation and profit without further formal instruction. No language difficulties ever presented themselves to him and although he never attained oral fluency in any tongue but his own, he could at least converse passably well in German. Other languages were taken up as a recreation not only for the purpose of acquiring their respective literatures, but particularly from the standpoint of comparative philology. They may in part have been acquired in a sort of friendly rivalry or stimulation. Thus his reference in letters to having begun the study of Sanskrit in his junior year may be directly traced to the influence of Arthur Ryder with whom he was associated in another connection. He met my glowing enthusiasm for the Romance tongues, in which I had specialized, by the calm remark, "I think I shall cover the content of Italians 1, 2, and 3 this summer." Although he was never examined in the matter, I

see no reason to doubt from other examples that he did it; at all events he became conversant with the literary significance of Dante and was able to use Italian references.

He later collected and poured over polyglot dictionaries, and made extensive investigations of "grammatical categories," not only for their intrinsic interest, but for their use in analysis of subsequent philosophical and psychiatric problems.[1] As he once said: "human facts are got at more readily in linguistics and in psychopathology than in logic and the so-called normal psychology."

The formal study of the English language and literature must have seemed an unnecessary embellishment to one like Southard, whose ideal of relaxation from his customary tasks had been for years to spend a day or part of a day in the Public Library reading voraciously or skimming judiciously in both classics and curiosa. At all events in addition to the required courses that have been specified he elected in this familiar field only a course in Spenser (English 9), and that breeder of writers, English 22, which was listed simply as "English Composition." This course as given by Lewis Gates was not only a portal to literary appreciation but led not infrequently to a literary career. It consisted in the writing and open criticism of a series of daily themes ending in the spring with a longer story in parts. Percy MacKaye and Frank Norris were in our class that year and I can well remember the reading aloud by Gates of excerpts from that shocking bit of realism, *"McTeague,"* by the latter author. Southard's contributions were often read in class, and I shall never forget his grim Hawthornesque tale entitled *"The Mystery of the Porcelain Jar,"* nor yet an expression in another sketch which described the progress of a square rigger into the harbor—"glued to the side of a smug and swashing tug." Gates once remarked in commenting on one of Southard's themes that he was unable to read it without a dictionary. Several alphabetical neighbors of Southard, notably Roger Scaife, remember his presence in the class, not through his contributions to literature, but by his diligent application to a pocket chess board on which endless openings and end games were perfected. But of this latter hobby more anon.

A cross section of Southard's college life is best illustrated in his own somewhat Delphic fashion in a letter to the author, who was wandering in untimely fashion around the world in the midst of our junior year:

My Dear Freddy,

It's odd to call across the waterways a little pet name. Remember F's (Fiske's) diatribe against diminutives in professional life? Well, it's not good to pin heart on sleeve, especially if you pass jauntily through with arms akimbo; but I guess that, though the 'transparent' image of sight and hearing stand permanent with you, may even assume a greater dignity by reason of their unsuspected strength lasting through to other airs, after all certain little intimacies have left in heart certain tender little pockets that crave filling. At least that's what I feel.

In the interstices of lab. philosophy and chess I think of you now and then, taking your time to feel as the savages take it, early, of you escaped from university clamps, and fluttering about and happily rubbing off the least permanent of our acquisitions. I, for example have become the proud owner of a German Kant and look into the *Kritik* once in a while. But the transcendental categories don't bother you at all. I tell you, you have cause for thanksgiving even if you are a-travelling. For I think, after all your education is apt to jolt along if there are not intervals of thoughtlessness. I hope at any rate that you are not making a hobby of economics. That would be making your couch a board. For somehow these alien things must prove the springs on one's journey through the prime and after.

You must be forgetting our little pigeonhole. It is the same round of duties and sometimes stolen reliefs. But the Cryptograms have shrivelled as if in H_2SO_4. Chemistry will remind you too of our careers. Which reminds me of my childish reply to that silly grammar school teacher who asked us what were our chosen walks in life. I said I should like to be a traveler. This was expansive but hardly feasible. The rest of my work, as you remember is after all almost as slightly prac-

tical as that. The notions of philosophy are as wonderfully attractive as chess problems. But in the most technical aspects I find it hard to treat them with due seriousness.

And as for you, be sure, you naughty scamp, to bring back some 'reaction.' I know that you are but you forevermore; but spread! And, to be assured that you are doing your work faithfully, write me a docile letter from each of your grand σταθμοὶ (stages). ELMER E. SOUTHARD.

There seems unfortunately little record of Southard's formal literary output in this era extant, although he wrote a good deal. A single story, "The Ways of Sadness" in the Harvard Monthly[2] has been retrieved. This is a slight and sad story of less than two pages, that recounts the subjective emotions of a blind and crippled seven-year old illegitimate child. It recalls the dream state that was found in the Latin School story of the "Drunken Scholar." Life for the wretched hero of this sketch is limited to auditory impressions, and the passage of horse and vehicles are reflected by such expressions as the "clumping of iron on the cobbles" and the "faint strainings of leather."

There were passing encounters in Southard's college curriculum with such subjects as mathematics, history, economics, and the fine arts. He spent part of the summer of 1894 in a field course in "Stratigraphical Geology" to his interest in which reference has been made in his home letters. But his main interest lay in zoology, correlated in the first two years with parallel courses in botany. An introductory course covered the general features of taxonomy and morphology given, interestingly enough, by Charles B. Davenport with whom Southard was destined later to collaborate, and this course was followed in his senior year by two really remarkable courses given by Professor G. H. Parker on the Comparative Anatomy of Vertebrates (Zoology 3), and on the Nervous System and its Terminal Organs (Zoology 16), which were of great orienting value to any student destined for medicine. The latter course, in particular, was of distinctly graduate level and brought out not only an ingeniously correlated series of novel

facts, but, indeed, an insight in the methods of scientific discovery. It brought to many of us, I am sure, a realization of the sources of original work and personal contribution to a science. At all events, Southard's study of "Natural History" was of such a degree of excellence as to entitle him to Honorable Mention therein on graduation.

The study of philosophy and psychology soon assumed an increasing and finally the monopolizing interest in Southard's college life. It was a particularly flourishing period in the history of philosophy in Harvard University,—Palmer, Peabody, Royce, James, and Münsterberg gave a glow of reality to this recondite field that penetrated even to the outer world. The first and introductory course was in reality a course and a half and included during the first term logic, by Royce, followed in the second half year by psychology (James), and the history of philosophy, by Palmer. This course together with a laboratory course in experimental psychology was taken by Southard in his sophomore year. In the junior year followed the Ethical Seminary by Palmer and a Psychological Seminary with Royce. In his senior year Southard elected no less than five courses, ethics with Palmer; metaphysics with Royce; and psychological laboratory with Professor Delabarre of Brown University, *vice* Professor Münsterberg who was absent on leave. Perhaps most important of all to one whose fate was to lead him into psychiatry was a course with James which is described in the catalog: "Phil. 15hf. Abnormal Psychology. A study of the various types of insanity, and investigations into exceptional mental phenomena. (Text) Maudsley: Pathology of Mind. M. W. Fri. at 12 (first half year)."

Frances Southard has placed at my disposal several of Ernest's reports and theses in philosophy and psychology written in the year 1895 and 1896. They are of interest through their intrinsic content and phrasing, but perhaps even more so through the reaction they produced in the form of instructorial comment. Thus an essay on "The Essential Psychology of Style" written in the most perfect and painstaking manuscript chirography contains the following interesting definition:

"Certain mental states may be expressed in such a form of

words or style that the hearer is definitely impressed with a degree of pleasure. . . . I have my word to express. I try and half fail to put in form of words some of the seemingly simplest phases thereof. But I am a stylist in so far as I distinguish from the common herd of ideas the ones you like or dislike . . . "

He then describes the standards of style and gives the last stanza of Keats' *Ode to a Grecian Urn* as an example of a perfect style, and describes the effect that its recital produces on various listeners. Interesting as this may be as an essay, the author is wise enough to conclude "Whether this be orthodox psychology I doubt: but it used to seem rather pretty . . . " and such indeed is the instructor's comment: "The treatment of this interesting subject is not psychological. You stop just where the psychologist has to begin."

And again his search for methods of expression leads him into difficulties in "Two Remarks on Plato's Ranking of Men and States" (November 18, 1895). The comment: "Your style, which is so graceful and pregnant is in danger of running into obscurity and affectation. In philosophy, especially, one cannot as you say 'excuse this vagueness on the score of art.' You must try to keep a clear and simple thought in continuous control of your expressions. If not in spite of the excellence of your phrases, your writing as a whole will have no effect. Here for instance I can hardly make out what the 'two remarks' are you intend to make."

But of course we are revealing here not only the educational stumbling of our protagonist but an instructor's interpretation of his duty. In reality these early essays point out particularly the early evidences of Southard's catholicity of interest, of his facility in utilization of one discipline in the service of another. In the instances quoted the philological sense, already well developed, by overemphasis obscures the psychological viewpoint that is in process.

Much more successful apparently is an elaborate 44 page thesis on "Mental Life of Protozoa" that was awarded the grade of "A." Starting with the fundamental and contrasted studies of Verworn and Binet this exposition rests on a docu-

mentation that seems thorough and exhaustive for the period. Although designed as a critical review in comparative psychology it is obviously equally the subject matter of the experimental zoologist, and bears unmistakable evidence of Parker's influence.

Quite different in scope are the theses written in the course on metaphysics under Royce. "On Things and Selves" discusses and contrasts the conceptions of Leibnitz, of Spencer, and of Bradley on these profound matters. A shorter discussion of Bradley's *"Appearance and Reality"* calls forth the comment: "The method is very original and very pretty but the result is rather too cleverly whimsical to be perfectly satisfactory. I hope that you will more completely surrender yourself in your final theses to the task of defending a thesis of your own."

We have already seen how Southard thought back to this course as the one that finally placed his feet on the trail that he was destined to follow so diligently. Indeed the whole philosophical training and in particular the personal influence of Royce and of James which he continued to enjoy and to extend throughout their respective lives, conditioned his response to the growing responsibilities of his life, and deepened and enriched his entire effort for human betterment.

Southard's formal academic career as an undergraduate ended in June 1897 when he received the degree of A.B., magna cum laude, and with Final Honors in Philosophy and Honorable Mention in both Philosophy (ter) and in Natural History. He was thereby entitled to a Dissertation.

Social life in the usual sense played little part in Southard's thought during college, or indeed thereafter. He was, to be sure, a member of the Delta Upsilon fraternity but there is no evidence from his own references or from his subsequent associations that he took any active part in their activities. During his senior year Southard was President of the Chess Club for reasons that will appear presently. In short, he mingled with his fellow men rather as individuals, and came to take his place in larger groups only through some intellectual urge, at first for the acquisition of knowledge, and later in order to diffuse it. Apart from the specialized groups in philosophy and chess,

Southard remained a shy boy in general society well into his medical career.

We have elsewhere expatiated on Southard's lack of interest and skill in games and sports as a boy. His neuromuscular activity, by confession and by report, remained throughout life below the average level, and outside his interest. There was one game, however, by which he became fascinated, and at which he developed surprising skill. This game, its origin shrouded in the mists of antiquity, capable of indefinite perfectioning, and with a literature of its own, is "Chess, in its Egyptian Complexity," as Ernest once described it. In spite of his prolonged and at times extreme indulgence in the game and his high skill in it, Southard never took Chess as such any more seriously than it deserved. It remained for him a game merely, requiring a certain sort of skill that did not necessarily involve any of the higher intellectual faculties, but only an experience in planning. He may have found "that the predominant trait in a chess player is not as expected, memory, but the ability to grasp a situation, the so-called *dynamic* attention as opposed to static attention."[3] He became acquainted with too many "Master" players not to realize how little else they usually mean in the work of the world, or to exaggerate the selective acclaim that his own accomplishment brought him. In fact, after watching an international chess tournament in Carlsbad he wrote, "Chess players are parietal people with low foreheads." Chess merely furnished Southard with a diversion that at times became over-indulgence, but one that on the whole was not likely to "Inhibit his intellectual output" as he confessed that alcohol did. Intimate knowledge of the game colored his philosophy and phraseology as when he later spoke of marriage, "As after all a gambit, Queen's gambit, if you like."

There has been a group of contenders who are each certain that he taught Southard to play chess, the author among them. To one who understands his courteous and separative treatment of individuals, it is not surprising that he let each claim ride if it satisfied the claimant. Equally fabulous are the statements that he played chess as a child, an error due to confusion with

the fact that he later taught his children the game when they were seven or eight years old. A sheet from his loose leaf notes recounts the matter as follows:

I was taught the moves of chess by a playmate, Dudley M. Pray, a few days before entering college in 1893. I was accordingly a little past seventeen and just of an age when routine studies wore the aspect of *taedium vitae* and as yet neither philosophy nor science was more than a name. If intellectual interests ripen as do instincts, and neither earlier nor later attain a grip like that of their appropriate epoch, then chess must be peculiarly dangerous to the youth in a brief intermediate period—the period between Indians and mistresses.

His chess game rapidly passed beyond the comprehension of his several alleged instructors, for he improved amazingly and soon became the dominant factor of the Harvard Chess Club in the winning of intercollegiate championships. There is no record that he cared for any other game although as a "stunt" at a later date he dove successfully for a period into checker play. But the "Egyptian complexity" of chess caught and held his interest until he became as good a player as any amateur with few exceptions. Why a man with a persisting subacute headache, whose life work involved constant mental exertion, regularly pushed far beyond the limit of ordinary endurance, should regard the brain-congesting effect of continuous chess play, not only with a single opponent but on multiple boards, and even blindfolded, as the chosen form of relaxation, is beyond the ken of the ordinary mind. But so he did, and the "chess diathesis," as the latter described it, became at intervals no less than a debauch as we have said.

At all events, Southard answers "Chess," in the self-imposed questionnaire of 1917, in answer to the question, "What has been and what now is, the sport, amusement, form of exercise, or mode of relaxation which you enjoy and find helpful?" As he came to know about it he may have regarded the bringing into play of a new area of the brain as true relaxation. He spoke of it as a method of "washing his mind."

Final examination of Southard's brain by Canavan showed that "the calcarine regions are full, indicating his remarkable visuo-psychic ability (chess)." This and the blindfold play is referred to by William Healy as follows:

His chess playing which was one of his earlier interests, showed something of his marvellous abilities. He was able to play blindfold chess, six (or as he once mentioned even eight) games simultaneously. I once gave him a visual learning test, a series of digit-symbol combinations; he took no ordinary time for it, but apparently mastered it by some sort of mental photography.

Southard was not one to fail to make use of each and every asset that came his way. Under the heading of "Psychic Complexes, Memory and Imagination,"[4] Southard has furnished "A Record of Introspection for Chess Imagery." A game was played in regular fashion and won by Black (E.E.S.). Twenty minutes later it was played as a blindfold game and the auditory and visual impressions of each move were recorded and analyzed. The careful detail of this game record is doubtless fully appreciated by the psychologists.

In further notes on Chess Imagery, dated a year later, he introduced a variation of the experiment performed for Yerkes. He competed in August 1912, in the New York State Chess Association Tournament at Trenton Falls. In a series of games against eight skilled players including W. J. Ferris, Goerlich and G. H. Walcott, he ranked first in tournament play, and also headed the Massachusetts team which defeated the New York team by 3½ to 1½ games. On returning to New York he recalled two of these games which he had won, writing them down rapidly in 9 (18 move game) and 12 (27 move game) minutes respectively, together with a psychological accounting of initial errors in the transcription, and such reliving of his emotions as occurred.[5] For example, a note on the Ferris game, "Move 3: muscle tension, feeling, probably in right forearm, interpreted as emotional on account of danger to black Queen (E.E.S.) and sense of hurry to get piece out

of danger." A final psychological summary of this process would, from his "commonplace book," seem to be:

The numerous instances of *transposition* argue against a quasicinematographic method of reproduction or storage. Rather is it the case that certain positions (perhaps those to which one has striven in the game as played) are recovered in memory: upon which follows the attempt to make them consequent upon a logical and legal series of moves.

A blindfold game five days old was recovered in 7½ minutes. A quick game (blindfold) 15 hours old could not be recovered: failure on 19th move after 14 minutes. *Lantern-like visualization.*

Throughout his life, particularly when on vacation, his letters are interspersed with accounts of chess games and his notes with the recording of games in which he has taken part. Thus he writes his wife from New York, October 1910, of having drawn with and defeated Frank Marshall, for many years American champion, in two successive games.

Several of the congestive attacks to which we have referred in the second chapter, notably the one in the year 1900, are directly traceable to inordinate chess play which came characteristically on top of periods of excessive work. It may well be, too, that the Edisonian habit of sleeplessness that Southard soon acquired grew out of his chess play. He had no hesitancy in playing into the morning or indeed all night, returning to work the next day after a shower-bath with no diminution in optimism or quality of output that was noticeable.

As regards Southard's quality and accomplishment as a chess player, we can do no better than to quote his classmate, Arthur W. Ryder, who was paired advantageously with him for two years (1895-1896) in the New York intercollegiate tournaments:

When I met Southard in October, 1894, at the beginning of our sophomore year, he had the elements of the game, was good enough to enter the college tournament, but did not, I think, survive the first round. From that period on, he improved rapidly. He and I represented Harvard in the inter-

collegiate tournaments in 1895 and 1896. He played with other partners in 1897 and 1898, always victoriously. He became perhaps *as strong* as is possible for an amateur whose *primary interests* lie *elsewhere*.

His game was characterized by extreme soundness, with a play of ingenuity on top. Only a chess-player can understand how difficult real soundness is. Lasker has said that even among the greatest masters, most games are won and lost on blunders. His ingenuity was shown in his analysis of what he quaintly called the Danvers[6] Opening (1. P—K4; P—K 4; 2. Q—R5) showing that this childish-appearing line of play had far greater resources than had been thought. Here he showed his aversion to routine thinking and perhaps may be said to have anticipated by fifteen years the discoveries of the hyper-modern school.

Southard's soundness of play is graphically described by a Yale critic[7] as follows:

In a general way Southard plays the most modern and advanced chess. Steady, progressive, strategic, cautious, and relentless, he is like an octopus, which is pretty sure of its prey, after one tentacle is fairly fastened. Let Southard once get a pawn to the good, and no peer in play stands much chance to beat him. I think I am almost safe in saying that he has not made a blunder, either costly, or of any serious moment.

The tribute of the eminent Boston attorney, John F. Barry, for years the leading amateur chess player in Massachusetts, both at the time of Southard's death (Boston Transcript, February 10, 1920), and again in a letter to the author, shows how much he meant at a later stage as a member of the Boston Chess Club:

The doctor's love of chess never waned with worldly success, and out of this love from his boyhood up, come the sweet memories of the writer's close companionship with him. As a rollicking, jovial, good-natured boy at Harvard, his budding talent as a chess player reflected the inherent touch of humor in his jolly temperament. His game, then and since, always

sparkled with surprises, just as his social intercourse and conversation always carried a touch of keen repartee and humor. He loved the game for the fun it provided socially rather than for any conceit in skill which he could fairly claim. The rollicking manners of his boyhood days were merely tempered with time and suppressed by a sense of dignity befitting his serious position in life, but the spirit of fun was with him, ever. Long a member of the chess club but seldom of late able to attend, his visits were always a delight to his host of chess friends.

. . . In my Transcript article, I did not dwell so much on his talent as a chess player. I regarded it as an incident in his greater career and not a matter to parallel his finer capacity as a scientist, and so diminish his greater and truer fame. He really loved chess. If he had the ambition to achieve chess fame I believe he had the capacity and genius for the game. He, however, never extended his talent beyond that of being a high class player. . . . He was a fine chess player, just below our best in his early days of intense interest.

Later when other matters claimed his greater attention his interest was casual and the edge of his talent wore off. Still he knew too much about it not to play well even then.

This latter reference suggests the fact that Southard often played the kind of rapid chess that is frequently called "skittles." In this instantaneous, only slightly premeditated play, he was thought by many to be at his best.

Southard's chess play as a representative of Harvard is worthy of more detailed consideration than the brief, if enthusiastic, resumé given by Ryder. Teaming with the latter, he first appeared in the Intercollegiate Christmas-vacation tournament in New York City in 1895-1896 (his Junior year). His net score in this contest which comprised six games, one with each of the two representatives of Yale, Princeton and Columbia, was 4 points, that is to say, 2 games won and 4 drawn. Ryder surpassed him by half a point, and Harvard won the tournament by a half point over Columbia.

This was merely his apprenticeship. In the four following

years as Senior in college and through three years of his medical training, Southard was persuaded to play only with increasing difficulty. His game, however, showed growing proficiency, and he represented Harvard, with Ryder, Hewins, and F. C. Arensberg as team mates. He won every game he played for these four years with that under-current of soundness, topped with brilliance, to which Ryder has referred. He soon reached the "headline stage"; for example, the chess column of the New York Times for December 26, 1899, is captioned: "University Chess Contest—E. E. Southard's Clever Play," and the final day (December 30) is headed, "Harvard wins again, and will continue to do so as long as Southard plays with team."

On January 22, 1898, the Boston Chess Club tendered him a reception, "in recognition of his brilliant and unbroken record of games."

This five year record of achievement would seem to touch the high water mark of intercollegiate chess play. Incidentally it probably marked Southard's point of greatest skill in the game. It is certain that on the whole, apart from chess "debauches," Southard paid increasingly less attention to the game as a problem of victory. Perhaps his major gain from the game may have been attained in the acquisition of self-confidence, as Cabot[8] intimates, when he says that: "finding himself intercollegiate chess champion, he began to realize that he could achieve a standing by means of what came easy to him." Perhaps the game, even on multiple boards and blindfold, became too simple for him. As William P. Montague writes me: "I have heard of his plan and desire for a cubical or three dimensional game, the ordinary game lacking sufficient complexity and variation for his daring intellectual tastes."[9]

Chapter Five

The Study of Medicine and the Beginning of Life Work

THE SUMMER after graduation from Harvard found Southard confessedly fatigued and, as a relaxation, reading extensively in the Boston Public Library "novels chiefly from the case of New Books . . ." but also Dr. Clouston's *"Clinical Lectures on Mental Diseases,"* and dipping into the Anatomies of Gray and of Quain. After deliberation he had decided to enter the medical school in the autumn rather than to work for a doctorate in Philosophy in the graduate school.

As Cabot[2] has so clearly emphasized, one of the fundamental attributes of Southard's character was his loyalty to those he revered and loved; "an actual discipleship, which made him say only a week before he died, to a newspaper reporter who had quizzed him concerning psychical research: 'In the first place I must explain that I am a pupil of William James, and that I never have felt that I wanted to differ from him very much in any of his beliefs regarding this sort of thing.' Now this was said in the present tense—'I *am* a pupil of William James,' despite the fact that Dr. Southard graduated (from college) in 1897 and had not studied with James for at

least twenty-three years." James had reached his eminence in the then emerging science of psychology by entry through the portal of medicine, which fact could not fail to have influenced Southard in his last moment's choice of the next rung on his own ladder of scholarship, in 1897.

At all events he entered the Harvard Medical School that autumn. He became at once immersed in the customary sea of facts that somewhat perturbed even his eager intellect. He felt himself "a martyr again to first term insignificances."[1] Apologizing for epistolary remissness he writes:

> Though today is the first on which I shall have written letters of any sort, to anybody, since long before the opening of school, I have still thought many times of old companions. But the threads chiefly are broken.
>
> Imprimis. I have played no games of chess since October 1.
>
> Item. I have all but abjured philosophy both *nolens* and *volens*.
>
> In fine, I see theory grinding on the dreary shores; almost without a sigh from me too.

He admits, however, in the same letter, that he is enrolled in the Ethical Seminary with Professor Palmer, and is being urged to play chess for Harvard in the coming Christmas tournament. He yielded to this plea as we have seen.

His hitherto unusual scholarship, although still high on the average, showed, in his medical course, differential tendencies. His lesser interest in purely clinical subjects is reflected by "C" grades or even in one instance the barely passing "D." The exceptions in the clinical field were achievement of the highest grade in pediatrics, mental diseases, and orthopedics.

The summer of his first year was spent in out-patient surgery at the Boston City Hospital "where a brush with concrete sepsis" removed the unpleasant aspects of the "abstract and systematic character of anatomy." He was still playing chess as a diversion and reading widely in philosophy and general literature.

In his second year of medicine Southard found that "Pathology promises to be the most interesting thing in the world"

and adds descriptively, "Dr. Councilman possesses a capillary flush and a certain difficulty with consonants throughout." This first attraction to a science that was destined to become his main life interest was fully confirmed in the following summer when he enrolled in the discreet group of twelve, chosen from far and wide, who elected the already famous course in pathology given by Frank B. Mallory at the Boston City Hospital, probably the greatest training school of pathologists in this country. He described in letters the awakening interest in postmortem examinations carried out "in person"; and his interest strangely enough was ensnared by the mere technique of "watching over numberless croquettes of tissue in the imbedding." He is already from some undisclosed impulse "endeavoring to get hold of nerve technique."

In connection with this work Southard formed one of his most inspiring friendships, destined however for all too short a course, with a Harvard classmate both in college and in medicine, Walter Remsen Brinckerhoff, who had preceded Southard in the City Hospital group. As Southard, who wrote Brinckerhoff's obituary in the Fourth Report of the Harvard Class of '97 (1912), describes him, he was a man of athletic type "who was born efficient . . . He never lost delight in arranging the elements of a problem." Brinckerhoff's effective researches on smallpox in Manila and on leprosy in Honolulu provoked the admiration of his more static colleague, to which was added a real sense of fondness and of obligation for initiating him in pathology research. One of Southard's first articles (2)[2] was published in collaboration with Brinckerhoff, the subject matter characteristically lying in the field of his associate's choice. Southard later wrote: "Brinckerhoff's death in the middle of his work leaves us wondering why the world is built as it is, but cannot efface the powerful stimulation his life has been to us his friends." He planned, indeed, in the same year (1911) a larger biography of Brinckerhoff as an item in the list of books that he "would like to write"; one of the first of such mental stock takings with which his short intervals of rest were filled.

At all events with Brinckerhoff as guide, Southard took the

first steps in his major field. With him and another classmate, Eliot Alden, he was associated in what may be regarded as his first educational venture—a critical survey of the methods of instruction in the second year of medicine—compiled at the request of the Medical Faculty. The report they wrote "proved somewhat startling in faculty meeting," as Southard had prognosticated—indeed one of the older professors, whose antiquated methods of instruction were freely criticized, referred to it as "worse than the Dreyfus Bordereau." It led, however, to reorganization in the Medical School curriculum.

While Brinckerhoff would seem largely responsible at this period for directing Southard's thought into research channels in pathological anatomy, two other classmates, Lyman Hapgood and Jack Cunningham, took his social education in hand. The four students, Southard, Brinckerhoff, Hapgood, and Cunningham, did much of their studying together in preparation for examinations. Cunningham, who reports on this collaboration, throws light on the orderly instinct of Southard's mind:

> My job was to contact the professors and learn what they had on their minds at the time, going on the theory that one usually talks about the thing that interests him, and that we would spot a question. 'Brink' would read certain textbook features in connection with the problem questions and other features that we thought important. Hapgood, who always took voluminous notes, would read his notes on these various subjects. Ernest, with paper and pencil, would put down the various features under big headings, sub-headings, and still more sub-headings. Eventually he would get a summary of any subject reduced to the real meat, and I have no doubt that you are familiar with his methods of big headings and sub-headings. This system of preparing for examinations worked most satisfactorily, and it was largely due to Ernest's ability to concisely convey any subject by picking the important from the unimportant.

Hapgood in describing the amalgamation of Southard with his family says:

Ernest was a very shy boy and the family used to 'jolly' him unmercifully. It did not take him long to 'get on' to this line of contact, and he always had a good comeback when he realized the simplicity of the whole situation.

Southard was by no means unaware of this forced education when he wrote me in 1899:

It is very odd that I have only lately come to the conclusion that I am being constantly jollied by somebody or other. It has just come to me as I align my comrades for your inspection, that every one, at least once a day, succeeds in his own estimation and phrase in 'putting up a jolly on me' or 'getting a rise out of me.' Is there any remedy or does there need be one? I sometimes have them on the intellectual hip also.

He still confesses an interest in chess and he was also playing a form of solitaire as sheer relaxation, although: "card games seem puerile beside chess in its Egyptian complexity, in the absence of chance. But there is still a certain Grecian delicacy if also insincerity about cards."

It was in this way that Ernest began really to live into the lives of others, a characteristic that was, perhaps, his most fundamental trait and one which made him an ineradicable part of the deeper memories of all who knew him well. With all his striking individuality, and with the growing profundity of his intellect, he slipped into your life, rather than you into his; he frequented your home and became an intimate of your family, remaining for hours if you lived near him, or for days if your normal habitations were apart. During the last ten years of his life, for example, my own habitat was on the Pacific Coast but on an average of twice a year I visited the Atlantic seaboard to attend scientific meetings. These returns were infrequently staged in Boston, but it was rare indeed that they did not include a fore-gathering of days or hours with Ernest, whether in Philadelphia, Washington, Atlantic City, or elsewhere. In short, there was always time in his life for friendship, no matter what else might be afoot.

How many and how deep these friendships were is a matter of astonishment to one who endeavors to reconstruct this man's life. It is impossible to estimate the number of individuals for whom Southard proved a profound directive influence, but they are to be counted by dozens. He was a uniquely prized friend to a score of intimates, and his manner of generous amalgamation with the life of all of these naturally led each in turn to regard himself as Ernest's most intimate companion. One knew, in person or by name, of other friends, but the part of him that one enjoyed was ample enough. The particular chamber of his mind and affection in which one ranged was somehow, perhaps deliberately, apart from other similar chambers in which others roamed.

The third year of Southard's medical studies found him deep in the "log-jam of clinical subjects" with "a malignant transcription" of case reports. A month at the Infants Hospital where his endeavors "to ferret out the early post-natal consciousness, with a view of comparing it with that of those absorbing creatures, the Amoebae," seemed to give his psychological mind a thrill. "The Sabbath now forms the sole *solutio continui vel air hole,* in this frozen-lidded abyss of facts known as medical study." Chess as a recreation recurs, and wide excursions into Austin Dobson, Kipling, Meredith, and Bullen. Letters, to me at least, were few during this period, and in acknowledging this epistolary delinquency he once subscribed himself as, "your purveyor of correspondence, wide meshed but true."

In his senior year (1900-1901) Southard had become fully committed to work in pathology. Outside this immediate field of interest the only remaining work in medicine that stood out in his mind was the remarkable course on the "Comparative Etiology of Disease," given by Theobald Smith, then Professor of Comparative Pathology at Harvard. He served both as junior and (in January 1901) as senior student interne in pathology at the Boston City Hospital under the immediate direction of Henry A. Christian, who was then junior assistant pathologist. The mastering of routine in pathological technique and in diagnostic bacteriology, and the fulfilment of what was still

required in the accomplishment of medical courses were only a part of his life although they might have satisfied an ordinary soul.

However, the most enchanting work I do . . . is in Cambridge. I am re-establishing old attachments to the division of philosophy, taking two seminaries, Münsterberg's in Comparative Psychology and Royce's in the Logic of Fundamental Concepts . . . Royce's proves the more alluring. My concept—the Concept of Disease—has led me into inquiries related to the concept of structure and function and to that of the definite normal (more, possibly (?) than the merely average). If your professional conversations turn at all upon the structure-function contrast (particularly), I should like much to hear conclusions (*vel* in-conclusions). I have read three papers so far, 'Christian Science' before Boylston Medical Society, 'Mental Diseases' for Münsterberg, 'Prolegomena to Concept of Disease' for Royce. The plan of Münsterberg's seminary is interesting as an example of method, taking up as four branches of Comparative Psychology: the mental life of animals, of children, of the insane, and of the social man, in the early meetings, generally and introductorily, later in the meetings each devoted to a particular field of the mental life (say vision, inhibition, emotions, will, and the like but systematically) as shown in each of the four loci. My interest is of course in the so-called mental pathology.

The matter of Royce's seminary is really by far the most enticing thing (intellectually) I have ever lusted after. I actually learn (= get a novel point of view) every meeting. Last Sunday I went out to Cambridge at Prof. R's invitation and talked steadily for two hours and a half upon this, that, and the other, but in gloriously systematic fashion and was in the end adventurous enough to dine with the good people.

These inspiring contacts with some of the great philosophical minds of the generation were destined, in their continuance for many years, to ripen Southard's logical and orderly reasoning powers and enabled him later to deal so effectively with the baffling problems of mental disease, social service, and mental hygiene.

The immediate effect of this primary devotion to philosophy was however less assuring, and at this particular moment, bade fair to cut short the career of Southard as a pathologist at its inception. Wide excursion into the realms of what is generally classified as "metaphysics" has never been generally approved by those so-called factual specialists—including the old-fashioned devotees of morbid anatomy. These "fixed in Zenker's" objectivists are not trained to understand concepts beyond the field of their microscopes. Southard had already become a marked man even in his undergraduate status through his individual performance in the autopsy service at the City Hospital. As a pupil of James and of Royce, however, Southard's preferment after graduation became a matter of serious discussion among the powers that were in the highly developed Department of Pathology at Harvard. It was not simply the taint of the nebulous metaphysics that rendered Southard suspect, but the fact that his idol, William James, was, in particular, anathema to medical scientists through his judicial pronunciamento in respect to vivisection. Wishing to look on both sides of the question, and, although himself originally a physiologist of parts, James had questioned the ability of "anyone, even the worthy doctors, to tell the truth under fire." Parenthetically, there might be mentioned the consolation that Southard found in this particular problem of anti-vivisection, a consolation, incidentally, that is equally apposite today when the dispute still rages: "I think the public could not, after all, otherwise be so well taught as by this antivivisection stir what actually is being done in the interest of man."

This suspicion of all philosophers, root and branch, by medical scientists seems rather amusing in retrospect, but it was no joke to Southard's career at the moment, and his "evil" reputation spread up and down the Atlantic seaboard. The whole matter may be left with the delinquent's own expression of it, years later (1916):

I well remember when my training with James and Royce was regarded as something of a disability: it was questioned whether a man with philosophical antecedents could do the

FIGURE 5

Ernest Southard, age 17, on graduation from the Boston Latin School in 1893

FIGURE 6

Ernest Southard, age 25, on graduation from the Harvard Medical School in 1901

work of an interne in pathology. Nowadays we have pretty well worked through that period to one of greater tolerance.

The "brain tire" which occurred late in 1900, and to which we have referred, although rapidly overcome, was part of a season of desperate fatigue during which he was taking mid-year or, in reality, final examinations in the medical school "with humility." Several letters written in this period are wandering in thought and express his discomfort in such phrases as these: "Making due allowance for hypochondriasis, I seem to be undergoing a species of slow hebetation, incident perhaps to the arterial changes of a quarter-century of furious life." (Feb. 3, 1901), and again "My interpretation may be due to the descent of the yellow curtain of sclerosis." He is frankly ashamed of his examination papers (a "D" in clinical medicine, for example), and disgusted at the "rigidification" and "hereditary dominance by . . . Bunker Hill scions" in certain departments of the Harvard Medical School, "although in pathology and physiology there are chiefs with souls . . . If the outer world is not sweeter, I am sorry; I might even commit intellectual suicide (this a possible fate Brink [Brinckerhoff] thinks), by playing chess."

Southard's emotional life became more expressively conscious about this time; there are pages in his letters of psychological analysis about the relative emotional content of children, women, men, and the insane—contrasts of the emotional with the intellectual phases of life, part of it probably a projection or formulation of his seminary with Münsterberg, but part, it would seem, original in conception. There are references to emotion, too, of a more personal sort; but characteristically the emotions discussed are those that have been expressed by the recipient of the letter rather than by its writer, thus again reflecting his lack of egocentricity and his reticence to which we have already referred. We shall presently see how, for an interval, he became more personally expressive of his own emotions.

Another strand which bound one intimate, at least, to him was the proposal to inaugurate a defensive group of congenitally understanding souls as "Idiopaths," subsequently referred

to in envisaging new companions eligible for membership as "Soc.id." (*Socii idiopathici*), and a letter to the other charter member ends "yours in some inclusive point of view, Ernest." The formulation of this viewpoint illustrates so well the working of his mind at this period that it seems worthy of inclusion with its carrying context:

My Dear Fred:

Somehow I wish always in my letters to you to illustrate some portion of my own or the world's melancholy. Perhaps that may be the reason of the some time rarity of my letters: for I really can find nothing amiss within myself or in the dear world, that is, nothing so especially awry that we two should hug ourselves over it. Must I set down our mutual joy in unreasonable blues to a mere neuropathic lowering of the spiritual resistance?

The merely vital or lower-level resistance is already below par, I suspect, in both of us—with that month of June upon us, so full of promise to worldlings, of horror to us hopeless academics. Let us concur that these matters are of the earth earthy, and betake ourselves to the more lively sorrows of our own precious type in which the merely celebrated A. and B. may not be the stuff to share!

To cower *actively* in the lap of such metaphysical melancholia is given to few. The said lap is likely to be a forbidden lair to the merely celebrated, who after all can never see the humming activity in involvements with so trite a queen.

Notwithstanding, I am sore afraid we may hardly seek to absolve ourselves *vom Grunde auf* of the social motive marked as preeminent in the celebrated. To be sure, you may observe, we care little for fame, which is a form of mere sport; we are beyond or perhaps beside any question of social eclat; our species of misery may not be said truly to love company, as indeed such misery has the unity of gloom to however many consciousnesses it may be given, replacing their disparate lights. But I cannot believe we are so quickly rid of our fellowship with man or his joys. I am ready rather to look upon our state, which I am constrained to say hardly seems to jut forth in me

as in you, as the outcome of an appraisal of the world's array of facts as facts.

They are eminently disappointing—up-to-date—but I venture to think such a life a quicker means to the above appraisal —the road to an empyrean of true and right minded joy is not by further inventories of the world's goods—either at the counter of intellect or in the grab-bag of emotionality—but by systematizing of a thoroughly new kind. I have been interested of late in my preparation for the third paper in the psychological seminary, in the difference of idea expressed by the two words, Harmony and Unity. Now, all that A. and B. can ever get (without a sea-change) is Harmony of facts more or less perfect, never the true unity which is likely to be ours, or somebody's who may now be passing through our common gloom—of the valley of the shadow of facts.

All of which is to cheer you on. You may write to me, if you please, stating your belief that there is somewhere a satisfactory series of facts (let me guess they will be of the emotional sort); and I shall be happy to initiate a sweet-tempered controversy with you.

My dear Fred, a scheme strikes it upon me! Let's get up a very select society of commiserable spirits, to be known as the 'Idiopaths,' men of reputation to be excluded unless they shall gain said reputation subsequent to or by virtue of their enrollment! You shall henceforward be a committee to decide whether the idea shall die a natural death or survive a bit on good behaviour. Think of names. Get up an arms, even if there are no heroes to sing! Yours, idiopathically, ERNEST.

The only additional comment needed on this letter is that the "A." and "B." referred to, were my particular Pharisees—not his, and this endearing type of partisanship continued to be expressed to me, and I presume to others, throughout his life. His last letter to me written twenty years later on the very day that he was fatally stricken, contains a similar derision of "A." and "B." whose worldly success had long since ceased actively to irritate either of us.

Chapter Six

Pathologist, Neuropathologist: The First European Trip

ALMOST unconsciously Southard seems to have slipped from undergraduate to graduate medical status in the City Hospital Pathological laboratory. He became a regular interne in pathology after receiving the M.D. degree in 1901, and rose successively through the grades of second assistant (1902); first assistant (1903-04); to second assistant visiting pathologist (1905-06).

In this intimate association with an ambitious group of youngsters, Southard, although unorthodox, was popular on the whole. He was strong in his likes and his dislikes.[1] He violently resented criticism even from the respected chief, Mallory, who nevertheless reports him as "one of our best internes and assistants." His individuality in approach is best exemplified by a reminiscence of Christian's, who describes Southard's first autopsy protocol as discussing the cadaver from the skin inwards in terms of the "underlying geologic strata." It was scarcely the time for such pregnant and possibly helpful comparisons, which were destined later to orient Southard's scientific work. He became notwithstanding, in his own words:[2] "A faithful routinist, who had imbibed the research point of

view from our classmate Brinckerhoff." He also held, 1901-02, one of the Bullard fellowships "established in 1891 in honor of three physicians (George Cheyne Shattuck, John Ware, and Charles Eliot Ware), and awarded to students or members of the medical profession to make investigations in the medical sciences."

Southard's autopsy protocols became models of thoroughness in descriptive detail, lighted up in places, as was his speech, with some unusually fitting word or phrase. Thus in his first recorded dissection at the Boston City Hospital laboratory, March 30, 1901, we find him saying: "Thoracic cage long . . . The right auricular appendix contains a hive-like mass 2.5x1.5 cm., soft, but rather consistent, . . . whereas the left auricle has a shallow table-like mass. Lungs: In the main voluminous, pale, with usual carbon tracing and blue color of dependent portion, spotted with oval puffy areas."

His differentiation into an expert on lesions of the central nervous system was largely based on his early interest in abnormal psychology and facilitated in his first medical postgraduate year by the bestowal on him of the Bullard Fellowship. Almost from the beginning of his City Hospital work, Southard became interested in a study of "the neglected field of acute infections in the nervous system," a field readily yielded to him by his colleagues who, as representatives of general pathology, were all too readily deterred from exploring an area of the body that is rendered so inaccessible by its bony fortifications. Nearly all Southard's early publications are in the nature of case reports of rare or undetermined lesions in the brain which were, however, soon followed by attempts to reproduce certain of them in experimental animals.

But there were few in the vicinity who could give him authoritative advice, or indeed the technique, in this then neglected field. As early as October 1901 he was "endeavoring to see my way clear to six months in Germany to see Weigert, Ehrlich, Bethe, Nissl, and Kraepelin, perhaps Oppenheim. I don't see light through the trees, but am looking up the principles of persuasion." Persuasion prevailed, and on Brinckerhoff's return from the study of smallpox in Manila in January

1902, the way to Weigert was paved, and doubtless also the sinews of war, provided, by Councilman.

The Pathological staff of the Boston City Hospital gave Southard a complimentary dinner on January 23, 1902, at Mieusset's Restaurant with an appropriately arranged menu surmounted by the recipients photograph, reduced in size and colored as to the cheeks with eosin to a life-like cherubic pink similitude. The superscription "Wer liebt nicht Wein, etc." properly consigns the guest to his German fate. The dishes served are all neuropathologically concealed by some wit as:

> Pituitaries on the Half Shell
> Olivary Bodies au Princesse
> Neuroglia *Soufflé* a la Weigert
> Eosinophile Salad a la Brinckerhoff
> and so to the end:
> Atheromatous Areas, Aortic, q. s.

The last presumably the pathological result to be expected from such excess in food and drink as was offered.

On the 25th, Southard sailed on the "New England" for Gibraltar and Genoa.

The steamer letters from this first trip abroad show relief from a routine that had included at times the added tasks of Brinckerhoff and of several other temporary wanderers among his colleagues. This release is indicated by his first letter: "How many people about you have good New England consciences? There is so much more pleasure in sinning when the consciences contract to diaphragm, every plunge, more or less accurately." It was the southern route, too, so uplifting from the midst of a Boston winter. The Azores are past; Gibraltar is touched: Algiers—

Spick-span shop fronts at water's edge, palms, the swift demarcation of the Arab quarter with its whitewash, and the white svelte shape of Our Lady, Notre Dame de L'Afrique, away to the right . . . I fell into a discussion upon Art, of all things, my own empty chamber, and was forced by the exigency of the dispute to uphold the dictum that in your good

picture—at least with a simple motif—the center of interest lies somewhere to the left; the goodness will always be found in some quality not dependent upon mere observation, but rather dependent upon a series of judgments—e.g., take any picture representing surprise—or horror not your own, and the like. That among western peoples, ones who read from left to right, the above will be true, the more they read etc. . . .

Venice in the rain! I take interest in the inner life, which is however almost too dry from lack of dear friends.

Rome, Florence, Pisa, Naples, and finally Frankfurt-a-Main and Heidelberg. Nothing illustrates better Southard's multi-chambered versatility than the parallel letters written by him from these foreign and slightly nostalgic shores to Ralph Thompson and to myself. Even those of an identical date describe either separate experiences or the same experience in wholly different and equally fascinating expression.

Weigert, "a true logician in the concrete issues of pathology," at the Senckenberg Institute in Frankfurt, who had been well prepared by Councilman, greeted Southard with real kindness and enthusiasm, and at once introduced him to Herxheimer and to Edinger, to the latter particularly as a chess player where relations on one level at least could be joined with competence.

Edinger, moreover, had " 'immer was' for an Arbeit," but "The nervous system is such a devil of an affair." The "snaring of celloidin sections" is so desperate a trick that "one would be willing to adopt any method (even Jesuitical if it would serve) in procuring a satisfactory series."

But "the spring is here"—and with it a romance. "I am almost twenty-six and have skilfully avoided amounting to aught. William James has said that somewhere about now your ambition comes into play. I feel all mine leaking out by some force like gravity through my American shoes. Up to now (allow me, old fellow, to illustrate my conceit less covertly than usual)—up to now, my course has been not only predictable, but I have myself predicted it with fair accuracy, and it looks reasonable that the next two years will be run off according

to program. But all the same, 'the management cannot be responsible' etc. And I am now casting about for something with the quality of an asbestos curtain—something to let fall conveniently when fire consumes my pretensions to science."

The emotional line storm centered about a young Dutch singer, B.F., whom he ardently, albeit with labored objectivity, describes not once but several times in his letters:

> Of course I am homesick and of course I accomplish not much of anything in the laboratory . . . But the leader in my cavalcade of woes is—I am sorry to confess—a girl. Perhaps the sea will flatten down if I write to you . . . I feel thoroughly in the passive voice, and am wondering whether it is really what I have always secretly laughed at—love! . . . She is exceedingly pale, not very tall, slight, rather than plump, and blessed with eyes, gray and scarcely honest-seeming, roving soon to hover and forthwith to fall asleep with a kind of last sparkle as they die. I tell her she is more occipital than temporal, and after some explication, she pretends quite to understand. Her nose and her cheek bones, you would at once fall upon; but your guns are silenced by the eyes. She chatters, more or less meaningly always, and pretends to have vivid likes and dislikes. She stoutly maintains she is educating me. She maintains I am less mathematical and scientific than I suppose. The mind roves like her eyes and is probably largely a succession of visual images. The latter character she was born with and cannot now repair; but her intentions are absolutely designing. All women design, *nicht?* She wishes to be a singer and so wears her thorax exposed to the manubrium in front; and behind one catches the scapula-tips. Her hair is a rather light brown, and whether by art or not, falls into the littlest waves; in front she wears it in a slight obtuse angle.

The reference to his falling into the "passive voice" was a figure of speech not lightly arrived at; this "Application of Grammatical Categories," particularly his use of the grammar of verbs, formed a fundamental concept in Southard's philosophy, on which he later built an analysis of delusions, as we shall see.

At all events the "Kunstobjekt" and Ernest saw a good deal of each other; they adopt the teasing diminutives of "Der Joseph" (E.E.S.), and he in turn refers to her as "Das Josephinchen or Phinchen."

As an overflow his philological sense rejoices in the German language which he is studying systematically. He writes Thompson of his methods of acquiring German which although ingenious need not detain us except to quote that:

Many Americans have noted that their ability to read German began to fall off *pari passu* with improvement in ability to speak. The German of the scientific books is never heard from German mouths even in those of University Professors. I begin to think that German medical books are written in long dull trances.

Southard moved on in May to Heidelberg to work with Julius Arnold and "the gnome-like Franz Nissl, wizard of the cerebral cortex." He attended the clinics of Erb, and of Kraepelin, all with a growing enthusiasm that seeks continuance of his stay abroad:

Nissl is a gem. One feels that the cortex will unroll like a scroll with him. That, in short, all that can be done from the histological point of view with the cortex is to be done with his threads. Don't I talk like one under a spell? Well, that is the case. And, whereas formerly I had the fullest confidence in the value of looking at things from all possible angles, I now feel that one shrewdly chosen angle is to be preferred for any single man. Of course I don't propose that the Nissl angle shall be mine. But the Nissl work is of value as showing where one blank wall lies.

He is, of course, hearing music, but "trying hard not to add to my already colossal intellectual maceration by getting musical."

One of the important contacts of this period was with Albert M. Barrett, whom Southard later succeeded as pathologist at the Danvers Insane Hospital, and whom he admired throughout his life. "He was one of the men," Thompson says,

"from whom Ernest would take anything." They are reading and talking to each other as the fruitful Heidelberg days go on.

July, 1902 found Southard back at his post of second assistant at the Boston City Hospital. He had acquired the M.A. degree from Harvard that June, a matter of mere formality at that time, depending on application, a fee, and an original thesis for which any one of his several publications of this epoch sufficed. He was immediately surrounded by a mass of routine, but the romance, barely laid, still pervades his thought.

I had lost weight and gained ideas—to be exacter, feelings—so, that you would hardly have known me had I indeed gone to Philadelphia. I am now gaining in weight although slowly, and about coordinately I forget her. The ideal of sylphlikeness —insisted on, you may remember, by Counce (Councilman) himself and silently desired by one who for a long time seemed more important (not to waste superlatives)—is gradually giving ground. I expect the rest of the emotional manikin to be delivered shortly with a rush. I am now in despair over routine; and, tho' in a way it is a solace, yet in another way it just drives in the sorrow deeper: for, whereas I had wished to substitute for emotion, science, I get merely routine plus memories. And I am so afraid of Brinck's fine (because inborn) Philistinism, that I have no proper confidant.

Ralph Thompson is my continued source of information on this period of Southard's life:

After Ernest got back from Europe we started living together at the Oxford in Huntington Avenue, near the Back Bay Station . . . That winter, by the way, was a strenuous one for Ernest. When we moved in and got straightened out, he said, 'I believe I have an engagement for about six nights a week for the entire winter.' I remember that every week there was a symphony one night, Counce's Review Club one night, Seminary one night, and one night reserved for the theatre; do not remember now just what the other fixed engagements were. Ernest got along very well on five hours sleep. Occasionally, he would go to the Chess Club on his way from Cam-

bridge and play all night, coming home at six in the morning to take a cold bath. We always walked across town and were always in the hospital before eight o'clock. I doubt if we were late more than once or twice in the whole winter.

This description may be regarded as forming the basic pattern of Southard's entire subsequent life, barring brief moments and one longish interval (1911) of enforced inactivity. Rest, in the placid and isolated sense, he knew not, and when remonstrated with, he replied, "Don't worry, I rest interstitially."

His appreciation of the artistic side of life was growing. "He took Brinckerhoff and myself in hand," writes Thompson, "in order to teach us to like Meredith. I really came to appreciate him, but Brinck never did. Later on when Brinck and I were at the Small Pox Hospital Ernest would come over and read us to sleep much to Brinck's disgust."

Thompson and Southard came to know rather well "two young newspaper women . . . both doing special feature work, and both rather interesting personalities." The quartette went to the Symphony and one of them took Southard's social education particularly in hand.

Of the several socio-philosophic groups or clubs of which Southard became a member the one designated as the "Wicht Club" was the most significant. A rehearsal of the names of the ten or eleven "Wichts" who composed this informal assemblage, suffices to indicate how men of genius or near genius, tend to foregather even in the early stages of their careers. Its guiding spirit was apparently Edwin B. Holt, then Instructor of Psychology at Harvard, ably seconded by George W. Pierce (Physics), and Harry W. Morse (Physics). To them flowed by some sort of intellectual gravitation, in turn, Robert Yerkes (Psychology), Ralph Perry (Philosophy), Roswell P. Angier (Psychology), Wilmon H. Sheldon (Philosophy), Walter Cannon (Physiology), Gilbert N. Lewis (Chemistry), and Southard. They were all of the young instructor group at Harvard, and their club designation was suggested by the gnome-like creature that had been marked for identification by certain of

them, who had seen it in a German comic journal. The group gathered and dined in Boston about once a month at one of the old-fashioned hotels or at some "Dago" restaurant, after which "one of their number would talk about his work in a manner that was neither formal nor continuous, since there were frequent interruptions of a critical or witty nature which kept the speaker and everyone else on the *qui vive*."

Guests were frequently invited, among them, William James several times.[3] "On the whole . . . the philosophic discussion gave place to drinking and frivolity." No one of its brilliant members, all still fortunately surviving save Southard and Morse, seems to remember what subjects our protagonist opened for discussion.[4] He is chiefly remembered for his repartee and aphorisms, and as a master of paradox:

> It would have been worth a good deal to have heard Ernest and Gilbert Lewis argue out fundamental chemical philosophy if Ernest had known more of the facts, but instead they used to argue about everything else in the world, with or without any basis of facts to stand on. And that was grand fun. Thinking back on that time it seems to me that the only one of the Wicht bunch who could hold his own with Ernest was Gilbert Lewis. Gilbert was just as fond of paradox, and made much the same use of it in all discussions. It was hard—impossible—to tell what either of them really thought about anything, by what they said. Each had the habit of dissociating words from their ordinary meaning and putting out a changeling meaning which he then proceeded to heartily vindicate. Tough on the common folks! We used to sit with our mouths open, waiting for the denouement. This, coupled with Ernest's vocabulary, made him a complete verbal mystery to many people. Also, he used often to make his own words and fit his own definitions to them.[5]

The only apparent formality in the "Wicht" organization was the annual assemblage, and the binding for a number of years (1903-11) of the reprints of its members' work, which, in a clever play on words was entitled "Was Wichtiges," and was indeed significant. These compilations ceased in 1911 owing to

the unwieldiness of the resultant volume. It is remembered that wives ("Wichtinnen") attended this annual meeting.

In November, 1903, Southard became First Assistant at the City Hospital laboratory and was relieved of some routine which enabled him to plunge more fully into neuropathological research. He had also acquired an assistant in neuropathology. His publications were beginning to appear, largely in the nature of case reports, the limitations of which line of attack he fully appreciated:

Have I expounded to you my idea of this matter of casuistics? I feel that I can do better work than case reporting; but I feel that a certain amount of it must appear from any neuropathological laboratory. Later I can get it done by fourth year students. But just now I cannot. Further I shall need models for such work, and I am not aware of any case-reporting which exactly suits me (I mean, of course, in externals). I shall also need cases to form an appendix or supplement to the syllabus which must be done in about a year.

He is still following courses in advanced logic ("perhaps the finest course I ever took") and also the Logical Seminary under Royce, the latter including such notables as James, Santayana, Richard Cabot, and (Miss) Professor Calkins of Wellesley. He was again considering the advisability of a doctorate in logic. He is also, to add to the activities Thompson has scheduled, "Varsity Chess Coach, and plays one or more times a week against the youths who are preparing to play Yale."

As if this were not enough he is, again, "leading an emotional life," and this time a conclusive one, destined to bring him to the altar two years and a half later following a pursuit, ever in doubt, but tenaciously persisted in. How much in doubt this pursuit was is best indicated by a letter to the author, and his newly acquired wife, then resident in Brussels:

. . . As a fact I had a steamer letter all planned for you, when events occurred which threw everything but one out of my mind.

Let me reassure you by saying at once that the flame is out. At least I have every reason to think so. Things came to a climax the Monday following my last sight of you. Then followed a pair of letters, and now it is all over except the lump in the throat. I have not seen her since, and I hope I shall not ever.

I shall not easily believe in any woman again. I regret that I am left with the impression that women are fair game enough, but not worth the candle. There is something inorganic about them.

I know you are hopelessly happy, making tresses untwist and all that sort of thing. Well, be good to each other and cheat Dame Nature, who, I think, is fain to prevent happiness as far as possible.

Do you know? I feel terribly blue about things. I think it might benefit your own neurasthenia to witness the depth of mine.

I am striving to get comfort out of my syllabus, which must be in the printer's hand very shortly. But the words get pulled all out of place by a blur of blonde hairs.

Well! Well! back to the card catalogue.

November 5, 1904. ERNEST.

February 1, 1904, found Southard assuming an Instructorship in Neuropathology in the Harvard Medical School. His relationship with the City Hospital became nominal, although he retained a room and later became a "visiting" there while planning the development of formal instruction, and a department of neuropathology which remained, in spite of enlarging external responsibilities, the background of his subsequent scientific life.

The great opportunity in Southard's life had come, made possible by his unique preparation and inspired interest, and greatly facilitated by the wise and fostering capacity of Dr. W. T. Councilman. This precise opportunity would still have been lacking but for the idealism and increasingly admiring friendship and financial support of Dr. W. N. Bullard. South-

ard later felt (1912) that he had "been plunged into the teaching of neuropathology with hardly a due preparation. My course, three weeks under the delightful concentration system . . . ought (even after eight years) to be much better than it is." From this moment onwards he was left to carve his own destiny and to do much as he liked. What he liked for the next few years was varied and active enough, and may have seemed at times, until he acquired his full professorship in 1909, merely politically ambitious. To those who knew him well enough to suggest this vulgar interpretation of his mounting prestige he would say, "I am merely interested in arriving at that strategical point of advancement where my real work cannot be interfered with."

Chapter Seven

The Backbone of Life Work: Neuropathology

An instructorship in neuropathology under the aegis of the Department of Pathology, and with the help of its chief, Dr. W. T. Councilman, inaugurated Southard's formal career as an educator. The salary of this position was provided by another Bullard fellowship and supplemented by money from the Bullard family, who were about to assume even greater responsibility for the work. We find him, in letters, exposing the advantages and freedom in his new status, and planning for work with Adolf Meyer, then in New York, in clinical psychiatry; flirting with the possibility of work in Madrid with Ramon y Cajal; actually going so far as to acquire "pocket transportation to the Philippines" from the War Department, doubtless to study smallpox; but in reality he continued his now habitually diversified life at home:

I will glyph thee a line to show I live, tho' atrophically rather than degenerately as you suggest for your own fate. The spring advances, but not so my projects. I have however blossomed into an instructor at last, and for these few days I

button on pride and study logic and play chess and dream of marriage with some intellectual blonde and accomplish nothing, in *re neuropathologia.*

Notwithstanding this modest statement he was busy that summer of 1904 in reading; in writing sundry research papers and presenting some of them at Atlantic City; and in friendly visits in divers parts, including a survey of the new Psychiatric clinic in Albany. More concretely, he was actively preparing a syllabus for his required course in neuropathology given for the first time in November. He was living with Henry Christian in Craigie Hall, Cambridge, where he exercised some proctorial function. At times Mallory resided with them.

Southard's mental unrest for the next year and a half was not due to his apparently startling explorations into his now well established release channels of chess and philosophy; for he was destined to continue in these and many other courses in the ensuing years, but never with what may be entitled unrest. The uncertainty of his academic future troubled him in spite of his fortunate early assumption of a differential title in a major field of the science of disease:

I fear I shall never go abroad again unless I can make an assistant professorship. This seems a small thing to ask, but I am afraid to speak my mind naively to my chiefs. The attitude of the good and great seems to be that, although men of promise are desirable in institutions, yet to be of promise means some large accomplishment. Now, how we are to swim in seas of air, I know not as yet. There are in Boston young men overnumerous for the good and great to care for one and all. Think of it, Magrath, Christian, Brinckerhoff, Tyzzer, Wolbach, Duval, and Lewis,[1] to say nothing of your humble servant. Even so, dim outlines of white bones on the road to Timbuctoo begin to startle me. I am quite (quite!) seriously revolving a plan to go to New York into newspaper work if my present plan fails in two years' time. I wonder why it is one fancies one might win out in the world of letters if science fails! Nevertheless I would not have you think I have lost interest in my work. My first set of eight reprints—the departmental work

in neuropathology for 1904—is almost ready for mailing. For 1905 I am going to work out of casuistics to some extent. My first thing for 1905 will be on sclerosis of the cerebellum: I have discovered the origin of Bergmann's fibrils!

The proposal to venture actively into the unknown, though quietly cultivated field of literature, may have had its origin in association with the newspaper writers to whom we have referred—a form of artistic outlet which grew more intense in later years.

But more fundamental still was the serious disorganization of his peace of mind involved in the pursuit of the Diana of his dreams, Mabel Austin. The overflow of phrases, alternately of despair and of ecstacy, in correspondence with at least two of his intimates, was a type of expression seldom indulged in by one who had after all so underlying a reticence—and so deep a chivalry. But these are matters that touch the most inner core of two lives that later fused into one, and are not the affair of even the most devoted of biographers.

In 1906, Southard was promoted to an assistant professorship, but still as a member of the Department of Pathology, and even after his final elevation to full professorial status in March 1909, his department was not quite autonomous until October of that year when it was separately established by the Corporation and by the Board of Overseers.[2]

Southard published twenty scientific papers or treatises during his first five years after graduation in medicine. With a single exception, these first articles lie entirely in the field of neuropathology—the exception being an article on erythagglutinins published with Brinckerhoff (2). They are for the most part case reports frankly explained and justified by Southard himself in the citation from a letter that we have already given. Factually not very striking, they embody in places a turn in phrase or an unusual choice of words already so characteristic of Southard's style. The more comprehensive report (9) on the neuroglia frame-work in marginal sclerosis, with certain novel ideas on the origin of radial fibrils, marks the first attempt at generalization that Southard took in his chosen field. Although

this study was forward-looking and employed new technical methods, particularly those originated by Mallory for study of other tissues, it is in retrospect now "obsolete owing to the subsequent introduction of metallic stains."[3] This preliminary series of articles also includes three contributions (11, 18, 19), which, although their points of departure are human cases of brain inflammation encountered at autopsy, involve systematic attempts to produce similar lesions in animals. These attempts were largely fruitless, owing to the fact that the reaction of guinea pigs to the several pus organisms employed, is "reversible," to use his philosophical term, or in other words, the experimental animals recovered completely. Such experiments seem today rather naive, but they were original enough at the time to establish Southard as an authority on what was then included in the term Acute Encephalitis (48).

As we have already indicated, Southard was busy in preparing for his first formal instruction in neuropathology required thenceforth at Harvard as part of the medical curriculum. In 1906 an elective course in neuropathology for fourth year students was also inaugurated.

The outline of this course (5), first published in 1904, was frequently revised in later years.[4]

In 1906, Southard's fixed responsibilities were doubled or trebled and his entire subsequent life altered by two events—his entrance into service of the State, and his marriage. His extracurricular activities were, however, little diminished. On January first he accepted the post of Assistant Physician and Pathologist to the Danvers State Hospital on part time, and succeeded his friend Dr. A. M. Barrett in this post. As he wrote to Thompson (January 13, 1906):

. . . Things have been coming in masses and for once a little too swiftly for little Ernie . . . Let us say I have been at Parker's in the evening (Wicht Club?), then I repair to Cambridge for a few hours, rise at six, bathe, catch the 7:10 at the North Station, make the hospital at 8:20, get a bite of breakfast, jump into case-reading 8:30—9:30, telephone in town to make arrangements for the evening, set to work on the cerebellum (on which

I propose to do a monograph in two years), try to keep my two technicians busy—(did you ever try to keep two technicians busy on histological technique?), get lunch, catch the 1:34 for Boston, reach the school at 3, superintend the work of three fourth-year elective men in neuropathology, have tea with the bunch at 5, and then start out for real life (unless my logical seminary or Counce's Friday intervene), the which I seem to be getting! This,—or a variant of it—is the daily program. I am even losing weight, but I am far from an Adonis yet.

And again to the writer:

. . . I have however had a tremendous amount of work to do this winter. There have been days and a few whole weeks when I have not even dreamed of the higher life. Especially during January I have had double duties—an elective in neuropathology afternoons and my new work as pathologist and assistant physician to the Danvers Insane Hospital. Pursuing these two adventures, I have gotten about six hours of sleep a day on the average. February 1, I started on a little trip to recuperate and to get material from the brains of epileptics by the way. I have material from 53. I have an idea with respect to some lesions in the cerebellum in epilepsy.

Meanwhile, the crucial love affair had proceeded to its long desired culmination. To Thompson again he writes in April the last graphic emotional outbursts announcing his engagement.

. . . It has been virtually so since November . . . Adjectives fail. Tommy when you fall, get one all verbs. (They are sure to be irregular!) And see if you don't get thrown into the passive voice. Well, I won't praise the infinite Stadia all night. I shall really be sorry if you do not go the same way. . . .

On June 27, Ernest Southard was married in Boston to Dr. Mabel Fletcher Austin in the presence of a few relatives and friends.

Chapter Eight

Southard as a State Officer

HOWEVER SOLID and balanced the accomplishment of a given life may appear, the strands of which it is composed are heterogeneous. Southard, more than most men, had the faculty of intertwining the many separate phases of his increasingly complicated existence into a resultant cable of amazing strength. But however homogeneous the successive chronological cross sections may appear, such a life history is still composed of differentiated strands. This preamble is merely introductory to our decision to abandon at this point the year by year chronicle of Southard's life, now that he may be said to have arrived. We shall for a time discuss his major interests as more or less separate but ingeniously related processes, and later return at the very end to the earlier chronological method.

It is, indeed "an amazing fact," as Cabot[1] has so aptly stated, that Southard "a philosopher, a research man, and (in his own sense) an aristocrat, distrustful of legal and governmental methods, an outspoken individualist, was yet able to enter and hold public office (under the State of Massachusetts), to deal with politicians, legislatures, and budgets . . ." for the last fourteen years of his life. He held office, moreover, not only to the satisfaction of the particular designs that led him to accept

State service, but to the embellishment of the service itself in new and unexpected ways. It is exceptional that he should have persuaded those to whom he was responsible that they should facilitate such innovations as the frequent absence of himself and staff to read scientific papers abroad; should grant funds for research on the broadest possible basis; and many other apparently unbusiness-like procedures alien to the conscience of trustees and superintendents who throughout time have visualized their responsibilities in terms of "per capita cost," clock punching, and routine efficiency rather than of originality.

Although Southard believed that the laborer is worthy of his hire he was never in any degree actuated by the financial return from any of the several positions, State and University, that he accepted. It is doubtful if the total return that he received from these various sources ever exceeded the sum of $8000 a year. He could easily have made more in practice, or in medico-legal work for which his position, knowledge, clarity of exposition, and brilliance in repartee, particularly fitted him. He seldom appeared on the witness stand, except when required to do so in virtue of his official position, or when he felt that the common good was directly served; his rare appearances were, however, not forgotten by those who witnessed them as he never failed somehow to impress his audience through unexpected word or trenchant phrase. Southard's deliberate disregard of more than a very modest financial return for his services, even after he had undertaken family responsibilities, are best expressed in a letter to his mother in 1909:

Dear Mother:

Perhaps you may not have seen a notice of my promotion to a full professorship in neuropathology! So I write you about it. Of course this is a life position, with the Carnegie pension attached at the end. I suppose the salary will never be large; but in combination with other things, like my pathologistship to the Board of Insanity, should make up my income to about five thousand a year.

I believe I could make more money, but accomplish less, in practice. But I think Mabel agrees with me in my present aims. I know I can effect a number of changes in the situation

and I hope to begin doing some good things, now that my career is relatively settled . . .

There are those who, for academic purposes that may seem to them clear, would separate neurology from psychiatry, and nervous from mental diseases, although in practice they make no such limitation. It is true that there are innumerable instances of impairment both of the peripheral and the central nervous system that do not involve changes in thought and conduct, and there are also many categories of mental disorder that are not as yet clearly linked with structural changes in the central nervous system. No one questions however that the mind is somehow, somewhere, situated in the brain, or that the cause of mental impairment must be sought in some abnormality, structural or functional, of this governing system. Thus, although there may be those who prefer to think of themselves as pure neurologists, eschewing mental disease, we know of no such limitation on neuropathologists that would tend to confine their investigations to such disorders as stop short of mind impairment. The term "psychopathology," which by definition should include the knowledge of mental disease from both functional and structural standpoints, has unfortunately concerned itself largely with the less concrete functional aspects. All this is explanatory as to why Southard, beginning with the study of disorders of the nervous system in a general hospital, describing at first inflammations of the brain membranes, brain tumors, and nerve degenerations, should soon turn to a consideration of the less clearly understood mental disorders with less objective structural basis. It is always the residual unknown that attracts the alert mind. Mental patients, in contrast to those with simple nervous disorders, are for the most part wards of the State, and they are best studied in State hospitals. Anyone who seeks limitless opportunity for such study had, therefore, best become a State officer, with such safe-guarding of his freedom as he may be wise enough and able enough to insure.

Southard's whole career as a State officer was planned from stage to stage with remarkable shrewdness, not from any desire to escape work, to obtain pecuniary reward, or to avoid respon-

sibility, but to give him the maximum freedom of action. There had been pathologists in the insane hospitals of Massachusetts before Southard's appointment to Danvers in 1906, and notable ones, including Adolf Meyer at Worcester (1895-1902), and at Danvers both William L. Worcester (1895-1901) and Albert M. Barrett (1901-1905). Southard differed from these worthy predecessors in one notable respect; he was firmly established, and of professorial grade, with a distinctive title, in one of the leading medical schools of the country. Although his predecessors attracted students, Southard already had a continued flow of them through his required course in neuropathology at Harvard, and, more important still, was seeking research material and facilities for a chosen group of fourth year elective students who began to present themselves.

Southard was indeed fortunate in the chance and choice of his first State office; the Danvers Asylum was operated on the highest level of efficiency and progressiveness owing to the ability and vision of its superintendent, Charles W. Page. Dr. Page not only recognized the ultimate value of pure research in the final clarification of mental disease, but was prepared to justify its cost to his trustees as part of a budget designed primarily for the care and treatment of patients. His interpretation of Southard's function as "Assistant Physician and Pathologist," on half-time, was a concession to tradition and was softened in the annual report by the statement that "Dr. Southard's connection with the Harvard Medical School necessarily conflicts but little with his services here, his school work requiring his absence from the hospital only half-days for about one month each year." As a matter of fact, Southard was actually present in Danvers for far less than one-half his waking hours. It was understood that he was not normally in residence. No individualist, however able and generous, is protected from the pettifoggery of lesser minds, and acid remarks on Southard's repeated absences either from staff meetings, or, indeed, from his laboratory, were at times made by his colleagues; but Dr. Page was rarely moved to transmit them to the man who was being criticized. The superintendent continued over a period of years to develop laboratory facilities

and to provide for additional assistance. It was the writer's good fortune to be added to the laboratory staff in what was then the probably unique position of "bacteriologist." Researches began to hum as the elective students gathered and were stimulated to action by the pathologist,—men like S. T. Orton and J. B. Ayer, to choose only from those of the first year, of great ability as their subsequent careers have shown. It was characteristic, both of Southard and of Page, that these students should not of necessity confine themselves to work with an obvious bearing on mental disease; for example, studies in bovo-vaccination against tuberculosis, a series of studies of the newly discovered phenomenon of anaphylaxis, and one of the earliest investigations of human blood groups, were undertaken. This catholicity of research interest continued to broaden rather than to narrow into the obvious field so long as Southard was responsible at first for the one, and later for all the State institutions. A series of investigations on the progress of epidemics in State institutions are typical of this spread of interest; epidemics of dysentery, of paratyphoid fever, and of diphtheria. The reports on these studies, although used to emphasize the importance of adequate laboratories in insane hospitals, are no summary of routine examinations, but real contributions to the epidemiology, the bacteriology, and the pathology of these several diseases. They usually fail to designate that Southard's was the guiding spirit in the investigations, for his name is not prominent as an author.

The diversified life that Southard was leading early in 1906 is clearly depicted in the excerpts from his letters near the end of the last chapter. Following his marriage in June and a reasonable vacation period the pace intensified rather than slackened. Mrs. Southard was equally occupied in her work as Associate Professor of Hygiene in Wellesley College, and a point equidistant between the poles of their separate activities, namely Salem, was chosen as their home for the first year. There is no direct evidence that their evening engagements, separate or combined, diminished. In fact, Southard's briefer letters to his mother indicate how difficult it was, through multiple engagements, to bring the two divisions of his family

together. He was also busy throughout 1906 in collecting material for the study of epilepsy in Sonyea, New York, and in the Monson State Hospital, and in reading papers thereon at Palmer and in New York. The old release life of Wicht meetings and chess play, as for example with a distinguished visiting Russian professor, are also mirrored in his correspondence; to say nothing of the many research projects that were in mind and indeed in operation.

» «

All of this first busy year of double occupation, and in double harness, was soon too much, or from another viewpoint, not enough, and a trip abroad became compelling for reasons that will appear. Absence on leave, but without pay, was arranged at Danvers and near the end of May 1907, Doctor and Mrs. Southard with their friends Miss Grace Atkinson and Doctor Lawrence Henderson sailed on the "Canadian" for Liverpool. Soon after arrival he writes his mother that:

Liverpool is not a prepossessing place and is just as Hawthorne found it years ago—a chasm of squalor. I am going to move out to Chester (a half hour's ride) which is one of the quaintest places in England. Can't you get hold of Henry James' 'English Hours' and read the chapter on Chester? I think Howells has something good too on Chester.

He is, it soon appears:

...renewing my youth with fresh studies. I am very happy thinking that my work at home will be greatly aided by the new points of view.

For a busy month he was at the feet of the great English physiologist, Sherrington, whose brilliant work on the integrative action of the nervous system was in full flood of demonstration. In a letter to Henry Cotton he writes:

Sherrington's animals are marvels. To work with Sherrington is well-nigh impossible at this season, on account of his routine of teaching, examinations, physiological meetings,

antivivisection troubles, and the like. So, in default of being able to get me to work himself, Sherrington has been kind enough to arrange it for me to work with his assistant Watt[2] (a Külpe product) in psychology and with his colleague Benjamin Moore in chemistry.

My psychological work has been largely tachistoscopic on the attention-problem in reading. I have about a week more of it. A little paper will ultimately emerge from it.

In chemistry I have simply been learning rudiments of fat analysis, etc., so as to become familiar with what is being done in neurochemistry. I have been examining a number of organs in the dog to discover the different types of fat. I hope to put the knowledge to some use when I get back. But I fear I shall never be a chemist.

And towards the end of the month he wrote me:

The month has been very satisfactory to me. The only thing that is at all nearly finished is a little psychological study with Watt. In the neurochemistry line I am of course practically as ignorant as before, but I do not feel the same chemophobia as before. I feel that that game might be played if need be. I think that Emerson's work will be better guided than hitherto. I hardly know how to characterize my attitude to psychology. My respect for Sherrington has turned into a kind of reverence, and this not because I have been able to work with him or even see much of his work. But his attitude and the work I have seen make me feel that his book and his point of view are thoroughly based on fact—and imagination always inductive. The beautiful conceptions had heretofore seemed to me perhaps too good to be true.

I have some few ideas more or less directly derived from Sherrington for application at home. But I feel that, for a true expression of these longings of mine, I should have to work for some time in physiology. Perhaps the best plan would be to become an assistant under Cannon for a term. Then wouldn't people talk about spreading energies!

It should be explained in reference to the work in chemistry that Southard had some time before conceived the idea that the

chemical composition of the brain in certain forms of insanity might well differ from the normal, and he had actually begun such a study in collaboration with an able chemist in Boston, Dr. R. L. Emerson. This work never led to more than incidental results in Southard's hands. An enlightening review of Irvine H. Page[3] on the "Chemistry and Metabolism of the Brain," some forty years later, make evident how much progress has since been made in this alluring field, and at the same time how much remains to be learned. One can but share this author's enthusiasm for the potential help that research in this field will be in the final solution of brain disease.

Even in this busiest of months, Southard was being consulted by two of his Danvers colleagues, Harry Mitchell and Henry Cotton, who were contemplating new positions. His answer to Cotton shows at once how sound his educational views already were, and hints clearly how well he had formulated the idea of correlating the research material in the Massachusetts State hospitals, an undertaking that he was soon destined to accomplish:

Despite the obvious disadvantage to Danvers (and particularly to the laboratory), I am disposed to agree with the judgment of your postscript as to Taunton. As you know, I am perhaps too ready with roseate view, to wit, that it is happier to get distinction than mere comfort. You will enjoy at Taunton the fruits of Miller's organization without his difficulties. The position ought to be somewhat like mine when Barrett left Danvers.

But the real point is that you will rule your own progress. Your chances of a Harvard Appointment (in psychiatry) are, of course, better from the pathologistship at Taunton than from Danvers—at least so far as the influence which I can bring to bear. For that appointment means so much more good material on the market.

I foresee much excellent cooperative work and profitable division of labor in Massachusetts in case this plan is carried out. We would see to it that no jealousies or collisions of policy should take place. We could gradually build up the local

spirit in the Massachusetts institutions so that more things—or at any rate different things—could be done than under the too centralized plan of the pathological work in New York.

I fancy, moreover, that Prince might seek you out for the Tufts place (Hoch's old course). It is possible that this place might pay you more than the Harvard place. It would probably give you more practice in set talks than the Harvard place. I have not at present the data for deciding (even in my own mind) which is the better place, providing both were open. I hope that the question will be open in October when I return. In any event I do not share in Barrett's idea that the Tufts place is *infra dig*. Good work could be done in either place and would be equally effective in advancing a man to the control of a good clinic, when the good clinics begin to grow.

On leaving Liverpool, Southard visited the English Asylums, and ended his local tour in London to read a paper at the British Medical Association late in July. We next learn that he is at the International Physiological Congress in Heidelberg, and he then rejoined his wife and Miss Atkinson for recreative travel in Switzerland.

In a letter to his mother:

The Congress at Heidelberg was very good and I feel like shifting slightly (into the field of physiology) my point of view to make it deal with these lively things. Time will tell.

And to Cotton he says:

I drew much inspiration and a desire (which will probably never be gratified) for equally sharp and definite problems.

And again, in an intimate revelation, he writes his mother from Mainz:

It becomes increasingly difficult to figure out the technique of becoming a great man. But it is a good hope to live in is it not?

Early in September they journeyed through Cologne to Amsterdam where they attended the Congress of Psychiatrists.

They sailed from France on the "Adriatic" and reached home on October first.

» «

Southard pursued his work at the Danvers Hospital throughout 1908 and well into 1909, continuing "to amass and correlate materials for the study of mental disease" in which quest his growing group of disciples was involved. The particular kind and intensity of inspiration that he diffused during this period, together with a glance at his daily life, is vividly portrayed by one who was destined eventually to play a significant role in fields that were far from the central nervous system. Dr. J. G. Fitzgerald, Professor of Hygiene and Preventive Medicine, and Dean of the Medical School in the University of Toronto, writes me:

It is not difficult in the case of some men to recall with clarity, with freshness, and with profound gratitude the influence which they have been in our lives and in our daily activities. Ernest Southard belonged in this category of men.

I first met him in the autumn of 1908 in his laboratory at the Harvard Medical School. At that period he was responsible for work in the field of neuropathology in the Medical School as one of a great many activities. He met me, when I called upon him for the first time, a stranger from without the gates and quite unknown, with that charming and completely enchanting smile which I came to know and love so well.

I was at the time in those far-off, pre-war days, a recent medical graduate with an interest in psychiatry, neuropathology and indeed medical science generally; who had learned very thoroughly from experience as locum tenens, in hospital work and laboratory activities covering a period of five years, that what I really needed was scientific discipline and further training. I told my story to Ernest Southard and he listened patiently and with seeming interest. I gave up a laboratory and clinical appointment in Canada, which provided me with a fair living and financial independence. That I did gladly to go to Boston. I of course had no appointment of any sort in the Harvard Medical School. Soon my funds ran out. I told

Southard of my predicament. He immediately consulted some of his colleagues. I was given a modest grant from the Proctor Fund and for the academic year had an unforgettable experience with Southard . . .

Gay was working in the field of infection and immunity. Southard soon observed that my interest in neuropathology could not successfully compete with the fascination which the other branch of experimental science exercised over me. I was permitted to join Southard in his investigations, and Gay and Southard in their explorations of anaphylaxis. Southard taught me how to use the library, and drilled into me the essential principles in the training and preparation of the budding pathologists who passed through the famous Mallory course in the laboratories of the Boston City Hospital. He took me out to Danvers. We used to meet at the North Station at 7:30 a.m. By train and trolley we covered perhaps 30 miles in an hour and a half. Finally we landed up at Danvers State Hospital. Then began a day of intense activity in psychiatry, neuropathology, bacteriology, clinical conferences and related undertakings which lasted until dusk. Finally back to Boston and on to the Medical School. I have given this in some detail because these journeyings brought me into communion with Ernest Southard which would have been possible in no other way.

His extraordinary acuteness of mind, his play of humour, his powers of observation and his gentleness, all these had a most profound effect upon me. He became my friend. His guidance when sought was always forthcoming immediately. His repartee and his seeming embarrassment upon occasion which afforded him an opportunity of completely outwitting an opponent in discussion or debate, are all precious memories for me of Ernest Southard.

His intense physical energy combined with exceptional mental endowment was what was essential in the man who was to give fresh and novel impulse to Psychiatry in America. That he did. In addition, quite unconsciously and without effort he planted himself permanently in the hearts and minds of all those who were privileged to know him. His friendship was one of the pearls of great price which in my brief sojourn

in Boston I acquired. I will cherish the memory of it as long as I live and be exceedingly grateful for my good fortune.

As is intimated in this letter the Southards were now living in Boston, but his daily life varied little except that it started even a little earlier and included even more.

We do not propose at this point to discuss the significance of Southard's scientific contributions,[4] but merely to note that during the Danvers period (1906-1909) no less than thirty-four papers were published by him, alone or in collaboration, and dealing with a diversity of subjects. In the first of these years the studies were largely the accumulation of neurological reports from the City Hospital cases, and experimental studies suggested by them, but in 1907 the wealth of the Danvers material began to make itself manifest in more systematic researches. No less than three articles were written in description of a peculiar form of brain softening, "Encephalomalacia" (21, 25, 35), which Southard believed significant as occurring in the latter phases of insanity; studies on epilepsy (26, 27) were begun; the process of gliosis, melancholia, and particularly a study of the relationship of certain age groups (34), in relation to the form of insanity, were undertaken. His studies on the still obscure mental disease, Dementia praecox (Schizophrenia), on which he was destined later to develop pronounced views, began with an inconspicuous case report with Ayer in 1908 (32). A rather fundamental study of the finer structure of the cerebellum (23), and its resistance to disease was published. No less than five papers with Gay on anaphylaxis (24, 30), appeared including study of the obvious nervous symptoms of anaphylactic shock; and ingeniously devised studies on brain localization by means of this shock were carried out with Gay and Fitzgerald (41). The studies on a dysentery epidemic at Danvers (36-38), have been mentioned. A particularly thought-provoking educational discussion in collaboration with Lawrence Henderson also belongs to this period (39, 40, 42, 43).

1909 was an epochal year in Southard's life. On March 5th his first son, Horace Austin, was born; Ernest was advanced to

FIGURE 7

Staff of Pathological Laboratory, Boston City Hospital, 1901

LEFT TO RIGHT:

BACK ROW *E. E. Southard, Frank B. Mallory, Ralph L. Thompson*

FRONT ROW *Walter R. Brinckerhoff, Henry A. Christian*

FIGURE 8

Pathologists to the Massachusetts State Hospitals, 1917

LEFT TO RIGHT: *Harry C. Solomon, Myrtelle M. Canavan, Abraham Myerson, Douglas A. Thom, Elmer E. Southard, Herbert E. Thompson, Lawson G. Lowrey, Willard C. Rappleye*

the Bullard Professorship of Neuropathology on March 10th, probably the youngest man (aet. 33) at that time to be advanced to this ultimate grade; and in October his department was formally established as a separate unit in the Harvard Medical School. These three events probably meant most to him, but even more important in his scientific development was the fact that a new position of "Pathologist" to the State Board of Insanity of Massachusetts was created, on the duties of which Southard entered on May 1, 1909.

It is not possible to recapture the precise method of persuasion through which the Board was induced to establish this position of Pathologist at large, except to be certain that it was brought about by Dr. Owen Copp, its Executive Officer and Secretary, as well as Superintendent, of the Boston State Hospital. Southard remarks in his fourth Harvard Class report that:

> . . . while continuing my analysis and correlation of the Danvers material, I became interested in larger social aspects of the problem of insanity, gaining incalculably from contact with Dr. Owen Copp (M.D. '84), executive Officer of the State Board. I began to see that public health is larger than medicine and that social service is larger than either. Whereupon it is hard to avoid being a pessimist.

Southard's duties, desires, and accomplishments in this new position are clearly stated in the Annual Reports of the State Board of Insanity (later Commission on Mental Diseases) for the ensuing ten years. Indeed, with a political sagacity that became characteristic, he began each successive report of the pathologist with a recital of his duties as laid down in the enabling act that created his post. These duties were:

> (1) Supervision of the Clinical, pathological and research work in the various institutions under the Board's general supervision;
>
> (2) Visits to the institutions from time to time; and
>
> (3) Reports to the Board, comprising conditions observed and such recommendations as result therefrom.

Southard's appointment as pathologist gave him what he has called a "super custodial" responsibility for seventeen public institutions, to say nothing of the twenty-two additional private hospitals more or less under the control of the State Board of Insanity, and sheltering in all over fourteen thousand patients. He became "in a broad sense supervisor of the psychiatric and hygienic work of these institutions . . . with the right of investigation but no direct control of the medical work . . ."

A survey of the Annual Reports of the State Board of Insanity both before and after the Southard era, and their comparison with those ten fruitful years, best shows how much he meant as a germinator of ideas and a catalyzer of research. One does not search blue books for inspiring reading and yet ideas will sometimes creep into them in spite of the vigilance of compilers. Such ideas Southard not only engendered but put over, in unusual phraseology, on the unsuspecting authorities. The annual reports of the pathologist and other, sometimes unsigned, sections, such as the several annual accounts of "Progress in Psychiatry," and his discussions in the semi-annual conference of the Board reflect his originality and energy.

These conferences of the Board, which apparently lapsed after 1916, offered for consideration such diverse topics as "Tuberculosis in the State Institutions"; "Social Service and Delinquents"; "Hospital Organization"; "Training Schools for Nurses"; and even such a secondary topic as "Slippery Floors." Southard took part in nearly all of them, and in characteristic fashion. We shall later refer to some of his remarks in their proper place.

Southard's first report as pathologist (1909), albeit covering only a half year of service, outlines with unusual foresight plans that required the next ten years for fruition.

Free from all custodial responsibility he conceived his function to be a building up of a spirit of cooperation, and exchange of ideas and materials between the various institutions under his supervision. The research material available from the large group of patients had been in greater part unused, although individual initiative had at times profited from it. The laboratory is the natural focal point for advance in clinical

psychiatry, and "Pathology is no longer pathological anatomy," since chemistry, immunology, bacteriology, physiology, psychopathology, and the like lie along the lines of development.

In order that clinical work might become true research, fuller histories were necessary, and routine autopsies and study of groups of cases would improve the diagnostic skill of the staff. "Salvation lies in the most concrete records," he incidentally gave as a caption in one report. Repeatedly the compilation and standardization of scientific, as opposed to practical records for fiscal and legal purposes, were urged. "All research has its eye on the future rather than the past, but depends on the work of our predecessors." As forwarding a better basis of classification, an "Index of Symptoms" in over 17,000 case histories was developed with H. W. Mitchell at Danvers, and also with the same collaborator, a consideration of the forms of insanity at different age periods. Later a far more comprehensive classification of the insanities was proposed, as we shall see, and a scheme for diagnosis by a process of "orderly exclusion."

Each State insane hospital of any size should have its own laboratory facilities, and towards this end Southard's energies were purposefully bent. Such laboratories might well be supplemented by a central laboratory to initiate and check problems in group research. Indeed from the first year the potential usefulness of a central "Psychopathic Hospital" as such a research center was mentioned. The separate hospital laboratories would always function, not only as local centers of instruction in diagnosis, but as vital forces in the control of epidemics, as had already been shown at Danvers and as remained evident through the years in other places. These separate laboratories continued to develop as separate research centers throughout the decade. In optimistic vein he once reported: "There is practically no institution in the State which will not sooner or later for periods of years undertake special investigations, the majority of which will require either special officers or special laboratory apparatus. These problems cannot be cut up with a yardstick, nor can it be predicted whether they will remain quietly within the bounds of the science in which they happen to start."

When these laboratories were staffed by men with ideas, those ideas were fostered by the pathologist, as for example at McLean Asylum, where meritorious psychological studies had already developed. Southard, himself trained and experienced in psychology beyond the run of psychiatrists, was wisely skeptical as to the "mind twist" approach in the study of mental disorder as we shall see, but continued to keep an open mind during the rising wave of Freudian enthusiasm. When research ideas were lacking, he supplied them, and furnished eager students from his own following to try them out. We find his own Harvard elective men not only serving as internes in the various hospitals but filling or creating the several hospital pathologistships.

The local responsibility and interest of the various State hospitals in the larger scientific problems of insanity were brought to a focus by the pathologist in liberal excerpts from the reports of the individual hospital superintendents.

Southard's own energies soon became more concentrated on the next scientific venture, the new Psychopathic Hospital (1912), and his peripatetic function of State pathologist was necessarily curtailed, and in part turned over to at first one assistant pathologist (Canavan, 1914), and later two (Canavan, Thom, and later Raeder). He continued, however, some of his visits as pathologist to the time of his death.

In the earlier reports of the pathologist it was pointed out in particular that "hygienic problems are pressing," by discussion of the epidemics of diphtheria, the typhoidal fevers, and dysentery, that were being so thoroughly studied from both epidemiological and bacteriological angles at the Danvers Hospital. In addition to what may be called these incidental lines of research that rose through epidemics and small groups of mental cases, larger fundamental problems were proposed and pursued.

Heredity was a problem in feeblemindedness, epilepsy, and other mental diseases that was soon aided by collaboration with the American Breeders Association, of which Southard became an active member. The problem of eugenics was systematically considered, with the aid of the Eugenics Record Office. And,

again, out of these two lines of pursuit grew studies on the geographical distribution of insanity in Massachusetts; and still more significant, the whole matter of social work in insanity out of which was destined to grow Southard's notable contribution to this field in the last years of his life.

In this relationship, Dr. C. B. Davenport of the Station for Experimental Evolution of the Carnegie Institution, has been good enough to write me:

> Always I was impressed by the vast range of his interests and his great breadth of view which enabled him to appreciate the importance of the genetic factor in mental defect and emotional disturbance. It was a bold, but I think justified statement of his that he would hesitate to diagnose a psychosis as manic depressive, that showed no tendency toward emotional instability in the close relatives. I always felt that eugenics, especially genetics, had a strong friend in Southard and that is why we were glad to have him on the Scientific Advisory Board of the Eugenics Record Office after Mrs. Harriman established it and the Board was organized in 1912. Other members of the Board were Alexander Graham Bell, William H. Welch, Lewellys F. Barker, T. H. Morgan, Irving Fisher, and myself. He was one of the most regular in attendance and made some of the best suggestions of the whole group. . . .
>
> On various occasions, as for instance in a memorable meeting in the roof garden at the Fifth Avenue home of Mrs. Harriman, I had to defend the principles of human genetics before a group of welfare workers who were not altogether sympathetic with it, but I could always depend upon Southard, if present, to see things exactly as I did and to support my contention of the importance of genetics in human affairs.

The relation of endocrinology to insanity was later suggested (1916), but not until many years after Southard's death was it effectively pursued under Hoskins at Worcester. A direct attack on the diagnosis and the treatment of syphilis, as one of the major causes of insanity, was followed over a period of years.

To the bounded mind of State officials most of their difficulties are envisioned, through prejudice, as State problems.

Fully aware of this tendency, Southard was constantly emphasizing what experience along any given line has taught elsewhere, as in preparing for the Psychopathic Hospital idea, by accounts of the history of similar institutions at home and abroad. Cooperation with outside agencies, as in the heredity problem, we have just instanced. The progress of psychiatry in the world at large was abstracted at intervals for home consumption, and to stimulate local pride and energy. Attendance of himself and his associates at national scientific meetings was being unobtrusively provided for, not only by unusual leaves of absence but by the actual payment of incidental expenses. The building up of proper laboratories with adequate staffs was shown not only to safeguard the health of the patient and therefore to be a legitimate charge on maintenance, but to prepare the ground for the progress of knowledge of the conditions from which the patients are suffering.

It is true that the attention of pseudo-economists is often directed to the laboratories as places for convenient excision of maintenance items. It cannot be too strongly said that the maintenance of laboratories as 'centers of hope' in our institutions is unconditionally necessary.

The continued emphasis on research in contemplation and in progress, was not in Southard's mind so much to advertise the cleverness of his colleagues, as to suggest that research is a normal function of state institutions. In 1911 he went further and not only asked for, but obtained, from the legislature $2500 as a special research fund, for the study of no less than seven specified problems under consideration. This sum was increased to a maximum of $8000 in subsequent years, particularly for the studies on brain syphilis under the direction of Harry Solomon. The type of appeal that led to the appropriation, running throughout all the pathologist's reports, is well recapitulated in 1917:

I want to call the attention of those who bewail the low standard of American work in neurological science to the fact that, when money is forthcoming and stable conditions hold in the laboratories, valuable researches of a novel nature will

be the outcome. Neither money nor stable conditions will necessarily provide workers with original ideas. There is a certain distinction between new work and original work. New work of definite value can be bought and paid for under stable conditions. Original work in this complex field can also hardly be forthcoming without money and stability.

Through funds such as these, again, and through the advocacy that State officers should advertise their scientific wares in the market place of national society meetings, Southard was openly recruiting men not only for the future needs of psychiatry, but also for the State institutions. Beginning in 1914, candidates for the position of assistant physicians in the State hospitals were given a special course of instruction in the Psychopathic Hospital. Such courses were extended to include physicians from other States and, during the war period, from the Medical department of the United States Army.

We shall not consider at this point the value of the scientific contributions, or indeed the actual problems investigated by Southard directly or indirectly; the meticulous annual lists of research activities in the various hospitals under his supervision; or the growing and imposing list of publications on which his recommendations and opinions were based. This will be treated to the best of our ability in a subsequent chapter. These annual lists and indeed recapitulations of them seemed, again, designed to accustom the Commission and trustees to the idea of research. A more formal method for this type of education was provided by the establishment of a Bulletin of the Commission on Mental Diseases in 1917 with Doctors Fernald, Kline, and Southard as editors. This Bulletin has been continued to the present time. Of more general educational value may be mentioned again Southard's reports on the Progress of Psychiatry which were embodied in the publications of the Massachusetts Commission for several years (1913-15). They recount not only local advances, but the discoveries and discussions of progress in the world, as, for example, in a Critique of the International Congress of Physicians which took place in London in 1913.

Chapter Nine

The Psychopathic Hospital

DR. OWEN COPP, Executive Officer of the Massachusetts State Board of Insanity, began as early as the year 1900 to advocate the establishment of separate observation wards or hospitals for the care of acute, and often curable, cases of mental disturbances, in order to avoid the stigma and delay uniformly necessary for legal commitment to the standardized asylums, and to facilitate recovery. The "clinic" idea of considering borderline mental cases, just as a general hospital deals with similar instances of bodily derangement, apparently originated in Germany soon after the middle of the nineteenth century so that by 1912 there were over fifty such institutions in the world, of which fully one half were Teutonic, engaged in this specialized care and investigation of nervous and mental disease.

It is not our purpose to consider the evolution of the psychopathic hospital idea in the world at large, or even in the United States. Southard, in anonymous sections in several of the Annual Reports of the Massachusetts State Commission on Mental Disease traced the story abroad and at home, and both he (122) and Dr. Henry M. Hurd, in the latter's elaborate history of

the "Institutional Care of the Insane in the United States and Canada" (1916), have reviewed the entire movement. Southard, with university background and obligation, was quick to note that the German psychiatric clinic was as much designed for the teaching of physicians as for its humanitarian purpose and its research aspect. However, in spite of worthy if sporadic endeavors to meet this growing social need in the United States, the first psychopathic hospital, in the educational sense, was the one that Barrett had established in the University of Michigan in 1906.

In considering the precise legislative steps that led to the establishment of a Psychopathic Clinic and Hospital under the the Massachusetts State Board, one should mention first the increasing agitation on sociological and humanitarian grounds, by Dr. L. Vernon Briggs and others, that undoubtedly accelerated its final accomplishment. In his "History of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital." Dr. Briggs recounts in no uncertain terms his experience in this field, while serving as physician to the Mental Department of the Boston Dispensary. As early as 1898, Briggs found that "Confused and mentally ill persons continued to be arrested in the streets of Boston or taken by the police from boarding houses and hotels, or even from their homes to the City Prison . . . " where they were "treated" by officers in charge with "black drops" to quiet them, or even placed in strait-jackets when other measures failed. There they might be detained for several days "and it was not unusual for 'drunks' and cases of delirium tremens to be placed in cells adjoining." Such patients eventually came to the attention of competent alienists who would then commit them to asylums provided their psychosis had, in part through the barbarous method employed, developed sufficiently. Little wonder that individuals in the Metropolitan area who were cognizant of the facts began to stir the press and legislative bodies to action in establishing a detention mental hospital.

We have seen that the State Board was coincidently considering just such provision as was being vehemently agitated for by Dr. Briggs. The movements of the Board were regarded as too deliberate by some, but they were impeded by legal com-

plications that took time to clear away. The psychopathic movement was, indeed, proceeding steadily if deliberately on broad lines. The scientific, as opposed to the almost purely custodial, development of the Massachusetts State Hospitals began with the appointment of Southard as Pathologist to the Board in 1906. It was at first proposed (1908) that detention units should be developed in each institution, and that the first of them should be established in Boston. But here a curious situation was encountered, the somewhat too rapid solution of which was destined to lead to difficulties. The City of Boston since 1839 had possessed its own Insane Hospital. For the financial support of this hospital the city was responsible, and in addition was paying its pro rata share in support of the State hospitals at large, so that in all it was obligated for 37 per cent of the total support of all the insane in the state (Briggs). The State Board of Insanity was naturally unwilling to finance the temporary care of emergency cases in a city that was already providing, outside of State funds, for its own insane. The anomalous situation was, however, corrected early in 1909 by sale of the Boston Insane Hospital to the State for a sum of one million dollars and the transferred institution thereby became the Boston State Hospital subject to the same regulations as other State hospitals, and under the supervision of the State Board of Insanity.

At this point the State Board would seem to have been led into an error of judgment so far as the projected Psychopathic Hospital was concerned; an error that caused increasing and unnecessary difficulties for the first director of the otherwise well conceived emergency unit. This mistake, which consisted in creating a Psychopathic Department under the Boston State Hospital rather than as an autonomous unit, was not corrected until after Southard's death. Meanwhile, until the Psychopathic Hospital was built, various expedients were being tried to provide the much needed first aid for the mentally deranged; the leading hospitals in Boston, the Peter Bent Brigham, the Boston City, and the Massachusetts General, had all refused to establish psychopathic wards. The issue and their decision was complicated by the question of alcoholics,

for neither general hospitals nor insane hospitals wished to be involved in the difficulties of providing for what might be classed as a social rather than a medical malady. Finally in 1910 the Boston City Hospital opened a ward for the treatment of delirium tremens. In the same year the newly rechristened Boston State Hospital provided in its "Butler Building" for the temporary care of emergency cases of insanity until the Psychopathic Hospital should be erected. This temporary location of psychopathic cases, the fact that Dr. Copp was then Superintendent of the Boston State Hospital, and the fact that one new State unit for the insane in Boston would seem to be all that the State Board cared to assimilate in a brief span, led to an unfortunate result. When the Psychopathic Hospital was opened in 1912, it was not as a separate hospital directly under the State Board, but as a department of the Boston State Hospital governed by the latter's Trustees and in certain respects subject to rulings of its Superintendent.

The aims and obligations of the parent institution and its stepchild were divergent. The State Hospital remained primarily custodial, in common with similar State institutions, with a reasonably stable population and a per capita cost that was relatively low, and that averaged during this period less than five dollars a week. The population of the Psychopathic Department was limited to its 100 bed capacity, but the turnover was very great, since patients were diagnosed and disposed of usually within a week. The total admissions, then, of the branch institution soon exceeded those of the parent hospital; and the expense attendant on running a superior grade diagnostic unit with emphasis on teaching and research became a disturbing novelty. In spite of special research appropriations from the State Board, the inclusion of the Psychopathic Department soon raised the per capita of the Boston State Hospital as a whole by $1.00 or more a week, an advance that naturally made its Trustees wary of a continually expanding program.

In 1908, $10,000 was appropriated by the Legislature for choosing the site of the Psychopathic Hospital in the Boston Fenway, and in the following year, $600,000 for its erection. It is noticeable that the name of Southard does not appear in

any of the numerous hearings that were taking place concerning the temporary care of the mentally disturbed that Briggs has reported in detail; nor yet in any official capacity in the news items from the State Board that covered the projected Psychopathic Hospital. But he was actively engaged with Dr. Copp, in the plans, both intellectual and architectural, that finally led to its completion on May first, 1912. In the Board report for the preceding year a special section on the Psychopathic Hospital follows the Pathologist's report and flows unquestionably from the same pen. Southard's function in a position that had been equivalent to that of scientific supervisor of the State hospitals for four years, the extraordinary stimulus that he increasingly gave to individual and group research and teaching throughout the State, marked him as the sole individual who precisely fitted the role of Director of the new hospital whose functions had long been prescribed as:

> A center of scientific investigation into the nature, causes, and treatment of insanity, and of clinical instruction.

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But before considering the overflow of Southard's apparently inexhaustible energy into yet another channel of influence, the greatest of all he was destined to undertake, we must mention again the grave accident that had threatened abruptly to terminate his career.

Let us here catch up the strands of his personal life so far as they can be recaptured. We had left him in 1909, when, by the way, the Southards had taken up their first residence in Cambridge, Number 37, Trowbridge Street,—"the first snub-nosed house on the left as you go up Trowbridge from Massachusetts Ave." His letters to his mother reflect the delight he was taking in his first-born son, Austin. By the summer of 1910 he was seriously concerned about the health of his father, Martin Southard. The parents were vacationing in Maine and daily letters from Ernest to one or the other of them attest his constant devotion and care for his father. Martin was operated on early in August in Boston and the end came almost at once. We have already quoted from the letter Ernest wrote his

mother soon thereafter. He followed his mother to Kennebunk looking forward to it as "a port of refuge . . . Don't be too lonely and look forward to seeing Your boy!"

We have already referred in the second chapter to the severe infection from which Ernest Southard barely recovered in the spring of 1911. We may be excused for repeating somewhat more in detail Dr. Canavan's summary of this prostrating illness:

> Of the illness of 1911, the most severe of the small group of illnesses, he was the victim of a milk-borne epidemic of streptococci which had been present in Cambridge, after doing an autopsy on the body of an eminent professor who had suddenly vomited and died. This man was undoubtedly one of those who had been infected from the milk, because Dr. Southard pricked his thumb sewing up the scalp and developed a lymphangitis which he could see progressing 'a millimeter an hour' in his left arm. In another room at the Massachusetts General Hospital, his assistant, Dr. Emma W. D. Moores, died from septic extension through less protective lymph nodes arising from moving the same brain from one jar to another.
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> After some weeks in the hospital, Dr. Southard went to Europe to recover; and his hosts well remember his fleeting interests and nervousness, restlessness and difficulty in fixing on a subject. During that whole year no article was written—'a wasted year' he used to say.

"Wasted" is indeed a relative term, and although his attention during this period may not have been focused at its maximum we have only to recall the extensive genealogical studies he made at the British Museum, and the fragments of biography that he wrote during this interim. He was in addition resting for a bit at Ostend and "studying calculus with Gilbert Lewis." Lewis indeed remembers that at this time "Ernest was in a very weak condition and hardly able to walk a few steps." During the four months, however, he attended, as delegate from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the Congress on Alcoholism at the Hague; the Congress of Monists in Hamburg; the Genetics Congress in Paris (September); and the

Congress on Criminal Anthropology in Cologne. In his own particular field he "made the Gheel pilgrimage, which every good alienist should make before he dies. Something like 18 per cent of the Belgian Insane are cared for in families and the Gheel idea is a household word."

Reporting to the semi-annual Conference of the Board of Insanity (Nov. 1912), he discusses his first hand observance of the workings of similar "family care" groups in France and Germany. He visited unnumbered institutions and scientific laboratories during the latter weeks of this "recuperation" trip.

We have elsewhere referred to Southard's enduring interest in heredity, genetics, and eugenics which began to take active form about 1909 and is reflected in his reports as Pathologist to the State Board particularly in relation to the geographical distribution of insanity in Massachusetts. He became, indeed, not only a follower but an influential supporter of his former Harvard teacher in Zoology, Dr. C. B. Davenport, in the important advances the latter was making in this field. The Genetics Congress in Paris in September proved particularly stimulating to Southard, as he began to feel himself again. A paper by Bateson "proposing a brilliantly simple diagram to describe the basis of some of the queer and at first sight non-Mendelian percentages that the breeders have been getting" is described in detail, and with diagrams, in a letter to Dr. Harold C. Ernst. With more stimulating insight he writes to one who can fully understand the issues involved, and can advise him on a characteristic outbreak of research enthusiasm:

Hotel Ste. Marie, Paris, September 23, 1911.

Dear Davenport:

Today is the last day of the genetics congress. It has been reasonably stimulating, altho at present, after my long vacation, almost anything stimulates me to a desire to get back to work. I have sat with Laughlin much of the time and tried to follow the different brands of speech. As my friend Gilbert Lewis says, *'Curses on the Tower of Babel!'* I get most of the German but spoken French leaves me quite distraught.

The best thing undoubtedly was Bateson's new sprout in the shape of a Mendelian diagram (to account for 1: 3: 1: etc.) about which Laughlin will enthuse to you on his return. Then too Miss Saunders' work with stocks seemed very much to the point, as it tackled the question of coupled characters which ought to be so important in human problems.

Several approached the problem of the inheritance of *quantitative characters* (e. g. Bruce in a theoretical paper, and Agar). This problem is the most interesting to one of my type of mind. The most convincing part of the Pearson doctrine is the part where he deals with a concrete instance like that of stature in man. I suppose the same considerations hold for quantitative variations in richness of milk yield or chemical constituents of grain.

It has occured to me to wonder whether Mendelian figures could be extracted from data concerning stature (which Laughlin tells me you have been trying without too great success) by adopting the logical device of lumping the highs and the lows as belonging to a single class, recessive or dominant as the event might prove. The character 'tallness or shortness' might possibly be a Mendelian recessive character, for example. Instead of making *one* arbitrary cut in the series of figures, one would simply make *two* arbitrary cuts, regarding the figures of the middle stretch as forming a class to be opposed to the lumped figures of the two distal stretches.

The biological reason for thinking that the talls and shorts logically resemble one another is not merely the argument of survival of the fittest. There seems to be reason for thinking that the pituitary body or a complex of ductless glands involving the pituitary, control growth in some way. But in diseases of the pituitary body both gigantism and nanism are found, to say nothing of contrasexual secondary characters. Inherited characters of this sort might show as talls, shorts, and mediums which would naturally be split into *taller and shorter* rather than *of proper and abnormal height*. Evidently no percentages would offer a chance for widely varying interpretation. The inhibitory factors of a pituitary body, if such they be, might act to inhibit the proper temporal extent as well as the proper

spatial extent of growth, e. g. stature. And here one might eventually need the X-ray evidence of epiphyseal development in judging which class to choose for a given individual.

There are a number of the comments that might be made in this direction, and more analogies drawn. But I forbear. The idea appealed to me as new, tho I suppose it cannot be! I spoke to Laughlin about it, and he said that particular stunt had not been tried on your material. The question is will it work in stature or other material? Have you any figures I could play with on my return?

Good wishes to all and especially the family. I return, I think, about the middle of October.

As ever,

E. E. Southard.

Southard returned to Boston in October and was soon inundated not only by accustomed tasks under the State Board and in the University, but by preparations that led to the opening of the Psychopathic Hospital in the following May. On November 29 his second son, Ordway Southard, was born.

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On May 1, 1912, the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital was opened with E. E. Southard as its first Director. In his report of that year as Pathologist to the State Board, he writes of this latter title as henceforth "honorary," but in reality he continued to serve as Pathologist directly under the Board until his death. Although his visits to other State institutions became curtailed, there was no falling off in the supervisory role that he had maintained for the previous three years, or in the stimulating annual reports that he continued to write. The new position was in fact co-extensive with the State-wide responsibilities that he had inaugurated, and the new hospital became a center of instruction and investigation, as well as fulfilling Metropolitan first aid functions.

In becoming Director of a Psychopathic Hospital, Southard really undertook two new responsibilities for which he had

served no formal apprenticeship; namely the clinical care of patients, and the administrative direction of a large hospital. We shall at a later point endeavor to evaluate Southard as a clinical psychiatrist, but must venture on a discussion of his ability and limitations as a hospital administrator here.

Southard had clearly foreseen the difficulties that would beset a scientific director who became enmeshed in administrative detail, for which he personally had no liking. He was so essentially kind that he hesitated to discharge a subordinate if only a scrub woman, however inefficient, and was extremely annoyed on being consulted as to whether a resident should be penalized for sending eight rather than the six prescribed shirts to the laundry; "What should he do for clean linen on the Sabbath?" was his reply to the latter interrogation. In discussing the projected hospital in 1910 he wrote:

The qualities of the executive and of the scientist in any high degree rarely coexist in the same person, and if so existing, seldom pass the limits of mediocrity in symmetrical development, while either may be dwarfed by exclusive devotion to the other.

The idealist would solve the problem through the lay business manager in control of administration and the scientist in charge of medical treatment and research; but the experience of many failures teaches that the interrelations and mutual dependence of the two are so close, and so great the incapacity of the layman to comprehend medical and scientific wants, that such dual arrangement is fruitful of strife, wasteful of energy, and almost barren of good results . . .

Duties could be so clearly defined and responsibility so accurately determined that a general medical superintendent might harmoniously co-ordinate their interests in the insane of an institutional district under the direction of a single board of trustees . . .

In the small hospital for acute and curable patients, where administrative demands would be reduced to a minimum, the medical director and investigator should dominate in all arrangements for medical treatment, nursing and research.

And in a semi-annual conference of 1914 on "Hospital Organization" he said further:

. . . I hardly know, being a director, whether I am a superintendent or not, and hence prefer to speak as a human being. After all, superintendents, as well as trustees, are human beings. The superintendent of the first hospital in which I served (C. W. Page) once remarked that every superintendent could run a hospital very well if he did not have to deal with patients and especially with physicians. That superintendent well expressed the tendency which we must overcome, a tendency toward bureaucracy, spelling a system which leaves out the patient, the physicians, and practically all the human elements in the situation . . .

One seldom meets any one who does not feel that he knows how to run a hospital better than the superintendent. In this respect I am no better than any one else, and in the practical workings of the Psychopathic Hospital I have to butt against the personal prejudice, that if somebody else comes forward with a proposition that I have not thought of, it is somehow a reflection upon me!

Some one has spoken of an 'ideal system.' There is, of course, no ideal system except in evolution. For example, now we need sanitary plumbing which formerly no one thought of; to-morrow we may need surgeons in State hospitals for the insane; the next day something entirely unheard of may invade the field. If any one thinks he can make now an 'ideal system,' such a man is a hopeless bureaucrat.

What do we look for in a superintendent? . . .

The American medical superintendent, as the naturalist observes him in his lair, is a man who prides himself upon his ability to organize. Americans believe they can organize, and that belief may constitute half the battle. Nevertheless, I find that the superintendent's belief in his power to organize is often based upon his capacity to stuff his mind with any number of details. Sometimes no conclusion is being drawn from the accumulated stuff in the superintendent's mind. Take, for example, the superintendent's pride in knowing the names of all his patients . . .

I have heard of a superintendent who prides himself on smelling with his own nostrils all samples of food products. This superintendent rarely finds anything wrong in these food products. It is whispered among his assistants that he is so highly evolved from the lower animals that he has a very poor sense of smell . . .

The German system of running institutions is one which has much to recommend it since it is very probably the most efficient of the systems which we know in the world. What we call the superintendent of an institution for the insane is, for example, in Germany a 'director.' This director is free from direct relations to business, but business is not allowed to control the director, who remains the sole person in authority in the institution. He has a business manager, known as a 'Verwalter,' entirely subordinate to him . . .

The practical economic question is, shall medicine or business lead? It is obvious that medicine must in the long run control. Efficiency in our institutions to my mind demands that the medical superintendents, if they are to remain in any sense medical, shall possess much more efficient and highly trained business subordinates than they are found to possess . . .

No "Verwalter," however, at once relieved Southard of the purely administrative details, for which he, with his first clinical Chief of Staff, Dr. H. M. Adler and two successive executive assistants, remained responsible. In 1915, an "Administrator," Dr. Elisha H. Cohoon, was added. He was followed by Dr. Arthur P. Noyes as "Chief Executive" in 1917. Over both these, it should be recalled, there remained in the anomalous triangle, the Superintendent of the Boston State Hospital until the Psychopathic Hospital won its independence in 1920. These superintendents were in succession Doctors Henry P. Frost (1910-16), E. C. Noble (1916-17), and James V. May from 1917 onwards.

When I have described what Southard accomplished as scientific director of the Psychopathic Hospital, I shall return to a discussion of his difficulties, or, as they appeared to some, his deficiencies in a purely administrative role. "There probably

never was an institution of a scientific nature that started on such a high plane of intellectual cooperation and with so little nonsense of the traditional kind" (Horton), as did the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital. Planned structurally and spiritually with great deliberation and wisdom by Southard, it expanded rather than changed in essential plan of operation during the first years of its use and increasing effectiveness. Its field of usefulness, although largely metropolitan at first, became State-wide and national in influence.

The obvious and primary purpose for which Massachusetts built its first Psychopathic unit lay in the humanitarian aspects of observation, diagnosis, and treatment of a group of its citizens whose needs had only tardily been appreciated. Designed as a clearing house for borderline mental and nervous cases, it aimed to provide an emergency refuge, often voluntary, for those whose maladjustment to the ordinary stress of life might fortunately prove temporary. It was not designed "as a mere vestibule for custodial institutions, or a receiving ward for patients committed as insane," and obviated whatever stigma attached to such a legal process. Its function, then, was not only diagnostic and therapeutic but preventive. The temporary-care law which allotted at first only seven days for the classification of these cases was found too short and, in 1915, was increased to ten days.

With the hundred-bed hospital that had been planned, including an important out-patient section, it had been estimated that the Psychopathic Department would deal with at most 1200 patients a year. As a matter of fact there were over 1500 patients in the first full year, 1913, and nearly 2000 in 1914. During the first six years of its existence the admissions to the wards averaged an annual figure of a little over 1881 patients. As an indication of the borderline aspect of the patient population, it should be stated that during the first full year one-sixth of the applicants were discharged as "not insane" and approximately one-twelfth of the remainder were recorded as "recovered." The choice, and particularly the retention, of patients both in ward and out-patient service depended not simply on the individual's need, but in a degree on his use-

fulness in aiding the solution of certain chosen investigations which arose out of the case material available.

The Director never lost sight of the fact that the Institution was obligated to "become a center of scientific investigation into the causes and treatment of insanity," and the whole spirit of the Institution was geared "not merely to permit research, but to foster research in its medical, hygienic, and social aspects." For the dual purpose of care and scientific advance the personnel of the hospital was rapidly increased to the limits of economic tolerance on the part of trustees and State Board, and from the latter source special funds for research were provided. Although ten officers only are listed during the first half calendar year of operation the number rose to thirty, which was nearly the maximum, in the following year. It should be pointed out that the research function, that the Director never ceased to emphasize, was facilitated by his continued position as State neuropathologist which enabled him to draw material and funds from the larger board. The Psychopathic Hospital thereby became more and more definitely the investigation station of the State Board.

It is, in fact, impossible to consider this hospital as it developed, simply as a humanitarian, emergency service-station, apart from the more profound humanitarian duty of scientific progress for which it also stood. As well attempt to separate the teaching and research functions in an ideal institution of learning. But before emphasizing the research reputation that the hospital acquired during the Southard régime, we must attempt to outline, at least, its organization as a therapeutic institution.

The Out-patient Department naturally served as the chief point of contact with the general public. It was in a sense separate from the working of the hospital proper in that more than three-quarters of the patients (76.5% Thom[2]) who resorted thereto remained residents of the outer world. Few of the remaining quarter were committed to insane hospitals (27%+) or to institutions for the feeble-minded (10%), and the balance (11.5%) lingered in the Psychopathic Hospital proper, for further study. The annual attendance, which averaged approximately 1300 during the first five years, came from a variety of

sources which in order of decreasing importance were: first those who applied on their own initiative (about 25%); those referred for after-care from the Psychopathic Hospital; from social agencies; from public agencies, that is to say, from courts and schools; from other hospitals; and from physicians. Nearly one-half of all the patients were infants, children, and adolescents.

Thom in his analysis found that these patients, who in general were suffering from nervous or mental difficulties, fell into four general classes, namely: those suffering from feeble-mindedness or mental defect; true psychiatric cases, usually of mild degree; cases of somatic disease particularly syphilis; and finally a true social service group, who through some mental inadequacy were incapable of adjusting their lives to an unfavorable environment.

The immediate responsibility of the Out-patient Department was entrusted to a chief of staff, usually another than the chief of staff of the hospital proper, a position which was held in successive periods between 1912 and 1919 by Doctors W. P. Lucas, A. W. Stearns, H. M. Adler, Donald Gregg, C. B. Sullivan, and Percy L. Dodge. The organization of the Out-patient into subdivisions was if anything more elaborate than that of the hospital proper; thus we find well developed services, in Psychopathology (Psychoanalysis), Psychology, and particularly, Social Service, each with their respective heads and frequently with a number of assistants and internes paid or voluntary. For limited periods there were in addition definitely active services or workers in a voice clinic (Dr. W. B. Swift and Constance Charnley), a worker in Eugenics, a dietitian, a clinical historian, and a "special examiner." These services were all initiated, guided, and stimulated by Southard and served, in coordination, in the diagnosis, treatment and care of the individual out- and in-patients. But they did far more than this; they opened up in many instances new paths of illumination into the field of mental disorder and embarked on researches far beyond the immediate necessity of the individual patient. In some instances these investigations, particularly those growing out of Social Service, reached so far into the affairs of the

world at large, and became so much a part of the later and greater of Southard's accomplishment as to require separate and detailed consideration (cf. Chapters 10 and 11). All that we plan to do here is briefly to envisage the problems presented by the hospital population and the investigations that grew out of them.

During the period of which we are writing it was difficult enough to persuade university trustees of the paramount necessity of pure research as a means of rekindling the torch of learning that its teachers should hand on to their eager students. Although the accomplishment of original work was recognized as an essential attribute of higher scholarship, it was frequently pursued by stealth, and without particular financial provision. Still less were general hospitals, apart from a very few of those affiliated with university schools and with ample and liberal endowment, addicted to an extension of knowledge. In State supported institutions, with an economic criterion of the lowest possible per capita cost, research was almost unknown. In no other particular did Southard so fully prove his greatness as in the alternate persuasion and coercion by which he accomplished his unswerving purpose of providing for research.

We have already noted that a very large proportion of the patients that came to the out-patient clinic were children, and they were frequently found to be suffering from epilepsy, from feeble-mindedness, or from congenital syphilis. The choice of Dr. W. P. Lucas as the first officer in charge of the Out-patient was influenced by the fact that he was not only trained administratively in this field, but that he was already an able pediatrician. In fact, Southard and Lucas had embarked on a fresh study of the Neurology of the child (55) before the Psychopathic Hospital was opened. In this study the result of an antecedent encephalitis on subsequent epilepsy or mental deficiency was clearly traced in an illuminating, if restricted, group of cases. In a similar way the effect of inadequately treated congenital syphilis on the subsequent backwardness of children showed the importance of a more careful follow-up in such cases. The whole later development of the child-guidance

movement is attributed by some to this fruitful collaboration.[1]

Far larger in scope, involving as study material both in- and out-patients of the Psychopathic Hospital, was the intensive and extended study of Neuro-syphilis which was undertaken at Southard's insistence, both in the laboratories of the State Board, located in the Psychopathic Hospital, and in the hospital proper. This was accomplished with the aid of special research funds, ranging annually from $2500 to $8000, and provided over a series of years by the Board, and later by additional funds from outside agencies. A preliminary series of cases of general paresis, a disease already recognized as due to antecedent syphilitic infection, was treated by Dr. Myerson in 1912, and a more complete and controlled series begun by Dr. H. C. Solomon, chief of therapeutic research, in 1914. Earlier forms of mental disturbance due to syphilis were sought and treated by salvarsanized serum (Swift-Ellis) and by other methods. These studies soon extended to other State hospitals, and fatal cases and the laboratory diagnostic tests required the full facilities both of the State Pathologists' Laboratory, and of the Wassermann Laboratory of the Massachusetts Department of Public Health. Southard set the stage for this meritorious and thorough piece of work by describing its need, aims, and promise in the beginning (81, 111, 131); he engineered its financial support and finally, in 1917, wrote with Solomon an elaborate monograph on "Neurosyphilis" (129). This book in a new and fresh manner presents correlated case histories that illustrate the varied nature and forms of syphilis of the nervous systems. It "brings together," as the authors state, "such an apparent mélange of cases . . . ranging from mild single-symptom disease like extraocular palsy up to genuine magazines of symptoms as in general paresis; from feeble-mindedness, apparently simple, up to apparent dotage, both feeble-mindedness and dotage really syphilitic; from the mind-clear tabetic to the maniacal or deluded subject who looks physically perfectly fit; from the early secondaries to the late tertiaries or so-called quaternaries; from peracute to the most chronic of known conditions; from the most delicate character changes to the profoundest ruin of the psyche."

The systematic diagnosis and differentiation of these forms and their treatment by the most modern methods are described. The social aspects of the disease are also illustrated in a manner that would have been impossible without the cooperative study through members of the Social Service Workers Division of the Out-patient Department. The book is appropriately and characteristically dedicated to:

MASSACHUSETTS—

A State that both tolerates and fosters research.

The question of alcoholism, whether chronic or in the acute and manic phase of delirium tremens, had tremendously complicated the provision for the emergency care of the insane, as we have seen. It had led in Boston to the setting aside of a ward in the Boston City Hospital for the care of such cases. The inclusion of alcoholics in the clinics of the Psychopathic Hospital had been vigorously opposed in principle during its construction. But in spite of these intentions, from the opening of the hospital alcoholic cases crept in, in increasing numbers (Stearns).

The Director became interested, not only in the social need that these cases express, but in the remarkable results that soon became evident in their treatment by prolonged baths and packs which proved far "superior to restraint, or drugs, or neglect, as hitherto practiced with this class of patients." It became evident that after-cure of these patients was a great problem and the maintenance of a correct mental attitude extremely important in keeping the individual free from recurrence of his temptation and his malady. Return visits were not sufficient and a great step forward was made when Dr. Stearns inaugurated social evenings to which these patients were invited. An "Alcohol Club" was formed and for a number of years apparently reduced the return attacks in this group of patients.

One of Southard's wisest moves in connection with the Psychopathic Hospital lay in the emphasis that was given to Psychology. And in choice of leadership in this field he like-

wise showed his customary insight. Dr. Robert M. Yerkes, with whose work in Comparative Psychology Southard had long been personally familiar, was persuaded to undertake an educative and advisory function, for five years in connection with both in- and out-patient service. Among the ablest of the many assistants with Yerkes in this work may be mentioned: James W. Bridges, Rose S. Hardwick, Celio S. Rossey, Josephine Curtis Foster, and Elizabeth Lord. The precise scope of Dr. Yerkes' work, as he has been kind enough to summarize it for me was as follows:

As from various educative and advisory services at the P.H., I attempted: (1) to develop and improve methods of mental examination and measurement suitable for psychiatric purposes: and (2) the study of certain aspects of deficiency and derangement of ideational behavior. Under methodology the most notable achievements of my group were, I think, the development and standardization of the Point Scale method of measuring and rating intellectual abilities, and the devising and application to human examining of the 'multiple choice' method. Bridges and Hardwick collaborated with me in the preparation of the Point Scale . . . The method involved certain significant new principles and I have always felt that it played an important role in the revision, improvement, and supplementation of the original Binet intelligence tests. Mr. Rossey and I developed a point scale for use with adolescents and adults, preliminary account of which we published. The method was never standardized because we were caught by the war. It therefore remained a dead letter.

My studies of ideational behavior were in progress at the time of my resignation from the P.H. and I have never found time to continue them. Of the work which I did during my five years at the Hospital little has been published. Although this is somewhat disappointing I have the satisfaction of knowing that Southard prized my professional activities in his institution and desired me to permit him to recommend my appointment as State Psychologist.

It is characteristic of Southard's open-mindedness that,

although he was from the beginning skeptical of the Freudian movement,[2] he provided opportunities for study in this field. Lydiard Horton was chosen in 1912 as a path breaker in psychoanalysis at the Psychopathic Hospital with the title of "Psychopathologist." He was followed in 1914 by Dr. L. E. Emerson.

Southard throughout his life remained as fundamentally an educator as an investigator. The research stimulus that he gave to all inquiring minds was, indeed, education in its highest form. But he balked at no particular intelligence-level in choosing his audience provided he could thereby preach the importance of the mind and brain. The Psychopathic Hospital exerted its most profound and enduring influence as an educational center. From its out-patient department, its wards, and particularly from its daily noon Staff meetings under Southard's leadership, radiated innumerable enlightening rays that still glow in living men and movements. In later sections will be found some account of groups and individuals whose enthusiasm was kindled in this great intellectual forum: students of medicine and of psychology; practitioners of medicine, both general and specialized; social workers; efficiency engineers and employment managers; army officers; and laboratory technicians.

Better training for nurses employed in insane hospitals was an imminent problem in the early days of the Psychopathic. Southard's view was that all graduate nurses should have some training in an insane hospital, since mental cases occurring in general hospitals are frequently inadequately treated. On the other hand, nurses in insane hospitals should preface their work by a more general training.

> Vigilance nursing or 'watchful waiting' is the most that can be hoped for from nurses of the asylum type . . . more positive or constructive nursing which has the benefit of the patient in mind is what is needed in an ideal psychopathic hospital. . . . Much more than the prevention of accidents is required.

A post-graduate course for nurses, to carry out this conception, was actually attempted in 1914, but was not brought to a successful establishment for various reasons (Hopkins). Southard

was also keenly alive to the need of occupational therapy and this work was finally organized on a successful basis.

The Psychopathic Hospital was inevitably centered around laboratories and the laboratory point of view. Southard, who was primarily, and who remained in essence, a pathologist, in planning the hospital was jealous to "preserve laboratory space." He was careful to point out to prospective workers, however clinical their major interest, that no high accomplishment could be expected by one "who is willing to pursue clinical interests with what Charles S. Peirce used to call the laboratory habit of mind." Not only were the diagnostic ward laboratories elaborate, and fully used in the current work, but the extensive central pathological laboratory soon became the clearing house for all the State hospital laboratories. Those State hospitals in which it was uneconomical to establish separate laboratories profited particularly from this central station. "The blood (of research) circulates not alone in the heart but in the remotest organs and limbs," Southard wrote. The central laboratory became not only a laboratory of diagnosis and of instruction in research, but also a training school for technicians in neuropathology. Great stress was laid on post-mortem examination as the soundest basis for advance in psychiatry.

The brevity in training of many who came to the Psychopathic Hospital, particularly the more advanced students, seems surprising. It was Southard's conviction that the ablest gain enormously from even a short contact with a "sparking" machine such as this hospital became—and as for the others, it did not matter. One well trained neurologist[3] who had previously spent several years with two of the leading experts in the field, says that four months with Southard not only taught him more, but gave him the most lasting inspiration in his career. Men were being picked up here, there, and everywhere, frequently offered maintenance, or even a salary when necessary, and the turn-over was so kaleidoscopic that rooms and salaries somehow appeared if one waited about. "The Psychopathic Hospital is a great springboard" (to better positions in the State or elsewhere) "the director was wont to say."

Alford writes: "Southard was really an Osler in his field not only in inspiring students but in recommending for positions and keeping them always in mind. His numerous absences from Boston were to some hard to explain, but it was certainly true as he once wrote, 'wherever I am, I am thinking and planning for the workers!' "

No one, we believe, could question that the Psychopathic Department, under Southard's guidance had, in the relatively brief span of six years, reached the objective formally announced for it and had become in reality "a center of scientific investigation into the nature, cause, and treatment of insanity, and of clinical instruction." It was furthermore admirably fulfilling its function in the first-aid care and prevention of mental disease.

How successful Southard was as Director of the Psychopathic is well expressed in a letter to him from Dr. Walter Channing. It would appear that Ernest had been approached (1916) to fill the Chairmanship (Director) of the reorganized State Commission on Mental Diseases and had asked Dr. Channing's advice in the matter. The letter replied, in part, as follows:

. . . As for yourself filling the position of Director, I should hate to see you doing it for I feel that you would of necessity be obliged to squander your talents to some degree.

Talents I use in the biblical sense, for you have genius which could never be wholly hidden. You have accomplished astonishing, not to say incredible things, and have made a revolution in the field of psychiatry. To leave the hospital where you have done twenty years work in four, and metamorphosed a rather despised calling, into a fascinating and important branch of science would be criminal.

I am never so happy as when I go to an Annual Meeting, as I did last Saturday, and see another big notch cut in the tree of progress. Dreams have come true; visions are turned into realities and the dear old ghosts of ignorance laid on their beam ends.

In point of administrative organization, however, the Psy-

chopathic was ill conceived from the beginning. As we have already outlined it should never, in view of its stated objective, and still more in view of the particular director that was chosen to accomplish it, have been a mere appendage to a purely custodial institution, and subject to the trustees and superintendent of such a permanent-care insane hospital. It is evident that Southard was always aware of this anomaly, and of the difficulty of his own subordination to those who were responsible for the older and more stereotyped kind of institution. His position as director was furthermore complicated by his continued relationship as Pathologist to the State Board of Insanity. Although his combination of responsibilities worked to the advantage of teaching and research, as we have seen, it rendered him less responsive to his nominal superiors in the Boston State Hospital. As early as 1913 we find Southard urging incorporation of additional scientific work, like the Wassermann laboratory, in the Psychopathic Hospital, in order that it become "more effectively the investigation station of the State Board of Insanity." There can be no doubt of his constant effort from then onward to make his unit separate from the parent State Hospital. In other words, he wished to deal with a single group of authorities, namely, the State Board of Insanity, rather than two Boards and a hospital superintendent. He once wrote to one who was contemplating the direction of a psychopathic unit within an insane hospital: "I doubt if anyone would care to tackle the development of a psychopathic hospital under any superintendent, even under the Archangel Gabriel."

It must be apparent that Southard was not primarily a bureaucrat, satisfied with the existing order, and interested in carrying out reparative legislation. He was an individualistic leader of dynamic force. The leader, however, must combine with the rarer quality of originality, the power of persuasion. "It is odd to think of Southard as a politician or diplomatist yet undeniably he had rare skill in furthering practical ends, and in dealing with individuals with whom it appeared he had nothing intellectually in common; although not popular with them he led or drove them to the goals he had envisaged . . .

The dull administrative person was to him anathema . . . and he disliked people who destroy enthusiasm by delay." On the other hand, "they disliked his rapidity of thinking and his frequency of new ideas."[4]

For the most part, and for years, Southard knew to a hair how far he could push his doctrine of research needs. He knew and quoted the theory of wrestling in which one gives ground to secure a superior hold or, to employ a simile more in his own immediate competence, he realized fully the precise advantage that the "gambit," or sacrifice of a pawn, in chess will yield in terms of a superior position.

Southard's choice of his students, assistants, and associates was inspired. He recognized potential ability with rare discernment. But discernment of ability does not always insure compatibility. In one instance, at least, Southard's choice of a major associate led him into acute and continued administrative difficulties. He was too kindly by nature towards those whom he trusted to be successful as a disciplinarian. We have already sampled expressions of Southard's scorn of purely administrative detail. As he once said: "I know I am no administrator, because I cannot say the same thing over and over in the same way more than ten times." His habit of frequent absence on business that might be of profound importance to psychiatry, but of no immediate State significance, must have been increasingly annoying to those who wished to hold him responsible for daily detail. The mounting expenditure of the Psychopathic Department that raised the per capita of the parent institution; the unforeseeable difficulties both economic and otherwise of creating the atmosphere of an essentially new type of institution; and, finally, the continual insistence on the theoretical, teaching, and research aspects of psychiatry in an institution designed primarily for humanitarian purposes would of necessity antagonize those who interpreted their responsibilities simply and conventionally.

Southard endeavored to avoid the administrative details that were repugnant to him by asking for and obtaining an "Administrator" (later "Chief Executive") from 1915 onwards. The regulations concerning the prerogatives and duties, of the

Director of the Psychopathic Department, of the Administrator thereof, and of the Superintendent of the Boston State Hospital, were drawn up, agreed to and submitted to the trustees in August 1915, as an amendment to the regulations that had been in force for two years. In requesting the advice of an eminent outside psychiatrist on this matter, Southard writes in part: "I hope that these regulations might serve as a model for further institutions . . . What I want to ensure is of course that the administration or administrators shall never either theoretically or practically be regarded as dominant . . . " and he adds: "What I am interested in is the theoretical possibilities of these regulations with reference to a separation of the Psychopathic *Hospital* (sic) from the Boston State Hospital which has been mooted by a variety of authorities for some time." It is characteristic perhaps that the inaccurate designation, whether careless or designed, of the legally, "Psychopathic Department" of the Boston State Hospital as the "Psychopathic Hospital" should prove a definite annoyance to some of Southard's antagonists.

For such indeed certain of his nominal superiors had become. We find no written description of this antagonism that was growing between Southard and those to whom he was responsible, nor do we care to attempt further to explain the successive steps that led to a definite break some time later. Knowledge of this growing incompatibility spread abroad in limited circles and has led two of the leading outside authorities, who are no uncertain admirers of Southard's scientific ability, to describe it to me by saying: "Southard was an unsolvable problem on the administrative side, and there was no such thing as controlling, directing, or cooperating with him administratively"; or from the other, less accusatorily: "There was friction between medicine and economics." "The bureaucrats had great respect for his genius but were overcome by his unwillingness to care for detail."[5]

Even before the Psychopathic Hospital was built, Southard had plans and hopes for the establishment of a research foundation or institute for the study of nervous and mental diseases. His ideal, according to Dr. Canavan, "was a fit building, per-

haps four stories high, analogous to the Hospital of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, consisting largely of scientific laboratories, with a ten bed ward for clinical operation and a man to work on each separate problem, such as neurosyphilis, epilepsy, and the like." He tried to interest the Rockefeller Foundation in this project but at the time the field seemed to its trustees too nebulous and unrewarding. It is the irony of fate that over twenty years later, when, it may fairly be stated, so emphatic a leadership is lacking in psychiatry, that this great foundation should have heavily supported researches in this field in various places.[6]

The Psychopathic in many respects fulfilled the consuming desire for research that Southard had in mind, but State funds and the patience of State officials have their limits, and this fact led Southard to appeal to other sources. As we shall see in a later place, Southard had constantly in mind his professorial functions and had already improved the teaching of nervous and mental diseases in Harvard University. He appealed therefore in 1913, when the potentialities of the Psychopathic were still alluring, for cooperation by the University in a larger plan. In a letter to Dean Bradford dated December 6, 1913, he says in part:

Dear Dr. Bradford:

I hasten to write out for you the reasons why a foundation in mental disease is so much wanted at this juncture.

In the first place, we have a plant (the Psychopathic Hospital) as good as any in the world. This plant (worth about $600,000 and costing the State over $100,000 a year to run) was placed by a wise Board of Insanity very near the Medical School group. The school ought accordingly to help the new work by establishing a department of mental diseases commensurate in dignity with the new hospital.

Secondly, the existence of Cushing, Folin, Benedict, and Cannon in this region, to say nothing of the newly organized and well-integrated Department of Diseases for the Nervous System, means that we are in a fair way to secure a primacy for Boston in matters neurological and psychiatric. A Foundation

in mental diseases just now would hasten that primacy by years, it would be a most legitimate expansion of a going concern . . .

Of course, it might be asked, why should not the State pay for it? Well, the new things (cerebrospinal fluid constituents, intracerebral pressure variations, permeability of the different nerve-substances by neurolytic and neurotoxic substances) are not the dead-sure things which the tax-levy is supposed to stand. I question whether I could get more than a few of the wisest in official circles to understand the value of these new ideas. Moreover, if you cry 'wolf' (meaning an idea!) and there is no wolf, the state officials would be far from condoning human frailty; and next year, no appropriation! . . .

I don't need to say anything to you about modern developments in psychiatry in general, about the decay of the boarding-house conception of psychiatry, about the astonishing progress of the last ten years in this field. But it is certainly true that we stand at the beginning of a new phase: it is as if, in general medicine, we were just beginning to get a faint idea of what pneumonia and typhoid fever are, without any adequate knowledge of causes. We are as a matter of fact just beginning to get a faint idea what dementia praecox and manic-depressive insanity are.

I suppose dementia praecox alone is costing Massachusetts three quarters of a million dollars a year at a low estimate (leaving out private cases and cases at large). It does seem as if the cause of research in such fields was very worthy. Yours sincerely, E. E. Southard.

As a result of the World War and nervous diseases coincident with it, there became a more general appreciation of the idea of a National Institution along the lines suggested years before by Southard. In March, 1919, he wrote me from New York: "Just now there is a National Institute for Nervous and Mental Diseases in the wind—Harvey Cushing protagonist. Dinner of ten covers. Yale Club next Saturday night. Welch seems won over! Vincent says he gets nothing from all sides but requests for such."

FIGURE 9

The famous noon staff meeting at the Psychopathic Hospital with Southard presiding, and representatives of various groups of workers in attendance

FIGURE 10

Group Connected with Psychopathic Department of Boston State Hospital, 1918

LEFT TO RIGHT—SITTING: *Abraham Myerson, James V. May, Elmer E. Southard, Lawson G. Lowrey*

STANDING: *Richard H. Price, Annette M. McIntire, Karl A. Menninger, Esther S. B. Woodword, Edwin R. Smith, Clifford G. Rounsefell*

The World War was a disorganizing force in the Psychopathic Hospital as elsewhere. The larger part of the staff joined up and whatever deficiencies there may have been in the administrative control must have become more apparent.

At all events, when Southard returned from military service early in 1919, he faced not only "A pile of material on my desk two feet high," but "still more micro-political adventures *re* consolidation of departments."

A veil has been drawn over precisely what ineradicable difference of opinion had arisen between Dr. Southard and the trustees of the Boston State Hospital, but at all events he resigned as Director of the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital on May 18, 1919.

As early as 1915 Southard, having in vain continued his attempts to interest outside foundations and Harvard University in the establishment of a research institute in psychiatry, turned to the State Board of Insanity with a similar and more fully outlined proposal. In a document entitled "Proposals for a Department of Research under the State Board of Insanity," he outlines the functions of the Psychopathic Hospital both local and general with particular emphasis on the State-wide functions which he as "scientist at large" (i. e. pathologist) had to an extent imparted thereto. He now proposes to consolidate these functions by developing a "psychiatric institute in this finished sense of an institution with clinical, laboratory, and educational arrangements of a character appropriate to the work." The structural basis of this institute would still remain the Psychopathic Hospital, together with establishment of "a department of research, instruction, and propaganda of a statewide significance." This would tend to "unify certain duties of the Director of the Psychopathic Hospital, and of the Pathologist of the State Board of Insanity"—leaving to others the conduct of the purely local functions of the Psychopathic Department.

Coincidently with Southard's resignation as Director of the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital, he was appointed Director of the Massachusetts State Psychiatric Institute, which was established almost exactly on the lines

proposed by him four years previously. He was relieved of all administrative responsibility of the local-care function of the Psychopathic Department and came entirely under the direction of the State Commission. His place as Director of the Psychopathic Department was not filled until the Hospital became autonomous after his death.

The new Psychiatric Institute carried with it the general functions of research and teaching, and was provided for both in respect to space and maintenance of staff in the Psychopathic Hospital, since—"For the purpose of clinical studies, scientific research, and instruction, the clinical facilities of the institutions under the Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases, including the Psychopathic Department of the Boston State Hospital, shall be placed at the disposal of the Institute . . ."

"The transfer of the pathologist to the directorate of the State Psychiatric Institute frees him for more extensive literary pursuits . . ." among which the promised fruits are a book on "Shell Shock," "The Anatomy of Mental Disease," and a book on "Psychiatric Social Work."[7] In short, Southard's transfer of directorates, although brought about under conditions that to an extent forced his hand, "placed him in a position of infinitely more influence than before." Plans were drawn for a four story building for the Psychopathic Institute to be separate and apart from the hospital.

One can only speculate on what he would have accomplished in his new sphere of influence had he been spared. He lived less than a year after the foundation of what one admirer[8] refers to as "his last brain child that died with him."

Chapter Ten

Southard and Social Work

SOUTHARD was clearly aware, at least as early as 1911, of the importance of social work as a fundamental cooperative agency in the study, treatment, and eradication of insanity. In the second State Board conference of that year he said:

The problems of medicine, of hygiene, and of social service seem often to present themselves in separate categories . . .

The task of medicine is to make well; that of hygiene, to keep well; and that of social service, to make better. Should hygiene fulfil its ideal purpose of keeping people well, the province of medicine would disappear. Should social service fulfil its ideal purpose there would be no need of preventing, much less curing disease. The very causes of disease would have been done away with in this Utopia.

A diagrammatic view of the relations of these three fields of endeavor would, on this account, show them in separate categories. The diagram which I conceive (possibly on account of my training as microscopist) shows the three fields in three circles concentrically arranged, medicine in the middle surrounded by hygiene, and hygiene in turn surrounded by social service.

Medicine is my best focus because its data are more concrete and scientifically available as yet than those of the surrounding fields. Again, the theory and practice of prevention of disease, however unsatisfactory they may be (especially the practice), are more concrete, definite, and scientifically available than those of social service, whose very technique for the collection of data is as yet faulty. Should the field of view become more nearly perfect, should the field become, as the lens users say, a 'flat field,' then all these problems would tend to come into focus at once. . . .

Southard's interest in social work was founded on the basic principles of social consciousness imbibed through his years of apprenticeship with Josiah Royce, and brought to a concrete issue in his contact with the problems of heredity and eugenics in insanity. His correspondence with C. B. Davenport from 1909 onwards clearly shows that his interest in heredity and eugenics lay not simply in its biological and psychiatric aspects but in its relationship to social work. Thus he urges (1910) that all social workers learn "the principles of field work in heredity" and that "the most fundamental inquiry of social service lies in eugenics and heredity. Social service as a movement has undoubtedly in the past been a high type of *individual* service and possibly of not so great value to society as a whole as the kind of social service which progresses with eyes open to eugenics."

In planning the Psychopathic Hospital, social work was regarded, and indeed became, the cement that joined the institution with the outer world. The neurotic, psychotic, or insane person needs understanding and treatment not only for his own benefit; but he should also be considered particularly in view of the effect of his condition on others. It is essential to learn his own past history mentally and physically, and predisposing factors in his home and employment must be assessed and if need be modified, to suit the patient's limitations. Social service as an adjunct to psychiatry, as conceived and developed by Southard, has a far wider function than aftercare of the individual patient.

In no instance did Southard show greater personality insight than in his choice of a director of the social work at the Psychopathic. Mary C. Jarrett, who had been engaged in social welfare work in Boston, had frequently consulted Southard as to the wise disposal of children who had come under her supervision, and he, impressed with her ability, offered her the direction of the social work in the Psychopathic Hospital when it was opened. Little was known as to the possibilities of social work among the insane, and, although William Mabon and Adolf Meyer in New York had emphasized the need of after-care through non-medical field workers, nothing systematic had been done in the way of training such workers and in outlining the problems that arise in the after-care of the insane. Years before that, to be sure, superintendents of insane hospitals had recognized the importance of social environment and its readjustment in the patient's recovery. It was characteristic of Southard that his first suggestion (not assignment) to Miss Jarrett on her appointment in May 1913, was to familiarize herself with what was already being done by social workers elsewhere in this field and then to draw her own conclusions as to what she was to do. Thus her work began with a profitable absence followed by a more penetrating and prolonged study of what needed to be done locally. Within a few months Miss Jarrett had prepared statistical notes on the specific needs of the Outpatient Department; followed a year later by a comprehensive description of the function of social service in the Psychopathic Hospital (Jarrett[4]). She found that fully two-thirds of the patients needed social care in one form or another. The precise form of this care included history-taking on admission, after-care or supervision of patients at home, advice to their families, and preventive treatment for other members of the household when needed, as, for example, in the case of syphilis or alcoholism. It also frequently included relief, reference to some other social agency, or preparation of proper home conditions before discharge of the patient. This scheme of psychiatric social service as outlined by Jarrett is followed, in Southardian fashion, by case examples that illustrate individual problems of each of these types of service together with the results accomplished.

This bare outline of the essential forms of psychopathic social work was only a beginning, and other functions were soon added as has already been in part described. The Alcohol Club, for instance, and certain extensive activities in cooperation with outside physicians, hospitals, and social agencies; research as revealed through study of large groups of cases, and an increasing educational function, are examples of the growth of this important unit in the Psychopathic Hospital.

It was soon possible to estimate that one social worker would be needed to each 200 patients. From the beginning, the work, which never arrived at its potentialities, was carried on in large part by volunteers and those in training, for some of whom maintenance was provided, since of the eight social workers needed, funds were available for two only. This led to the economic necessity of "getting something for nothing" as Southard put it, and proved to be another incentive for the educational training of the soon to be differentiated "psychiatric social worker."

During the first year workers were assigned from the Boston School of Social Workers for work in the Psychopathic Hospital. Volunteer workers were also employed and apprentice students were received. Annual conferences of social workers were soon inaugurated and both the enrolled staff and those in training were invited to attend the medical staff meetings. It became evident that a more systematic and fundamental training for such workers was essential and Southard felt that although "every latitude in the technique of social investigation and almost every latitude in the offering of advice and in the choice of domestic and economic steps . . . should be left to the social worker, their training should be more dominated by the physician than in certain other branches of medico-social work."

Not only did they need education in the reorganized forms of mental aberration, but also training in reaching a decision on such questions as the relative importance of heredity and environment; as to whether syphilis is to be suspected or not; or whether sex perversion is present. It was clearly emphasized that in most of these questions the social worker must rely on consultation with specialists. This was the incentive that led

to the inclusion of the social workers in the staff meetings and to the special addresses that Southard began to give them as early as 1915.

In 1915 the length of the training course for psychiatric social workers was increased from six to eight months. A completed organization of the out-patient service, both in the training of workers and in the dispatch of the routine work, had been arrived at by 1916. The lectures and special clinics were increased. The results of study of the accumulated records were beginning to appear, as for example in papers on the examination and prophylaxis of syphilitic patients (Helen M. Wright), and on the intensive study of the mentality of one hundred psychopathic employees (H. M. Adler[2]).

The advent of the World War with its aftermath of returning shell-shocked soldiers gave an enormous impetus to the recruiting of psychiatric social workers. Early in 1917 the opportunities of social work as a war service were brought to the attention of women college students, through their college publications. Both interne and externe positions at the Psychopathic Hospital for the regular eight months training were offered to a limited number without expense of tuition. The study of the individual, whether soldier or civilian, who was out of adjustment with the environment, offered a real opportunity for patriotic service of which a number were glad to avail themselves. Southard (134), in an address on Medical Social Work before the Radcliffe Union, expressed himself on the precise training that would best fit one for work of this kind. He regarded a B.A. degree as highly desirable, with a curriculum that had emphasized languages, statistics, sociology, and particularly "the psychology of the individual."

Coincidentally with this educational program we find Miss Jarrett proposing, with Southard's full approval, to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, in May 1917, the financing of a research program on "methods of social case work in relation to mental hygiene." Although this request was not granted, its proposal is of interest as illustrating that, although the war emergency was uppermost in everybody's mind, there were some who were not losing sight of the more fundamental

problems which, indeed, as was shown in so many lines, might be promoted in the financial outpouring created by war enthusiasm.

The emergency training of psychiatric social workers originating at the Psychopathic Hospital was destined not only for immediate expansion but for permanency through its affiliation with Smith College. According to President W. A. Neilson of Smith, "The idea of a School of Psychiatric Social Work at Smith College was originated by Dr. Southard. We were feeling about for some form of war service and he came up here and talked to me at length about the need for specially trained aides to assist psychiatrists in the army and enable them to deal with more patients."

In July 1918, "The Training School of Psychiatric Social Work conducted by Smith College, Northampton, and the Psychopathic Hospital, Boston," was inaugurated. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was related to this school in an advisory capacity but the school was not precisely under the Committee's auspices as was once erroneously announced.

The director for the first year was Mary C. Jarrett and it was under the supervision of a Committee comprising E. E. Southard, Chairman, with Doctors W. L. Russell, L. Pierce Clark, Walter L. Fernald, and President Neilson. A distinguished list of lecturers, including economists, psychologists, psychiatrists, and criminologists, was secured, and a student body of sixty was enrolled.

As an immediate result of the success of this first year's work, Smith College organized a Training School for Social Work in the following year, which included not only psychiatric social work but medical social work, and community service, each with appropriate advisory committees of national significance. Professor Chapin was its director and Miss Jarrett the associate director. An enlarged group of permanent teachers and visiting lecturers, including many of those of the previous year, was secured. This school continues today as a graduate division of Smith College with an enrollment that in 1934 numbered 149 students. It offers a theoretical introductory course at Northampton followed by supervised practice in

hospitals and various social agencies. Although in detail it has grown in many directions since its inauguration in 1918, its current announcement includes a paragraph that may have been written by Southard at its founding:

In the education of social workers the School believes in emphasizing the importance of the psychiatric point of view. The value of such an approach has been demonstrated, not merely by the study of war neuroses, but also by the recent studies of the factor of mental disorder in crime, and in cases of delinquency and social maladjustment. Social workers having this point of view and method of approach were eagerly sought for, at first in hospitals and remedial agencies; more recently an even more insistent demand has come from the field of preventive mental hygiene for workers in clinics and schools. The psychiatric social worker has become an integral part of the psychopathic hospitals and child guidance clinics, and is a valuable colleague in the preventive work undertaken by the courts and schools and in an increasing number of more generalized social agencies.

The immediate success of the Smith College course led to the establishment of similar courses both in New York and Philadelphia in 1919, and Southard naturally was invited to take part in them.

Southard was indeed the "father of the course" at Smith, as he was lovingly called in the touching "In Memoriam" which appears in the first number of The Social Syndrome (February 1920), the alumnae publication of the training school. He had planned the details of the first year's lecturers, and in a letter from Boston (July 23, 1918) to Miss Jarrett, who was in charge on the field, he added a series of suggestions as the course proceeded, which in part follow:

. . . Owing to the historic nature of the course I feel it would be a great error not to have Mr. Beers speak to the group. Perhaps he could find some way to give each member of the course a copy of his book . . . (*'The Mind that Found Itself'*).

4. Again on account of the fact that this is the first of the courses, I feel that we should try to get to speak before the group a great many men, partly for their effect on the course, but partly for the effect of the course and the quality of the women upon the speakers . . .

But the whole letter is so characteristic of Southard's detailed thoughtfulness, and pregnant suggestion, on each of the numerous projects that he had at heart, that its remainder, drawn up in the categorical Army form that temporarily swept over the country, is worth preserving:

It is on this account that I think Dr. Dana would make a good man. Also that Dr. Walter Timme should be unconditionally secured. I am not sure that Dr. Charles K. Mills of Philadelphia would not be willing to come up and give us the link of the Civil War through his acquaintance with Weir Mitchell, and through his own experience therein. I also think it would be a good thing if Dr. George Kline would talk about social work to the group. He spoke at New Orleans on the matter, and really takes a great interest in it. I think that these men and a number of others that you and Dr. Spaulding might think of ought to be called in, even at the expense of a portion of the routine.

5. Of course I agree with you about the desirability of having the social workers employed by the Division of Neurology and Psychiatry. I am by this mail sending a note to Major Williams confirming your view. I think if we just keep on applying in a variety of ways, we shall finally make our point.

6. *Re* overseas work, I am sure that Dr. Lucas would like to have some of these women to work over there in connection with the 'répatriés'; of course it is not very elaborate social work but it would be an experience.

7. I am glad that Williams is making contacts with Mr. Lakeman of the Red Cross. The head of the work would have to be, I think, a social worker and I think you might well think of undertaking the job. Try to write out some notes concerning what ought to be done with the whole matter in a federal way.

Planning the federal job is probably no more difficult than planning the state job.

8. I shall write Singer about the Chicago course. I suggested that Dr. E. E. Mayer of Pittsburg should come on to see the work so that he would get an idea of its complexity.

9. *Re* winter schools. Do put it up to those who are interested but remember that if you try to make an intensive course in the winter time of say two or three months, it is not quite so easy going as it is in the summer time, for the reason that the different instructors have their regular engagements in their ordinary work. The problem comes of sticking an intensive course on top of the regular course. I think Miss Hubbard might see that, if she should come up to Northampton and look over your arrangements. Of course the National Committee on Mental Hygiene ought to be the body under which all these schools are run.

Hoping to see you Sunday or surely Monday,

As ever,

Ernest Southard.

The first year's work ended on August 29th with a telegram of congratulation from Southard:

I wish to send my love and congratulations to the Smith College Class in psychiatric social work. I feel that the class will be historic and hope that some lively sort of organization might be kept up afterwards as nucleus for association of workers to be increased by additions from subsequent classes. Congratulations upon class motto 'Be it ever so normal there's no place like home.'

The first summer session of the Smith College training school led ten students to continue their field work at the Psychopathic Hospital in the autumn. To these there were later added groups from the Boston School of Social Work, students from courses on employment management (Harvard), students in the Red Cross Institute, and doubtless others of whom we have no record.

There is much more to be said of the psychiatric social worker in the following chapter. We shall learn of the high regard with which Southard came to consider her profession, and how notably he aided in establishing its standards. For the moment, however, let us yield to the impulse to sweep on in a survey of the larger aspects of social work with which Southard was identified.

The chief difficulty, both with the frankly insane and with those suffering in varying degree from a psychoneurosis, lies in their inability to conform to their surroundings. This failure of adjustment to one's fellow men can be tolerated in wide measure within the family where it is most manifest, but it is less endurable in employment. Many of the two thousand individuals that passed through the wards of the Psychopathic Hospital, and of the fifteen hundred that visited the Out-patient, a total, eliminating reduplications, of perhaps three thousand annually, were frankly unemployable. Many of the others had been not only adequate, but at times highly skilled workers, and it soon became evident that one of the greatest fields of usefulness in social service lay in an attempt not only to prevent recurrence of the particular mental malady, but in returning the individual to employment. A Committee on After Care and Employment was organized in 1914, at the suggestion of Miss Jarrett, for the purpose of guiding and supporting this important work. A number of local firms and industries gave small amounts of money to pay the salaries of the requisite workers in this field.

The several workers employed in carrying out this significant work of "Picking winners from the scrap heap," as a readable article in the Boston Transcript graphically described it, were carefully trained to bring about a readjustment between employer and employee. These workers became impressed with the importance of conciliating the employer and of not betraying the patient by any unhappy stigma. "Nervous breakdown," was found to be an advisable euphemism to employ in describing the patient's misfortune. At the same time any working conditions that might militate against the patient's success in rehabilitation were sought. The employer was usually glad,

apart from humanitarian motives, to re-admit a previously successful employee when he learned that it actually costs any large industry from $50 to $150 to break in a new one.

By 1917 certain conclusions could be drawn by Dr. Adler,[2] on the basis of a limited group of carefully studied cases, as to the reasons why psychotic individuals do not hold their jobs. Of one hundred cases nearly one-half (43%) were found to possess a paranoid or egocentric personality; this particular group had averaged only 20 months in any given employment. Those who were inadequate in personality, with lack of intelligence, or actually feebleminded, followed next in number, and lasted a little longer in their jobs. Those who were emotionally unstable, that is to say, over-buoyant or on the other hand depressed, with outbursts of temper, or mere impulsiveness were fewer in number (22%), but held to a given task for more than twice as long (50 months) as the first group.

Miss Jarrett's study[2] of the same general group inaugurated a much larger consideration of the "mental hygiene of industry," in that she pointed out the specific problem of misfits in employment through an investigation both of the employee and the job; in other words, by a study of the complete industrial history of an individual. And further, her work showed the possibility of adjusting the patient to his employment.

Inebriety and alcoholism were common causes or precipitating factors in difficulty of employment, and the Alcohol Club made at least a start in attempting the readjustment of such patients.

One of the most original and pregnant suggestions in the after-care of convalescent mental cases that Southard ever made was the proposal to establish a "halfway house. Convalescence under supervision—under a voluntary relation on the books of the State," with occupational training, was one of the projects that he proposed to the Permanent Charity Fund of Boston in 1917 for their support, until such time as the State might take over this activity if successful. A sum of less than $6000 was suggested for the first year for an initial group of ten to a dozen patients. This plan, although never carried out, is one that should not be forgotten.[1]

The movement for the more humane care of the insane has its roots in the considerable past, at least as far back as the time of Pinel, at the end of the eighteenth century, and preventive, as contrasted with custodial psychiatry, made a great move forward in the establishment of psychopathic hospitals. The great movement of sociological reform, known as "Mental Hygiene," which embraces these two and other concepts, awaited a "catalytic agent," in the person of Mr. Clifford Beers,[2] for its modern development. From the depths of his own experience as a mental patient, Beers not only uttered his own complaint against the current methods of treating those committed as insane, but he became the persistent inaugurator of a movement that is destined to persist until its aims have been fully achieved. With the manuscript of his autobiography, *"A Mind that Found Itself,"* in his hand, Mr. Beers had no difficulty in persuading such wise men as William James and William H. Welch of the importance of the reform that he was insistent on accomplishing. Not only was his startling autobiography published with the approval of these well known sponsors, but by successive steps the establishment of local (1908), national (1909), and finally international groups (1930) were forwarded, and supported through the active participation of an increasing group of eminent physicians and laymen. The Massachusetts Society of Mental Hygiene, one of the earliest of the numerous State participants in the movement, was established in 1913.

Southard's advent in the field of psychiatry was too late to have made it possible for him to have been chosen for any conspicuous role in the inner Councils of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, founded in 1909 and actively engaged in its destined and important work by 1912. The Foundation for Mental Hygiene, a custodial agency of funds for the financing of projects in the field of interest of the National Committee, was not established until 1928. The first International Congress was not held until 1930 and the International Committee on Mental Hygiene was established in the same year. Southard was a member of the International Organization Committee in 1919 that forecast these two groups. He was,

moreover, in the last years of his life, forwarding the aims of the National Committee, and his work was facilitated by them in two fields, namely in the training of psychiatric social workers, which we have already in part considered, and in the mental hygiene of industry, which he was destined to initiate.

We have already referred to the studies of Adler[2] and of Jarrett[2] from the Psychopathic Hospital on misfit employees. Mention has also been made of Miss Jarrett's fruitless attempts to secure funds for a laboratory of social research that would make further studies of employment among psychotics more effective. Great interest had been expressed in her publication by industrial counselors, employment managers, and sociologists. Carlton Parker, who had greeted Southard with great enthusiasm during his sojourn in California in the spring of 1917, was eager in expressing his interest to Miss Jarrett on her case analysis of the "psychopathic strain in industry," which his first hand studies of the group of unstable vagrants known as the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.) had also detected.

Southard, although spiritually backing this work of his associates from the beginning, took no active part in the campaign until near the end of 1917. He had for some time been interested in the efficiency studies conducted by Frank Gilbreth, who had specialized on "the one best way to do work," and in December 1917 commented on a paper that the latter read before the American Society of Mechanical Engineers and introduced certain of his own ideas on the significance of the borderline psychopaths and their fate in industry. Thomas T. Read, at the time chairman of an important committee in the American Institute of Mining Engineers, who had listened to these remarks, persuaded Southard to address his own society the following February on the "Psychopathic Employee," a talk that was sufficiently startling to achieve newspaper headlines the next morning.

In this discourse Southard explained how his attention had turned to industrial problems, which at first seemed to have only a remote interest for a psychopathic hospital. Increasing reference to the hospital, of cases from the Industrial Accident

Board, the growing significance of the occupation neuroses which simply extended the war interest in shell shock into civilian life, and finally the question of employment among recovered psychotic cases as discussed in the pioneer studies of Adler[2] and of Jarrett,[2] inevitably riveted the attention of a psychiatrist on the industrial field. It took only a short transition in thought to realize that if there were industrial misfits among neurotic and psychotic individuals, the good of industry itself required that they should be traced to their work habitat. The same individuals were the disturbers of traffic, and the cause of excessive and expensive labor turnover, a fact which had not yet come to the attention of a psychiatrist. The movement of general hygiene, in so far as physical ailments and avoidance of accidents was concerned, had long since come into the consciousness of industrial management; the psychological measurement of mental capacity was being favorably exploited and to some extent used; but there had been little or no attention to *mental* hygiene. Southard soon learned of a large mining corporation that employed twenty-eight physicians to safeguard and treat its employees, whereas not one of these doctors knew anything specific about mental disease or the significance of individual temperament.

During the last two years of his life, Southard's major activity and interest lay in three closely interrelated fields of mental hygiene: the training of psychiatric social workers, the provision for after-care and employment of patients, and industrial psychiatry, the latter a designation that he soon changed to "The Mental Hygiene of Industry." He participated in the committees of various organizations that tended to the formulation and support of these objectives; among them a Subcommittee[2] on Health in Industry, of the Division of Medical Sciences of the National Research Council; a Committee on Education, of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene; and a Committee on Psychology in Industry.

Meanwhile, stimulated by Southard's brief talk, the Institute of Mining Engineers had established their own Committee on Mental Hygiene in Industry. Thomas T. Read, Chairman of the latter group, although actively engaged in governmental

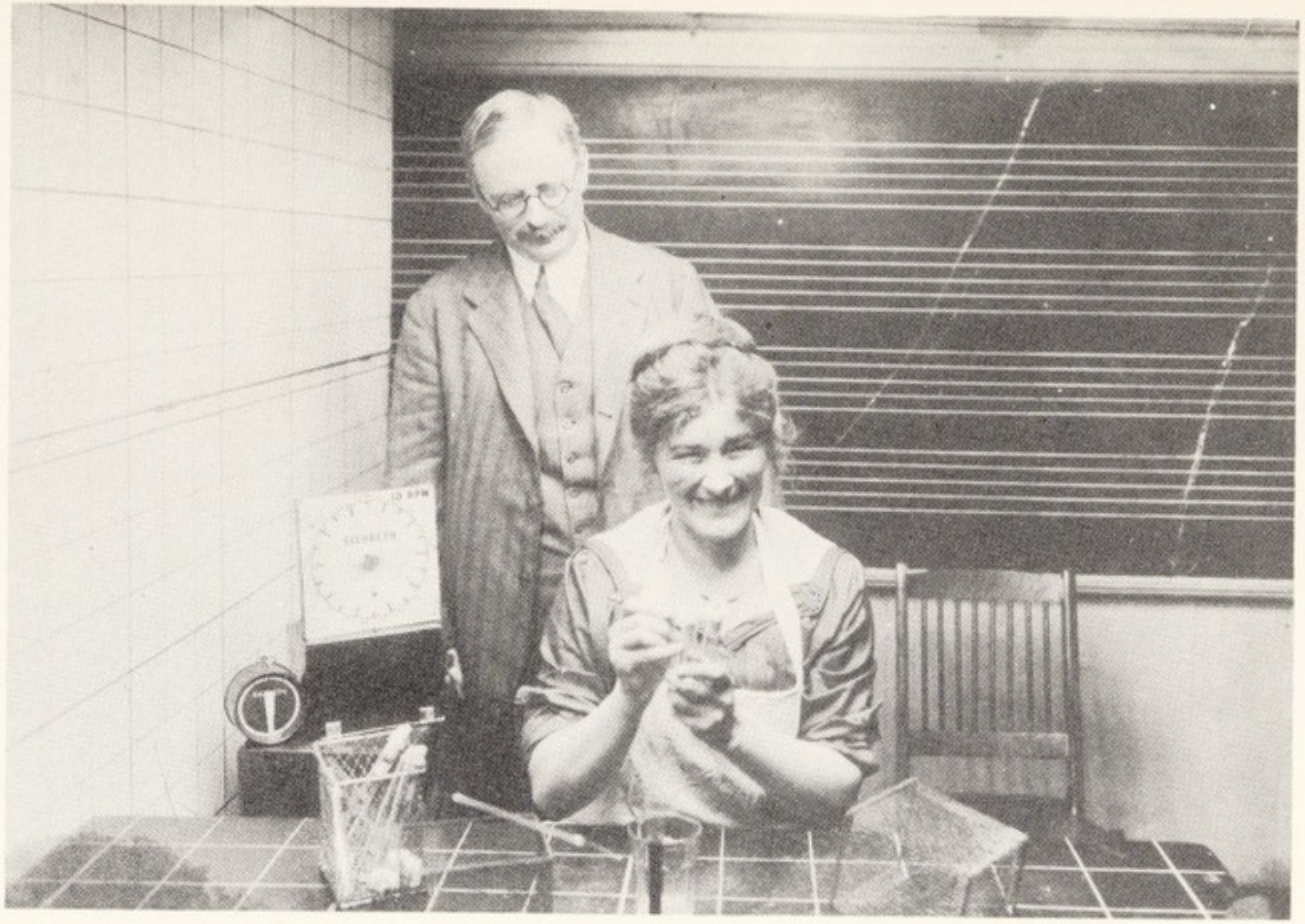

FIGURE 11

Dr. Southard watches Dr. M. M. Canavan test her efficiency in transferring bacterial cultures at the Gilbreth School of Scientific Management, 1915

and other duties, spared no effort or enthusiasm in facilitating Southard's plan for a survey of the significance of psychiatry in industry. He encouraged Southard to express his views more widely and to meet executives and managers of large industrial corporations; and everywhere the response was enthusiastic. Of even greater significance in carrying out the plan was an introduction to Alfred D. Flinn, Secretary of the Engineering Foundation, who soon became as warm a supporter of Southard's ideas as was Read himself.

Meanwhile, and most important of all, throughout this period Southard was developing an individual and inspiring philosophy of social work, of industry, and of life in general, the sure foundations of which appear in his source notes, and the brilliance and profundity of which is repeatedly caught in his addresses, both published and unpublished. But before attempting expression of his views on even the single topic of the mental hygiene of industry, we must explain briefly the mechanics by which the preliminary survey of this field was made financially possible.

It was clear to Southard from the beginning that a survey of the mental hygiene of industry must be free from any stigma that might be placed on it by representatives of either capital or labor. As he wrote Mr. Flinn, "Work should begin among the experts rather than amongst the capitalists or labor uplifters." It would, we judge from his correspondence, have been relatively easy not only to gain entrance to industrial plants but to obtain financial support for the survey he was planning from those who presided over factories and mines. Certain of the great charitable foundations not only owe their existence to capitalists but are often suspected of being responsive to their prejudices. Southard's reason, then, for embarking on his study under the "banner of theory of the Engineering Foundation," was that:

The engineer, especially the modern personnel manager, is no doubt most receptive to whatever his colleagues from other arts and sciences have to bring.

I look to no concrete results from those widely advertised

industrial conferences held in our country in the latter part of 1919, simply because management and the engineering profession in all its branches were, in so far as I could make out, not properly represented. Capitalists who have once been engineers are capitalists notwithstanding. Labor leaders are prejudiced, and no doubt rightly so, for the practical purposes of their leadership. The public has interests that are diffuse rather than concrete, and has no specialized knowledge either of financial systems and conditions of labor or of the theory and practice of management. But when the over-conservatism of capital and the over-radicalism of labor and the nebulous vagaries of the public shall have failed, as they will surely fail, to solve the industrial problem, then will be the time for engineers, in the broadest sense of that term, to be thrown into the game.

In fact, in February 1919, the Engineering Foundation undertook the support of a preliminary study (170) of mental abnormalities in industry, followed in May of the same year by an appropriation of $2500 towards the services of Miss Jarrett in direct inspection of plants and the accumulation of case data in evidence, to support the more fundamental program that Southard had in mind. In further support of this study Southard obtained an additional sum of $1000 from the Permanent Charity Fund of Boston, which was granted as a continuance of the war-time studies in psychiatry that they had already supported. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was asked for $2400 for the salary and expenses of an additional social worker, since they had already embarked on a program of re-industrialization of returned psychopathic and mal-adjusted soldiers and sailors. There is no record, however, that this request was granted.

Southard's preparation for the investigation of sociological problems, of which his interest in eugenics, the training of social workers, and the mental hygiene of industry, are the most concrete and definite expressions, lay, as we have seen, in his years of study in metaphysics and logic, psychology and heredity. As a voracious reader, he sought to orient himself in what was known of the newer fields involved and then pro-

ceeded to differ with accepted trends and to erect his own guiding hypotheses. We find in the voluminous, but certainly far from complete, random notes that have been entrusted to us, book references and notes on such subjects as economics, scientific management, trade unionism, factory legislation, dangerous trades, and reports of the Commissioner of Labor. Then come more inclusive chapter headings of projected books not only on the mental hygiene of industry but, "A sketch of a new sociology." Certain of the novel ideas that these projected works embrace we shall touch on a little later.

Southard, before he died, wrote three papers on Industrial Psychiatry[3] merely to introduce us to a field of activity in which he was, although not strictly the first worker, the first to paint a background, to draw a comprehensive plan of study, and to give great impetus (Wertham). The headings and subheadings of these three articles suggest the audiences they were designed to reach; they run sequentially: "The Mental Hygiene of Industry—A movement that particularly concerns employment managers(171); Trade Unionism and Temperament—The psychiatric point of view in industry(173)," and, "The Modern Specialist in Unrest—A place for the psychiatrist in industry (174)."

From these papers and in stenographic notes taken from a series of lectures given by him to a Federal group of employment managers (April 1919), and to social workers in 1919 and 1920, we find clearly stated Southard's concepts of the field, the problem, and the future of the type of investigation of industrial conditions that he had in mind.

In the first place Southard had little interest in the older concept of a mental hygiene that concerned the purely personal conservation of a healthy mind in a healthy body. The sort of mental prophylaxis advocated in obvious and non-committal terms by Dr. Isaac Ray who, as Southard discovered, wrote a book entitled *"Mental Hygiene"* for popular consumption in 1863, was far from his interest. He took care to warn social workers of the dangers of too obvious an application of mental prophylaxis. This danger of assuming that all is known and that the facts are now ready for dissemination and application,

rather than attempting to penetrate further into the fundamental principles of this unknown art was well stated as follows:

> I think you should not regard mental hygiene as a matter of propaganda. It is pretty largely a matter of research, and that is why we are interested in it; that is why we want to work in this field, for the moment that some step in mental hygiene is no longer a research step, then it becomes a matter of somebody's routine. For example, the policeman is a mental hygienist whose routine has been settled by hundreds of years of the world's practice. The probation officer is a less well crystallized sort of mental hygienist. A nurse is a sort of mental hygienist. So is the father or the mother in the family, but these are not parts of mental hygiene that interest us. So let us grant that mental hygiene, for us, is a field of research and that propaganda is going to be fairly dangerous. It is very attractive, and alluring to tell people how to adjust their minds, but it is going to be rather dangerous to tell them how to do so, seeing that we don't know too much about the process. In other words, mental hygiene looks toward the future rather than toward the past.

Although Southard took pains thus to emphasize the research aspect of social work, of mental hygiene, and, indeed, of industry as represented by employment managers, he was equally concerned in pointing out that advances in these fields must come through practice rather than through theory, and that the subjects themselves are arts rather than sciences. According to him there is real progress in adopting the pragmatic attitude towards an art that is independent of the science that may underlie it. As illustrative of the effectiveness of the pragmatic attitude, he was fond of quoting Foch's *"Principles of War"*; the success of this leader of the Allies in the field was interpreted as due to his concepts of war as an art rather than a science. And Germany had lost, precisely on account of their error in considering warfare as a science.

And again, sociology had erred in proclaiming itself a science, an error that had led it to formulate such ideal but non-

existent types as the "average man" of the French statisticians, or the "economic man" of Ricardo. Psychiatry teaches that differences rather than resemblances in individuals should be sought. "The socii" as individual persons, or separate souls have disappeared into "Society," the contemplation of which group forms the so-called science of sociology. And again, although in sociological science the family constitutes the unit, it is "The individual versus the family" (157) that forms the unit of interest in social work considered as an art. Southard took pains to show how one member of a family dominates, colors, and at times disrupts the family itself. This individual in the family often owes his or her dominance to the fact that he or she is psychopathic.

As in the family so in an industrial group it is the psychopathic individual who is not only himself a misfit and responsible for unnecessary labor turnover, but who proves to be the real disturber of traffic in the plant as a whole:

> Noble endeavors have not solved the industrial problem . . . I am inclined to see in the great movements for scientific management, for social welfare and for social justice the best efforts of the Head (Efficiency), the Heart (Welfare) and the Long Arm (Justice as administered by the Law), to solve the problem. Of course, we must not charge the Ricardians of old any more than a member of the Taylor Society of today with delusions in human sympathy, and no doubt the movement for scientific management in its modern aspect has made much room for the moral motive, particularly in its study of the fatigue factor in industry. Again, it would not do to charge Carlyle of old or Jane Addams of the present day, with irrationalism, or with a tendency to behead the system and run it by means of a heart only. As for the representatives of the Long Arm of the law, among the most liberal jurists whom I have had the pleasure of listening to, I fancy that none wants to acknowledge the desire either to behead the social animal or to tear out its heart.

And Southard's conclusion is that the way out in solving these industrial difficulties lies in including in any industrial

management program the psychiatrist and his right hand, the newly arisen psychiatric social worker, as "specialists in unrest and grievance," as students of temperament as expressed in the individual.

In defining the meaning of the mental hygiene of industry Southard once said:

> . . . And what shall we mean by the *mental hygiene* of industry except a slightly medical psychology thereof? Shall we not run in danger of meaning a trivial patter of psychological and pathological gossip—mill-ends of science?
>
> We do not mean by the mental hygiene of industry that everything in the world is relative to everything else and that, if mental hygiene exists and industry exists, there must be a mental hygiene of industry! Again, we do not mean by this phrase to say that workmen are human, have minds, and must have their minds cared for—the mental wash-and-brush-up idea of the syndicated news column. The mental hygiene of industry is not a pure deduction, a mere product of the conjugation of two articles in the *Britannica.* The mental hygiene of industry, if it means anything, must mean something concretely rich in suggestion, a true basis for real inductive inferences.

In earlier papers Southard had defined for himself the "major divisions of mental hygiene" (112) "as public, social, and individual" and had later discussed the relation of mental hygiene to social work (144). The primary aim of mental hygiene as a department of medicine is to aid the individual, an aim which in the long run tends to aid the family and later the community, with which objectives the sociologist is most concerned.

In approaching an analysis of industrial psychiatry, and with the individual as a center of interest, Southard recommended a "triadic working party" consisting of psychologist, psychiatrist, and social worker. Outside the immediate field of interest, it should be recalled, there was the already existent industrial physician, capable, in so far as the prevention of injury of occupation and sickness in general, but untrained in psychiatry.

Of the three proposed specialists, the psychologist alone was becoming a recognized adjunct in industry, as well as in armies and schools. The psychologists were trained to evaluate the senses and intellect rather than the emotions and the will. By means of the so-called intelligence tests, which are being constantly modified and perfected, they can approximately determine the mental age of individuals. On such a basis candidates for employment may be chosen in accordance with the complexity of the work for which they are needed. The feeble-minded are not of necessity to be discarded as ineligible for certain occupations, as Southard pointed out, since their very make-up leads them to enjoy, and therefore to excel in, tasks that would seem monotonous to more highly developed mentalities. The same or other methods of mental rating are also of value in choosing those most suitable for promotion.

The psychiatrist, whose aid had not been appreciated as necessary, would be the referee in respect to individual "grievance," misfit, and discharge; by detecting the neurotic and psychotic individual, he would further advise on hiring and promoting, and be particularly concerned in transfer of occupation and discharge. There were also far larger implications for the psychiatrist beyond the individual problem but depending on it; namely, disaffection in the group as a whole in the form of labor unrest, sabotage, and Bolshevism, all too often inaugurated, not by inspired leadership, but by an unstable mentality, as Southard was to demonstrate.

Working directly under the psychiatrist would be the psychiatric social worker, with whose particular training and capabilities as a "retriever of facts," Southard was already intimately concerned. We have discussed the inauguration of training for this newly emerging group whose purpose was not only adjuvant to the physician but of autonomous significance. We shall have more to say of Southard's concern in the matter. Suffice it here to emphasize that the possible effectiveness of this group of specialized social workers in industry was unrealized until Southard brought it forth.

The need of such a triadic working party is by no means confined to industry; it could with advantage be employed in

juvenile courts, in adult courts, particularly in the courts of domestic relations, and in schools. In appealing to his fellow psychiatrists (174), Southard was quick to point out that a new field of endeavor had been opened to them in social psychiatry, in addition to private practice and public psychiatry, which latter includes asylum supervision and medico-legal work.

What precisely were the problems in industry with a psychiatric tinge? Southard took great pains to collect them from various sources as they applied to the individual and as they appeared collectively. In a lecture to employment managers, he gave a list of the types of workmen that proved to be unsolved problems in industry,[4] a list furnished him by Mrs. Lillian Gilbreth, an expert in this field:

1. The unambitious employee who refuses advancement although capable;
2. The merely curious employee who is incapable of sustained attention and is constantly making valueless suggestions;
3. The overambitious, but incapable employee;
4. The employee who, though young, has ceased to learn;
5. The restless and dissatisfied individual;
6. The socially self-centered, or fixed-idea individual;
7. The sexually overstimulated, or man-crazy, girl-crazy type;
8. The timid or overfearful worker;
9. The reckless worker who disobeys safety rules.

All such individuals can be found in a psychopathic clinic whence they come or are sent for various reasons, and usually not precisely for those reasons that indicate their misfit in the

industrial world, as summarized above. In each and every instance such individuals are proper subjects for the psychiatrist's attention and they are often capable of direction, improvement, and cure.

There is a coextension of these misfit workers into another list of those who are removed from the pay-roll (174), among whom may be mentioned: those who resent criticism or supervision; who object to working conditions; who work too hard; who are insubordinate, dishonest, or indifferent. Then there are the agitators, the drunkards, and the pugilistic individuals.

Not all the difficulties of industry lie with the abnormal individual by any means. The "specialist in unrest," which the psychiatric student of industry soon becomes, is brought face to face with the aggregate problem of labor. Southard took pains to analyze the alleged causes of industrial unrest, particularly as they had been worked out by Barnes in England, which clearly indicate the errors, real or claimed, that exist in working conditions. And further he attempted to analyze the forms of trade unionism that attempt to combat these environmental errors (173). Hoxie's most important contribution to this field lay, according to Southard, in his definition of four functional types of unionism, namely: Business unionism; uplift unionism; revolutionary unionism; and predatory unionism. As indicative of mass temperament these differential forms of unionism are again, "grist for the psychiatrist's mill." In Southard's conception, the functional trade unionisms, as listed, correspond to the classical temperaments of Hippocrates and Galen, who would classify them in order as phlegmatic, sanguine, melancholic, or choleric. We shall see as we progress how pregnant this method of definition by analogy became in Southard's orderly and philosophical approach to the problems he encountered. It was particularly impressive when the separate categories were arranged in parallel columns as we shall elsewhere illustrate.

The precise plans that Southard had in mind, or might later have devised for the benefit of society in general, and of industry in particular, through the penetrations of psychiatry, died

with him. The stimulus he gave, however, to a series of now well recognized movements, although widely acknowledged, is perhaps not yet sufficiently appreciated. It is not my purpose, or within my competence, to wander too far afield into present day trends whose interpretations rest with their respective experts, but I may mention only those lines of activity that have been brought to my attention. Dr. Louis A. Lurie, Director of the Child Guidance Home in Cincinnati, has written me concerning Southard:

His method of social approach to the study of psychiatry, which has since been elaborated and termed the psychobiological approach, made a deep impression upon me. Upon my return to Cincinnati, I began to put his theories into practice.

As a result, the Child Guidance Home, the first institution of its kind, I believe, came into existence. At this place the method of study of behavior disorders of children is an elaboration of the fundamental principles of social psychiatry taught by Dr. Southard. Whatever contribution the Child Guidance Home has made to the study of behavior disorders of children can be attributed to the orientation given to its director by Dr. Southard.

And on the same topic Dr. William P. Lucas states:

We often talked about the way in which mental hygiene should develop, and as I watch the growth and development of the whole child guidance program, the trends he laid out then are the ones now accepted.

The "Southard School for Handicapped Children" in Topeka, Kansas is evidence of the grateful enthusiasm with which Dr. Karl A. Menninger remembers the influence of his "second father."

As the direct outgrowth of Southard's activities under the auspices of the Engineering Foundation, that organization in conjunction with the National Research Foundation, created in 1921 the Personnel Research Federation. To quote from its house organ *"Personnel Journal,"* now in its fifteenth volume:

It is an association of industrial and commercial companies, trade and technical associations, research institutions, governmental establishments, social agencies and individuals. Its chief object is to aid in the cooperative solution of problems of personnel.

Services of the Federation include planning and conducting of open or closed conferences of men and management; reporting on the experience of other companies on any subject connected with personnel; maintenance of a staff at the Federation office for consultation, advice, and reference; analysis of employment and vocational guidance problems for universities; and advising on accident prevention.

More directly in line with Southard's own beginnings may be mentioned the direct application of psychiatry to industrial groups as in the work which Dr. Victor V. Anderson, a pupil and warm admirer of Southard, carried out among the personnel of the R. H. Macy Company and embodied in his book on *"Psychiatry in Industry"* (129). A further comprehensive study of this important field has been made by Frederick Wertham (1930).

Chapter Eleven

Psychiatric Social Work: The Kingdom of Evils

I HAVE ATTEMPTED in the preceding chapter to outline the concept that Ernest Southard acquired concerning sociology in general, and to emphasize the particular impress that he made on the educational aspect of social work in psychiatry. In the running account already given I have so far omitted reference to the unorganized efforts that form the historical background of psychiatric social work, and any detailed consideration of its growth, and spheres of influence. I am still concerned primarily in delineating Southard's influence on this important vocational activity, but it seems fitting to fill in a little more fully the past and recent history of this movement. In this review I have been much aided by an unpublished outline of the *"History of Psychiatric Social Work,"* written by Lois A. Meredith to whom indebtedness is herewith expressed, as well as to the section in the "Kingdom of Evils" (178) by Southard and Jarrett that covers this subject.

Psychiatric social work is described, in the "Kingdom of Evils," as "a new emphasis rather than a new function." The so-called "psychobiological" approach to the study of a mental patient involves appraisal not only of the individual but of his

entire social environment both past and present, and for this study the psychiatrist has neither time, nor indeed the precise competence that his trained aid, the social worker, soon acquires. The unorganized beginnings of psychiatric social work date back in this country to approximately 1860, when the superintendents of insane hospitals began to recognize the importance of social factors both in the onset of mental disease and in recovery therefrom. Social work in general was at first "dominated by the economic point of view." Family case work as an important factor in the after-care of psychotics was increasingly recognized in the early years of the present century, and probably first formally advocated by Louisa Lee Schuyler who worked in conjunction with the New York Commission on Lunacy. Mary E. Richmond, in her important treatise on "Social Diagnosis" (1917) and "What is Social Case Work?," both frequently quoted by Southard, emphasized the importance of the personality of the client, or, in brief, his "temperament," in estimating his motivation, behavior, and adaptability to others.

What later came to be called "psychiatric social work" had its direct origins in insane hospitals or in departments of nervous and mental disease of general hospitals, as for example, at the Pathological Institute at Ward's Island, New York (1906),[1] and in Massachusetts in the State Hospitals at Northampton and Danvers (1913), and in the Massachusetts General Hospital (Dr. J. J. Putnam and Miss Edith Burleigh). The "after-care agents" who filled these positions had received varied training as, for example, in schools of philanthropy or nursing, or in the science of eugenics.

Then came the formal training and specific recognition of the psychiatric social worker as developed by Jarrett and Southard, inaugurated to fulfill the out-patient needs of the Boston Psychopathic Department, and enlarged, as we have seen, into collegiate scope at Smith.

Before describing the growth and maturity of this newly differentiated profession let us again consider in further detail its birth and infancy, and the cachet that Southard in spoken and written word impressed upon it.

It should again be repeated that the permanent Smith College curriculum has recognized that "a psychiatric thread runs through all social work" (Jarrett), and its students are prepared not only for psychiatric social work, but for the many other varieties of the more inclusive profession. And, again, let us recall that this famous training school, although born of the emergency of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital, which in the words of Miss Jarrett, was: "to equip students to prepare social histories of patients presented to psychiatrists, to assist the psychiatrists in treatment, and to be of service in the readjustment of patients discharged from hospitals." An outline of the "Plan for practice work in training students in the Boston Psychopathic Hospital," operative in the years 1914 to 1918 and later also employed for those graduates that came from the theoretical course at Smith, lies before me and should at least be described in its essentials. It is considered in detail in the "Kingdom of Evils."[2]

The apprenticeship course lasted for eight months. Students first inspected the hospital and out-patient service and familiarized themselves with its annual reports and current routine. They then began, under direction, visits to patients that had failed to keep their appointments; and visits to the families of syphilitic patients to urge them to report for examination. The employers were visited to learn the industrial history of each individual case. Actual case work then began, at first as assistant to a staff worker, and later independently. Meanwhile the actual working of the out-patient clinic was being followed and participated in. The daily medical staff meetings of physicians, on which so much emphasis has been laid, were attended and there was daily class discussion of cases from the purely social viewpoint.

Southard's contribution to practical sociology lay not simply in recognizing new and important subdivisions of social work, but in denominating it differentially, and in engineering its educational beginnings. He not only founded, in association with Miss Jarrett, a new profession and outlined its field of action, but explained its profound potential contribution to human betterment. In epigrammatic phraseology, and often through

pregnant symbolism, he transmitted a personal enthusiasm and encouragement in social work to those who were privileged to listen to him, and left behind him, in the hands of a devoted and understanding collaborator, an enabling document of profound pragmatic philosophy.

The fundamental significance of the impression that Southard left on social work and its disciples may best be stated in the words that two of them have sent me.

Miss Hannah Curtis, Director of Social Work in the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases, says, in part:

> Up to the present time no one of Dr. Southard's ability has appeared on the horizon to instruct, inspire and lead psychiatric social workers to a fuller realization of the potentialities of social work in the psychiatric field (or so I believe). For a time, at least, we sat at the feet of a great teacher.

And Miss Ida Cannon, for many years Chief of Social Service in the Massachusetts General Hospital, and long a pioneer in the field, and a warm personal friend of Southard, says: " . . . Ernest's free spirit and prophetic vision saw larger possibilities than we had dreamed of and much more than we have realized today."

I have already described the physical characteristics, the intellectual well-springs, and the vividness and originality of expression, in which Southard's personality was clothed. In another place have been gathered the spontaneous appraisals of those kindly human qualities that left an enduring memory on those who knew him. But even when we disregard the persuasiveness of the living man, there remains a carrying quality in his transmitted word that is compelling. Miss Jarrett has fortunately preserved full stenographic notes of two series of lectures that Southard delivered in 1919 and 1920, on the one hand to employment managers, and on the other to social workers.

In addressing employment managers, Southard gathered them into the fold of the mental hygiene of industry by allotting to them a significant role in dealing with those employees, who had already been through the "threefold mill" of inspec-

tion by psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker, by giving them the function of "a fourth leg," so to speak, "to the tripod that forms the edifice of mental hygiene." The greatest significance to us of this series of talks lay, it would seem, in the final demonstration of psychopathic or neurotic patients and in interrogating them from the standpoint of employment. Southard's masterly questioning of these individuals was designed to show how hopeless the rapid and superficial interview of an employer would be in bringing out the mental quirks of a potential employee. Its purpose was not so much to lead the employment manager to reject doubtful applicants as to fit the latter to jobs for which they were temperamentally fitted.

The lectures to social workers are not only more interesting, but more faithfully reported. Let us detail from them more fully Southard's understanding of the field of psychiatric social work, its practitioners, their training, and their professional problems.

Out of the trained social worker representing applied or practical sociology came the medical social worker and the quite distinct psychiatric social worker (144). She would preferably be a college graduate with certain desirable prerequisites: "We think of sympathy and firmness, adaptability and steadfastness, quick insight and profound common sense, modesty, and knowledge of the world, and always and forever tact without prevarication, as desirable qualities for these persons." The bias of the mental hygiene aide, as contrasted with the orthodox social worker, lies in stressing the individual, at least at first, at the expense of the family (157) and the community; she underrates the effect of the environment on the patient and has little confidence in legislation. This does not mean that the family is negligible, for sooner or later it becomes adjusted through treatment of the dominating psychopathic individual, or "family handle," in it.

In the first place neither the psychiatrist, the psychiatric occupation therapeutist, nor the psychiatric nurse are, in virtue of their previous training, capable workers in the corresponding field of social work. Southard believed in the "primary value" of the psychiatric social worker and took pains to assure

her of the dignity, individuality, and importance of her career. Although quite independent in point of view from those with whom she cooperates—the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the occupational worker, and the nurse—she should in her training learn a modicum concerning the "simple indicators" of mental disease, the methods of testing mental age, and about occupational therapy. In the same way there is a nurse's lore that in its general trends can only be appreciated by contact with them in their care of patients. The point of significance is that no one of all these individuals, can successfully practice two or more of these separate arts.

The significant and unique function of the social worker is that she serves as an interrelating agent between those who deal with the inner and outer concerns of human beings; on the one hand, with the physician or psychiatrist who looks exclusively on disorders of the body or mind; and on the other, with the lawyer, or public man in general, who is concerned with outer relationships. Again, "she is an intermediary body who deals with transportation among the ideas," or in other words, among the concepts of the evils from which her patient suffers.

In no instance, perhaps, did Southard better show his originality and picturesqueness of description, than in discussing the peculiar fitness of women for social work. Social work has as its background a recognition of emotions and temperaments, "and women are more understanding of temperaments than are men, for they are blessed with the power of menstruation—she passes through more changes of an emotional sort in one year than man does in five years." The biological ideogram of the female is the mirror of Venus (♀) and in consonance with the purely reflective quality of this shining disc "she reacts almost regularly without variation." In other words, woman is more purely rational because she does not introduce into the picture the divergent angles of the male to which his aggressiveness and originality are due. It is needless to say that this is not a classical doctrine of psychology, but its serious proposal by Southard could scarcely fail to impress his students with a sense of their own worth in their chosen profession.

There were three remarkable addresses given by Southard in the last full month of his life (January, 1920), designed to orient social workers in their chosen field. They might have been formally entitled: "How the Mind Works"; "The Classical Temperaments"; and, "Pathology in General and the Pathology of Temperament." The messages embodied in them are worthy of condensed formulation.

The human body may be represented as a double tube with the skin outside and the mucous membrane within. Sensations are received from both surfaces. Between these tubes lie the organs, including the nervous system. This latter organ is, in a sense, a map of the body built up in terraces that interpret sensations with increasing complexity by means of mental processes that may be called "presentative," "representative," "re-representative," and "re-re-representative." Starting with sensations alone (presentative) we find when they recur and are combined with memory they form "perceptions," through representation. Both sensations and perceptions deal with the outer world. When comparisons begin to occur "conceptions," or re-representations, are formed, which happen without any immediate sensation or external stimulation. "Finally—when we put vast rows of ideas together with one another and use functions of comparison—pulling things apart, critical functions—putting them together in a synthetic way, we may have all the processes of interpretation or 're-re-representation'."

So far for what the body does to the brain, or for the sensory side of life; but the brain does a great deal to the body. Into the "funnel" of the body go many more impulses than those that come out. Correspondingly there are many more ingoing than outgoing nerve fibers. "We are potentially more spectators than actors." The nervous system has a fore and aft, and an anterior and posterior surface. The top and the hinder part take in the sensory fibers, and impulses to muscles and glands stream out through the anterior part.

It is an old conception that couples the senses and the intellect, and on the other hand, the emotions and the will, the latter covering both the idea of motion and our behavior. Emotions are not the direct product of the senses; they are

usually thought to come particularly from the nerve centers and the viscera. The emotions alone create "interest" which by etymological definition lies between feeling and action. Emotions, however, do not predicate action since reason and the will control them more or less efficiently.

The main emotions are fear, anger, joy, and sorrow. Their mechanism may be primarily located in the nerve centers and their interrelated fibers, but they are often set in motion selectively by the hormones carried by the circulation from the endocrine glands. Temperament, in turn, is due to interplay of the emotions, and change in temperament often has no direct relation to any intake over the sensory paths, but rather to interchange of bodily fluids, hormones and the like, between organs.

From the beginnings of the history of medicine it was recognized that the body is composed of solids and fluids. The humoralists seem for the most part to have prevailed in their ideas of body mechanism over the solidists. In fact in the body, as in the world at large, there is more ocean than land. We shall not be far wrong if we think of the body as a salt marsh with tides and all that the analogy implies. Both Galen and Hippocrates were humoralists and although we now see little reality in their particular four humors, blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile, the corresponding temperaments that were supposed to be due to them, namely, the sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic, are still the best desciptive terms that we have and "have done service for a thousand years or more." There are also, according to Southard, group as well as individual temperaments as outlined in the previous chapter, in his discussion of trade unionism.

In every branch of medical science progress in understanding the normal has been gained by a study of the abnormal. "The normal is too complex to get into easily, it is adamant, smooth." Disease dissects out the elements along their natural lines of cleavage in both body and mind. "Disease seems to have been put into the world for the purpose of showing what health is." Incidentally, the value of studying defectives is well illustrated in Dickens' characters which ring true because they were based on asylum studies. Degenerated tracts in nervous disease

have taught us the normal pathways. And, again, the Montessori methods of child education arose from work on the feeble-minded. And so temperaments are best studied by observing their exaggerations and sudden changes in mentally abnormal persons.

There are some ten or a dozen groups of mental disease. In the syphilitic and feebleminded groups there is so much brain destruction or absence that the temperament is largely blotted out. Temperament changes are particularly significant in the epileptic, and in the diseases that are of somatic or non-nervous origin, and also in dementia praecox and in the manic depressive forms of insanity; also in the psychoneuroses and psychopathies. Southard went on to give some examples of the emotional shift in these latter groups. Egoism and irritability or the choleric temperament is characteristic of the epilepsies. How many of these cases are humoral in origin is as yet uncertain. The psychopathies include a number of different forms of temperament change. The manic depressive psychoses "are temperament incarnate," they are the "up and down" people. In their milder manic phases they include the geniuses and many religious devotees. The psychoneuroses are ideogenic in origin rather than due to trouble with the emotions, in other words, some wrong idea is primary and the patient falls into a form of mental instability.

In final analysis, and to repeat, the social worker is engaged in a study of temperament or of personality. And she was urged to "think of personality not in the terms of F. W. Taylor (efficiency), or of Jane Addams (welfare) but in the terms of William James"—who made a distinction of the spiritual, material, and social selves, of the Ego and the Me—in short, of the personality in relation to its environment.

Throughout Southard's addresses to social workers rings his emphasis that the prime task of society is the destruction of evil. This "malecidal program" is specifically detailed in the address on "Grail or Dragon" (176), the apt symbolism of which title is revealed, once its thesis is stated. To many moralists positive reform and regeneration seem more constructive of betterment than the apparently negative destruction of evil.

"They do not value highly an art of evil destruction, at least when they compare it with some glorious plan of imitating in our lives a lofty and golden norm." The juristic group think salvation lies in legal order, and that the evils of the world have in the long run a low vitality. Educators emphasize the Senses and the Intellect rather than the Emotions and the Will; to them evil is scarcely a fit topic for the adolescent mind. But Southard, instead of advocating the injunction of "Get thee behind me, Satan" urged his pupils to "look Evil in the eye—grasp the nettle." "Do not let anyone dissuade you on the ground that you are morbid— that you should look only on pretty and clean things. That is not the technique of Jesus Christ or of any one of importance. They do not look on the bright side; on the contrary they get crucified." Physicians are, to be sure, primarily concerned with evil, but are "immersed not to say drowned in the concrete problems" of only one form of evil, namely, the evil of disease.

Why not endeavor to augment the good rather than slay the Dragon as did Saint George? The reason is simply that destruction is easier than construction: "It is easier to scuttle than to caulk, to cut than to heal, to ravel than to weave, in short to analyze than to synthesize." It is, again, easier to classify the evils than to classify the goods. Evil tends to subdivide into evils more readily than does the good to break up into goods. The Grail is more abstract than the Dragon, and, finally unless the evil be destroyed the good will not remain. "Get the Grail, if you can, but first slay the Dragon."

Having made up his mind that the task of humanity, the striving for human betterment, lies first in looking on the dark side of life, Southard turned to an analysis of the forms of evil. If, like Hamlet, one proposed to "take arms against a sea of troubles and by opposing end them," it behooves one to fit the arms to the nature of the opposing forces.

» «

Southard's supreme philosophic contribution lay in the map he drew of this "Kingdom of Evils" (*Regnum malorum*). "The advantage of an orderly approach in social case analysis"

by a definition of the "Kingdom of Evils" (141) was presented to the National Conference of Social Work in 1918, constantly referred to in subsequent addresses, and, with slight emendations and much amplification and illustrative case material, published posthumously as a book by Mary Jarrett in 1922 (178). The "Kingdom of Evils," appropriately and with characteristic loyalty, was dedicated by its senior author "to the memory of Josiah Royce whose work in the social consciousness, the problem of Evil, and the principles of order, held our own in solution."

Southard's use of Latin terms in the various categories that he employed so effectively in definition, was not due to philological "swank," as some may have thought, but simply because such words: "are rather more comprehensive than English equivalents." The respective designations of the groups of evils to which flesh is heir, were painstakingly arrived at, carefully compared with other schemes of sociological analysis, and formed on, checked, and illustrated by, cases from the Psychopathic Hospital, that " . . . clearing house of the evils of individual man." The order of significance of the problems met by the social worker in her search for human ills, was numerically estimated from a series of cases, each one of which suffered from one or several of the designated evils, and, finally the broad lines of treatment involved were discussed.

Southard's final grouping of social evils was, in brief:

MORBI:	Diseases and deficiencies and misinformation.
ERRORES:	Educational deficiencies and misinformation. These include the errors of not knowing, of knowing wrong, or of misinterpretation.
VITIA:	Vices and bad habits. Both mental and moral qualities are here involved.
LITIGIA:[3]	Legal entanglements.
PENURIAE:	Poverty and other forms of resourcelessness.

Other philosophers have attempted to decide what is wrong with the world, and Southard was not unaware of their efforts. Thus Malthus thought that the positive checks upon the in-

crease of population were "war, vice, crime, disease, and poverty"; and his categories were in turn probably derived from such thinkers as David Hume, Adam Smith, and Montesquieu. Small, in a more positive sense, classified the desiderata of man under the headings of "health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness." Emerson, in his search for nature's secrets, lists as her favorites, "the healthy, the civil, the industrious, the learned, and the moral." It is interesting to see that these categories not only resemble, or form the mirror-image of Southard's better defined system, but in two of the three instances cited are likewise fivefold in number.

Is there something significant in this pentadic division of evils? In the first place—"surely some division of data is better than no division." Southard showed its symbolic significance in his description of "The Left Hand's Toll" (175). Like the forms of evil, the fingers of the hand are obviously five in number (there may of course eventually be found more than five groups of evil, but if so it is remarked that there are six fingered people; and cylinder seals have been found in Southern Arabia that depict the hand of God with seven fingers!). He pictures the social worker returning from a day afield in a reflective state of mind. The more active hand has gathered the facts concerning a patient under deliberation. She counts off on the fingers of the "sinister" hand the evils that have been gleaned. Upon the thumb, the most versatile digit, are hung the diseases and defects of the patient and his relatives, since this category of disease often absorbs evils that at first seem to belong to the other four groups. Upon the index, or pointing finger, which is most fitting to represent education, are placed the various forms of ignorance. Vices and bad habits are most appropriately suspended from the center (middle finger) of the field. "The ring finger is ordinarily reserved for a more tender task"—marriage—which state is, however, noted for its legal entanglements. Poverty, and its ilk, is, on the whole, the least of evils and fittingly is placed on the littlest finger. This symbolism was not meant to be taken too seriously, but how compelling and never to be forgotten is its effect on one who has thought it through, and used it as a mnemonic device!

It is readily conceded that a card index study of problems in the social studies from the Psychopathic Hospital would not adequately represent the statistical configuration of evils in the world at large, even if one were to admit the accuracy of the system that Southard had proposed. Such an analysis did, however, give definite indication of the range of activity of psychiatric social work. In a thousand social cases it was found that there were over four hundred types of problems that predominate, and their distribution in accordance with the forms of evil was found, in order of numerical importance, to be as follows:

The moral problems (Vitia) easily led, since there was 157 of them;

Legal problems (Litigia) followed with 105 forms;

Economic problems (Penuriae) were next with 80;

Medical problems (Morbi) then came, of 72 sorts; and

Educational problems (Errores) were last with only 16 varieties.

Group evils, it was Southard's contention, such as the Great War or the Police Strike in Boston, might eventually be analyzed as well as individual evils by the same classification.

The general method of treatment to be followed in alleviating the forms of evil is fairly obvious, once the individual problem is recognized. Book II of the "Kingdom of Evils" (p. 49) begins with a restatement of the major forms of evil in tabular form and is followed by the corresponding exortation to the social workers:

Vitia—Train!
Morbi—Cure!
Errores—Teach!
Litigia—Counsel!
Penuriae—Provide!

It is not the place to attempt further to abstract that mine of information, "The Kingdom of Evils." We have tasted its essence in outlining some of Southard's further ideas as he

gave them to social workers. An outline of the actual construction of the book is, however, worth considering briefly.

In the first place the "Three major spheres of social work" are mapped, as already mentioned in the preceding chapter, in their Public, Social, and Individual aspects; they are considered and illustrated by specimen psychiatric case histories that, in varying combinations, fall under these three headings. In Book II there are given thirty-one specimen cases, that exhaust in their aggregate the possible combinations involved in the five divisions of evil that afflict mankind; these case histories run from simple cases involving each a single evil, to tetradic and pentadic combinations of them.

In Book III, Southard's eleven major groups of mental disease, of which more elsewhere,[4] are exemplified in case histories that afford a general view of the social psychiatric problems that they drag in their train. The method involved in this mental disease grouping is fully defined in a latter section (Book V).

Book IV, *"Epicrisis,"* covers in great detail the background that we have already sketched in the talks to social workers. Subsequent sections discuss the various applications of mental hygiene, and the historical development of psychiatric social work.

We may finish consideration of psychiatric social work with a recent survey of its present day extensions and trends, again drawing on the able review by Miss Meredith. Psychiatric social work in army hospitals began in September 1918, as one of the war activities assumed by the Red Cross, and, owing to the dearth of adequately trained psychiatric social workers, expanded somewhat slowly in spite of a general recognition of its usefulness. The Red Cross continued to bear the responsibilities of this growing service even after the establishment of the Veterans Bureau (1921) until 1926, when the work was taken over as an integral part of the governmental agency. The civil service requirements for these positions were made as high as possible in view of the growing demand for these workers. In all instances psychiatric-social case work was a prerequisite, and college training, although not demanded, was regarded as

very desirable. The service rendered, although significant from the medical diagnostic angle, had also an important bearing on compensation claims. In addition to the Veterans Hospital, social work continued to be maintained by the Red Cross in Army and Navy Hospitals as late as 1933. The drastic withdrawal of veterans from governmental hospitals in this latter year by Congressional legislation has automatically reduced the number of social workers but their importance is no longer questioned.

We have elsewhere referred to Southard's early interest and pioneer recognition of the significance of psychiatric work among children. It held, as we have seen, an important place in the out-patient activities of the Boston Psychopathic Hospital. The increasing emphasis of the mental hygiene movement on prevention led to specific recommendations for the care of maladjusted children and to the separate movement that soon became known as "child guidance." In addition to the clinics that spread in hospitals for this purpose, such institutions as the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in Chicago and the Judge Baker Foundation in Boston, evidence the great proportions that this activity has assumed.

The child guidance movement again emphasizes the united contribution of the triadic working party that Southard first emphasized, consisting of psychiatrist, psychologist, and psychiatric social worker. Such a staff organization has become the accepted one in this field. The community need of this work is best indicated in the fact that children's clinics have grown from seven in 1919 to 232 in 1932. The support of this work by the Commonwealth Fund includes fellowships for the training of social workers in several institutions, since here, as well as in government hospitals, the shortage of properly trained personnel has been acute. In no field of social work has the importance and independence of the trained worker been more definite than in child guidance.

According to Miss Meredith, who quotes from the Directory of Psychiatric Clinics, there are at present two hundred and twenty hospitals, general and mental, in the United States that are equipped to deal with nervous and mental disease. These

psychiatric clinics are not only out-patient, but also traveling, in order more fully to handle personality and mental health problems in various communities. In the "mobile" clinic, particularly, the responsibility of the social worker is predominant. In addition to the clinics with hospital affiliations, are others connected with adult law courts, social welfare agencies, churches, schools, and universities.

The visiting teachers' work in schools, which has assumed large proportions, deals with problem scholars, and began independently, but later became more closely integrated with child guidance work and psychiatric social work. As the concepts of mental hygiene spread among teachers in general, it would appear that specialized psychiatric workers should become less necessary.

In family welfare agencies, "the psychiatric worker has represented one phase of the process of permeation of social psychiatry into social work." She has made more evident the "psychiatric thread in all social work," to use again Miss Jarrett's happy expression.

In both National and State organizations for Mental Hygiene, social workers have, from the beginning of the Smith College training program, found a demand for their services in important executive capacities. In this field their function assumes a community or research aspect rather than that of individual case work.

The great possibilities of psychiatric social work in industry and personnel work, although from the beginning alluring, are still largely to be realized. The demand for these workers has been "spectacular," but the aspects of economic and social life of which it is a part are themselves so evolving and changeable, that its future is as yet undetermined. Whatever the functions of this specialized type of social work are destined to be, there can be no question as to the specific training of the worker herself along psychiatric lines.

We have by no means exhausted Southard's views, contributions, and plans for social work. His very last project as an educator (1920) was, as we shall see, to offer a seminary in "Social Ethics and Psychiatry" in Harvard University in the then

emerging department of Dr. Richard Cabot. Some years before this he had most helpfully discussed and warmly approved the manuscript of a book by George Clark Cox on *"The Public Conscience,"* as its preface attests.

Mr. Edward J. de Coppet of New York, already widely appreciated as a patron of music through his founding of the Flonzaly Quartette, planned to endow "research in ethics. Propaganda is a thing that can wait for the moment."[5] He consulted with several professors at Columbia University, notably with John Dewey, as well as with others at Harvard. It appears from the documents available, that Southard was immediately suggested as the one best fitted to carry our Mr. de Coppet's idea and this suggestion was approved in no uncertain fashion in a spontaneous letter from Josiah Royce, who speaks of Southard as a "man peculiarly adapted to undertake work which is intended to combine, in new ways, theory and practice; knowledge and life, moral ideals, and effective methods of cooperation and control."[6]

Apparently Southard met Mr. de Coppet in Boston in February 1916, and his suggestions as to a program for the scientific study of morals is expressed in the following letter:

Mr. E. J. de Coppet, *February 29, 1916*
Copley-Plaza Hotel,
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

The following is my reaction to the proposal as sketched:

The general conception of the desirability and the timeliness of a foundation for scientific study of morals, free from all prejudice of religious authority and dogma, and free from the prejudices of superstition and habit, is evidently a sound conception.

A sum of money annually available, ranging from five to ten thousand dollars, would amply suffice to start investigation of a concrete and inductive nature, provided that the effort is concentrated in one region (if the sum of $10,000 as mentioned

were to be applied to study in two regions, it would be desirable, for human reasons, to keep the two efforts distinct).

Presumably some university department, such as a department of philosophy and psychology, might properly administer the funds, being able to offer the advantage of scientific atmosphere and critique as well as sundry conveniences of office room and the like.

The choice of problems, method, and workers in a given region should rest in the hands of one man, since otherwise the funds may be frittered away in the form of minor grants to aid numerous special inquiries without unity of purpose. In the chosen region or regions for work, the director of the foundation's work should have the advice and guidance of one or two other men in allied but different fields. Possibly it would be best to have a local board of three men of whom the director should be one.

It is clear that the amount of income, if at least $5,000 a year be available, is enough to start concrete inductive work in any one of several fields. The chances are that fields of work like Boston, New York, and Baltimore will be found to present a number of characteristic differences; thus, in Boston, the existence of the unique Psychopathic Hospital clinic, as mentioned in a previous letter, with all the highly developed agencies for dealing with borderline cases, would suggest lines of work. On the other hand, in New York, the sort of thing Prof. John Dewey would undertake would be given by the peculiar metropolitan conditions, the numerous race problems, and the like. Baltimore once more has its special features.

I should be inclined to choose the general field of 'human nature' ('characterology,' 'ethnology') for work. Of course the physiology of the emotions and other somatic studies might be thought to compete with the above field. Again it might be thought that statistical studies of psychic and environment conditions could be made. Again it might be thought that the problem should be carried back to apparently more fundamental questions of mental measurements, neuro-biology, and the like. Nevertheless I am inclined to choose the field of 'human nature' as it is revealed in borderline cases because it

is not only at present the most obscure field and the least likely to secure adequate attention from existent scientific departments and foundations, but also because it seems to present most promising leads at the present time.

I believe that these most promising leads are those of the psychopathologist since it is the psychopathologist who has most in mind the *individual as individual*. The psychopathologist has the best opportunity to observe those sharply defined human types around which the modern conceptions of human nature turn: for example, types of character warranting special education, the 'underwilled' and 'over-willed' groups, and the like.

I am perhaps prejudiced by my training, but I am inclined to think that the best work along this line will be done from the medical point of view. I do not mean from the point of view of the medical practitioner as practitioner, but from the point of view of the scientific physician with psychiatric, neurological, or biological trends with whom interest in the individual is 'warp and woof' of his work.

Of course the situation should be regarded as at the outset experimental and subject to inductive treatment. Indeed I should not personally care to predict that important new leads will be opened out within a twelve-month. I should say, however, that at the end of a period of three to five years we should be definitely able to say how profitable further work would be. It is clear that if the least small step of importance to practical ethics can be made in that time, probably larger funds could be effectively used thereafter. The way would then be pointed to new work and doubtless the world would wake up to the situation. Very effective would be the institution of several allied but distinctly differentiated kinds of work in two or more centers.

I naturally stand ready to make further suggestions at any time and to draw up more concrete plans if that seems desirable.

Sincerely yours,

E. E. Southard

Unfortunately, the proposed de Coppet Foundation never eventuated owing to the almost immediate death of its patron. I remember discussing some years later the Institute of Human Relations at Yale with the late Dr. Richard M. Pearce who had an advisory relationship to the then proposed foundation. In breadth of scope the Yale Institute bears no little analogy to the projected de Coppet Foundation. My first critical reaction to the plan was the almost superhuman difficulty of choosing a director capable of integrating so large an activity. In the same breath both Pearce and I agreed that the only man of our acquaintance capable of undertaking so vast a task would have been Ernest Southard.

Chapter Twelve

Etymologist, Philologist Philosopher and Psychologist

IT IS NOT ALWAYS EASY to discern in the structure of a given intellect the building stones of which it is composed. The accomplishment of Southard's mind was great, and in many directions, and its wellsprings lay in the qualities of order, definition, and clarity. He once insisted to Karl A. Menninger that "the most fundamental of all sciences is the science of definition." Definition, in turn, depends on logical thought which in its pure expression demands a precise understanding and use of language.

I have already traced in Southard's life his early proficiency in the classics and his enduring interest in, and knowledge of words. He was indeed one of those who as Cowper has said: "chase a panting syllable through time and space." His striking preoccupation with words and terminology had already displayed itself in his student days. "It seemed to most of us a quaint idiosyncrasy,"[1] to others merely a form of playfulness. Southard's feeling for words is evidenced in quotations from him in the preceding chapters. In the earlier stages of his scholarship, his verbal choice seems at times a straining for effect. "Gallimaufry," "idiopath," "anhydric" (unwashed),

"nimious" and "interstitially," however well they may fit the thought in mind, are somewhat gratuitous in common speech. To accuse a college classmate of insincerity by telling him his speech was "redolent with figments," although picturesque, was at best an euphemism. Such words whether rare, obsolete, or coined were, it should be repeated, not only correct, but once used seemed inevitable. And yet, when scattered through turgid and over-elaborate "literary" sentences, they often produced obscurity rather than clarity. It was only later in his scientific work when definition and simplification were needed, in that most obscure of all fields, psychiatry, that the years of interest and patient work in philology and etymology became truly significant.

Ernest's language sense was continually under cultivation, not only in his wide reading of comparative literature, but in a continuing, "comparative study of foreign dictionaries—he liked to run the same word through a number of languages. He was not satisfied to have an English-Italian dictionary but must have an Italian-German, German-French, etc."[2] "I once sent him a French-Italian-Spanish grammar printed in 1680—thinking he would appreciate it as an antique. Doctor Southard wrote in reply that he was especially glad to have it as it was just in line with some work he was then doing."[3]

One of Southard's interests in genealogy lay, as we have seen, in tracing the origin of family names as, for example, the surname Ordway. His particular contribution in his brief service during the World War lay in searching for a "morale-engendering concept," for which he created the designation "Prothymia" (156). This essay, for which apology is offered at its inclusion among the medical researches dedicated to Sir William Osler, is a study of Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" perhaps the earliest source-document of mass exhortation, "a study that might enliven the ethics of the day." Although based largely on conversations between Cyrus and his father, Cambyses, the "prothymic" factors needed in waging a successful war arose in Xenophon's veteran experience. The "morale-engendering factors" lie, on the emotional side in inspiring "hope, enthusiasm, good-cheer, courage, and woman-in-mind (as in the

episode of Panthea and Abratas)." Volitional methods were found to lie in stimulating, "emulation, strength, self-control, obedience, war cries, and singing, a desire to grapple, and in spear whetting." Southard found that "the roots of most of the words employed—have to do with movement and speed." Θύμος, on which "prothymia" is based, has to do with the heart rather than the brain or head, but "heart gets a behaviouristic accounting rather than one in terms of felt emotion." And finally the sense of motion in Θύμος rests in its origin in the root Θύω which means "rushing forward."

The professional designation "Alienist" had been used interchangeably with "Psychiatrist" until Southard pointed out that they are distinctive, and that their precise fields of interest should be differentiated (130). "Alienistics" has as its purpose the legal detection of "Insanity" whereas the function of "Psychiatry" more properly covers the medical or healing art as applied to the mind, and is concerned with "Mental Disease."

These points and some others that may not be worth full presentation are given in parallel columns:

Alienists	Psychiatrists
Field: insanity, the insane	Field: psychiatry, the mentally diseased.
Field: public, governmental, legal	Field: social, private, medical
Field: opinion for court use	Field: medical, psychological and social diagnosis and treatment.
Decisions alternative:	Decisions: selective: e.g. syphilitic, feebleminded, and the like.
Sanity versus insanity	Sanity consistent with mental disease of mild or of special type.
Insanity implies mental disease	Mental disease of all degrees, of many kinds.
Sanity: Insanity = 1:0	

Southard when in whimsical mood had no hesitancy in referring to the feebleminded in general as the "feeblies." When he came to consider differentiation within the group (142,169) he suggested the more inclusive term, "Hypophrenia," to include not only idiots and imbeciles, but the hitherto residual and inchoate group of "feebleminded." In the disease "hypophrenia" and its science "hypophrenetics," he takes pains to

explain, that both the prototheme "hypo," and the deuterotheme "phrenia," are etymologically sound, in contradistinction to a somewhat similar but less correct term "oligophrenia" that Kraepelin had employed. If one must cling to more familiar words he insists that at least "the insanities" and "the feeblemindednesses" should be employed, to indicate that they are not all alike.

It has been suggested to me that the unhappy failure of Southard's sound suggestions in nomenclature to become current, might have been due to the cryptic nature of his titles; this can scarcely be the reason since, "he had constantly in mind the validity of titles from the standpoint of indexing."[4] He took the greatest pains in choosing the one most apposite title from a considered list. It is true that in the field of social work, "The Kingdom of Evils," "Grail or Dragon," and "The Left Hand's Toll," although beautifully symbolic, are at first glance scarcely enlightening. We find few such titles among the purely medical works, however, unless it be, *"Diagnosis per exclusionem in ordine,"* (148) which, although completely descriptive of the message to follow, might repel the non-Latinist. In the article, quoted above, that launched "Hypophrenia," and an additional list of Greek possibilities, the title reads almost innocently, "Suggestions in the Nomenclature of the Feeblemindednesses."

"In the energy system known as the family (157)—we find," he says—"patriarchates and matriarchates," and even (in a footnote)—"thygiarchates and hygiarchates"—to indicate whether father, mother, daughter, or son, is in control of the situation. And further the family is a, "Consociate group of persons since as accessories they add themselves in to enforce some particular policy—like officers of a club who are not interchangeable with one another."

If there be a science of "Eugenics" that aims to better the race of man or beast, surely, he says in his Presidential Address before the Eugenics section of the American Breeders Association (80), there should be an antonymic science of "Caogenics," to indicate a campaign aimed at destruction of all pathologic factors in the begetting of the race, "such as senescence of the

germ plasm, prepotential toxic powers in the gamete, and possible inheritance of qualities acquired (not by the somatic cells but) by the germ plasm." A similar and active "malecidal" policy rather than the expectant program of eugenics, was later advocated in social work, as we have seen (176).

"The Empathic index in the diagnosis of mental diseases" (149) may be acceptable as the title in an article addressed primarily to psychologists, for the term "empathy" had been coined by Titchener and was probably familiar to them. It was used by Southard to cover "an ability to read or to feel one's self into another's thought," and such an ability, or empathic index, is a keynote in understanding psychopaths. He took pains to point out that insane people are frequently "unoriented" rather than "disoriented."

What can be more accurate and picturesque than the term "encephalomalacia" to describe a general ante-morten softening of the brain; or a "chiaroscuro" to describe the patchy or unequal geographical distribution of insanity in Massachusetts. He tried to "decomplicate" tissues by separating out the effect of a given toxic agent on different types of cells and endeavored thereby to learn their "differential viabilities," and "their respective indices of resistance" (105). He spoke of the critical juncture in a man's life, where advancement along any one of several planes is possible, as a "nodal point in his career." He was highly scornful of those investigators who, by diligently following-up the fundamental contributions of others, finally more or less successfully claimed credit for the whole structure by what was called "an apical research" that merely placed the capstone on the edifice.[5] His timidity, through ignorance, of employing chemical methods, he once referred to as "chemophobia."

The term "hyperkinetic" (85) was used to cover various states of motor excitement, exaltation, irritability, homicidal tendencies, and destructive impulses, instead of the less accurate terms of manic or hypomanic.

In letters to Smith Ely Jelliffe, Southard (1919) explains that in his opinion "ambivalence" goes beyond "bivalence" as a concept in discussing "love and hate," and "good and evil."

The word bivalent is a more nearly correct term for many of the situations that authors describe as ambivalent; that is, some authors talk about opposing tendencies when there are really two tendencies that still exist without opposing. The question is not concerning the significance of the terms, which appears to me to be clear, but the question is as to their applicability. For instance, if you told me that love and hate are ambivalent, I should clearly see what you mean. But I might question whether you are correct.

Southard spoke of himself as a Catalyzer and he may have been one of the first to put this metaphor into vogue. At any rate he seemed to be able to inspire and direct and formulate without ever getting tired. His substance did not get used up in the process.[6]

Southard's scholarship, as well as apt use of phrase, is indicated by the apposite literary headings in his books. John Milton, with "borrowings from the two Paradises," furnishes the titles for his "Neurosyphilis." Dante in his "Inferno" is "observed in the chosen mottoes to have had inklings even of shell-shock," in Southard's treatise on this latter subject. In the "Kingdom of Evils," "We have been bold enough to borrow mottoes from the book of Job, since, in Professor Royce's 'Studies of Good and Evil,'" which gave impetus to the whole concept, the initial paper deals with the problem of Job—a problem of unearned ill-fortune.

His word facility made his summaries of patients and their histories in the case-reports-in-illustration, which form the background of his major treatises, enlivening and striking. In the books on "Neurosyphilis" and "Shell Shock," the boxed summaries that head the case reports readily catch the eye and carry the message. In the "Kingdom of Evils," the patients are characterized by such epithetic headings as:

More a pest than a patient; immigrant and pathetic nuisance; high grade moron, football of environment; so-called little fiend, quite amenable; morbid altruist; moron, divorcee, devoted mother; mystery girl, hysterical; and, one enraged by the vindictive ticking of the clock.

It is easy to stigmatize a style that we admire by saying that its author "writes easily," whereas, in fact, the finished copy has cost hours of revision and purification. Southard wrote easily in that his mind was prepared as well as admirably equipped when he came to express himself. Barring an introductory sentence or two that might be recast, he seldom needed to do his thinking on paper. As Alford has put it:

His language facility was extraordinary as his papers all testify. He did not rewrite or change what he had written to any great extent. Not infrequently he would write out a paper at a single sitting, although, of course he had been thinking of the matter before hand. He might even send it off to a publisher in long hand with only a few corrections.

As illustrative not only of his skill in writing but of his scientific prevision, the same contributor further says:

I also recall that when I first began to work on Brown-Sequard epilepsy (in guinea pigs) he wrote out a paragraph to serve to give the work direction, and that a year later when the paper was being prepared, I found this paragraph so appropriate that it was used at the beginning of the paper.

Southard's conversation was even more startling than his written word because less premeditated. "His brilliant and scintillating mind . . . was revealed in his conversation which was always epigrammatic and stimulating."[7] Although conversation with him might to some prove exhausting, to most it was, indeed, stimulating, and to all thought-provoking. "I always thought of Taine when listening to Ernest's mental fireworks . . . he was a series of explosions when he talked."[8] Unusual words and phrases, always embracing some fundamental idea, flowed from him continuously. "Ernest thrived on paradox. Maybe he was one himself. In all discussion he caught the unexpected and outré. He was a skeptic, not a small one, but of the useful Montaigne type."[9] "He was nimble-minded. No man could offer anything worthwhile that he was not ready to build up something with it conversationally either in agreement or disagreement; but

always appreciatively."[10] His speech, always meticulous in choice of word or turn of phrase, often had a whimsical, elfish, or humorous quality. "His was a playful intellectuality."[11] And, "There was a sort of dry humor in much that he said which indicated that he took neither himself or anyone else too seriously."[12] "He had a little trick of filling every thought that he communicated to us with so many sparkling suggestions that made one's question to him seem very meagre in comparison to what he gave back."[13]

Whatever the effect on others might be, Ernest was himself stimulated as the result of conversation. "He had a theory that constant discussion kept his mind sharp."[14] And he knew how to listen as well as to speak, particularly when some human problem was presented him for help or solution.

Although he persisted in expressing his own personality in his own inimitable way, he was fully aware of the dangers to which such a course exposed him in the eyes of orthodox colleagues; for example, he wrote to Karl A. Menninger:

> I saw your paper on *Influenza Psychoses* in the Archives. It looks very good to me. It seems to me that your vivacious style was held properly in leash, and not too restrained in the paper. You know that you and I suffer from the charge of being flippant, and I do not want you to lose as much vogue as I have lost through the charge.

Certain it is that not a few resented Southard's use of words. They disliked his rapidity of thinking, his nimble-mindedness. Although it is true that he made people think, it is equally true that not everyone likes to be made to think. But more repellent still to some was the divine spirit of merriment or humor with which he took the most serious of his ideas. The grim facts of life, the depressing animality of the insane, could scarcely be tolerated otherwise. And again, following his conception of normal temperaments, his own belonged to the "manic" type. Not that "everyone is a little insane"—far from it; he took pains to explain away any such concept—"as well think that everything normal is a little abnormal or everything rational a little

irrational," he would say. It was simply the identification of the types of normal temperament from knowledge of their pathological exaggerations. This normally "manic," or merely enthusiastic type of mind, that Southard had, led him into those difficulties against which we have just found him warning Menninger. Richard Cabot[2] has expressed, far better than I can do, this particular liability that lodged in Southard's excellence:

> He was not soberly pleased with a new idea. His mind gamboled and capered about it with radiant delight. He played with it, turned it upside down and inside out, tossed it up and caught it again. Sometimes (alas!) he did this before an audience—discovered the new idea there before their eyes (though quite invisible to them) and proceeded to play a game with it in celebration of its birth. . . . A flow of reminiscent metaphysics would gush forth till his audience was apt to think he was laughing at *them* instead of at his newborn idea.

PHILOSOPHY AND LOGIC

It seems natural that Southard's precocious interest in words and terminology should have drawn him in college into that field of intellectual expression known as Philosophy. Literature as such continued to beckon him at intervals as the years rolled on, but his fundamental desire for a more encompassing knowledge, and his methodical training, held him to the more precise field of metaphysics. Our classmate, Robert Clement, aware only of Southard's recognized professional achievement, and knowing that he did not become a professed philosopher complains: "Psychiatry gave him no elbow room in which to write his charming English. He might better have chosen Philosophy."

In discussing the college years we have commented on the unusual distinction in philosophy that Southard achieved as an undergraduate. I have mentioned that at several critical junctures in his career he seriously considered embarking on some phase of psychology or philosophy as his life work. Although he never became a professional philosopher, in the sense that single devotion to the field would have evidenced, Southard remained an ardent student of philosophy throughout his

life. We have glimpsed in his quoted letters the enthusiasm with which, in spite of his growing responsibilities, he participated in the seminaries of Münsterberg, of Palmer, and more particularly of James and of Royce, year after year. I am inclined not only from Southard's glowing descriptions of this continued pursuit of truth, and from the indelible impressions that the thought engendered in these meetings left on his subsequent career, to interpret his interest in philosophy more seriously than does Lawrence J. Henderson when he writes:

I think Ernest took philosophy more seriously than I, tho' I never came to a definite conclusion about his seriousness in respect to philosophy and metaphysics. One thing, however, is certain, and that is that he had a persistent interest in words and their play that was something more than the curiosity of a psychologist in the phenomena described by Bacon as Idols, and by modern psychoanalysists as rationalizing. In other words he may or may not have taken seriously the implications of his taste for playing with words. At any rate he yielded to the taste, and to that extent whole heartedly played the game, at odd moments, of the philosopher.

In fact his life and all his activities were influenced by what the great thinkers had decided. "When I start on any new project," he told Josephine Foster, "I always go back to Aristotle to see what he had to say about the subject."

And so he became, in spite of scanty contributions to the literature of philosophy itself, a philosopher among philosophers, *"socius, par inter pares."*

Ralph B. Perry, Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University, writes me: "His was essentially a philosophical mind—highly imaginative, speculative, and systematic—original, he saw relations of the most surprising kind where no one had ever seen them before."

Clarence I. Lewis, likewise Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University, says:

The difference in our ages—or perhaps I should say my own intellectual immaturity—was, of course, a little too much for

exchange of ideas on terms approaching equality, in the years when both of us attended Royce's Seminary. But Southard knew how to bridge all such gaps, far better than most men; and I had most stimulating talks with him outside the meetings, as well as the benefit of his discussions there. I greatly admired the range and fertility and inventiveness of his mind. He had what Locke called 'wit'—that fertility of association of ideas, and instant discrimination of the possible and the pertinent, which resulted in the growing out of all sorts of suggestions which no one else would think of but which, once seen, were immediately illuminating. I think he could come as near to seeing around an intellectual corner as any man I ever met.

It would be invidious to attempt to estimate the relative influence exerted on Southard by his two most revered teachers, William James and Josiah Royce.

To quote Perry again:

As between the influence of James and Royce, I do not think that one can place great emphasis on one to the exclusion of the other. Although as a scientist and empiricist James was undoubtedly the more influential, there was something in Royce's speculative ingenuity, as well as the technique of modern logic, which greatly fascinated Ernest. The personal association with Royce was much the closer of the two.

Southard demonstrated his loyalty and devotion to both whenever occasion arose; to James for setting his feet on the path towards mental disease and for his understanding of personality; and to Royce for "his concepts of the problem of evil, of social consciousness, and the principles of order." One might say that he was drawn to James affectively, and to Royce more intellectually. On the emotional side he was more attuned to James, and strikingly resembles him "in his constitutional distaste for orthodoxy,"[15] and in his antagonisms—"Look over the list of those for whom William James refused to make allowances, and they will prove to be men with some pride of office—some touch of insolence, smugness, self-importance or complacency," might as well have been said, in minor key, of Southard.

Southard's continuous association with philosophers, and particularly with those primarily concerned with the advancing concepts of logic, was by no means simply because they were engaged in a superior type of intellectual combat, that led precisely nowhere. He became more and more convinced that science, and particularly that science which he represented, had long been suffering from lack of training in rigorous thinking. In Professor Royce's seminary on "Logic and Scientific Methodology," he found not only appreciation and helpful criticism of the processes of reasoning that underlay his approach to the baffling problems of mental disease, but an acute interest and understanding of the technical details involved in neuropathology and psychiatry. Pathologists and psychiatrists, accustomed to little more than *ad hoc* reasoning in the glib and partisan hypotheses they erected, might treat with ignorance or contempt his application of higher logic to his problems, but the logicians listened to his clinico-pathological data, not only with respect, but with an enthusiasm that is still remembered. What Southard gained from this Seminary is best expressed by a paragraph in his unpublished essay on "Has Pathology a Logic of Its Own?":

From Professor Royce's logical seminary I have these many years got many points of comparative value. All sorts of views have been aired. There have been astronomical parallels drawn. The atomic theory has been discussed, as well as mechanical and electrical theories. Structure versus function, vitalism, speculative psychology, statistics, the mathematics of order, to say nothing of epistemology, entology, cosmology, sociology have been drawn into the arena. All tends to the conclusion that a certain autonomy prevails in the scientific universe. Whether or no the pragmatic universe of James is sufficiently penetrated with Weirstrass (as Peirce says it is not) no one will deny a certain pluralistic aspect to the scientific universe as it is.

We find in Southard's papers completed manuscripts, partial outlines, or mere notes on subjects as, "Material for the Logical Seminary," particularly in the earlier part of 1912 when he assumed conduct of the group during Royce's illness. Among

the subjects he presented (and at times we are forced to supply titles), are: "A Concept of Normality"; "Sex and the Central Nervous System"; "The Credibility of Witnesses"; "Delusions in the Insane"; "The Nature of Personality"; "The Effect of Environment on Nerve Cells"; "Aphasia"; "The Methods of Discovery in Mental Disease"; and, "Has Pathology a Logic of Its Own?" and extensive drafts bearing on "The Relation of Structure to Function."

Several of these discussions, remodeled and extended, entered into the text of Southard's scientific papers. He published little in journals directed primarily to philosophers or psychologists but he addressed such audiences both in formal or informal fashion, and then might choose for publication a "borderline" journal where several groups would be equally interested.[16] Although these carefully prepared addresses on disease concepts addressed to logicians are worthy of separate perusal, we cannot even quote from them extensively. The Structure-Function Concept, an underlying stratum in his thought for many years, has little permanent record in his published work and will be referred to more fully towards the end of this chapter.

Certain it is that Josiah Royce had the highest regard for Southard's mentality. It was evidenced in the seminars by the frequency with which Southard's name was scored on the board for having made a point in discussion, and by an amusing recollection of George Clarke Cox. Although the latter received his Ph.D. degree to the complete satisfaction of Professor Royce in 1910, he was somewhat chagrined to learn that his mark in the final seminary was a " B." When his dissatisfaction was brought to the Professor's attention, Royce remarked: "I'm sorry but the mark stands. It's really a very high mark. I never give an 'A'—except to a man like Southard."

Fortunately, we have an even more complete record of Royce's estimate of Southard in a letter to Mr. de Coppet in relation to the projected Research Institute of Ethics, which we have already mentioned.[17] Excerpts from this letter seem quite remarkable in their interest and appraisal. Among other things he said:

He is, in spirit, by reason of his early training and by virtue of the long-continued researches in which he is engaged, a philosopher, a leading and inventive scientific investigator, a trusted official guide and leader in an important branch of the public service of the State of Massachusetts, and a man peculiarly adapted to undertake work which is intended to combine, in new ways, theory and practice, knowledge and life, moral ideals, and effective methods of co-operation and of control . . .

I am especially fond of trusting his judgment in practical matters, and of consulting his wisdom with regard to topics of a highly theoretical character . . .

I can see no way in which you could hope to find a man better qualified than Dr. Southard is, by temperament, by training, by laboratory work, by clinical work, by philosophical study and reflection, by interest in the problems of life, and by professional experience—better qualified, I say, than Dr. Southard is, to make real discoveries in the field of ethics, and to show how they can be applied to life.

When Royce was incapacitated by an apoplectic stroke in 1911, Southard unobtrusively, in the guise of a family friend, directed his regimen. The Philosophy Department sought far and wide for the one most competent to continue Royce's seminary on the "Logic of Science," and finally chose Southard. Jacob Lowenburg, now Professor of Philosophy in the University of California, at the time a graduate assistant to Royce, remembers planning each Monday evening, the available papers for this seminary, with Southard. And he recalls how the latter appeared at these meetings "with his pockets filled with red apples."

Southard's persistent interest in logic and in metaphysics and his competence therein may be illustrated by his plans on foot at the very end of his life to collect and edit the extensive works of Charles Sanders Peirce, perhaps the most profound of American philosophers. Of this venture more will be said in a later place.

It may be asserted that Southard was as well equipped to understand the psychology of his day as any psychiatrist of his time. We have seen that he had received a formal training in this kaleidoscopic field under James, Münsterberg, and Watt. He was thoroughly grounded in James' viewpoint of the subject, but James may be objected to as a theorist in psychology rather than as an experimentalist, in spite of his earlier training as a physiologist. Southard distrusted the earlier exponents of psychoanalysis, as we shall presently see, as indeed did James.[18] He quoted McDougall with appreciation. We refer to Southard's contemporaries for his competence in psychology, for although he appeared not infrequently at psychological meetings and read and discussed papers, he used and commented on psychological methods rather than contributed them. Professor E. L. Thorndike says of him: "We were proud of him as a psychologist," and Robert Yerkes, Professor of Psychobiology in Yale University, writes me: "He might just as well have been psychologist, neurologist, pathologist, or psychiatrist." I have already referred to Southard's, "Introspection for imagery in chess play," that he furnished for Yerkes' Psychology. Münsterberg sent students who were planning work in psychopathology to Southard for advice as to their program.[19]

Southard's contributions to psychology were not for the most part along orthodox lines, but rather in an overlapping field of Logic, Psychopathology, and Psychiatry. Such articles as, "What part of the Brain does Introspection Reach?" (78), "The Seat of Consciousness," (83) and "An Empathic Index," (149) and the unpublished discussion on the "Emotions" (179), elsewhere discussed in detail,[20] might be regarded as purely psychological in tone. His approach, however, to the function known as "Mind" was, as in other fields, the pathological route; that route that clarifies by a process of exaggeration or subtraction. For this reason his six papers on delusions were published in a borderline journal, "The Journal of Abnormal Psychology," where the several audiences he wished to address might most readily be reached.[21]

From 1915 to the end of his life, Southard offered a formal course and seminary in Psychopathology in the Harvard Department of Psychology (Psychology 23[1]). This course is of interest not only intrinsically but as a continuance of a similar course that, under Professor James, had inspired Southard's own career.

"I give that course in Psychopathology in Cambridge," he said to Richard Cabot, "mostly as tribute to James." But it had an even greater reward in that it drew into the field of mental disease and psychiatric social work, some of Southard's most ardent and worthy disciples.

Southard was not unaware of criticism that was leveled against his expansive energies and multiple fields of interest, and forestalled one such possible comment of himself when he said, laughingly:[22] "Among psychologists I am known as a chess player, blindfold chess; among psychiatrists I am known as an anatomist; among philosophers I am known as a psychologist; and among clinicians as a neuropathologist." It is a human characteristic to exaggerate the significance of fields of knowledge or skill in which one is not qualified, and to over-estimate the competence of others in such an alien subject. But Southard was no Jack-of-all-trades; but rather a man of remarkable breadth of interest and knowledge, who cultivated many different kinds of intellectual soil for the benefit that each would have on the other.

The breadth, depth, and quality of Southard's intellect cannot be judged from the report of any individual, however devoted. Fortunately we have a wealth of descriptive summaries from many men in many fields of knowledge from which to draw. It will be clearly seen that they do not confine their favorable comments to those fields that are remote from them:

His mentality must have been almost super-normal, and everything worthwhile interested him.[23]

From Southard more than from any other man I got a view of science as one great field independent of little boundaries. I very frequently remember one of his utterances, 'No man who has stayed within the recognized boundaries of his field has contributed fundamentally to science.'[24]

I recall only a fascinating blend of modesty and gentleness of manner, with extraordinary freshness and vigor of intellect. Also another attractive blend of concrete scientific knowledge with speculative interest, both profound and whimsical, in philosophical problems.[25]

. . . if ever there was a man, in modern times comparable to Aristotle or Leibnitz it was Southard. There seemed to be nothing that he could not handle with competence and ease. In some respects his mind was more universal than either James' or Royce's.[26]

William James, in the last year of his life, expressed in no uncertain terms his disbelief in the enthusiastically proclaimed fundamentalism of Sigmund Freud's method of analysis and his theory of the make-up of the human mind.[27] Although the approach through psychoanalysis might become fruitful, he thought Freud obsessed with a fixed idea, "a regular halluciné." Furthermore, "I can make nothing of his dream theories and obviously symbolism is a dangerous method." Such a decision on the part of a psychologist and philosopher at once so profound and so judicious, so willing to examine exhaustively the nebulous claims of telepathy, psychic research, and spiritism, should give pause in accepting the correctness of the fundaments of psychoanalysis. James unfortunately did not live to formulate in a more public manner his objections to psychoanalysis and pansexualism. Southard, undoubtedly conditioned directly or indirectly by James' prejudice, was not only able to study, but was forced through his administrative responsibilities to take sides in a controversy which wages to the present day with unabated and increasing violence among psychologists, psychopathologists, and psychiatrists.

It is, in our opinion, one of the strongest evidences of Southard's open-mindedness that he not only provided for but encouraged trial of psychoanalytic examinations when he assumed the directorship of the Psychopathic Hospital. No one on either side of the present day controversy is in a position to render final decision as to whether or not the movement that Freud started is descending into its "Twilight Zone."[28] No outsider, like the present writer, is, in accordance with the tenets of the

guild, in absence of psychoanalytic experience in person and as applied to patients, competent to judge of the method at all. Without expressing opinion on this latter curiously unscientific stricture, I may say that my interest lies only in stating Southard's attitude on these matters as illustrative of his character, without even attempting to claim for him unusual intellectual foresight. Although he felt the magnitude of the issue keenly and was utterly courageous in the expression of his opinion, he indulged in written presentation of his ideas very little, except in rare discussions and in correspondence with those Freudians whom he judged worthy of his steel. Southard's only direct consideration of Freud (161) lies in a description of the latter's general philosophy as a form of minor pessimism and bears rather on his influence on social ethics, and on war and peace, than on his famous theory of diagnosis and a possible resultant therapy. He does not even decry pessimism as a philosophy.

But this failure of Southard to speak out more frequently against Freudianism was due to no indecision, no failure to meet the issue head-on; he was content, for the moment, to consider whatever concrete facts might be presented as facts, and meanwhile to offer guidance in philosophical and psychological balance to those whom he thought were rushing headlong into a field that was enticing merely because it seemed new. It should here be pointed out that Southard's objections were directed against the original, and still persisting Freudian theory of pansexualism. His reaction, indeed, was once expressed by saying: "Why need I become a Freudian? I am already a Kraft-Ebbinger."[29] He was not unaware of the dissident theories of Jung, of Adler, and of the other successive Freudian rebels, and the ample critical notes that he has left show that he was following them attentively. Some at least of these later theories he might eventually have accepted with greater enthusiasm.

Southard's first objection to Freudianism was philosophical. "If you can expurgate Freud of pansexualism on the one hand, and what I regard as loose metaphysics on the other, I shall, of course, as I have said, be willing to take the concrete facts

that Freud presents and use them like any other concrete facts."[30]

He saw, for example, the value of the method of psychoanalysis in stimulating more intensive history taking and "individualized treatment of certain selected cases."

By "loose metaphysics," Southard undoubtedly meant that no follower of Freud had been concerned to define where the master might be placed in his philosophy. To Southard the demonstration that Freud stood with v. Hartmann and Nietzsche among the "minor pessimists" (161), and in addition his obvious determinism was "largely responsible for my unwillingness to receive the Freudian doctrines in all the general applicability that enthusiasts . . . have insisted upon."[31] And again, he was unreservedly opposed to the "emotional monism" inherent in pansexualism:

> There are two groups of workers in psychopathology . . . I should be inclined to divide the people in this room into what might be termed emotional monists and emotional pluralists . . . Emotionally speaking the Freudian theory is in general a theory of emotional monism and therefore fundamentally must satisfy a great many of the Hegelian tenets. Now as I understand it what Dr. Prince wants is an emotional pluralism such as might well be founded upon the data in MacDougall's 'Social Psychology' and in Shands' work on 'The Foundations of Character.' This view of emotional pluralism is one which I should myself be compelled to hold . . . It would not seem to me—appropriate to identify all kinds of emotion with the sexual.[32]

In the latter connection he commented on the libido as follows:

> . . . I am far from acknowledging the value of these new kinds of libido commended so highly by Dr. White. When he talks of 'liver-libido,' 'brain-libido,' 'skin-libido' and the rest, I wonder how much new truth is being conveyed either about the liver, brain, etc., or about the libido itself. How much good can be accomplished by merely attaching a sex label to all sorts of forces? Some may cheat themselves into thinking that they have actually discovered *new* forces, so striking is the new sex-

ual appellation. I think we must all look with suspicion upon all forms of *hyphenated libido.*[33]

Psychoanalysis, whatever its ultimate contribution to psychology may be, has grown out of clinical medicine rather than out of psychology,[34] and many of the devotees of psychoanalysis are ignorant, if not of the fundaments, at least of the research methods of the older science. Apparently, according to its followers the only training judged essential for competence in psychoanalysis, is training in psychoanalysis. One of Southard's difficulties was that in attempting to direct the work of psychoanalysts in the Psychopathic Hospital he found he was dealing with men who were:

. . . working in research without the fundamentals . . . I am told that I do not know the necessities of the Freudian methods, yet I doubt whether these men have command of scientific method in general, of the methods, viz., which have been used by men of a thousand times the capacity of Freud in the erection of theories beside which the Freudian is of microscopic value.[35]

In fact the "dogmatism of the Freudians," together with their arrogance and ignorance began to get on Southard's nerves. He objected to their: "Attempts to stampede psychopathologists down the broad road followed by Freud. They tell us if you are not with us you are against us. In short they have an overweening confidence in their own judgement . . ." "They say that those who say 'psychanalysis' instead of 'psychoanalysis' are guilty of a solecism . . . " "Does it not occur to you that Freudians, whose leader has written a book on 'Wit' should see the folly of taking themselves too seriously."[36] "Why is it that there is such a psychical erythism over the slightest appearance of opposition to any psychoanalytical claim by an outsider."[37] "Psychoanalysts forget that their main point of view has not been accepted. Is it not a little rhetorical trick, quite unworthy of you if not of some of your colleagues, to talk of a journal or a man as unprogressive, just because it or he does not agree with you? . . . There has been altogether too

much of this rhetorical twaddle to the effect that, if you are not a Freudian, you must have repressions when the very theory of repressions is in question."[38]

He explained his relationship to the whole problem in unmistakable terms to Putnam:

In respect to your remark on psychanalysis (sic) . . . no one has them more at heart than myself. I am sure that I am at bottom more of a psychopathologist than anything else (unless I am more of a chess player). Nevertheless, I am not disposed to admit as yet that Freudian psychanalysis (sic) has proved its theoretical contentions.[39]

Southard objected to the terms and definitions employed by the Freudians:

Why the term analytical psychology? Do you think it quite proper to restrict such general terms to a Freudian or a near-Freudian account? I do not. The trouble is a good many medical men appear to have heard of Frazer's Golden Bough only upon reading some Freudian article, whereupon said uninitiated medical man is inclined to think that Freudians made these important anthropological discoveries or, at all events, put all the meaning into them which they possess. Really, don't you think there has been some maladjustment in the priorities here? If you Freudians did not hustle us so or (in the language of courtship) 'rush' us so, we might be more readily and sooner convinced. Does it do any good to call people that are working seriously and have some achievements to their credit, unprogressive just because they do not agree with you?[40]

In another letter to Jelliffe[41] he continues to inveigh against the wide claims of the Freudians, for example, the use of the word "dynamic" as equivalent to "psychic." This reaction had been elaborated in his discussion of a paper by White:[42]

It seems to me that the need of praise allotted to Freud by Dr. White would be warranted only by some extraordinary discovery, such as the law of conservation of energy or the Dar-

winian principle. I believe it will damage the real future of Freudism if it be too extravagantly praised. . . . it is cause for astonishment how many eminent workers have been proved by Dr. White to pour grist into the Freudian mill. Sherrington's integrative action; Pavlow's conditioned reflexes; Bayliss and Starling's hormones; Frazer's Golden Bough; Bergson's *élan vital;* everybody's pragmatism, and the like, are all Freudian. Why not Darwinian evolution or Newtonian physics, and Aristotelian entelechy? Why not Faraday and Helmholtz? Perhaps all these worthies were actually engaged in lining a vista leading to Freud. I doubt whether Freud himself would claim so much. I myself believe that to claim so much is nothing but *phagocytosis of theories.*

To Putnam,[43] Southard had repeatedly objected to the Freudian use of the term "Unconscious," not on account of its lack of meaning but because it meant rather too much. Non-conscious would, in his opinion, have been preferable since, "unconscious indicates something mental but not conscious" (78).

. . . this doctrine of the 'Unconscious,' with a capital 'U', strikes me as a proposed panacea for every disease or defect of theory, a stopgap for every breach in knowledge. Does it mean the nervous system as a whole or in part, or is it a new name for energy, or has it a variety of meanings eluding definition in a particular context?[4]

The objection to symbolism, which is still valid, was voiced as follows:

But I do feel that so-called psycho-analysis, or any other so-called analytic psychology which begins to synthesize (i.e. to symbolize) from the outset is more likely to import the examiner's own beliefs (true or false) into the particular psychopathic situation than to extract the patient's belief therefrom (121).

In a disarming and final letter to Dr. Putnam in 1916, which Southard signs as "your old pupil," he fears he can scarcely come to any agreement with him in conversation:

I should perhaps concede a point prematurely if I agree to *conversation* as a solvent of controversy. I might reveal a group of *free associations,* in talk, to which you might attach *symbolic* significance and then give me up as hopelessly *introverted* or otherwise.[45]

It would be wrong to think of Southard's opposition to psychoanalysis as due to the fact that he was an "organicist" or "somatopathologist" rather than a "functionalist" or "psychopathologist." We have seen that he took pains to identify himself primarily with the latter group. Of course psychopathology was a far more inclusive term to him than its derivative, psychoanalysis. But he was too wise and correlating in his philosophy to align himself with such artificial groups as have just been designated. It should be recalled that he had for years debated with fellow logicians the relationship of structure to function. He found in ultimate analysis:

> . . . the doctrine of psychophysical parallelism—particularly dangerous . . . The teacher of psychology desires to keep *mind* logically distinct from body; the teacher of physiology disclaims expert knowledge of psychology; the teacher of brain anatomy almost skilfully avoids giving his point of view about anything remotely functional . . . Structure is in the main the spatial aspect of facts and events, function in the main the temporal aspect of the same facts. To say that mind precedes matter, or matter precedes mind, is to say that time precedes space, or space precedes time (56).

Although for teaching purposes function may be discussed as separate from structure, in research no such distinction is possible, and "the facts (should) lead us where they will, over the hills and dales of physiology, into the deep borings of anatomy, or upward into the ethereal reaches of psychology."

He returned again specifically to this "interactionist" concept in his famous paper on "Mind Twist Versus Brain Spot" (79), which was designed, not to deride the functionalists, as some may have thought, since for the moment he was emphasizing the structural side, but to show that one must not adhere blindly to one method of approach, but should pass back and

forth from function to structure. "It would be decidedly unwise to disjoin psychopathology and neuropathology."[46]

Some idea of the depths to which Southard's reasoning on structure and function led him may be extracted and paraphrased from his notes as follows:[47]

The fault then with mental analysts is that they invent ideomechanical hypotheses, in default or in defiance of known mechanisms. Mind and ideas should not be confused with structure as did Herbart. Materialism (structure) has this advantage over Idealism (function) that it remains homogeneous,whereas the latter splits into further unknowns such as un-, sub-, and co-consciousness. Structure should not be considered as purely mechanical, and perhaps both structure and function are best considered as forms of energy. Phoronomy, the science of motion, involves both time and space but time is a silent partner . . . It is astonishing that time should not (like space) have three dimensions instead of one. Time would seem to need at least a second dimension rather than space, a fourth.

No better illustration of Southard's broad structuro-functional approach to brain anatomy and pathology, can be given than by reference to the unusually complete "Reviews on General Psychopathology" that he published annually in the Psychological Bulletin for four years (1915-1918).[48] These reviews, extensive as they are, are no mere compilations of current literature but profound critiques of the trends of progress on both the structural and functional side obviously written by his own hand. They range from reviews of Kraepelin's "Phenomena of Insanity" to Holt's "Freudian Wish."

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It cannot be too insistently repeated that Ernest Southard had not simply served a limited apprenticeship in etymology, philology, philosophy, and psychology only to pass on to matters of, to him, great moment. He remained without intermission a participant in these several disciplines throughout his lifetime and followed, appreciatively and even constructively, their respective developments. He continued to be associated

with the representatives of these humanities, in spite of the growing number of colleagues to be convinced and students to be led in those arts and sciences with which his name is more closely identified. This continued cultivation of the, to critics, alien fields, is still more surprising in view of the individual tilling of the home acres that remained to be done.

Southard's choice of a home in Cambridge, at intervals after graduation in medicine, and before his marriage, and for the last ten years of his married life was undoubtedly influenced by his wish to continue more intimately in the academic atmosphere that he so much enjoyed. It facilitated his continued foregathering with philosophers and psychologists, and to a lesser extent led to contacts with philologists like Percy W. Long and William Stone Booth. After a temporary residence on Trowbridge Street, the Southards built their own home next door to Ralph Perry in the tract known as Norton's Woods, in 1913, and here they lived until after his death.

Although Ernest may have been influential in choosing Cambridge for a residence, the planning of the new home was left entirely to the "intelligence and efficiency" of his wife. Allen W. Jackson, the architect, remembers clearly the problems that were encountered in remodeling what had been the rather elaborate stable of Professor Charles Eliot Norton into a charming colonial residence. Although he knew Southard's manifold and emphatic personality in other activities he writes: "I never did a house for a man or his wife from which the man so entirely eliminated himself."

Meanwhile the Southard's last child, Anne, was born on October 13, 1913.

Ernest Southard was, in the mind of several observers, "not quite at his ease with children,"[49] an interpretation perhaps of the fact that he approached them in the one perfect way, namely by treating them as adults. He had well-developed and sound ideas of the danger of the dominance of an individual within the family group[50] and took great pains to avoid interference on his part with his own children and, although in reality swelling with pride at Austin's precocity or Anne's enchanting appearance, he spoke of them "with a delightful objectivity."[51]

FIGURE 12

E. E. Southard and his first son, Austin. From a photograph by Alice Austin about 1910

"I have an idea for certain novels which would contemplate family life from a special angle . . . Sometimes I think I should study my own family more. Or perhaps take more part in its life. Sometimes I feel I should not try to influence too much the children, the poet in Austin, the engineer in Ordway, the executive in Anne. Should they not develop themselves?"[52]

At all events Southard with his growing responsibilities and wide travel in every direction, saw all too little, in the last hurried years, of those growing personalities in Cambridge. As Austin is said to have remarked after his father's death:[53] "I didn't see my father often, but it is painful to think I shall never see him again."

Chapter Thirteen

Southard as an Educator

THE DESIGNATION "educator" is used in many senses but is here employed in its larger implications. Southard was an educator not simply in the sense of offering formal courses of lectures to undergraduate and graduate medical students, to psychologists, to students of social ethics, to army officers, to social workers, and to employment managers, but was an inculcator of the methods and ideals of research.

The course in neuropathology established in the Harvard Medical School in 1904, and required of second year medical students as part of their course in general pathology, has continued ever since. It began, as we have seen, as a special series of lectures and demonstrations of three weeks duration in the larger field, until, in 1906, the establishment of the Bullard Professorship of Neuropathology led to a separate department. From the very beginning, the course was unique and advanced in scope. Its outlining syllabus, even in its first edition, was not only sound, but unusually complete and ahead of its time. As Barrett noted in his obituary of Southard: "Too much cannot be said of the excellence of his course in Neuropathology. He brought to it ingenious methods of instruction." He utilized

original diagrams and mnemonic devices to clarify the bewildering topography of the nervous system. "He was a born teacher, having the rare ability to instruct understandingly those less endowed than himself."[1] His gradually increasing group of graduate students, often already advantageously placed by him in significant pathologistships or clinical posts, considered it a privilege to return year after year to assist in this instruction. They knew that they would not only master by repetition those anatomical points they had already acquired, but would learn each year something new from "the master." "He was distressed if he was not able to turn a new facet at each lecture, and he was usually able to do so."[2] He knew the value of a humorous turn of phrase in making his facts stick in the minds of his students, and his aphorisms still gleam in the memory of those who heard them. "I have just weighed my brain," he said in introducing a discussion of Tigge's formula, by which it is found that the length of an individual's body in centimeters, multiplied by eight, equals the weight of the brain in grams.[2] Or again, pointing to a diagram of the brain, he said: "The thalamus lies here—it is like the State of Texas with few residents and no news coming in."[3] In another connection he once remarked: "Today we shall discuss the question of Idiots. There are Congenital Idiots, Mongolian Idiots, Hydrocephalic Idiots, Amaurotic Idiots, Cretinous Idiots, and, finally, the largest group of all, *Blithering Idiots*."[4] The same contributor remembers also the tantalizing remark that followed the drawing of a straight line across the blackboard: "This line represents the curious things in the world. I put here first of all an 'X' to represent the Fornix of the brain."

Detailed instruction in the subject matter of the structure of the central nervous system was left more and more to his assistants. What he gave was the background and color that remained in the minds of his students long after the unadorned facts had disappeared. In examination, "instead of quizzing graduate students on the contents of the course, he might require them to choose any twelve words they wished and write out a definition of them."[5] One was not likely to forget South-

ard's remark that the spinal cord of multiple sclerosis looked "like the back of a Holstein cow."[5]

I do remember most distinctly the charm of his manner, the beautiful clarity of both his diction and thought . . . Time after time the class refused to let him leave when his hour was up and his repeated attempts to draw his talks to a close were met with applause and entreaties to continue.[6]

To many this course of the red meat of fact, interlarded with the spice of philosophy and wit, was too much. Southard's method of thought and speech was deliberately cultivated to stimulate interest in the "Functional value of ideas." Although the better minds among his students caught his contagious enthusiasm, it is probably true that, as one of his warmest disciples, Leland B. Alford, expressed it: "I do not believe (undergraduate medical) students found his lectures especially interesting or clear. He was likely to wander off into speculation and trains of reasoning which, although valid enough, were above the average perception . . . Perhaps the very precision of his language was responsible for the difficulty some might have in following him orally." Although he was amazingly stimulating he did at times "leave his auditors crazy with puzzles."[7]

It was to advanced students both in philosophy and medicine that the significance of Southard's intellectual approach was more clearly evident. Education would naturally have appealed to him in its literal sense as a process of "drawing out" the undeveloped powers of the student's mind. Given an ambition to accomplishment, however vague, and Southard was there to help. He was not only readily accessible, but immediately helpful to anyone who sought his counsel. He took each student who came to him seriously and appreciatively however immature his attitude might be.

"I shall always remember him as the first in a long series of instructors who treated me as an adult human being." Dr. Alan Gregg, who thus recalls Southard, goes on to describe how he was encouraged to read widely in case histories of the insane, and then to make up his own mind what he wished to do.

Such is the invariable tenor of his students' memories—a democratic spirit of encouragement as intellectual equals, with now and then a guiding, inspirational word at critical junctures. "He never assigned a topic to a student, but provoked them to work through his contagious enthusiasm. Others got his ideas like reflected sunlight."[8] His mind was filled with thousands of projects of work. "The concrete plans that he had in mind at the time of his death," the late Dr. Walter E. Fernald is said to have remarked, "would have kept twelve men busy for a hundred years." But, "He found it most effective to offer advice or orders by suggestion rather than by dogmatic statement . . . He asked me to study from hospital records the relation between brain weight and disease. This study, for which I was paid, taught me more about medicine than any course I took in the school."[9]

The Bullard Professorship in Neuropathology remained throughout Southard's life his main anchor and responsibility, irrespective of the state and national fields of activity into which he effectively wandered. To it he gave his best, and of its obligations and privileges he remained most zealous. The deed of gift that founded this chair[10] allowed its incumbent wide latitude in choice of activity. There is an interesting exchange of letters, in 1909, between Henry A. Christian, then Dean of the Harvard Medical School, and Southard, in regard, not only to the latter's pending advancement to a full professorship, but also concerning the autonomy of the department over which such a professor should preside. It had been Christian's idea that Southard's advancement should be to a professorship either of Neurology or Psychiatry, and that it was unwise to establish a separate department of Neuropathology. Southard, in defining the Bullard provisions, points out that although its professor may include in his activities research and teaching in Psychiatry or Neurology, the "Bullard Professorship can never become a Professorship of either Neurology or Psychiatry *alone* . . . The subject matter of neuropathology is prodromal to that of neurology and psychiatry," and by "prodromal" it is clear he would mean not only "anticipatory" but more fundamental, and better organized.

At all events instruction at Harvard bearing on the central nervous system for many years centered about Southard and neu-

ropathology. His was the only department in this field that was on an endowed basis. After his assumption of authority as a psychiatrist, when he had become director of the Psychopathic Hospital, he neither asked for nor accepted any university title of a clinical description. His instruction in mental disease was given to fourth year elective students largely through the staff meetings at the Psychopathic Hospital, although more formal lectures were given by Adler and others to the class as a whole. I have elsewhere[11] dwelt at length on the inspirational character of the famous noon-day staff meetings as participated in by men and women of most diverse training and interests.

When Dr. E. H. Bradford was made Dean of the Medical School, in 1913, Southard wrote him as we have seen[12] to emphasize the importance of instruction concerning the nervous system, and proposed a foundation for research in the field. In the same year Southard and Dr. E. W. Taylor (Assistant Professor of Neurology), proposed to the Faculty Council "A plan for perfecting the Organization of Teaching and Research in Diseases of the Central Nervous System." This plan for a Department Group was adopted and Southard was made chairman of it, a position which he retained for the rest of his life.

We have seen already, in considering the organization of the Psychopathic Hospital, how significant its function was as a center of teaching and research. The students not only of Harvard but of the Tufts Medical School who were interested in Mental Disease received there a major inspiration. Medical graduates from the State Hospitals of Massachusetts and elsewhere served longer or shorter apprenticeships in the wards and clinics, and always came away with the feeling that progress in psychiatry was being made. Army medical officers during the World War were sent there for training in the basic forms of insanity. Southard simply turned them loose in the wards, for Heaven knows, they will get orders enough elsewhere." He did not fail, however, to dig deep in the literature of shell shock in order to present the subject with hitherto unknown clarity to this special group (154).

The courses and seminars that Southard offered in psychopathology for university students for several years, not only served to orient non-medical graduate students of psychology in

abnormal states of mind, but induced a number of them to become psychiatrists, or at least to adopt careers in mental hygiene without the preliminary of medical training. Unfortunately I have no exact information concerning the outline lectures that introduced this course, but the seminars that followed in the second half year met in the evening at the Psychopathic Hospital and were ingeniously arranged as the following excerpts from an announcement in 1917 shows:

> This particular meeting will take place in association with a group of physicians and psychologists who are already advanced in certain psychopathological researches. You will, however, be requested to report briefly in five or ten minutes upon the novel which you have chosen as having some relation to psychopathology, and you are at liberty to make a preliminary report upon the chosen psychopathological topic of the half year in case you have been able to look over the bibliography of the topic.
>
> Most of the evening will be devoted to reports by the group of advanced workers above mentioned. E. E. SOUTHARD.

Southard, through his residence in Cambridge and his continued participation in the advanced seminaries in philosophy, was a true liaison officer between the academic and medical divisions of Harvard University. As early as 1909 Lawrence J. Henderson and Southard had sought to break the rigidity of the medical curriculum, in a truly epoch making pronouncement (39). They foresaw with remarkable clarity the growing danger of increasing pre-medical requirements in the underlying sciences during the college years, in that "the scientific wing (in the medical school)—looks back upon the college or preparatory years for yet more specialistic prolegomena" and, "General culture, that catalytic achievement"—is overlooked. On the other hand the medical sciences are sciences in the true academic sense and should be open to properly qualified undergraduate and graduate university students. This second suggestion has long since been widely accepted in universities throughout this country, and non-medical graduates, candidates for the Ph.D. degree, constitute the flower of scholarship in all well organized medical

school laboratory departments. The first danger has not yet been fully averted although the trend of educational opinion is now to decrease rather than to increase pre-medical requirements.

But there was a less widely diffused university consciousness among medical educators when Henderson and Southard wrote, and their views were vigorously attacked both openly and covertly by their own colleagues of both wings; by men like Timothy Dwight and George Dearborn who, with true guild consciousness, resented the invasion of academic scholars in practical courses designed primarily to train doctors of medicine. To these open objectors, at least, Southard and Henderson replied fittingly (40, 42, 43, 44).

On the other hand Münsterberg, in the subdepartment of Psychology at Harvard, consistently resisted Southard's efforts to participate, through work in the medical school, in the preparation of candidates for the Ph.D. degree in Cambridge. In fact, Münsterberg's artificial separation of the respective sciences dealing with mind and with body was wholly opposed to Southard's wider interactionist attitude.[13]

Southard's maturing ideas of the relationship of psychiatry to social ethics, that grew out of his education of psychiatric social workers; his organization of a mental hygiene of industry; and his broad conception of a "Kingdom of Evils" that needed direct attack, led him to further educational formulation. The precise form of work that he planned in Social Ethics was in collaboration with Dr. Richard C. Cabot whose fundamental contribution to the borderland between medicine and social work had been recognized for many years. These plans, although never brought to fulfilment, are so characteristic of Southard's energy, unselfishness, and educational zeal, that it seems important to present them.

In 1920, Dr. Cabot, who had for years been Professor of Clinical Medicine at Harvard, assumed direction of a Department of Social Ethics in Cambridge. He and Southard had long been acquainted as followers of Josiah Royce, and now became more intimate on the common ground of human welfare. During 1919, they frequently exchanged views concerning this general field, the precise limits of which were far from well

defined. Southard's viewpoint for his own particular interest is well outlined in the following letter to Cabot:

March 4, 1919

My Dear Dr. Cabot:

Re the new developments in psychiatric social work, I send you four reprints, one of which, entitled 'Mental Hygiene and Social Work: Notes on a Course in Social Psychiatry for Social Workers,' has the more theoretical considerations underlying the idea. I hope we can talk over the terminology question. Social psychiatry I regard as an art now in the course of development, an art which would have its existence even if social work did not also exist. I am not proposing social psychiatry as a term for a branch of social work. For the particular kind of social work in which psychiatrists are interested, I think one might better use the phrase psychiatric social work.

One of the New York men proposed to call the topic social psychopathology but I persuaded him that this term had too much the ring of science about it and too little that of an art, and he is now giving lectures on social psychiatry. You may know the man in question,—Dr. Bernard Glueck.

Social psychiatry then is a branch of psychiatry, a special kind of medical art as I view it.

Some still more general considerations on this line I put in a reprint, which I also send, 'Alienists and Psychiatrists,' but the point is worth developing much further. As for social psychology, a term which you mention, I should say that the field had been preempted by MacDougall with his extremely popular book on social psychology which has now gone into so many editions. This book of course contains a good deal about instincts and emotions that is of value to practical people but it has the ring of a scientific exposition of known facts rather than the tone of a book of applied technique. I think the word psychology used in these connections will savor either of mental tests or of an academic sort of thing which, perfectly worth while in its place, hardly fits the needs of the social worker at this time.

Owing to my view a specialty of an advanced nature is now being developed in social work, namely, a field of social work

in which applications of psychiatric knowledge are to be made, but this branch of social work is not psychiatry nor should it be properly termed social psychiatry. It draws its ideas in large measure from social psychiatry but that is as far as the relation goes. What should be the name for this new branch of social work? We have, as you will see, for better or worse, tried to use the term 'psychiatric social work.' I sometimes considered the somewhat barbarous phrase psycho-social work so as to get in the mental side of the whole adventure, but I felt that that term would hardly get over at the present time.

Of course, in one sense, the whole thing is a part of the new mental hygiene movement wherein I think, alongside psychiatry and the mental test division of psychology, psychiatric social work will hold a permanently important place. In practice, I fall into the habit of speaking of the mental hygiene of a situation and going on to show how always the point of view of the psychiatric social work is essential and indispensable. I will be glad to get your reaction, as founder of a great portion of the field of social work, to these suggestions . . .

One of the last letters that Ernest Southard ever wrote, January 23, 1920, was also to Richard Cabot proposing his participation in the latter's projected Department of Social Ethics. In it he suggested, doubtless on Cabot's invitation, that he offer a "Seminary in Social Ethics and Psychiatry" and be given a differential title as Lecturer in Social Ethics and Psychiatry, "or more briefly, Mental Hygiene (perhaps too broad and not properly connotative)."

He proposes, characteristically, that he should not receive an additional increment in salary which had been "informally mentioned at $3000, but rather that this sum be placed in my hands for direct development of the field by research methods . . ."

I believe I could engage to produce in a series of years a number of practical ideas of the order of those with which you are acquainted, e. g., (a) the conception of psychiatric social work, (b) the new classification of social difficulties known as the *Kingdom of Evil*. Both these require development. I have also in

mind the concrete study of (c) *Human Relationships* about which we have spoken, I have also partly completed a study of (d) *Mental Disease and Defect in Great Men,* which would greatly aid our definition of the problem of the individual. Our biggest problem, as we both see it (I believe), is the establishment of right conceptions of the *Individual's Place in Sociology* and Social Ethics, which depends in part on concrete case studies of the sort possible in the Psychiatric Institute.

and he ends his outline with:

The execution of some such plan of research and investigation in social ethics and psychiatry would give the university world a confidence in the fundamentally inductive policy of the new Department of Social Ethics. As a sort of director in research, the new work would not break my contacts with my present work, but rather increase those contacts; and in infusion of something new (inductive and duly individualistic) into ethics (no doubt hitherto too deductive and groupistic) will be of great public value.

Study of the nature and characteristics of genius or of eminence, and the two terms are certainly not synonymous, has been of engrossing interest to thinking man for generations, and papers concerning it are still being written.[14] In particular the coincidence or the possible relationship of genius to insanity has divided authorities into two camps, those like Lombroso and Kretschmer who, on the one hand, would stress a causal relationship, and, on the other, of Havelock Ellis, Hirsch, and Regnard who see chance alone involved. It was inevitable that Southard should not only take interest in this problem but attempt to settle it, or come closer to a definite conclusion. He approached the problem, indeed, at two different times, once in 1912 with bibliographical assistance, and again more fully in 1916-1917, when the matter became the main group problem in Southard's Psychopathological Seminary and involved several collaborators. No publication has ever resulted from the enormous and collective labor that went into this study, the data of which fill several

fat folders in the collection of Southardiana that has been entrusted to me. It is evident, however, from a section ("d") in the letter from which we have just quoted, as well as from internal evidence, that the material had been collected and a summary of it begun.

In 1903, Cattell[15] had offered a list of the thousand most eminent men in history as a basis for a study of certain qualities and their distribution. To arrive at this list he used six biographical dictionaries or encyclopedias,[16] two English, two French, one German, and one American, from which he chose the individuals who were most extensively discussed in each. This resulted in a list of approximately 6000. From this group were then selected those who appeared in at least three of the dictionaries, a total of 1600, and these were reduced to the thousand who were allowed the greatest average space. This yielded not only the thousand presumably most eminent men in history, but also the order of eminence in which they stand. This list of a thousand eminent men may be used for many purposes and of these Cattell touched on several, as for example, the distribution of standard traits, and the distribution of the eminent chronologically and by race. Furthermore, the distribution of men of action as contrasted with those of thought or feeling, could be approximated.

Southard, in his study of the relationship of eminence to insanity, took this list of Cattell's as a basis of discussion and found that in a preliminary study the incidence of definite insanity did not differ markedly in the ten successive hundreds that Cattell had picked. The average of the thousand gave an incidence of mental abnormality in the entire group of about four and one-half per cent.

It is fortunate for our purpose that Southard was continually playing with titles of anticipated publications, and that with uncanny foresight he wrote "prospectuses" of the presumed outcome of work not yet finished. Thus we find in his own hand a list of alternative titles:

Eminence and the Psychopathic Temperament
Eminent Psychopaths
Morbid Eminence

Insanity Among Eminent Men
Insanity in Eminent Men
The Insanities of Eminent Men:
A Statistical and Documentary Study
The Mental Disorders of Eminent Men
Psychopathology and Eminence.

He took care to warn his students that, although Cattell's list was chosen as a basis of discussion, study might reveal a better method of choice; and that there might be striking omissions from the list as given. Other biographical source books should perhaps be added. And even after acceptance of the list there was the question of the degrees of mental abnormality into which the thousand individuals should be divided and the varying consensus of opinion about each individual.

The autobiographies of known or suspected psychopaths, whether or not eminent, were also investigated, as for example those of Casanova, of Cellini, and of the Marquis de Sade. The entire literature of the alleged relationship of genius to insanity, none of which is of statistical value, was surveyed.

We need not go further into the details of the investigation, interesting as it would be to list the nearly five per cent of eminent men that were judged abnormal, but we end with his "Prospectus," undated, but written probably near the end of his consideration of the data that had been collected and which states not only tentative conclusions but the use to which they may be put:

THE 'INSANITY AND GENIUS' PROBLEM

Prospectus.—Character-study from the psychopathological side. Cattell's list of 1000 great men to be drawn upon for its contained psychopaths. The percentage to be approximately determined. Advantage of showing vast majority non-psychopathic (modification and possible rectification of a popular view, which now leads to suspicion of some projects of entirely sane great men and to general suspicion of leaders, and on the other hand leads to the acceptance of certain psychopaths as leaders

because psychopathic afflatus is regarded as divine). Advantage of studying the details of character of those prominent persons who were psychopathic (group eminent *for* psychopathy, group eminent despite psychopathy, group in which it was incidental, and group eminent by virtue of psychopathy). The percentage of psychopathy may be 5%-10%. Original sources to be drawn upon—an authoritative collection of all the evidence in the psychopathic group to be eventually published, using the best biographies and autobiographies. From this should accrue material for a 'great men' study which would be central in a college course in 'Applied Ethics' (or 'Great Men, a Course in Ethics'). In the absence of effective religious or other dogmatic authority, the technique of ethical approach to the youth by way of thorough presentation of good and bad individual models is worth trying. This individualistic program is perhaps as good as the 'will-to-social-service' program or the 'loyalty' program or the 'community-uplift' program.

This study of the Seminary led logically to consideration of a "technique of historical investigation of psychopathological terms and concepts," such as the terms "dementia," "delirium," "hysteria," and "neurasthenia." For this a search of equivalents in the various language dictionaries was requested, of which latter a surprising list is given in a notice to the Seminary, including, for example, a dictionary by Professor Sophocles on Medieval Greek.

RESEARCH INSPIRATION

But all these forms of teaching, both actual and planned, to laymen, to undergraduate, and graduate students, which Southard organized and to which he gave a unique flavor, were merely preliminary mass exhortation in his main attack on the central nervous system. His more profound educational service lay in the durable stimulus towards individual productive scholarship. The pervading research inspiration that he spread about him is evident in the subsequent work of his pupils and in their remembrance and recognition of Southard's effect on them:

. . . no man that I have ever known was such an inspiration to younger men . . . I never proposed a piece of research to him which he did not approve, though I am certain he knew many times that what I was about to do was unimportant. But that was E. E. S. Encourage a young man . . . to go ahead with any idea he might have developed for himself .. . In fifteen minutes of talking (and I visualize him stalking about the laboratory and talking about some new idea or combination of ideas he had developed), I would be stimulated to the point of carrying on for months.[17]

I would see people, no doubt including myself, submit ideas, expressions, and what not, which seemed to be so common and so boring as to be not worth the breath it took to utter them; Southard would take these ideas and fertilize them with his smile, and, with a few phrases and additions, develop them until they blossomed into something which the original author would feel proud of. He had a way of doing this without making you feel inferior. In fact, you felt just the opposite—you felt superior; you felt as if you had had a wonderful idea and hadn't realized how wonderful it was until Southard came along and told you about it.[18]

Dr. E. T. F. Richards speaks of nearly four years of association with Southard:

. . . as one of outstanding and treasured memory. I have not since seen his equal in his remarkable ability to stimulate enthusiasm and the spirit of research in others. He had that rare faculty of always eliciting the best from his associates. His sincere interest in the problems that the younger men were engaged in, provided a tremendous drive in us to win his commendation. I have not met with another in whom I have seen his great gift of contagious enthusiasm. His ability to get out of what appeared to be at times merely a routine autopsy, for example, fascinating lines of research to be followed up, was always to me a striking example of his unusual keenness of mind. He could take the brain of what appeared to us at the autopsy table as another of the numerous negative insane group, and map out from that somewhat drab specimen ten to twelve problems to be worked out during the

course of the following six months . . . His influence, there is no question, was a guiding factor in all of the future lives and work of the younger group that surrounded him.

As these excerpts suggest, true educational leadership is no ephemeral stimulus, no simple furnishing of the building stones of knowledge; it furnishes the true disciple with a lasting impulse to productive scholarship. Southard lives in the memory and life of many as a persisting, constructive force.

Chapter Fourteen

Southard and Psychiatry

IT MAY BE ASSERTED that no field of science presents greater difficulty in orientation or solution than the one that is concerned with the mode of action of the abnormal mind. Psychology has not even yet taught us the precise and simplest relations between mind and body. Psychopathology would seem at first glance to be infinitely more complex than normal psychology, but it develops that the process involved in the derangement of a single aspect of mental activity may actually aid in the explanation of normal mental function, just as the study of degenerations of nerve tracts has proved essential in learning the anatomy of the intact central nervous system. William James approached his epoch-making analysis of religious experience by the pathological method, by the study of exaggerations and perversions in religious leadership, since he found, "that insane conditions have this advantage, that they isolate special factors of the mental life, and enable us to inspect them unmasked by their more usual surroundings."[1]

It might seem presumptuous for one outside the immediate field of endeavor to appraise the accomplishments, and to be impatient with the progress, of psychiatry. One may assert, as does a certain intrusive school of psychiatrists, namely, the psy-

choanalysts, that only those trained in its methods are capable of judging them, overlooking the inescapable fact of scientific experience that special pleading, although valuable in argument, is not the soundest basis for ultimate decision. It becomes evident on questioning psychiatrists that not only have they failed to reach agreement on many matters that concern their art, but that they frequently do not grasp one another's point of view. These differences of opinion are clearly expressed in that important symposium, "The Problem of Mental Disorder," edited by Bently and Cowdry, in which recognized authorities in psychiatry and its ancillary sciences have expressed their considered opinions. In writing me of Southard's relation to psychiatry, Alford has said in part:

> Psychiatry is a vague subject in which revolutionary developments are likely to occur. No man can be secure in his experience, for a new development at any moment may render that experience useless. As a consequence feelings are intense and jealousy rife, and particularly is this the case with regard to a new and striking figure . . . Certainly in the last twenty years, at least until recently, the atmosphere of psychiatry has not been friendly for investigation . . . Very few . . . have appreciated the great obscurity of mental problems and the necessity of entertaining all possible approaches in outlining research.

There is yet another reason why psychiatry has not prospered. As Southard expressed it privately: "It is doubtful if any first class mind has ever devoted itself wholly to the study of psychiatry."[2] Certainly no subject is more alluring than the study of the human mind whether normal or diseased; no more intellectual pursuit could well be imagined. Why then should psychiatry have been shunned by the more ambitious intellects who do not hesitate to plunge into a consideration of mathematical theory or atomic structure? The answer is, I believe, a simple one, and lies intrinsically in the great difficulty of the subject and an unwillingness to waste superior equipment on a field that promises so little return in terms of intellectual accomplishment.

Southard's approach to psychiatry was, in common with his many other undertakings, original and unorthodox. "He barged

into psychiatry by a different route than that conventionally followed . . . which gave him an originality of view and conception."[3] He began serious study of the field only six years before he was made director of a then novel type of psychiatric institution, without having served as an insane hospital physician or superintendent, which would have been the normal route to such preferment. "His spirit of work was evidently that of making some real headway, with the resources at his command, against age-old problems, and he was going to proceed in his own way. Knowing (through his studies in logic) that pertinent information might come from almost any obscure lead, he was ever feeling his way about in the 'Egyptian darkness.' "[4]

Southard was not a clinician in the conventional sense of the term; this is admitted by his most ardent followers, and seized upon in a derogatory sense by his detractors. He did not care to linger at the bedside to examine a patient, skilful as his tactile sense was as a pathologist. He was not interested in the superficial grouping of symptoms by means of which the usual clinician arrives at a diagnosis. When questioned anxiously by one who wished to devote herself to social work, as to whether a disturbing tic or spasm of her face might not prove a handicap in her career, he replied: "My dear lady, we all have handicaps; my particular handicap is that I cannot make ward rounds." In a moment of confidence he once confessed to me, in the midst of his directorate at the Psychopathic Hospital, that he had never owned a stethoscope, and somehow never knew the dosage of the few really specific drugs. "But how can you accept responsibility for the sick who might require such drugs?" I asked him. "One can easily hire those who are informed in such matters," was his reply. As a matter of fact, although Chairman of the combined department of Neurology and Psychiatry at Harvard, he skilfully avoided appointment as Professor of Psychiatry when it was urged on him.

(To clinical psychiatry) he brought his extensive philosophical and psychological training which gave him a unique point of view and a breadth of knowledge which distinguished him in his later work . . . I cannot think of him as an outstanding clinical

psychiatrist in the sense of having a profound concern in the details of clinical manifestations as they were revealed in the patient. What he did do in an outstanding way was to logically analyze what was revealed in his patients and embellish this with comments which came from his brilliant insight into psychiatric problems in wide relationship.[5]

The moving spirit in some of the larger group clinics has often been referred to as an "integrator." It is his final function to collect the findings obtained by a varying number of associates each of whom has examined a patient from that particular angle in which he is most competent: as for examples, the eyes, teeth, nose and throat, the X-ray findings, the general physical examination, or the chemical and serum tests. The "integrator" fits together these reports, makes the diagnosis, and outlines the method of treatment. If such a group method of diagnosis is wise in cases that usually rest on some recognized structural change, how much more so is it needed in those who suffer from derangement of the mind or soul. How much more is an integrator needed in the realm of the psychoses concerning the individuality of which there is still dispute, and the diagnosis of which often provokes discussion. In the larger sense of psychiatric integrator, Southard soon became a master, and it is captious to refer to one who started so many able psychiatrists on their way, who endeavored to clarify the general classification of the insanities so persuasively, as no clinician. "There is the amusing story of the house physician at the Psychopathic who, penetrating into Southard's office, asked him to come down in the ward and see a patient with some unusual condition. Southard . . . replied in his characteristic way: 'Oh, I'm not interested in seeing any patient with that disease. I'm writing a book on the subject.' "[6]

As a matter of fact, with his exact knowledge of the structural background of the body and its pathological changes, Southard was able far beyond the average to integrate the finding of his associates. Frederick Tilney assures me, moreover, that not only was Southard highly competent in a detailed neurological examination, but that his questioning of a psychotic

patient was a revelation, and that he has consciously followed certain procedures of the Southard method ever since observing it. His method has been vividly described by Josephine C. Foster, for three years Psychologist at the Psychopathic Hospital, as follows:

The one characteristic which above all others used to impress me was Dr. Southard's ability to carry on a conversation on two levels at once. In the staff meetings, he put the patient at his ease immediately and they carried on a conversation which was chatty, friendly, and apparently keenly enjoyed by the patient. The same conversation carried a deeper meaning to the staff members and was often highly entertaining to the staff for a reason which was entirely different from the reason for its interest to the patient. I regret that I cannot remember any instance in detail, but I remember many a time when the staff, and patient were all laughing—but at different things. I think Dr. Southard was able to do this because of his remarkable language ability, and because he was able to get the points of view of both patient and staff.

Dr. Southard was very quick to assimilate new information and to see the significance of chance remarks. In one staff meeting, we considered a boy who rated low on mental tests and yet was said to be a valuable clerk in a grocery store. Dr. Southard naturally questioned one or both of these facts. The conversation between patient and Dr. Southard at staff meeting was (approxiately) as follows:

Dr. S. You are clerk in a grocery store and meat market?
P. Yes.
Dr. S. Are you a good clerk? (smiling as if it were a joke)
P. I guess so, pretty good.
Dr. S. Can you make change?
P. Sure.
Dr. S. If I bought something that cost 12 cents and gave you a quarter, how much change would I get back?
P. I don't know.
Dr. S. You don't know?
P. No sir.

Dr. S. But I thought you could make change?

P. I can.

Dr. S. How can you make change if you don't know how much it is going to be?

P. Well, you see it's like this. You said it cost 12 cents and you give me a quarter. Well, I'll give you one penny, that makes 13, and another penny makes 14 and another one makes 15 and then a dime makes 25 and that's your change.

Dr. S. Oh! Then how much would that come to?

P. I don't know, but it will be right.

Dr. S. Now suppose a customer buys beefsteak, would you know how much to charge him?

P. Sure.

Dr. S. Well, suppose I buy three pounds of beefsteak at 29 cents a pound, how much would that cost?

P. I can't tell you here, but if the steak was on the scale, I could read it off. You just follow along till you get the place that says 29 and then read what the scale says.

All the way through this conversation Dr. Southard gave the impression that he was asking for information, as indeed he was, and he was having a pleasant conversation with the patient while he proved to himself and the rest of us that probably both of the original reports (of mental status and occupational efficiency) were true."

He was not interested in clinical detail except in so far as it went to contribute to the total case picture. Nor was he an integrator simply for the purpose of arriving at a diagnosis. "His first interest was to teach (in the noon clinic) how to use the data gathered in the wards logically. Many people not used to logic but dependent on their feelings regarding a patient, could not for the first period see his point of view, but were always enlightened and grateful afterwards for the training."[7] And most of all was he concerned with wider relationships, with enlightenment that the case in hand might shed on insanity in general, or on some other psychopathic state.

The Staff Meetings were seminars in a graduate school and

carried into the supposedly distressing subject of psychiatry all the scholarly armamentarium of the leisurely philosopher, which he had learned to be in Royce's seminar. It was as if he were at such times acting on the principle that Royce once illuminated for me when he said: 'I am hired by Harvard to teach the constitution of the universe; but if I cared how the universe was constituted, I should fail in my job!' In the same sense Southard developed each topic with marvelous detachment and impelled the staff to take a like attitude. The success of men who were trained by him gives some measure of the value of this restrained agnosticism concerning the nature of various mental diseases . . . He would transform an ostensiby dull audience at the staff meetings into a fruitful collaboration of intellects, the mental powers being set free very soon after the start by his encouragement of contributions for which he furnished a bounding, directing, and also abounding context.[8]

Southard's knowledge of what was known in his particular field was profound. "His knowledge of the literature would have been a pride in itself."[7] "His conception of Psychiatry was (one) which related it to the rest of human life, a point of view which Kraepelin never had, and (which is) a point of view which too many psychiatrists never get."[9] This now-called Psychobiological approach of Southard's interested the sociologist as well as the psychiatrist. "His was a personality never to be forgotten by those who knew him. His mind ranged over the whole field of human relations and yet his observations on the immediate and the specific were penetrating. He had the gift of swift and discerning generalization that did much to simplify and make meaningful for his associates the fundamental categories that helped towards a better explanation of complex social processes."[10]

Never was there so much psychiatry with so little psychiatry in the ordinary sense of treating mental disease, as seen in his life. On the other hand there also was a remarkable stimulation in many directions of new effort . . . He did not allow himself to be tied to work with patients. He prided himself on being the only psychiatrist with only one private case.[11]

Southard had not served an orthodox apprenticeship in psychiatry, and failed fully to conform to any school or individual of his time. He understood better than the orthodox what the problems of psychiatry really were, and made valiant attempts to solve them by both recognized, as well as by hitherto unrecognized methods. Southard's role in psychiatry may best be summarized in a sentence that I owe to Alford: "He flashed across the psychiatric sky like a comet." The metaphor is worthy of elaboration by saying that he was both a source of light and of enlightenment, and may be completed by adding that, like a comet, he has disappeared from public view. In the last connection, it may not be too much to hope that "The world will return to his ideas."[12] We have perhaps, in quoting his students and colleagues, given sufficient evidence of Southard's force in inspirational enlightenment. There remains to consider the direct light that he threw on the major issues of psychiatry.

Ernest Southard published nearly one hundred and eighty scientific articles including three books during the nineteen years of his productivity. Norman Fenton[13] has published an approximately complete bibliography and most of his listed articles have been abstracted in the Southard Memorial number of the Massachusetts Department of Mental Diseases (1920). There are in addition several unpublished philosophical papers to which we have referred.[14] It will, in all probability, never be known how many projected and more or less completed articles and volumes were in existence at the time of his death. Some of them, at least, on sociological topics, have been skilfully interwoven by Mary Jarrett in the joint posthumous volume, "The Kingdom of Evils," to which we have liberally referred.[15]

In other connections we have briefly mentioned Southard's writings on education, social work, psychology, and philosophy. The larger proportion, fully three-quarters of the publications, are more directly related to psychiatry and neuropathology, although in any complete appraisal, the major fields involved overlap, as we have repeatedly exemplified in rehearsing Southard's catholicity of interest.

A goodly number of personal references or appreciations of Ernest Southard have been written since his death, but they

are for the most part general in their scope. It has remained for Leland B. Alford (2) to attempt an appraisal of Southard's contributions to psychiatry. This he has done with a masterly understanding and devoted appreciation. To this splendid analysis written with obviously greater understanding of the issues involved than I can pretend, I shall frequently refer. Without attempting to list in detail the many topics of investigation and lines of thought to which Southard turned his attention, Dr. Alford has appraised with rare judgment certain of the major issues.

This biography is hopefully directed towards a less specialized audience than the one Alford addressed, which fact forbids over-elaboration of Southard's most significant field of exact study. With little consideration of precise detail we must attempt, without a burdensome listing of many topics, an outlining of the major problems that were followed through for a number of years. No direct reference can be made to the studies of Southard's disciples that grew out of his inspiration; we have elsewhere considered the intensity, fecundity, and generosity of his influence on his students. We concern ourselves here rather with the range, depth, and development of the ideas with which he was most personally concerned.

It should be repeatedly emphasized that Southard, by primary and prolonged training and by special competence, was convinced that the hope of medicine and of psychiatry lay primarily in that most objective science known as pathology. More specifically that part of pathology that deals with disordered structure was to him most rigorously convincing, although causation and functional change were recognized as ultimately more fully explanatory. He was one who might today, in a somewhat deprecatory sense, be called an "organicist." And yet no one provoked his scorn more completely than one who attempted to divide any process into structure and function, or the human being into two separate compartments labeled "Body" and "Mind."[16] "In reality he was a forerunner of the physiological approach to brain problems, at least in his method of thinking about them."[17]

But Southard believed in special pleading, and even in overemphasis, as a means of eventual understanding. For this reason

his first and last court of appeal in the individual instances of mental disease lay in the autopsy table and in the revelations of the microtome. In the early stages of his career, separate neurological and psychiatric cases, and later, groups of them, were of value only when their organs were studied in the gross and microscopically. It is the considered opinion of Alford,[18] "that he brought special aptitudes to his work." Even in the examination of the brain in the gross he was insistent that its immediate inspection and palpation should be thorough, and, contrary to the usual custom, before the brain had been plunged into, and distorted by, a fixation fluid—"While to most of us brains are as alike as Chinamen, he seemed to possess something of the 'photographic mind' which instantly detects slight peculiarities. I still retain a vivid memory of seeing him at his task of examining brains and of noting how unhesitatingly, in the course of the rapid inspection, he pointed out small variations, and how confidently, as he rapidly ran his fingertips over the fresh surface, he dictated his impression of differences in resistance."

In matters of neurohistological technique the rigorous training with Mallory, Weigert, and Nissl was but a prelude to a never-ending study of the finer structure and cell alterations in nervous tissue. The continued and unnumbered hours that Southard spent at the microscope, spent not only in passive inspection but in productive thought, can never be estimated. There is every reason to believe that his competence in this field of decision was as great as that of any one of his time.

All this simply to indicate that in this realm of exact scientific endeavor lay Southard's immediate touchstone of reality, whatever his speculative excursions might be.

We make no attempt here to review or even to mention all the articles or topics in neuropathology and psychiatry to which Southard contributed. Many of the minor subjects are referred to in other places.[19] We summarize here only those larger or more significant lines of endeavor on which he wrote.

PSYCHIATRIC CLASSIFICATIONS

Before the modern era in medicine, an era beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century and associated with increased

accuracy of observation, facts were few and speculation was rife. This speculation, or *"Naturphilosophie,"* based on the logic of the time seems vague, mystifying, and largely ridiculous in explanation of the cause, nature, and diagnosis of diseases as we now understand them. Lectures or even courses in what was called "Medical Logic" were universally given in the first half of the last century as part of the formal instruction of medical students in an effort to systematize medical reasoning. With the advent of the distinctive modern sciences of pathology, biochemistry, physiology, and bacteriology, exact observation became the criterion of progress. Such fact-gathering will naturally continue to outline the route of advance into the unknown.

Southard showed his originality in venturing to throw a new bridge of reasoning over this swelling stream of facts. If one lacks conviction that he brought a higher order of thinking into the field of mental disorder, he would do well to follow the evolution of Southard's conception of a key for diagnosis in psychiatry. According to Cabot, his most fruitful idea in pure medicine lay in his proposed method of diagnosis by a process of orderly exclusion, *"Diagnosis per exclusionem in ordine"* (148). In an early group of papers he had attempted to estimate the margin of error that occurs in the diagnosis of the more prevalent forms of insanity in a static insane-hospital group of cases (46, 47, 52). With the advent of the Psychopathic Hospital, an entirely new problem, or set of problems, in diagnosis arose. In view of the brief residence of patients therein, rapidity as well as accuracy of diagnosis became imperative, since proper disposal of the temporary residents was the main objective; the cases in such a hospital include not only those who are eventually legally committed as insane, but a large group of borderline or normal individuals destined to be released. And further, in an institution that served as a training school for the tyro in psychiatry, it was necessary to establish a basic key to diagnostic method.

Probably no one had attempted for decades to discuss the processes of reasoning that underlie the accepted methods of achieving the diagnosis of disease; certainly no one who was equipped with first hand information of the recent advances in applied logic. Royce's work on "The Principle of Order" supplies

the precise method that should be followed, according to Southard. It would appear that the justifiable emphasis on observation has, in the matter of diagnosis, led too directly to interpretation in terms of acquired fact; there has been, in other words, "observation at the expense of reason . . . Observation, recognition, or 'gnosis' has been confused with diagnosis. Diagnosis does not consist in observation at all. Diagnosis requires observation, proceeds upon a process of observation, but is itself a process of combination of reasoning, of calculation, or of some higher kind of intellectual process, which takes observation for granted, uses and chooses among observations, but in no whit makes them." In short, "Mere observation, mere comparison of stages, mere enumeration, are not the whole history of any science."

On analysis he found that there have been six "process types of diagnosis" which may be briefly tabulated as follows:

I. *Inspection.* This is a method of pure observation that achieves a disease name from some prominent symptom, but embodies no process of reasoning;

II. *Expectation.* Here facts and time are lacking; the disease is acute and fulminating and diagnosis awaits the result which, if fatal, may be found at autopsy;

III. *Induction.* This is a diagnosis by short cuts that emphasizes some striking symptom which may, or may not, lead to a correct diagnostic conclusion;

IV. *Ex juvantibus.* Here cure is achieved by some medicament which, by its specific action, indicates the precise cause;

V. *Ex noncentibus.* In this case a reaction of diagnostic significance is produced by administration of a specific agent, as when tuberculin is administered to a tuberculous individual.

By far the more complete and accurate methods of diagnosis, however, lie in some form of:

VI. *Comparison.* And this in turn may be a comparison of similarities or of differences.

Southard found that diagnosis by comparing similarities, by

a process of type-matching of the unknown case with a textbook standard is, most frequently followed.This form of comparison is direct and often works well whenever the combination of symptoms compared can lead only to a single and correct conclusion. In the case of mental diseases, however, the type symptoms such as mania or delusions, are so widespread among disease entities that little conclusion can be drawn, and a given case may often be defended as an instance of any one of several different diseases.

Da Costa, who has been revered as establishing an epoch in clinical diagnosis, objected to diagnosis by comparative exclusion; in other words, by proving what a disease was by what it could not be, as both tedious and inconclusive, since one could not think of all the possibilities. This, however, is the method that Southard proposed in the diagnosis of nervous and mental diseases with an important corollary, namely, that the exclusion be made in an orderly manner.

The resultant key to diagnosis in mental diseases was elaborated in a series of papers (148, 151, 153, 162) and was later carried over into the field of neurological diseases (172). It led inevitably to a basis of classification of mental diseases although classification alone was never its prime objective. Offered primarily as a method, "applicable to any diagnostic problem after the data of observation is collected," it was claimed to be "an original principle of order." It was a pragmatic or practical grouping, based not on etiology, on anatomical change, or on clinical resemblances, but on consideration of what was to be done with the patient. Its application became the "Pragmatic Psychiatry" (168) that Southard later recommended.

It was never Southard's idea that the particular eleven groups into which his psychopathic hospital cases might be arranged, furnished a final nosography of mental disease.[20] It was rather the "pragmatic sequence of consideration" in which he was interested. Any such list should be mobile. "Let it be telescoped or accordionized as you will—no damage to the concept value ensues." In Cabot's opinion: "No one has a right for the future to use any other method than this in medicine and social case work until he can point out a better one." This method of classification was attacked, as are all innovations.

Just what was the method of pragmatic, orderly exclusion that Southard proposed, and what were the final disease groups?

In the first place, the presence of syphilis in its various forms (*Syphilopsychoses*) was either ruled out, or perhaps confirmed, often by the simple expedient of a serum test (Wassermann reaction). Secondly, the feeblemindednesses (*Hypophrenoses*) were recognized on the basis of the Binet-Simon test. Thirdly, epilepsy or epileptoid conditions (*Epileptoses*) could be ascertained from a carefully obtained history. Mental disease due to drugs and poisons (*Pharmacopsychoses*) were next excluded, and then in order were sought the diseases of localized nature (*Encephalopsychoses*); *Somatopsychoses,* the group of mental diseases referable to bodily derangement; the senile diseases (*Geriopsychoses*); the dementia praecox group (*Schizophrenoses*); the manic depressive conditions (*Cyclothymoses*); and finally the hysterical and neurasthenic groups (*Psychoneuroses*). A residual grab bag of not legally insane deviates, the *Psychopathoses,* remained.

Any given instance of insanity may be a combination of disorders rather than a simple entity and for that reason failure to exclude any of the sequential list does excuse one from proceeding to the end of the series.

Let it be repeated that this was only one form of orderly method and open both to change and to elaboration; it was none the less a hitherto unappreciated method of approach. The choice of terms employed for the separate groups was not lightly arrived at but carefully justified etymologically by Southard, with his accustomed thoroughness (151). For example, he started his mixed group of students in psychopathology on a study of such terms as "delusion," "hallucination," and the like, in comparative language dictionaries. The larger groups or orders therein determined were also subdivided into genera and species. He spared no effort in arriving at entities and their designation that were not only accurate, but he endeavored to induce agreement thereto, as when he entered into wide correspondence with his colleagues to obtain their reaction toward replacing the obviously inaccurate term "Dementia praecox" by "Schizophrenia." His own contribution to this particular subject lay in emphasizing

that this disease was often neither a deteriorating disease nor one that necessarily came early in life. ("Non-dementia, Non-praecox"—159).

DELUSIONS

Nothing illustrates better Southard's method of attack on the unknown in psychiatry than to follow step by step his campaign to reveal the nature of "Delusions." His enlarging conception of this age-old problem is expressed in ten major articles,[21] that spread over the last twelve years of his life. These articles were published for the most part in The Journal of Abnormal Psychology, because: "they will be read not only by people that appreciate their contents, but by people who can criticize their contents." . . . and medical men should not be confronted with philosophical articles because they "are not capable of philosophical critique."[22] The key article on "The Application of Grammatical Categories to the Analysis of Delusions" appeared in the Philosophical Review.[23]

These articles throw, from several separate angles of information, an unexpected light on an obscure field. Case histories, statistics, medical history, anatomy, histopathology, psychology, logic, and, unexpectedly enough, comparative grammar, each helped to unravel the mechanism by which the mentally deranged are subject to false beliefs. Not that he expected himself fully to explain the mechanism of delusions; he was simply acting as a master of tentative hypothesis, who hoped to surprise truth by approaching it from unexpected angles. Although we may in a measure succeed in outlining the several approaches that Southard made to clarify delusions, nothing short of careful study of the documents themselves will give the full import of the inspirational value of his work on this major problem, to say nothing of the coruscations on the many fields of knowledge that gleam from every page.

In the first place delusions are of very frequent occurrence in the insane. In the Danvers State Hospital's symptom catalogue, which Southard had provoked (51), no less than 5,000 of the 17,000 cases that had been analyzed, had delusions, "definite enough to permit being recorded in the case history" (118). "The

psychiatric literature of delusions . . . is a little barren," and based . . . "on categories borrowed from Herbart or Wundt." Delusions had been largely neglected by psychologists and logicians—even the revered William James deals with them summarily on a "rationalistic, nay sensationalistic" basis. In so far as somatic delusions are concerned, this sensationalistic concept of James is quite startlingly verified at times (49, 63), for it was found that "theories that patients invent to account for abnormal bodily sensations" might be curiously paralleled by a corresponding lesion of the body outside the central nervous system. For example, a delusion of having been stabbed in the side might be found to be related to a chronic pleurisy; a "stomach full' sensation might also have an anatomical basis. When, however, the delusions are "allopsychic," that is to say, referable to sources outside the body, no such morphological source is evident (65), or as later stated (67): "The deluded patient is more apt to divine correctly the diseases of the body than his devilment by society."

In addition to the somatic delusions and delusions concerning environment (allopsychic), there are delusions of the personality (101). Such autopsychic delusions are found to be either pleasant or unpleasant in nature. The latter variety bore a close relationship to disease of the kidneys. It should be noted that although Southard had made preliminary search for a morphological change in the brain that might be correlated with delusions (29), or bacterial toxins that might give rise to them (49), most of his studies to this point were concerned with delusions in patients whose brain showed no marked structural alteration. He then changed his method of attack abruptly to consideration of delusions in those patients with more obvious brain lesions, namely, to those suffering from general paresis (75, 119). The more marked the lesions of the frontal lobes were in these cases, he found, the greater the likelihood of delusions. But—"Delusions have the ring of consciousness, of cognition, of ideas"—and one would expect to find such qualities elsewhere than in the frontal lobes, namely, in what is probably the sensorium of the brain. There are, however, delusions characterized by over-imagination, or "hyperphantasia," that seem associated with the lower lying parietal regions of the brain. So much then, with a bewildering

array of source information and logic, for a preliminary skirmish in examining delusions from a morphological and psychopathological angle.

Then came another abrupt change of front in an attempt to gain deeper comprehension "by comparing the facts of one science with the classification and nomenclature of an older science." Such studies had been for years the method of the logical seminary of Royce, in whose honor Southard presented in 1915 the paper (118) entitled, "On the Application of Grammatical Categories to the Analysis of Delusions." The main suggestions therein designated were elaborated in two subsequent papers (121, 149).

Although Southard claimed no specialist's knowledge of the theory of grammar, his historical resumé of the subject is, to the uninitiated, impressive. Whereas thought and language are obviously akin, there is little evidence that psychology and linguistics have profited from one another. And again, "The development of aphasia doctrines and cognate matters in psychiatry has not considered to any extent the development of philology." Southard, "finding that many if not the majority of delusions are not perverted ideas so much as perversions of the believing process," concluded that the grammar of verbs would give better comparative results than any other data of linguistics. There had long been a controversy in this latter science concerning the true nature of the subjunctive and optative moods (or as he elsewhere states, better, "modes"). The subjunctive was regarded as a mood of will, the optative as a mood of wish. Much has been made in psychopathology of the term "wish."

But before considering these suggestive analogies, it was necessary to examine more fundamental relationships. There is, for example, a certain relation between the "modalities of logic and the so-called modes of grammar." Thus, the concept "contingent" of logic is close to the concept "subjunctive"; "possible," to "optative"; "necessary" is not far from "imperative"; and certain relations between the logical concept "impossible" and the "indicative" mood can be drawn.

One of the great desires of psychiatry is to get at the "psychic interior of the patient." Southard later pointed out the impor-

tance of, and the means of realizing this end through an "Empathic index" (149). Meanwhile what is manifest to the patient can be distinguished from what is manifest to us *in* the patient and it can be approached by the method of considering grammatical categories. First of all, it may be asked if the patient views himself as in the "active," the "passive," or the "middle" (reflexive) voice? This is relatively easy to determine by appropriate questions. "In practice a given delusional phase in a patient is commonly well enough characterizable by a word as active (e. g., certain states of delusional grandeur), as passive (e. g., certain states of delusional persecution), or as reflexive (e. g., certain states of self-accusation) . . . The point is not to identify grammatical voice with a type of delusional situation, but to borrow from grammatical categories a classification suitable for delusional situations." For Southard, the attitude of "activity" or "passivity" was perhaps the most fundamental thing in the life of an individual. "I am increasingly convinced that all the aspects of human existence, perhaps all existence, can be expressed in terms reduced in essence to active and passive."[24]

To follow further the grammatical analysis of delusions, "It is important to know who inhabits the universe of the patient's false beliefs, how many persons are involved . . . what the sex of those persons is, and when (tense), and for how long, the event is thought to have occurred." These are all matters of the usual medical history-taking.

In considering the question of moods, Southard formulated a notion of the "layered development of moods," which was not only recalled to his mind by geologic strata, but represents the developments of language and of peoples. A diagram of this relationship that he conceived is:

SUBJUNCTIVE OPTATIVE

INDICATIVE

IMPERATIVE

"The child of the savage may well start with those bare (language) stems that constitute the imperatives; upon the layer of imperatives may develop the matter-of-fact indicatives; and upon this plateau, the two eminences of the subjunctive and optative develop."

So much for grammatical categories, and their heuristic value in ordering concepts of delusions. Southard carried the analogy farther in discussing the classical temperaments, and surprisingly enough in classification of the forms of ecstasy, of which more later. He had in mind other forms of logical analysis by this fruitful method; as for example, the significance of language for the understanding of race psychology. "He expounded to me the psychological significance of the occurrence of a large number of moods and tenses in primitive language, where the tendency of grammar is to become more complex, whereas with the growth of civilization, languages tend to become simplified. He attributed the complexity of the languages of the lower plane of civilization to the fact that they lack the capacity to deal in abstractions, and have few words to describe abstract complexes."[25] But we must not lose sight of the fact that we are here concerned with Southard's approach to psychiatry.

FEEBLEMINDEDNESS

Southard's interest in the study of feeblemindedness originated in his work on the geographical distribution of insanity in Massachusetts (57) and in his work with Lucas on the mental deterioration that follows infantile encephalitis and congenital syphilis (55). He early became convinced that feeblemindedness was perhaps the greatest "practical" social problem that a state faces, that is to say, a problem for which there is a possible solution (82). The condition is, to an extent, preventable through detection and treatment of congenital syphilis and infantile encephalitis, and through eugenic control of assortive mating by transplantation of the feebleminded. Mental defectives, moreover, are within limits employable, particularly in work that to others is monotonous. Meanwhile, there seemed to be an astonishing lack of information on the physical side of feeblemindedness, which latter condition Southard took deliberate steps to remedy.

There had been no adequate inclusive designation for the successive grades of idiot, imbecile, moron, and the residual lesser grades of the mentally deficient. "Hypophrenia" was chosen by Southard, in spite of "a literature that is filled with

the wreckage" of nomenclature, as the precise Hellenic term that should be used (142) for the "feeblemindednesses." An exhaustive survey of the study of feeblemindedness persuaded our writer that relatively little convincing work had been done in correlating brain capacity with mental capacity in the various groups of deficiency. Not over a hundred cases in all had been completely studied. He proposed a still more complete study of fifty cases drawn largely from the unexampled material at the Massachusetts School for the Feeble Minded, at Waverly, and from other State hospitals. The work was begun under the auspices of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and of the projected fifty cases twenty were actually completed before he died. It exemplifies the pervasiveness and durability of Southard's research stimulus to know that another ten cases studied in the same fashion are now awaiting publication.[26] He would have liked, "to continue through a century of brains."[27]

These Waverly Researches were published in the form of five papers, in two installments, issued in 1918 and 1921 (138, 177). Although Dr. Walter E. Fernald served with Southard as joint editor, his active collaborators were Annie E. Taft, Myrtelle M. Canavan, and Oscar J. Raeder. The several articles are masterpieces of clinical and anatomical correlation with penetrating and extensive gross and microscopic details that are admirably illustrated.

No final conclusion was expected or offered as a result of this work. They were merely "orienting" studies, exhaustive as they appear. And yet, certain lines of advance emerge from them. In the first place the statement that, "a future psychiatry may be founded on a knowledge of feeblemindedness," would appear justified. Secondly, feeblemindedness "is not a problem of the brain alone but of pathology at large, and particularly the pathology of the endocrines." And, further, the exudative lesions encountered indicate an acute infectious origin in many instances, that is to some extent preventable. Finally, the series would indicate that there is a definite "correlation between measurable brain—and testable mind in the low and high orders."

How profoundly interested Southard was in this whole problem is best evidenced by his last grand prospectus of work,

which he wrote on the suggestion of Richard Cabot in August, 1919:

> I find Feeblemindedness always in my thoughts. I think I can do more important work on feeblemindedness than on anything else. The work seems to head up in speech and grammar. It would seem new mental tasks would accrue from a continuation and deepening of my present anatomo-clinical researches (more brain, more mind—less brain, less mind: this carried out into minutiae). I might be willing to spend my whole life on this problem, feeling that a knowledge of feeblemindedness would bring a knowledge of speech, a knowledge of speech would bring more knowledge of thought, and this the greatest deepening of philosophy of which I personally am capable. I would like to find the minimum brain machinery with which speech and thought processes get performed, and I hold that a proper medical, pedagogic, physiological, and anatomical study of feeblemindedness will bring this ideal about more quickly than any other single thing.

EPILEPSY

According to Alford (2), Southard's study of the problem of epilepsy, although limited, was most promising and stimulating. A survey of his papers on the subject (26, 27, 104, 139) shows the great care with which he analyzed this complex problem which had long taxed the ingenuity of investigators. Although changes in the finer brain structure may occur in many cases of epilepsy, there remain cases of true or idiopathic epilepsy in which the brain is apparently normal; and it is these which are best suited to reveal the inner mechanism of the disease process. Southard's proposed line of attack was to seek "tissues favorable to epileptic discharge," rather than pathological foci. He thought of an extrapyramidal form of hyperkinesia or increased irritability. This concept, according to Alford (2), agrees remarkably with present-day concepts of the disease. Although Southard did little more than outline an approach to the problem, the new "radii of attack" that he suggested to his collaborators, as for example, the study of the hereditary seizures in guinea pigs

originally described by Brown-Séquard, were enough to justify the effort he spent in this field.

One of the reasons why he was eager to serve on the Eugenics Records Board and the American Breeders Association with C. B. Davenport and others, was to deal not only with Heredity in Insanity in general but particularly on its relation to Epilepsy. He was impressed with the facts that "many psychiatrists were using Mendelian inheritance in too glib a fashion."[28]

ANAPHYLAXIS

It is interesting to trace how Southard's whole-souled cooperation with a fellow investigator, given with no thought of personal return, became for him—"news of the central nervous system." On assuming for a year (1906-07) the post of bacteriologist at the Danvers Insane Hospital laboratory of which Southard was director, I was given every freedom to pursue my own lines of investigation in bacteriology and immunity. There seemed no logical reason why my desire to undertake a study of the then novel phenomenon of intoxication in the guinea pig that follows a second dose of foreign serum, should be a particularly suitable approach to any phase of insanity (24, 30, 41). This intoxication is, to be sure, characterized by violent nervous symptoms which usually end fatally. This was enough to attract Ernest's interest, and was followed by a true burst of enthusiasm when it was discovered that the cyclonic symptoms, which in fatal instances require only a few minutes for their completion, are accompanied by characteristic lesions in the nature of an immobilization of the lung (referred to by us as "emphysema"), and scattered hemorrhages. From that moment Southard was as full and hearty a collaborator as ever a young immunologist could wish; through his skill as a neuropathologist it was found that underlying the hemorrhages was a fatty change in the capillary endothelium and elsewhere. This change resembled a so-called "chronic" lesion that had been noted for years in heart muscle, and yet it had been produced in our guinea pigs in a matter of minutes! Here, indeed, was a demonstration of the relation of structure to function that was startling. Typical antibodies could not be demonstrated in those animals that were

subject to anaphylactic shock. A logical hypothesis was needed to explain the nature of hypersensitivity in the light of our own experiences, and Southard, the logician, was there to convince me as to the heuristic value of a dualistic hypothesis. For many years the suggestion of Gay and Southard that the particular protein moiety in horse serum that gives rise to sensitization in the guinea pig is different from the one that leads to its intoxication on second injection, met with little confirmation; it has only recently received unexpected corroboration. The dualistic hypothesis remained a fruitful suggestion in planning further experiments, and I shall never forget its serious discussion in Professor Royce's seminary.

The preliminary work on the immunological mechanism of anaphylaxis, led to work in collaboration with Fitzgerald (41), on its neurophysiological phases, which also have been studied anew in recent years.

BACTERIA AND MENTAL DISEASE

Another combined utilization of the Danvers material (50), consisted in a careful comparative study of bacteria found at autopsy in the blood and in the cerebrospinal fluid, which proved of interest to the neuropathologist as well as to the systematic bacteriologist. It seemed indicated by this investigation that bacteria found post mortem in these fluids, particularly members of the colon bacillus group, are related to ante mortem terminal infections rather than to post mortem invasion. To Southard these findings were linked with his earliest studies of bacterial encephalitis (31, 48, 49), and also with his beginning conception of a brain softening that was due to an infection in the late stages of chronic brain disease (25). This led to more extensive investigations with Dr. Canavan (53, 60, 72, 95) on the precise route that bacteria might take in invading the central nervous system from the intestinal canal, and gave a concrete basis for the somewhat mythical condition that had been known as "auto-intoxication." And again the direct relationship that Gay and Southard had noted between bacterial invasion of the central nervous system and the brain softening, denominated "encephalomala-

cia," led to studies on focal lesions, or "stigmata," in the cortex of the brain (35, 93).

It should be repeated that in these and many other series of investigations that Southard undertook, he was not reaching for definitive conclusions, but simply outlining novel methods of approach. He was forever "starting things," and he has been accused of not finishing them; but the studies that he undertook could not in their nature be terminated in a life-time. In fact: "He told me once 'There are lots of people who can finish things; the job is to find someone to start things.' "[29] In spite of the unexampled wealth of material that was at his disposal he was never able to accumulate statistical masses that could fully convince. Single cases or small groups of cases were meticulously studied and skilfully, although perhaps over-enthusiastically, presented. "And realizing the unlikelihood of any great discovery that would reveal all, the method he adopted was an orderly step-by-step advance through the utilization of logic and available small indications gathered either from the literature or from his own contributions. Hence the great number of possibilities tested out and the peculiar construction of his own papers with their innumerable statistical summaries, cross comparisons, discriminating evaluations of the literature, excursions into logic, and their extended final summaries and conclusions which were sometimes almost as long as the papers themselves. He thought aloud in his papers—for which we may now be thankful."[30]

SHELL SHOCK

I have elsewhere briefly mentioned the first phase of Southard's service in the Great War, which consisted "in giving brush up instruction" at the Psychopathic Hospital to officers assigned thereto by the Neuropsychiatric Division of the Surgeon General's Office. The first essential in such instruction lay in acquiring information about those psychoneurotic individuals suffering from that distinctively war disease known as "Shell Shock." There was little more than a discouraging and growing mass of case reports in the medical journals of the belligerent countries to indicate precisely what was meant by the indefinite though picturesque term that had been employed. Early in 1918, South-

ard plunged into this literary chaos, and within a year brought about a system of order in the shape of a huge monograph entitled, "Shell Shock and Neuropsychiatry" (154), based on the study of 589 reported cases in respect to their nature and causes, their differential diagnosis, and their treatment. It appears that "surrounding the problem of shell shock means surrounding the problem of nervous and mental diseases as a whole" (143). How far this treatise of Southard's succeeded in this gigantic task is best appreciated by D. J. McCarthy[31] who in his review of the book says: "Every student of neurology, of psychiatry, of internal medicine—everyone who has written a book, or purposes writing a book in the field of medicine, should not only read, but read carefully and digest, everyone of the 900 pages of this book. To the specialist in nervous and mental diseases, few books in this generation have been published, which are as stimulating to new thoughts in a 'decadent subject' as this. In addition, it is a new type of reference book.

"To the medical author, accustomed to a stilted form of presentation, this offers a refreshing method of combined digest with conclusions colored by the experience and mature thought of the author."

THE OPTIC THALAMUS AND HYPERKINESIS BY DEFECT

Of Southard's many contributions"his theory of 'hyperkinesis* by defect' is . . . I believe greatest, because in it lies the nucleus of work which will ultimately unite psychiatry and general medicine as one and inseparable. Not only that, but I believe that a thorough working out of this theory will go far towards explaining how mental symptoms are related to the pathological processes, a thing not yet accomplished in any branch of medicine . . . This theory alone to be worked out in the details, may require the entire life of several capable scientists."[32]

To paraphrase Alford (2) again: To Southard gliotic changes or mere cell losses in the cortex were "nothing but indicators that something or other is going forward in the injured tissues," and he turned his attention to underlying structures, particularly to the optic thalamus (85). In all but one of twenty-five cases from the Danvers series that had diffuse chronic thalamic lesions

there was mania or at least hyperactivity (hyperkinesis). This correlation could not, it seemed, be accidental, particularly in view of the fact that in two hundred and sixty-one control cases with normal looking brains only sixty-four per cent had hyperkinesis. Although he planned an extensive study of this organ, only one fully corroborated study on dementia praecox by Dr. Morse actually appeared. The basal nuclei still remain as he left them—an open field for research.

SCHIZOPHRENIA OR DEMENTIA PRAECOX

In contradistinction to the study of the feeblemindednesses, which to him represented a relatively simple and soluble problem, Southard's *magnum opus* in psychiatry was the still baffling but important symptom complex known as Dementia Praecox or better Schizophrenia (159). It was not, in his opinion, even certain that this aggregation of symptoms really represented a disease entity. Still less was, or is, there agreement as to the essential genesis or nature of the process. In the thirteen publications,[33] bearing more or less directly on this disease, and representing studies that extended over the last fourteen years of his life, Southard would seem most fully to have demonstrated both philosophical and scientific power.

Starting with a masterly review (54) of the "Schism," that had led students to take sides concerning the genesis of dementia praecox, on the one hand, as of purely functional (psychogenic) origin, or, on the other, as organic in nature, Southard proposed a new topographical approach to the disease, without prejudice, but with an admitted preconception that the brain in schizophrenia would be found free from lesions. Surprisingly enough after he had removed from a larger series those cases with extraneous gross lesions, he found in the 28 that remained 24, or 86%, that had focal atrophies, aplasias, or scleroses in certain definite areas of the brain. This first study was based largely on differences that could be appreciated by careful digital examination of the fresh brain and was later fully confirmed and extended by microscopic study. These lesions, Southard is careful to explain (56), "are neither primary nor secondary but coincident. They permit or purvey the symptoms and signs of dementia praecox."

Here again is discerned Southard's continued interactionistic attempt to relate structure to, rather than to separate structure from, function, as do "the psychic unitarians." Indeed, in this study the particular localization of lesions was found to be closely related to the type of symptoms present; thus, patients with predominatingly paranoid symptoms had lesions in the pre-Rolandic regions, whereas those with catatonia had lesions in the post-Rolandic region of the cerebrum, or in the cerebellum.

Southard then began not only to extend his series of cases but to control his structural findings in every possible way. He started his search for apparently normal brains, both in dementia praecox and in other diseases as well, such as senile dementia, in which structural changes are admitted (64). Such brains were found, but on microscopic examination usually showed minute lesions.

When the cases of schizophrenia were extended to fifty, practically the same percentage of them were found to have lesions either in the gross or microscopically. As a further control, a series of cases of manic depressive insanity (92), a more curable disease than dementia praecox but the one most frequently confused with it, exhibited lesions in only twenty per cent of instances.

On considering still further the localizing interrelationship of structure and function, Southard (93) inquired why the difference between the two cases (dementia praecox and manic depressive insanity) was not even more open and shut, and concluded simply that neither the clinical nor anatomical analysis is perfect. He then pushed on to a finer analysis of the structural changes involved in various diseases by a method which he calls "cell decomplication," or in other words, by an attempt at a pathological classification of nerve cells in terms of their survival value (105). In dementia praecox the parenchymatous (neuronic) and interstitial (neuroglia) changes may be dissociated or combined . . . and the former are out of proportion to the latter, particularly as compared with manic depressive insanity (116).

But the focality of lesions in schizophrenia is not confined to different areas of the brain surface, but is variously distributed stratigraphically in the layers of the cortex (125); and here again

the levels involved correspond to differences in symptoms. Thus the personality dissociation so characteristic of the disease, was related to a supracortical disorder; whereas hallucinations and catatonia suggest an infracortical localization. All this "micro-localization" of symptoms is in the line of identifying insanity in its various forms as in reality a "brain disease," a barren assertion unless that particular part of the brain involved is in each instance specified.

Tuberculosis is quite common in dementia praecox and for that reason Southard thought it necessary to consider whether any causal relationship between the two processes was involved. With Canavan (140) he found that the mental symptoms in 403 cases, some with and some without tuberculosis, varied little.

"Southard's conclusion concerning dementia praecox was that it is in some sense structural. Manic depressive he regarded as more likely a metabolic disturbance."[34] More fundamental still is his effort here, as in other conditions, to relate structural changes to functional or symptomatic disturbance.

No one could expect that the final word in relating structure to function should follow so soon after Southard's attempt as a correlator to orient the discussion, but it is perhaps strange that more additional instances of such interrelationship should not have been acquired. Instead the deadly parallelism, or, in reality, division, between organicists and functionalists still persists in the study of mental disease.

It is, however, surprising that so simple a matter as finally determining the presence or absence of lesions in dementia praecox should not have been reached. Inspection of the current textbooks in neuropathology yields no definite conclusion in the matter. Cheney some years ago attempted, in a review, to refute Southard's gross findings, but his article rests on the descriptions of others, and is based on the examination of brains that had been fixed in, and distorted by, formalin. The mere denial of a superior "digital deftness" on Southard's part is scarcely sufficient to disprove it. On the other hand, Southard's microscopic findings are fully confirmed in the later report of Josephy, who likewise examined fifty cases of the disease and came to almost identical conclusions.

Finally it may be felt that the fundamental nature of Southard's contribution to psychiatry is largely, as yet, unappreciated. It was fundamental not only in respect to the definite facts that he determined but because he brought a new order of reasoning into a tremendously obscure field of observational science. "A master of tentative reasoning, he suggested much but reached a final conclusion only rarely . . . we may suspect that he had a higher order of thinking concerning the whole subject of mental disorder,"[35] and this was due in no small part to the fact that: "He was able to gather and associate information from vastly different fields of thought."[36]

Chapter Fifteen

"Artistic Appreciation as a Form of Ecstasy"

It is said of William James that—"While he wrote at length about religious experiences, he shrank from any account of aesthetic experiences . . . he had the aesthetic experience and borrowed the religious."[1] It is interesting to find that this disciple, whose life span was shorter, and whose fidelity to laboratory science was greater, should have ventured on a more complete analysis of emotional life than the master. In an unpublished essay that was presented before the Charaka Club in New York, in 1919, Southard gives his conception of the forms of "Ecstasy," a happily chosen term that best depicts the greater emotional experiences of life.[2] According to our author, the forms of ecstasy are best considered as comprising four species. This "ecstatic tetrad" profits by comparison with other similar categories. "It is far more than a bit of pretty mysticism to ascribe unusual logical values to the number four."[3] These "holy tetractys," having existed since the time of Pythagoras, were again employed in Francis Bacon's four "Idols," and . . . "represent a double dichotomy." Dichotomy is the origin of contrast, the division of "this" from "that," and from four, as a higher power of duality, can be derived an infinite number of combinations.

"Perhaps the differentia between the lower and the higher races lodges in this capacity—not to stop with a single division of 'this' and 'that' but to push on to the double dichotomy."

There are also four "Ecstasies of Experience": Religion, Love, Invention, and Artistic Accomplishment. They may be correlated for their better understanding, as were delusions,[4] with the modalities of logic, and with grammatical moods:

Modalities of Logic	*Modes of Grammar*	*Ecstasies of Experience*
Necessary	Imperative	Religious
Impossible	Indicative	Amorous
Contingent	Subjunctive	Inventive
Possible	Optative	Artistic

It would take us too far afield to offer the reasons for these parallels as Southard explains them. Their logical comparison is for the most part cogent and obvious, but again, as when tracing a relationship of "love" to "indicative" and "impossible," it is distinctly difficult or even strained, as he freely confesses.

He discusses in this article only the form of ecstasy designated as "Artistic Experience," in any detail and refers thereby to the viewpoint of the "art producer" rather than the art appreciator or critic. Inventive and Artistic experiences are rarer than are those of religion and love. In fact, in the parallel categories listed above, the more primitive and more frequent (i. e., Imperative) emotion tops the list. May not artistic experience be approached by the pathological method as were religions, delusions, temperaments, and diseases of the nervous system? Might one not, for example, begin analysis with "Cubism" or with "Free Verse," in understanding the creative instinct in art or in literature? Although Southard raises these questions of technique, and speculates on the close relationship of art to love and religion, he leaves further analysis of artistic experience to others.

And what had lured Southard into this apparently alien field of thought? We may feel certain that it was not simply from the delight that, for him, lay in the formulation of logical categories. It represented, indeed, an orderly expression of interest in the wide field of release that had always beckoned to him. We have seen throught this sketch of Southard's life how often and in

how many ways verbal qualities and literary expression appealed to him. His style in scientific articles was always colored with a true literary and emotional quality. In his school and college years his artistic expression mainly took the form of versification and in the last turbulent year of his life he experimented widely in free verse with joy and enthusiasm. He had early expressed himself, and more than does the average gifted youth, in story-writing, during the college years, and later ventured on thumb-nail sketches of the psychopathic temperaments.

We have elsewhere discussed Southard's firm belief in an approach to an understanding of normal brain, mind, temperament, will, emotion, genius, social relationship, and art, through study of the abnormal. It was only a step further to decide that literature could be enlightened in a similar manner. Among his notes we find:

Suggestions for a series of psychopathic short stories or tales. Idea worked out as a result of wish to make literary reaction on the Psychopathic Hospital material.

Considerable conversation with Walter C. Arensberg about a new technique of short story writing. Said technique to follow method of medical case histories, omitting most of the scientific and laboratory data and re-casting the whole somewhat on the lines of Russian short stories; for example, those of Artzybashev.

They should have a certain suggestion of oriental origin with a suspicion of the *Arabian Nights*. The principle title formation to correspond to that of *Ivanhoe* as described by Walter Scott.

These tales should be non-sentimental. If they are to be used for propaganda, they should, nevertheless, be divorced from any such effect.

According to Artzybashev, either every fact should be worked over into something different and symbolic of the original fact, or else the story should be naturalistic.

In the latter part of 1916, therefore, he wrote a group of "novelettes" with such engaging titles as: "Din-Din and the Yeast Cake"; "Peter's Pyre"; "Dimple's Coif"; "Kill-Joy Kate"; and "Phoenix and the Four Wisps."

The stories are singularly disappointing as stories. "There are too many side lines of thought to promote the narrative to best advantage."[5] They are almost exclusively accounts of feeble-minded individuals and outline the presumed predisposing events which finally bring them into the hands of some legal agency. In graphic turn of phrase and with condoning tolerance they reflect their author. The prescribed oriental color is there, too, to a degree, but one is not surprised that this particular form of intellectual activity was not continued beyond a few months.

Although there had always been a great catholicity in his choice of friendships, Southard had for many years a strong feeling of interest in artists and literary men and women. The focal point of his association with this group was found in the coterie that Walter Arensberg had gathered about him in New York. Thither Ernest repaired on every possible opportunity, and the memories that we have gleaned from among the friends that he made there are no less vivid than are those from his professional associates. And it is evident from their expressions how much he meant to them in the role both of mentor and of friend.

He used to see, when he visited us in New York, Marcel Duchamp, who was one of the two or three greatest painters of the Cubist school, Francis Picabia, the Cubist painter and one of the fathers of the Dada movement, Charles Sheeler, possibly the most distinguished of contemporary American painters, Donald Evans, author of "Sonnets from the Patagonian," Sophia Treadwell, the dramatist whose play "Machinal" has been given for some years in New York, London, Berlin, and Moscow. I remember how helpful Ernest was to Miss Treadwell in connection with her play on Poe,[6] helping to shape her characterization so as to account for his drunkenness, not as a result of very heavy drinking but of extreme intolerance of alcohol . . . I myself was enormously indebted to Ernest for the opportunity of discussing with him some of my ideas about "The Divine Comedy" on which I was publishing a book at that time. It was in the course of these discussions that he developed some of his own ideas about the structure and title of the kingdoms of evil as paralleling the Inferno.[7]

In August, 1919, Arensberg had questioned Southard concerning the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas, and his reply is evidence both of his erudition and of his friendly devotion:

I have been working a little on the so-called Biblical Psychology and append the titles of three books that seem to have something to do with our problem. I have one report to the effect that the Roman Catholic view now is that the soul and the spirit are identical. Whether this is for every-day use and whether the theologians fail to make the distinction in larger works of the church, I do not know. It occurs to me that the concept of spirit may correspond more with Dante's Anagogical and the soul more with Dante's Moral type of symbolism. There is also a good deal in the literature about the logos which in the New Testament appears to occur only in the gospel of St. John and once in the book of Revelations. I think you will get most from the book of Delitzsch which seems extraordinarily well written and thought out. I send you a copy of Section VI of Book II, a section on the Difference of Sex, in biblical psychology. I have scratched in the Hebrew characters so that I doubt whether anybody on the East Side could read them, but they are really put in 'for completeness' as you might say. Anyhow it is curious how much shifting from dualistic to triatic conceptions one finds in these works, with occasional tendencies to a fourfold distinction . . . I am much bothered about the soul and the spirit but somehow think that a good deal of the Dante can be explained on these lines. I will take Sheldon's book on Strife of Systems and Productive Duality with me to Smith College today and alternate reading it with conversation with Edith (Spaulding). Between the two of them, I may find something about Thomas Aquinas suitable for your purposes.

To this letter was appended a list of books.

We shall never know precisely what Ernest Southard told the Society of Independent Artists when he addressed them at their first annual meeting in 1917, on the topic "Are Cubists Insane?" Memories of a thought-compelling and witty address remain with some who heard his remarks:

It wasn't at all his idea to imply that Cubists were insane. He

selected this title, I suppose, as a sort of teaser. What he proposed to show was a parallel between certain types of modern painting and certain psychopathic types as corresponding, *in extremis,* to certain normal types. Thus he classified Marcel Duchamp as belonging to the schizophrenic group.[8]

At all events his approach to this debatable field may be reconstructed from his preparatory notes which must have been accumulating for some time. In arriving at his final conception of an "Ecstatic Tetrad" of human emotions, a particular psychopathic portal of entry to an understanding of that subdivision known as "Artistic Experience," lies in Cubism. It is probable that "Original Cubists (are), perhaps, in high proportion psychopathic." Among the Psychopathic novelettes is one entitled, "Mlle. de l'Escalier"[9] in which Southard debates with "Marcel" (Duchamp) the rationale of his famous painting. Beauty or aesthetics "is the science of sensuous knowledge"; and the qualities of beauty, as given by Cicero, Plato, Vitruvius, and many others down to Rosenkranz, Hartman, and Bosanquet, are found written in the columns of Southard's yellow note-sheets.

But an understanding of beauty may also be arrived at by a study of its opposite, ugliness. (There is a full page of beauty adjectives,"attractive,enchanting,dapper,elegant,in full bloom," and dozens more; and of their opposites, "awkward, gawky, gaunt, unsightly," and the like.) At all events Cubism represents the approach to beauty through ugliness. Aristotle and Plutarch admitted the ugly in painting. To Plotinus the ugly was irrational; but for Augustine the ugly only enhances beauty. The fact that Hogarth took pains to explain the "principles of beauty," may likewise be contrasted with his fame in caricature.

Somewhere in his address to artists, Southard may have linked up his views on grammatical categories, for he had written out in parallel the characteristics of Cubism with the various moods of verbs. It seems certain that he touched on the Kingdom of Evils as an approach to the better life. But at all events the main lesson that could be drawn from the text must have been that through the more or less abnormal in Art (cubism), whether insane or merely psychopathic, true beauty may arrive.

The basis on which Southard created his conception of the nature of artistic experience is well expressed in a letter to me by Charles Sheeler. It is likewise evident from the excerpts I have chosen that Southard inevitably became more than a friendly and formulating critic:

> I met him a number of times at Walter Arensberg's; we talked, or rather he talked; it was my opportunity to learn. We had only made a beginning, like warming up the motor. I felt that I would have a larger space in which to live if his sudden passing had not brought the promise to a close.
>
> We talked on several occasions of a personal problem which was proving devastating to me. He told me that no change could come about until I transferred myself from the passive to the active voice. It was the answer, and continues to be valuable advice.
>
> I was photographing considerably then. Photographs in which I was concerned with the selection or assembling of forms which in combination gave me pleasure. It was uncanny the way in which he read those prints as road maps of one's life. It was also the cause of considerable controversy in regard to pictures in general . . .
>
> On another occasion in looking at photographs we found they were not as satisfying when the image was reversed. This led him to believe that the eye travels from left to right from custom in reading. The validity of the idea, I believe, is questionable, certainly unproved. Perhaps it needed him to authenticate it.

However sympathetic the spectator may be, artistic experience is essentially the experience of the artistic creator. And Southard was drawn to his analysis particularly through his participation in one form of artistic expression—versification. During the last seven months of his life he again cultivated the poetic muse assiduously. Stimulated no doubt by his companions of release, the writers, sculptors, and painters, to whom I have referred, he experimented extensively in free verse. And, be it recalled, he had classified "free verse" as the exaggerated, or even the pathological, expression of orthodox poetry. Furthermore

poetry in itself, to the Philistine, is a pathological expression of emotion. Certainly to Southard the so-called abnormal in art bore no stigma although it offered a route of approach to ecstasy.

Southard's later versification was built on years of appreciation and expression, in more conventional form, of the beauties of word and phrase. Did his lifelong devotion to etymology and philology represent purely an intellectual pastime? Was he "unable to perceive (*and share in*) the aesthetic intent"[10] of the creative arts? This I must leave to be examined by others more competent than myself. At all events Southard took free verse seriously as is evidenced by the successive copies of a given poem in his own handwriting that he carried about with him on his numerous trips, to the moment of his death, in a manila folder labeled "F.V." (Free Verse). He sought for and accepted criticism from recognized poets. The obvious emotional quality of many of the poems indicates that they were at least experienced as a form of ecstasy whatever his own competence may have been.

As examples of Southard's last experimentation in poetry we offer the following:

SHOULDERS

Shoulders interest, that is, the shoulders of almost all women.
They interest one in starlight against shrouds coming toward
Hell Gate.
Again shoulders prove of interest in a slice of moonlight.
And you look critically to learn over which shoulder.
But really we should always think of the two shoulders.
We should apperceive or interpret the two shoulders together.
You might perceive either.
And you might conceive each.
But I like both and I love apperception, that is, the process
(not the term)
Dualism persists anyhow.
Shoulders persist and are amiable in any light and in hardly any at all.
Shoulders sprout wing-tips, small, more or less like curled
magnolia petals.
These wing-tips are not even symbols.
For nerves, magnolia-tinted too, run from these divine
wing-bases to the spinal cord

Thence God know whither!
I know a woman without angelic rootlets or anything alar at all
There is nothing angelic, verifiable even by X-ray, on either shoulder.
Yet this woman has on her two shoulders, as the French say,
two other things.
This woman is a little paranoiac.
She has, imbedded in her two shoulders, TWO FLINTS.
These two flints are the color of flint.
They are not any hue of magnolia.
They are in some lights rather like a first lieutenant's bars.
But, when this woman is ashy-pale with her Me as universe, then—
You can scarcely make out her insignia at all.
You do not even desire to palpate or X-ray a woman whose Me
is a universe.
To these two flints no one brings steel, as no one wants fire
from this woman, or any part of her.
Spontaneous combustion is predicted.
You might think of these eminences as not so bad.
They might (unlike a lieutenant's bars and unlike anything
military) serve to keep in perfect adaptation,
coaptation,
The straps of lace-things.
Perhaps.
But I regard these flinty eminences as bad.
Whence did come the chips on the two shoulders?
They do remind me of Arizona.
But I do not incriminate even a petrified forest.
Though paranoia is rather like one.

THE STAR TEMPLE

Do not wonder, dearest, how I knew!
God does nothing superfluous.
Besides he has the Devil for that.
The Devil's chief concern and stumbling-block of hoofs
is this very business of reincarnation.
He keeps looking into the card-catalogue of heaven
for my name, and that other man's name, and
even (insolent wretch!) for your name.

I knew that you were you
just as I always know that A is A.
You may learn that A is A in any logic book.
But you may not learn that
reincarnation lies between those A's in
the midst of that little IS.
Now the very point about A-IS-A
(and how different the IS *makes the first A*
and PERHAPS *the second A) is just*
This reincarnation thing.
You were you in the Nile place,
in the place where Sphinx
blinds herself ever eastwards,
where Horus of the two horizons
And Hathor opposite him
Keep watch with the river
Over all the points of the compass,
And where the eternal asp
seeking the perpetual breast
of infinite Cleopatra
boxes all the compass round
In a vain search for unbitten flesh.

Mine was the temple then of a certain star,
The star of the one compass-point,
The fixed star of you.

Perhaps I was the priest of that star temple
And made my sacrifice to that star
upon that star's particular hour,
watching, watching.
Through all the doors and floors and windows
and ceilings,
Through the fairway,
The fairway fashioned for that star
and for no other star.

I have no temple now.
But I have a fairway in my mind.
And I know when to make a sacrifice.

Yet the earth ball shifts in the centuries
And the fairway can lose its starlight
And the temple its sacrifice.
Is that why, dearest one, a certain light abstains,
A certain fairway darkens,
And you look not with favor upon me?
Is it the earth's axis?
Or is it that other man,—my rival?

THE MORDANT

The first kiss knew naught of her, naught
And if the first century of kisses
kenned or thought to ken a bit of her,
'Twas just kenning as of children
And not witting as of men.
But then
God helped me in a dream,
A dream as brief as deep.
A rug unwinding was she,
Unwinding out of God,
There was warp and woof of her,
And a close weave,
And a white, white weave,
And angels pouring out of time and space
Colors in lines.
But all the essence of space and time,
And all the hues and curves,
All would have gone for naught,
Naught like the kisses,—
Save for some proud quality of me,
God gave,
A something between,
Between the rug unwinding
And the angels pouring.
Rug of God is she, unwinding,
Colors of Him the angels pour,
Am I of God also,
I mordant in dream?

In quite different and humorous vein is the following:

CHEESES

I shall soon release a new work,
Entitled, LITTLE JOURNEYS TO THE HOMES OF GREAT CHEESES.
There may be reminiscences in the new work,
Maybe of Elbert Hubbard and of Hezekiah Butterworth,
Maybe of the Rollo Books.
But I should really like to make these journeys,
Leaving East Aurora forever,
Zigzagging from bacteriologist to bacteriologist,
Seeing how cheeses, like epics, can be as
well MADE IN AMERICA *as in foreign parts.*
What are your epical preferences when it comes
to cheeses?
Do you acknowledge a secret fondness for cheese American?
You must like rarebits.
If not, you may still like to make rarebits for others.
There is extraordinary altruism RE *cheeses.*
But do you not feel sometimes like getting away
from the Americans?
I feel that a GREAT LEAGUE OF CHEESES *could be*
established.
Of course by Americans as a central political
group.
We could hold the first meeting of Cheese-Leaguers
in Cheshire.
Cheshire as well known for its purely dynamic
cat as for cheeses.
An organization meeting could be held at a house
worthy of our well-rounded purposes, VIDELICET,
NUMBER TWO WISHING STEPS, CITY WALL, CHESTER.
There could be a cat there which merely wished
to grin.

Or we could hold our meeting in more or less
neutral Holland.
I would vote for Alcmaar.

Oh! immortal flood of cheeses, like the brains
of idiots (or rather more differentiated), dropping
discrete but continuous,
Dropping on cushions,
Bouncing uniformly.
Into the illimitable hold
Of a bunty canal boat.
Or then Gruyère.
Switzerland seems to be neutral,
Not because of any ancient empire,
But because of that tested reagent of all tastes,
The innkeeper, implacable, itinerant, sometimes Zwinglian,
or Calvinistic.
There are also in Gruyère some homologies
with the brains of some idiots.
But I will not tell all in my mind.
Either about cheeses or about journeys or about
the Great Cheese-League.
The League has, I must say, a great object
That of making all cheeses alike.
Not alike merely, but almost identical.
This could be done by bacteriology.
It would tend to make cheese-eaters alike
or almost identical
It would restore the reign of Ricardo,
And the Economic Man
Would it not simplify politics if all voters
were of one cheese-tissue,
All cartwheels efficiently made of casein by-products?

And quite definitely referring to other preoccupations:

RHYMES

Let us analyze rhymes as a form of evil.
(This is however no sort of propaganda:
even if rhymes are a form of evil,
our inquiry is purely objective.)
Are rhymes a sort of epileptic repetition?

Are they a sort of circular insanity?
Are rhymes an error regularly
squeezed out of that portion of clay
called the nervous system?
Perhaps even by some old law of
summation of stimuli?
Or, thirdly, are rhymes a moral evil,
a compound of original sin and venial?
Again, are rhymes legal infractions
by people who perhaps know how
to love and to live, but are oversystematic?
Are rhymes just crimes?
Crimes of poets fixed in adolescence?
Now a fifth form of evil in the
great world is—
Not disease, error, sin or crime, but—
Just poverty and all sorts of
resourcelessness.
Some rhymes are surely a reflex of poverty.

Of course even vers-librists may be poor.
Rhymes would doubtless earn more
money or smiles, if smiles you prefer.
More than very liberal behavior on
the part of real poets.
But I dare not speak of poets.
I confine my scope to nice behaviorists
(You have heard of these in
psychology, one of those PARVENU
sciences).
My contribution to the theory of rhymes
is by analogy
Rhymes are not diseases,
Not a poverty.
Not any sort of evil.
Rhymes are nimious!
Or, following Aristotle, we may say
Rhymes are a form of defect by excess.
From studies in behavior,

Extensive investigations though superficial,
It may now be released:
There should be no prohibition,
Or inhibition,
Of rhymes.
Rhymes in fine are like kisses.
Nice behaviorists use them IN EXTREMIS.

There are at least ten more, the titles of which may prove intriguing. They contain each of them bits of wisdom, of personal philosophy, of erudition, and of word coloring: "Turban" (Being a Review of Woods' Yoga-System of Pantanjali); "Elm and Fountain," and paired with it are rhymed verses "to a sweetheart who would be a fountain"; "The Tomb"; "Pan Inquisitive" (originally "Pan and the Nubbin"); "Surgeons and Prima Donnas" ("A prima donna feels— A surgeon does—You and I have to think"); "The Wedding"; "On the Utility of Classics"; "The Wire Chief"; and one untitled.

Others may, if they choose, decide whether the verse experiments of Southard's are a contribution to poetry or merely clever adaptation of an over-intellectuality. Let us hope that I have chosen the best for first appearance. My interest in the matter lies in his wish for self-expression, and his indulgence in this particular form of ecstasy. If I judge aright artistic experience is independent of artistic competence.

Chapter Sixteen

"A Man Foursquare"

IN THE OPINION OF MANY, Ernest Southard was one of the great intellects of his generation or perhaps of several generations. "He had more brains," as Robert Yerkes once remarked, "than it is safe to entrust to more than a few." And he was no mere storehouse of widely collected, well fitted, skilfully elaborated, and ingenously applied information; he was rather a dynamo of discharging energy. No one can read attentively, years later, what he wrote in preliminary or final form without obtaining therefrom an intellectual thrill and without gaining a liberal education. To all who knew him, "and even men who had been with him but a few hours felt themselves his intimates," the feeling of enthusiasm and devotion that he engendered still persists, and this feeling was but in part due to purely intellectual admiration. For Southard, great as was his intellect and his power of inspiration, was greater still as a human being.

Ernest had no hesitation in classifying himself temperamentally, not simply as sanguine, but as actually hypomanic:

He himself said that most people fell within one of the classifications of mental disease, and he felt himself to be of the manic-

depressive type. We seldom saw the depressive side of him though it was undoubtedly there; ordinarily he appeared carried away with enthusiasm about his latest interest—and everything worth while interested him.[1]

In the earlier unhurried years of his life he wore "a whimsical, bubbling smile as though witnessing some perpetual inner comedy";[2] and his discussions, even of serious subjects, were often cloaked in an attitude of playfulness.

A still more fundamental explanation that he might have given for his prodigious energy and enthusiasm was that he was almost constantly "in the active voice." This grammatical simile was, as we know, constantly in his mind, often expressed, and fully elaborated in his elucidation of delusions.

But there was also the complementary phase of depression, as Briggs has hinted, rarely expressed until the last turbulent years of his life. It may have been unconsciously reflected in his abhorrence of black and his fondness for that bizarre and morbid picture of Boecklin's, the "Toteninsel." It is clearly shown in the atmosphere of his early short stories, such as "The Way of Sadness," that he wrote as a college student. His attitude about suicide is doubtless common enough though rarely so freely expressed: "He put the question to a patient, 'Have you ever had any thoughts of self-destruction?' On the patient's reply with apparent candor that no such thoughts had crossed his mind, Southard remarked: 'There is something abnormal about that, isn't there?; most of us have some thought of suicide about every week.' "[3]

To this predominatingly sanguine, optimistic, not to say manic temperament, may be attributed Southard's great energy and power of inspiration. No one could more than glance at the lists of finished and contemplated articles and books, to which I have referred, without realizing his tremendous power of work and accomplishment. He expected as much from his friends as is indicated by his suggestion to Menninger: "Why do you not in your exhausted moments, between patients, dictate off all sorts of most general comments on Influenza and its relation to psychiatry and neurology." Being pleased with my mono-

graph on "Typhoid Fever," he suggested: "I think you should write a series of such books and finally have them re-issued as a row of monographic presentations of the great plagues." "His intensity of application was wonderful to observe . . . his powers of concentration and application were phenomenal," writes Norman Fenton, who further illustrates it by an account of their joint work at the New York Academy of Medicine on the bibliography of shell shock:

> Once we worked until two or three A. M. . . . Wartime—no heat—We would run around the long table every so often to keep warm—Wore overcoats. One of our difficulties was with periodicals, both in Boston and New York, 'in the bindery.' In Boston I discovered that 'the bindery' was a cellar . . . We joked about the bindery after that. He was always bubbling over with fun. Saw the humor of many otherwise trying situations.

Southard's interest in religion was objective rather than personal. He appreciated the wide appeal of religion as second only to love as a form of emotional experience, but there is no evidence he was ever deeply moved by it. Although he attended church and Sunday school regularly as a boy, his parents were liberal and were attendants first in a Universalist and later a Unitarian church. Southard, himself, in the diary of his fifteenth year, expresses scepticism concerning the parables. He attended a series of lectures on Atheism by Robert Ingersoll. He went frequently to a French Mission Church to compare their form of service with that of his own church, and to hear the spoken language. He noted with care in his genealogical notes the particular form of religious creed of each of his ancestors whenever obtainable.

In spite of absence of formal religious feeling and belief, Ernest had a profound reverence for intellectual power. It is shown in his constant though critical reference to the great philosophers and writers whose thought and style he followed. Plato, Aristotle, Gibbon, Dante, and Meredith he not only knew, but reread and quoted constantly, to say nothing of the revered masters, James and Royce, in whose footsteps he trod, and with whose decisions he hesitated to disagree. He adjured Gosline to

"master and follow some great scientist in order that science may persist." He would have been surprised to learn how many of his disciples have chosen him as their model.

But intensive work and deep reverence were constantly relieved by an intense desire for novelty and an undercurrent of humorous appreciation. This humor and playfulness at times disconcerted or annoyed his more stolid listeners. But for him at least it lightened many fatigues, and overcame many trying situations, and it "indicated that he never took himself or anyone else too seriously."[4] Humor is particularly difficult to illustrate convincingly without having lived into the situation that engenders it, but one will perhaps appreciate the motive that led Ernest to address his devoted associate, Dr. Myrtelle Canavan, in moments of exuberation as "Myrtella," because "that name has a chuckle in it." We were driving restfully over the California foothills when I began to expatiate on the peculiar names that had been given to local and widely advertised products of commerce: "Carnation Milk from Contented Cows"; "Alligator Pear Soap"; and "Virgin Ice Cream"—"I can imagine nothing more appropriate than that," interrupted Ernest, "Sweet; white; cold; pure;—surely nothing describes ice cream better than the characteristics of a virgin."

The doggerel which Ernest once sent me on a post card furnished news notes from Wales that covered graphically both dialect and his local adventure:

> If ever you go to Dolgelly*
> Don't stop at the Queens hotel!
> There's nothing to put in your bethly
> And no one to answer the bell.

On returning after hours to the Boston City Hospital from a late party, Southard entered surreptitiously through the morgue entrance on a back street; an adventure to which he referred as "an entrance through the lumbar incision."[5]

Southard was a typical extrovert, as we shall presently exemplify. But, although his thought was constantly and perpetually

*Pronounced: Dolgethly.

of others, he was too well-balanced to be unaware or negligent of his own problems and progress. The problem of success was in the background of his mind, not so much for selfish reasons as in order to secure facilities and authority for the work that must be done. He not only wrote his mother that he was "learning the technique of becoming a great man," but later half jocularly mentioned to Horton, on returning from lecturing in some other city, that he "had been engaged in the art of becoming eminent." He was, as we have seen, sensitive about his over-robustness, a physical attribute that he was constantly contrasting with the delicacy of his taste and intellect. To this may be linked a real streak of vanity as, for example, in his desire to be photographed, particularly in his military uniform, although he laughed at the fact that he had had to scour the State of Massachusetts to secure the largest pair of leggins made. He was somewhat annoyed at an amusing cartoon of himself that a staff member had made by superimposing a pair of horn rimmed spectacles and a bristling mustache on a baby's face. In short, "he had that degree of vanity that should go with one who possessed the amount of femininity that philosophers have specified as essential to any great personality."[6]

Through "some lack of confidence—a familial trait," he felt he had "never been sufficiently praised at home," and begged an intimate to "Praise me if you can. I lost such a lot."

Ernest was nearly always wholly self-contained and few knew of his discouragements and headaches. Curiously enough his numerous attempts at autobiography, are, with the exception of a few that have been quoted, free from the self-revelation that one would desire, and are, therein, disappointing. They run into descriptions of others, and even in these, full criticism is being constantly postponed.

Southard seldom left anyone, who met him for more than a passing moment, indifferent to him. Caught by his vital individuality and arresting word, they almost invariably went on to an admiration and fondness that was deeply personal. For kindliness and thought of others were attributes that were even more fundamental in him than learning and originality. It would seem unusual that the only child of devoted parents should have shown

so early in life so deep a consideration of others. The few letters that have come directly or indirectly from boyhood friends, friends who say little of him in his maturity, evidence a fondness for him that is surprising. David Scannell, our notable athletic classmate in the Latin School and at Harvard, has never forgotten that during the weeks he was convalescing from a broken leg, Ernest brought him daily the class assignments of work although their delivery took him several miles out of his way.

There was always time for friendship whatever the burden of the day might be. "The ever present thought in Southard's mind was 'What can I do for someone else?' "[7] The call might be for advice on some purely technical matter of etymology, philosophy, or pathology, for career planning, or to receive encouragement, aid, a position, or advancement. I shall never forget the two long hot summer afternoons that he spent aiding me in refurbishing my "Gallic English," in the translation of Bordet's epochal "Studies in Immunity." His peculiar quality of living the life of a friend and sharing both his burdens and prejudices has been exemplified in previous chapters. He was not only remarkably receptive and responsive to the trials and tribulations of his intimates but amazingly skillful in alleviating their difficulties. This alleviation might be in the nature of intervention with another, or in some simple parable of encouragement. I still vividly remember his reply to one of my own emergencies by means of a wholly redirecting word. "You have slipped down the side of the bowl of emotional life until you have reached the bottom—there is nowhere you can now proceed except up the other side, to happier times."

Examples of the devotion and love of Southard's disciples are scattered throughout this volume. Praise of his intellect and inspiration run over into unrestrained emotional outbursts. His generosity and self-effacement is evident everywhere in the joint publications with his pupils and colleagues alike. I should be remiss if I failed to record here an additional and considerable number of the expressions of devotion from his pupils and friends as an aid in depicting the man whose personality I am endeavoring to describe:

He is one of the great personalities that has come into my personal and professional life.[8]

The slightest contact was enough to set up a life-long attachment.[9]

The very mention of his name makes one's nerves prick and immediately myriad associations with him well up in my mind.[10]

There was a veritable idolatry on the part of his pupils . . . the entire course of my life on the threshold of professional preparation was changed by Southard's death.[11]

He was certainly considerate, kind and open minded and he seemed to accept the fact that everyone had possibilities without question. His habit of giving everyone a problem to work on doubtless both gave the recipient confidence and aroused in him gratitude . . . I have never found anyone so open-minded . . . Still over and above these reasons there was something about the man that was fundamentally lovable that is beyond any capacity of analysis. There was a feeling of worship . . . As time passes, he grows larger in my mind as a great and lovable personality.[12]

I have often said that thanks to Dr. Southard my handicap of having lived many decades was negligible, as in one hour he could furnish me with inspiration enough to make up for the years gone by. (He had) the most marvelous gift of free association that we shall probably ever know. This enabled him to combine apparently meaningless fragments into an intricate and brilliant mosaic . . . he adorned every field that he touched.[13]

The prevading emotional color of the recollections is a happy joyous feeling of intimate friendship . . . I took every possible occasion to be with him if only for a moment . . . I loved him too much to be very objective about him . . . he always assumed that the people he was talking with were brighter, smarter, wiser, and kinder-hearted than they really were, with the result that they actually grew to be so, or at least tried to be so.

. . . I think all of us (his disciples) have in the heat of battle tried to do the best that we could with Southard's image in our hearts rather than by invoking his name or referring to him as the original authority as we probably should have done more often.[14]

I never think of him as being out of touch, and I think, as probably all of his friends do, that we carry on—shall I say a spiritual communion with him at frequent intervals? It may seem rather mystic to have such a feeling and it is rather hard to describe, and though I knew from a practical standpoint that Ernest is gone, still his presence is just as vivid and inspiring as it was in those early Boston days. The wealth that he added to my life is something that is among my most precious possessions —the type of possession that no one can take from you and that only those that have known him well can share with you. It is interesting in that line that whenever you meet, as I do occasionally, men who have known him, their eyes and faces light up at the mere mention of Ernest's name, and yet one does not have the feeling of resentment that sometimes one does when others have shared a friendship which has meant so much to you—there is none of that type of possession or jealousy which so often enters into our deep friendships. One sort of glories in the fact that he had so many friends, that they all loved him as you did, and that they all felt and feel still the inspiration of his companionship and friendship.[15]

Ever since his death, I have made no professional moves without trying to estimate what E. E. S. would think of them. Knowing his interests and what he wanted to use his researches for, I have tried to carry out his ideals. I have made many mistakes, but the ideals he implanted are still with me.[16]

No such individualistic, emphatic, and original a personality as Southard could possibly be accepted with universal approval. Add to this his robustness and enthusiasm, his humorous playfulness, his nimble-mindedness, and his unusual vocabulary, and you have a figure that might well disturb a conventional individual. He not only at times aroused antagonisms, but actually provoked them. "There were (not a few) envious detractors or open enemies who were jealous of his superior ability."[17] "Their attitude was colored by jealousy of his brilliance and resentment because he mowed them down in discussion leaving them sputtering with indignation and vanquished."[18] To some of these antagonists "Southard just played with words."[18] In short, to one admirer: "This great mind, like Pasteur's, was beset, dogged,

and interfered with by small jealous men. Many of them have perished and their names are forgotten."[19]

But such antagonisms, however interpreted, were not one-sided, for Southard, although remarkably fair and impartial in his judgements, was by no means unmoved in his like and dislike of individuals. His dislikes were based in most instances on real or imagined intellectual snobbery in those who were the objects of his suspicion, rather than on his resentment of their personal opposition to himself.

One cannot help seeing a close parallelism between Southard's intellectual antagonisms and those of William James. Of the latter, Perry[20] writes: "Look over the list of those whom William James attacked most severely, of those for whom he refused to make allowances, and they will prove to be men with some pride of office—some touch of insolence, smugness, self-importance or complacency." "He (Southard) was pretty grim at times. He was intolerant of fools."[21] His objection to those who introduced into the already confused picture of psychiatry words, phrases, or concepts that appeared to him ill defined, nebulous, or misleading was violent. "He was sympathetic and kind to anyone else who was free enough to be seeking for good things in life, but he was critical and unsympathetic to anyone who at all permitted himself to be bound by rules reasoned or unreasoned just because they were rules."[22] There can be little doubt that he was "slightly supercilious toward his psychiatric brethren"[23] who could not follow his logic.

And once his antagonism to an individual was aroused his pursuit was relentless, although he usually obtained his ends "by jollying rather than by heckling." Dr. Earl D. Bond recalls that in his almost invariable discussion of papers at the McLean Hospital and at the Boston Society of Neurology, Southard "carried on a duel, which was good or ill-tempered, with Dr. Knapp."

Although as a rule the soul of patience, unselfishness, and kindliness, Southard was not incapable of moments of anger. But even these gusts were rarely uncontrolled. In fact he knew to a hair the persuasive value and the moment for a burst of rage.

When matters in dispute failed to progress he was wont to say, "Now, I believe, is the time to get angry." Such a controlled burst of rage from so robust a person rarely failed in persuasiveness. He never forgot what seemed to him an injustice. In 1908, at the annual meeting of the Pathologists and Bacteriologists in Ann Arbor, the presiding officer was the late Dr. A. S. Warthin. Southard and I were down for a series of joint papers on the then novel topic of anaphylaxis and had arranged to present them in cross section; each presenting one-half the facts at our disposal. I finished my half within the time limit, but Southard's contribution was unfinished when time was called by Warthin. Southard protested that he was being short-changed, but sat down. In closing the discussion which ensued, and to the despair of the chairman, he calmly finished what he had originally planned to say before answering the questions that fell in his field. The point of interest, however, is that he never met Warthin in subsequent years without pulling out his watch ostentatiously with some such remark as "Well, Warthin, is your watch keeping better time, now?"

Willard Rappleye recalls a legal hearing concerning the final commitment of a patient from the Psychopathic Hospital to more permanent incarceration as an insane person. One of Southard's assistants, a woman, had been unmercifully and impolitely attacked in cross-examination by the lawyer who represented the patient's claim of complete sanity. Southard was then called to the stand, and stood gently swinging the witness chair in front of him. "Won't you be seated, Doctor?" the judge asked. "Thank you, your honor, I prefer to remain standing, for if Mr. ... insults me as he did the preceding witness, I shall break this chair over his head."

Chapter Seventeen

"Telesmatics"

HAVING ABANDONED for a time the chronological description of Southard's life in order to examine the major strands of which his life's cable was woven, I return again to the earlier method, under an enigmatic caption that was one of his own neologisms. It came about in this way. In the latter years of our correspondence, Southard and I had entered on a "sweet-tempered controversy" as to the ultimate method of classifying diseases. It was inevitable that as a bacteriologist, I should have proposed, and still maintain for that matter, a "Nosology on the basis of Etiology,"[1] and we have seen that Southard, impelled by the necessity of the disposal of patients in the Psychopathic Hospital, suggested a rapid method of diagnosis by the process of orderly exclusion, and therefrom developed a "Pragmatic Psychiatry" based on the outcome of individual cases.

"I believe," he wrote, "that we have really got beyond etiology in medicine, that etiology is a bygone variation and that the new medicine will be one of effects rather than causes. You and I at least ought not to care about the past if we can control the future . . . All we need is a word for it, to balance etiology." In a few weeks came the word: "Telesmatics, the new art or science (I think it is an art rather than a science) of effects."

And so we may fittingly discuss the end results, or last phases, of Ernest Southard's life under the symbolic title that he had himself created. The last three years mark a well-defined unit in this busy existence; an existence composed of many major problems, vigorously and pertinaciously pursued, of new concepts and new horizons constantly enlarging, of new recruits in increasing numbers who were being influenced; and, unhappily, of unusual set-backs in his forward looking program.

The beginnings of the year 1917 found him facing educational responsibilities of an appalling magnitude. At home was the annually recurring course in neuropathology and in addition a course in brain anatomy, willingly contributed to the Department of Anatomy. The seminary in psychopathology in Cambridge and Boston continued along novel lines. In January and February he also gave a course of six lectures in psychopathology in New York as non-resident lecturer in psychology in Columbia University. Lectures were delivered at Radcliffe College, and perhaps elsewhere, in an effort to recruit social workers trained in psychiatry as soon as the nation had entered the war, and a need for them had become apparent.

Scattered throughout the year were numerous meetings of scientific societies and local and national committees. To the former Southard presented his studies on various and widely divergent topics that were in course, or completed during this period. To the latter he was contributing original and orienting viewpoints.

In addition to the large volume on shell shock that was nearing completion, the almost equally extensive book on neurosyphilis (129) with Solomon was actually published. Articles on dementia praecox (125), on the diagnosis of mental diseases (127), on the differentiation between alienists and psychiatrists (130), on mental hygiene (133), on medical wardens in prisons (132), and on poliomyelitis (135) were published.

The declaration of war by President Wilson in April brought in its train problems of personal participation and gave rise to a general unrest and a spirit of irritation which Southard as Director of the Psychopathic Department found it most difficult to allay both in others and in himself. Some of his letters express

an unaccustomed uncertainty as to his own war activity, as I shall presently consider. He began to react rather than to laugh at the petty economic annoyances that beset him; there are, for example, three ample pages in his own hand that list objections made by one of his own nominal superiors as to the activities of the Psychopathic Hospital.

The, to him, more fundamental problems of his directorship were always in his mind. "Wherever I am I am always thinking about the workers," he wrote Dr. Canavan. He continued, also, be it recalled, his state-wide supervision of the institutions, which he continued to visit at intervals although he had by now able assistant pathologists. Some idea as to how he managed these multiple duties is reflected in the remembrance of Willard C. Rappleye, at the time Pathologist to the Foxboro Hospital. Southard would call up at eleven in the evening to say he would be down on the midnight train. Arriving just before one, the material collected since his last visit would be examined and discussed, and he would return to Boston on the milk train about five in the morning to catch an hour or two of sleep before starting a busy day at the Psychopathic. No wonder he wrote me in August:

> . . . The bottom seemed to drop out today as it has a way of doing nowadays . . . I am getting wrought up and feel I can hardly look at things straight. I quarrel with everybody over nothing and everything. Chiefly the war . . . Mabel is her own cook, maid, and bath-steward. As for her being a wife, I have little or no time to be a husband . . .

But there were compensations too in this first of the turbulent years. Southard was invited to California to lecture before the San Francisco Academy of Medicine. He reached Berkeley about the middle of March. Through the enthusiasm of local friends, he was booked up for almost daily appearance and addressed not only the Academy in San Francisco, but also the University of California bimonthly public meeting in Berkeley, and the novel school for police officers that had been recently inaugurated by August Vollmer. He was active in advising another group concerning a projected Psychopathic Hospital and continued to

furnish them with ideas for the next two years. He was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm by outstanding physicians and sociologists, and returned to Boston about the middle of April.

In October he was presented with a series of sixteen papers by his friends, pupils, and associates to commemorate the Decennary Anniversary of the Bullard Professorship of Neuropathology.[2] Its effect on him is well reflected in his letter to me of October 28:

DEAR FRED,

Last Wednesday the sixteen papers by the associates of E.E.S. were presented!

At least a *long-hand* letter ought follow getting such an honor. Of course there is the R.I.P. hint of it. But I believe a few of you think I can still come back after a task of organization.

I was so moved I could hardly say a word. They had asked me to be sure to come that day and all I could imagine was—a mock staff-meeting! Then Solomon spoke; he too could hardly get words out and Bullard said right things in the briefest way. After which, the *debâcle*.

Well! the deepest thanks and all that, and here's hoping we meet within a few weeks to talk over more important matters.

Affectionately, E.

Nothing illustrates Southard's character better than his war experience. His resentment of authoritarianism caused him to be aggressively anti-German from the beginning—so aggressive and out-spoken indeed that he offended many who had assumed the fictitious neutrality that Wilson had commended. With his growing social consciousness he was tremendously pleased with Marshal Foch's interpretation of the conduct of war as an Art rather than a Science, an interpretation that gives freer play to individualism and originality. He documented his antagonisms by gleaning from Tacitus, in the original, drastic and unfavorable characterizations of the German people.

There may have been a difference in degree of authoritarianism between the armies of France and of Germany, but the essence of all of them, including our own, is the same—a fact that can never be fully appreciated until one becomes enmeshed in

the toils of army regulations. Nothing could be more foreign to Southard's nature than the two great army characteristics—blind acceptance of authority, and avoidance of personal responsibility by the process known as "passing the buck." Curiously enough he was destined to enter the army through the intermediation of another as individualistic in his concepts as himself—and as for buck passing—well, he coined a word for it—"Elaphodosis."[3]

Southard was early asked to assume direction of the Boston Unit of the U. S. Army Neuropsychiatric Training School. He had begun to write the first text on that most embracing and baffling of nervous maladies that occurs in war, shell shock. His assistants and associates, once the United States had entered the war, were offered commissions of varying rank and more or less in accordance with his recommendation. They were taken from him one by one—"the staff is breaking off like ice in spring," he wrote; but still Southard was never officially urged to come in. He was in constant touch with the neuropsychiatric division of the Surgeon General's office and frequently commended its activities, but those in authority were either jealous of him, or afraid of what he might do or say.

There were plans enough on which he was consulted. There was talk of sending a special group of officers to France to investigate shell shock in July. In August, Southard was asked if he would go over as neuropathologist. Finally, there was a more detailed plan that seemed imminent and in which I too seemed to be involved:

September 12, 1917.

. . . This time something real. Dead secret. Injury if breathed. There is to be a 500-bed psychiatric base hospital somewhere in France, run by Dr. T. W. Salmon (National Committee of Mental Hygiene, Rockefeller Foundation)—an army hospital, government run and paid for.

Now possibly a Board! Board for Study of Nervous and Mental Diseases. Probably a psychiatrist, a neurologist, a neuropathologist, an internist, and—a serologist! Paton also to have a relation so far undetermined. Both P. and I suggested you for the board. Your French and . . . your Danvers experience, arguments!!

All to be majors, etc.

Every modern convenience, except dry walking to France.

Aids, medical and non-medical, galore. Groundfloor on bacteriology of nervous system or anything else. Spinal fluid problems particularly to the fore. Neurosyphilis, etc.

What the government doesn't pay for, otherwise obtained.

Gather in France, January or February. Salmon going over to prepare mansions for us—October.

All may be a pipe dream. Paton will write you, but please take straight dope from me. Watch for telegrams. Don't imagine anything better to do. Shell shock and neurology the best things in this war. Write at once.

One fly in ointment. The thing goes through Welch. But pull absolutely no wires, Vaughan or otherwise, till I write or telegraph. There is a ticklish situation inside that is coming out all right.

What I want is your adhesion privately. ERNEST.

The possible commission as neuropathologist, on a research basis, had seemed promising enough to cause Ernest to consider financial ways and means. There were meetings and a wide interchange of letters with President Lowell and the State Commission to assure his family sufficient income from his University and State salaries, which normally totaled $7100, to bring a major's pay ($4000) to an adequate sum. But nothing finally resulted from any of these plans.

It was nearly another year before his chance came and from an unexpected direction. In spite of the sodden complexity of army routine an original mind with the right powers of persuasion was able from time to time to start something new. Major Gilbert N. Lewis, Dean of the College of Chemistry in the University of California, who had become chief of the personnel division of the Chemical Warfare Service in France, describes the conditions as he encountered them as follows:

The War was a great disillusionment. I had always supposed that G.H.Q. was the place where the commanding General sat with the more intelligent and more experienced officers to plan

the major strategy of the war. I thought they would be studying in all details the ways in which warfare was being modified, and could be modified, through the agency of such new instruments as aviation, tanks, and lethal gases. I thought they would meet daily to discuss the latest information regarding the movement of enemy troops and the ways in which the American and Allied forces could best checkmate the enemy. I thought at least they would be something like one of our research seminars where the war would be discussed in all its phases. I found in the whole Army nothing approaching this ideal. G.H.Q was filled with young officers recently out of West Point who were considered not quite good enough to command troops, all enmeshed in a great entanglement of red tape from which they emerged occasionally to send me repeated telegrams asking why the divisions were not being supplied with gas masks for pigeons. Since we never had had any gas masks for pigeons, although the item appeared in one of the early lists of war materials, this was a very hard question to answer, especially as my pride as an author required me to give a new answer each time.

Considering this state of affairs, I consulted several members of the Gas Service and finally got the Chief, General Fries, to approve a plan for setting up within the Gas Service a small board of strategy which would concern itself primarily with problems relating to offensive and defensive gas warfare, which might ultimately be the nucleus of a general board of strategy for the whole Army. I had the enthusiastic support of a young officer who was just returning to the United States, and who was asked to interest a number of men, noted for their intelligent handling of problems in a wide variety of fields, in this project. The list I made out comprised the names of Ernest Southard, Christy Mathewson, and several others whose names I have forgotten.

And so it happened that from this novel branch of the service, with fewer deadening precedents, and filled with men not only technically proficient, but with originality, there might arise an idea that could assure victory. Percy Haughton, perhaps the most original and successful of all football coaches, Christy Mathewson, famous as a pitcher in tight spots on the New York Giants,

and Ernest Southard, headed the list of a prospective board of strategy that might have done something remarkable had the war lasted. There is no evidence that Mathewson was actually persuaded to join up but Haughton and Southard did.

"They have all the chemists they need. Now for some people with imagination . . . It is a thinking job," Southard wrote his wife. Although it was with the thought of him as a strategist (chess) and a leader of men that he was chosen, in the beginning of the adventure he wrote me: "I suppose morale may be up to me"; and in this field he did indeed make a theoretical contribution in spite of his transitory term of service.

The financial angle was somehow arranged, largely through the generosity and intervention of Southard's perennial patron, Dr. Bullard. There was, however, until late in September, difficulty in passing his physical examination. In fact he failed to pass twice owing to his weight, his low blood pressure, and a slow pulse. "By means of a concerted design on the calories," he took off twelve pounds, and by preceding his final appearance for examination with an intake of three cups of coffee he finally passed successfully.

It is difficult to picture Southard tied to a desk in the offices of the "Chemical Warfare Service N.A." in Washington during October and into November. When I condoled with him, during a flight that he somehow maneuvered in order to see me in New Haven en route to Boston, and asked if he realized that we were both of us to all intents and purposes incarcerated, he said: "They can't stop me from thinking." As a matter of fact his detailed and extensive correspondence with Canavan shows him directing the main issues at the Psychopathic Hospital, and carrying on work that he had started as Chairman of a Committee on Neuropsychiatry at the National Research Council. For a time at least the novelty of his new appointment appealed to him even if he was waiting for orders (Oct. 7, 1918):

> I feel exactly like a freshman in this Gas Warfare matter and am enjoying myself hugely with a mass of reports and pamphlets, as well as the meeting of so many snappy officials; of course snappy persons turn into snapping ones rather quickly here in Washington.

FIGURE 13

Ernest Southard, age 43, July, 1919

At all events, as his contribution to the Service during this period, he wrote his article "Prothymia" based on Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" (156), a fundamental contribution to the concept of "Morale" considered in the light of its psychological and etymological significance. We have elsewhere commented more fully on the precise nature and conclusions of this interesting paper.[4]

The year 1918 included much more for Southard than War Service uncertainty, followed by brief immersion in the Chemical Warfare Service. The teaching at Harvard in neuropathology and in psychopathology went on with a new directive influence —namely, its applicability to war conditions particularly in relation to shell shock. In addition, the first steps were being actively taken in the broadest of all of Southard's fields of activity—social service. He formulated, in a series of lectures to a federal group of employment managers, the problem of the maladjusted employee, and he began to outline to social workers the problems of psychopathic temperament. In July the epoch-making training course in psychiatry social work at Smith College began.

Southard's scientific productivity had never been greater and its quality had never been better. Continuation studies in dementia praecox (136, 140), epilepsy (139), diagnosis (148, 149), and other topics (145, 147, 150) were published. The first superb articles of orientation in feeblemindedness (137, 138, 142) appeared. He began formally to discuss shell shock (143). More novel still were his writings on psychiatric social work, the mental hygiene of industry, and the large conception of a "Kingdom of Evils" (141, 144, 146, 152).

Dr. Canavan has summarized in a few trenchant words what the year 1919 meant to Ernest Southard:

The last year of his life was fraught with singular difficulties producing considerable mental discomfort, resulting in an edgy spirit of unrest. To compensate he worked feverishly at writing, skimmed the libraries for stimulation of novel facts, pored over word studies, and became worried over facts he had hitherto neglected as unimportant.

How fruitful the writing was is evidenced by the twenty articles and one book ("Shell Shock" 154) that were prepared

for publication in the terminal thirteen months. I shall not burden the record again with the mention even of the subjects that were covered, as they are elsewhere listed. The work that was being planned was far more extensive and lists of books to be written and ideas to be developed, accumulated with an accelerating speed.

The titles alone of these projected studies are in themselves stimulating. They are to be found not only as lists of topics but in many instances include more or less elaborate source notes and data (indicated on the lists by *), gathered in separate, labeled folders. Some of these collections have been drafted as articles (**), and some of these papers were actually presented to learned societies, but not published.

The items I have gathered here are selected from more extensive lists that run back for several years. My selections do not include names or collections that were published under essentially the same title but when they have entered into such publications it is so indicated.**

SOME OF SOUTHARD'S PROJECTED BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

Types of Psychopathic Personality: An Essay Towards a Psychiatry of the Individual as Such
Applied Anatomy of the Human Nervous System (with Lawson Lowrey)
Index Neuronorum (with S. T. Orton)
A Grammar of Delusions**
The Frontal Lobes: A Critical Essay
Brain Study (with Douglas A. Thom)
Major Diagnostic Reflexes (with Abraham Myerson)
Imperative Psychiatry: Being a study of peracute conditions, accidents, and critical situations presented by psychopathic subjects
A Psychiatric Dictionary
Principles of Neuropathology**
Mental Hygiene** (with Frankwood Williams)
Neuropathological Technique (with Annie E. Taft)
The Symptomatic Psychoses (with Donald Gregg)
The Mind's Eye
The Genesis of Dementia Praecox
The Mental Hygiene of Women* (with Mabel Southard)
Miracles of Mental Hygiene (with William S. Booth)
The Anatomy of Mental Disease (with Myrtelle M. Canavan)
Influenza and Psychiatry (Neurogrippe)* (with Karl A. Menninger)
Charles Sanders Peirce* (with Norman Fenton and Louise Nicholl)
Epilepsy and Convulsive Diseases (with Douglas A. Thom)
The Mental Hygiene of Industry** (with Mary C. Jarrett)

It is interesting to note that in several instances these book titles were roughly illustrated by imaginary back strips.

SOUTHARD'S IDEAS FOR PAPERS OR PROBLEMS

The Technique of Discovery in Science
Ordway Genealogy
Study of Trades in Successive Generations of Mayflower Descendants
Study of Insanity in a New England Family
Translation with Critical Notes of Galen's "De affectibus animum"
Chess Imagery (and Reasoning)*
A Logical Inquiry into the Possible Origin of Mental Disease*
Experimental Medical Education
The Casuistic Scope of the Freudian Psychoanalysis
Dement and Dotard
On the Logical Method of Pathology*
Prejudices of a Yankee**
The Significance of the Term Acute in Nervous and Mental Diseases
The Brains of Men and Women
The Longevity of the Feeble Minded
Numerous Titles on the Geography of Insanity in Massachusetts**
Merum nihil—An Account of the Subconscious
The Concept of Psychic Splits (The Cloven Mind)
Normal Brains of the Insane (repeated often and with varying headings)**
On the Concepts of Quasiperipheral Stimuli in Neuropathology*
Alcoholism in the Irish
Space and Time as Twin Ideas*
Definition of the Unconscious*
The Treatment of Time as a Fourth Dimension of Euclidian Space*
The Mental Disorders of Eminent Men*
National Differences in the Content of Delusions
Faults of Regulation and Faults of Setting in the Relation of Ego to Socii
What Parts of the Brain does Introspection Reach**
The Tricks of the Medical Superintendents' Trade as Observed and Codified by a Naturalist
Comparative Psychoanalysis: Study of Several Members of Different Families
Chemotherapy for Nerve Cells. Injection of Dye Stuffs
Ideomata and Pragmatomata
The Lazarus of Research
Many Titles Dealing with Delusions**
Tetrads (Numbers Elect)*
Emotion and the Thalamus
Dark Field Study of Normal, Sensitized, and Anaphylactically Shocked Nerve Cells
History of the Term Consciousness
The Functions of the Prepallium and the Postpallium
Mezzanine Levels of Gray Matter
On the Inductive *Versus* the Deductive Method of Presenting Cases
The Dickens Group of Characters Post Mortem
On the Psychopathies and Formes Frustes of the Psychoses
Medical References by Philosophers
Some Conditions Modifying the Interpretations of Brain Weight
"Dinge an sich"
Taboo Terms—Coram publico psychopathico
Heredity in Insanity

Southard sketched his future plan of life as a whole in a final autobiographical note that was written during a visit to the Adirondack camp of Dr. Richard C. Cabot near the end of August 1919: "whence I expect to emerge with a plan for covering the entire medical world with new logical ideas." I have already quoted segments from this very human confession of faith, in places that are indicated:

With the war over, what for me to do? Are there things to finish, responsibilities untasted by past work? My official work has been to develop psychiatric research: I must embody laboratory observations of 1906-1919 in a serious book—otherwise the foundation of other research units for psychiatry in other parts of this country will be delayed. I must react also to the clinical observations at the Psychopathic Hospital, 1912-1919, so that the propaganda for other such hospitals shall not flag. A third book must record the opening-out of the new field of psychiatric social work, to the end that more and more laymen shall be directed to the field of mental hygiene. A fourth book on neuropathology is a duty entailed by my professorship and is worth while on the larger ground of laying a foundation for the establishment of an institute for neuropsychiatric research.

I seem to feel that research is the greatest thing in the world, that is, the best hope for conscious additions to world progress. But the research I mean is not the mechanistic division of human interests alone. Perhaps it is in definition that I am most interested. Perhaps I believe that the world can get forward most by clearer and clearer definition of fundamentals. Accordingly I propose to stick to tasks of nomenclature and terminology, unpopular and ridicule-provoking though they may be. A psychiatric dictionary (to include definitions of every near-lying psychological and philosophical term also) would do more to push mental hygiene on than any other single thing I can think of. This sort of thing I think of as my Charles Peirce ideal.

I want the general practitioner of medicine to understand hysteria. I would like to collect all the great and pivotal cases of psychotherapy in a book like a law case book. This book would also finish recording the best of the shell shock literature.

I would like to write or get written a book on epilepsy and convulsions on the plan of the neuro-syphilis book, i. e., original material of which much is read. The like, on neuropediatrics (original material) . . .[5]

All these things seem to have in common the endeavor to utilize the psychopathic by-products of society to its betterment —a sort of *similia similibus curentur* idea. I would like to define the social task, the overcoming of the "Kingdom of Evil" (as defined for social workers, but to be broadened). An attitude to the law must be taken. I am not satisfied that further progress cannot sooner or later be made in the theory and practice of family life, and I want to try to help analyze the family by a special study of families with psychopaths in them. I would like to help overturn the family-unit sociological theory of Schaffle and return to the Spencerian individual-as-unit theory which Schaffle damaged in his Teutonic endeavor to improve . . .[6]

I have an idea for certain novels which would contemplate family life from a special angle. To execute this plan would mean a study of style and popularization where I have to contend with a deep desire *not* to be popular. I would like to understand this desire not to be popular, coupled with as strong a desire to stand well with certain people. (This class needs defining.) The problem is linked up with that of aristocracy, in a kind of which I believe. The nearest I come to it is that the aristocracy I like is that of people who want to dig out novelty. Under this I seem to have a moral motive, a confidence that whatever is new is likely on the whole and in the long run to be better than what we have. Otherwise, what is the good of time, anyhow?

The big present practical difficulty is to decide whether to be as much of a research man or as much of a propagandist as possible. Perhaps the novels would take account of stock as much as anything. They would not need to be written out but only blocked out, to work my point.

I have had a good deal to do with developing a half dozen men in my speciality—I mean good men. I am said to stimulate and co-ordinate. One stimulates largely by example. One co-ordinates more by getting certain percepts accepted. Which shall I endeavor to do more—develop more men or organize more

systems? It seems to me a question of orbit, a smaller intensive research orbit or a larger more popular orbit.

Perhaps the greatest single plan of work, and certainly the last one into which he dove, was outlined in a letter to me written on February 5, 1920, three days before his death:

> What interests me most is a proposition to edit the works and Mss. of Charles Peirce. Walter Arensberg has given a sum for the purpose. I'm going to have a room at the Widener to hold Mss. and work in. They are wonderful copper plate Mss. Royce worked on them somewhat before he died and thought there might be three volumes of works. I feel that my own intellectual life is going to be made over by the work. I think I shall know whether pragmatism is so by the time I am through. W. S. Booth will handle collation of Mss. Louise Nicholl will do the reminiscence collecting. Various mathematicians and philosophers will help on critique. I shall be merely editor![7]

Although the intrinsic interest and enthusiasm of this excerpt is evident, one will perhaps note an unaccustomed lapse in style and a curious repetitiousness; he was already in the prodromal stage of his fatal illness when he wrote.

There were compensations and releases other than in work done or contemplated, although as he wrote me, "The answer to it all seems to be work and more work. But that is rather a cold and generic sort of comfort to one who is in the middle of an unstable equilibrium." I have only incidentally considered Southard's membership in national societies and the distinctions conferred on him.[8] He was particularly appreciated in this last year as evidenced by his election to the presidencies of the American Medico-Psychological Association (1919), and of the Boston Society of Neurology and Psychiatry (1920). His presidential address on "Cross-Sections of Mental Hygiene" at twenty-five year intervals in the history of the first mentioned society, is in many respects the most erudite thing he ever wrote, and gives incidentally a survey of his own intellectual influences and development.

Southard was being seriously proposed for the presidency in two of the leading universities of the country. This fact is of interest chiefly for his confidential and violent reaction to the first approach along this line: "I am not of the group who feel they can do more by managing five hundred other minds than by using his own."

Another release which seems to have brought satisfaction was the writing of free verse,[9] at no time so intensively pursued as then. It was particularly indulged in in the midst of a series of lectures he gave at the Georgia State Sanitarium in the autumn. He returned therefrom "talking much of religion, of God, of the simplicity of the Blacks. At times he said, 'I shall not live long. I must hurry; I must get lots of others busy' "[10]; and to another, "I have been dragging the masses along behind me; how long can it last." He was becoming more easily fatigued. Twenty minutes intensive interview not only exhausted the information that could be obtained from the one who was being interrogated, but left him for the first time in his life momentarily apathetic.

There can be little doubt that this unhappiness that finally over-rode Southard's optimism was due both to over-work and to the unfortunate clash of personalities at the Psychopathic Hospital. His ideas under the banner of originality, research, and progress, had triumphed for years against entrenched and rigid bureaucracy that was intolerant of any departure from a legalistic philosophy of administration; but in the spring of 1919 the turn had come. He wrote, in deepest confidence, of one who was in a position seriously to jeopardize his work. " 'X' is as resistive as his wits allow. He belongs to that stupid shrewd group that so runs the world." At all events, Southard's change in status came, as we have already described it, on May 18. The future of the Psychiatric Institute lay before him, but he did not live to make it more than a name.

January of 1920 was perhaps the busiest month of all. There were a set of remarkable lectures to social workers. "At Christmas time, 1919, he had a severe cold which lasted throughout January, while he was conducting his course in neuropathology. Also during this time he was preparing his speech for the New York Neurological Meeting, dictating chapters on the 'Kingdom of

Evils,' and looked forward to the Harvey lectureship where he hoped to put together all his ideas on Dementia Praecox."

". . . On February 1 he left Boston for New York. The last remark he made to the writer—made with a determined flourish of his right arm—was 'If I get caught in the subway, remember it has been a wonderful life.' On Tuesday, February 3, he made his great speech before the New York Neurological Society on 'Pragmatic Psychiatry'; it was thoroughly appreciated, and he was exhilarated over it, talking it over eagerly with friends until late in the morning."[11] He spoke the next night, less happily and convincingly, before the Mental Hygiene Association. Late the following night or early the next morning, Friday, February 6, he was awakened at his hotel by abdominal pains so severe that he was unable to summon help. By night he was in charge of able physicians and a nurse, and found with a high temperature. He became unconscious. During the night he was delirious and it became evident that his right side was paralyzed. He died the following day, February 8, 1920, at noon, without regaining consciousness. The diagnosis, tentatively influenza, was finally determined by cultures from the blood and cerebrospinal fluid to be general septicemia and meningitis with brain hemorrhage (apoplexy) due to *Staphylococcus aureus*. Dr. Southard's body was cremated, the brain only being removed for study.

Ruling passions are strong in death. The nurse in charge presented a thermometer just before his mind began to wander: "Fenton," he said to his faithful disciple who was standing by, "we seem to have dropped into the passive voice." And even after the blessed clouds of unconsciousness had fogged his sensibilities he still murmured intelligible phrases. Edith Spaulding heard him say ". . . He's a good fellow, a very good fellow."

I have finished my story of Ernest Southard's life, a life of success beyond the limited measure of his years; of accomplishment, irrespective of time, far beyond the average. Compare his personality, if you will, with another to whom in point of friendliness, kindliness, and leadership, he has been likened, Sir William Osler. And ask yourself further how much of the merited impress the great Briton left on medicine would have developed had he died in his forty-fourth year, just after his as-

sumption of the Chair of Medicine at Johns Hopkins University!

The pity of it is that no one with the depth and breadth of approach that Southard had, or with comparable energy and power of kindling enthusiasm, has appeared to carry on his work from the point at which he left it nearly twenty years ago. It is true, as the Reverend Doctor Crothers said at the funeral services in Appleton Chapel, that "Other men may make their contributions but they cannot make his. The originating mind keeps its own secret."

Profound thinker, open-minded and kindly friend! *Ave atque Vale!*

APPENDIX "A"

REFERENCES BEARING ON THE LIFE AND WORK OF E. E. SOUTHARD

The footnote and text references to individuals without numeral usually refer to personal communications to the author. When followed by a numeral (e. g., Alford[2]) sources are listed here, and at times in the text, and refer to published articles. Certain of the references here included have not been specifically referred to in the text.

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APPENDIX "B"

NOTES BY E. E. SOUTHARD ON THE ORDWAY FAMILY

Tradition and the name Ordway itself point to Britain as the original home of the Ordways. Curiously enough, both casual inquiry and more extended search in English directories, old and new (e. g., in the British Museum) reveal the fact that there are very few Ordways in England, or for that matter, elsewhere in the British Isles. It is America which has permitted the family to flourish. As in several instances noted by Bardsley in 1901 of families wholly extinct in England but found in America (Hollopeter, Liard, Pallister, Chickin). The name Ordway has an Anglo-Saxon ring, nor has it ever been said, like so many good Anglo-Saxon names, to be of Norman origin. The most obvious meaning of the name is perhaps roughly *fighter with a sharp sword,* or perhaps with a spear, as the syllable *ord* means a *pointed weapon.* Originally *ord* meant *point* in general and reminds one of the German *ort,* a point or place in space. And the constituent *or* has even suggested to some that *ord* as a point of *or*igin may be actually related to the words *origin, orient,* and others derived from the Latin *oriri,* arise. Through this immense etymological circuit the name Ordway may even get related with the name *Orme* from *orm* a serpent (orm-worm), an ancient emblem of the origin of things, as well of things evil (in the Adam and Eve story) as of things in general.

Ordway is, according to Bardsley, 'seemingly a personal name' and may be compared with Otway. The terminal, 'way' seems to have suggested to some that the name is a place-name rather than a personal name (like Broadway or Ridgeway). This is of course possible; but it is far more likely that the syllable is simply a form of the Anglo-Saxon theme *wig,* which occurs both as a prototheme in many names (Wigbeald, Wigbeorht, Wigfrith, Wighelm, Wigmund, etc. in Domesday and other early English sources) but also as deuterotheme (Aethelwig, Leofwig, etc.).

In this roundabout way, the syllable—*way* in Ordway may have come down from the syllable *wig* which appears in *Wiggins* and *Wigglesworth,* and in various names ending in *wy* or *way* (in so far as these are not place-names). Less likely appears to be a possible relation to the place-ending *Wick.*

Following the suggestion that the name is pretty directly Anglo-Saxon (I was here greatly aided by Mr. Stevenson, Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford), we find that Searle's Onomastikon Anglosaxonicum yields the following pertinent references: . . .

From a list of six Ordwigs and two Ordwines (the latter are included because the scribes occasionally confused the endings—wig and wine) we

learn that our name is somewhat common, though by no means as common as Ordgar (20 entries), or Ordwulf (16 entries).

Especially noteworthy appears to be the occurrence of the name in *Worcestershire* (two witnesses, a minister (thegn), and the father of the abbot of Evesham). As surnames in those days were lacking and only partly compensated for by giving children names in which the themes of the father's names occurred, it is naturally hard to draw extensive conclusions from the mere occurrence of a particular name . . .

It is curious that this warlike syllable *Ord* should occur in Worcestershire in people with a churchly relation. Of course later the word Ord came to be used as a pen as well as of a *spear* or *sword* (as 'Hir witt, hir vertu, hir lone word, may no man with (wid) pennys ord' which I take from Murray, as occurring before 1300 in the Cursor M.). The syllable may long since have lost more than a memory of the spear and sword. Yet again, the story of the conflicts of the monks of Evesham and Worcester shows that at least a warlike spirit dwelt in many churchmen.

Before following these Ordwigs into Birch's Castularium Saxonicum (B C S) where indeed they are distinguished chiefly by their absence, into Kemble's Codex diplomaticus aevi saxonici (K C D) and into Ellis Introduction to Domesday (Ellis A B C) we may glance at the more modern distribution of Ordways to see how far it may tally with this older name-distribution. Thus Bardsley (in his Dictionary of English and Welsh surnames with special American instances) 1901, finds 30 Ordways in Boston, U. S. A. to 3 in London. He found three Ordways in the Hundred Rolls 1273 (John Ordway of Oxfordshire, Ralph Ordway of Bedfordshire, and Matilda Ordivy of Norfolkshire); an Oxford University entry (William Ordway, 1613), and two London marriages, Anne Ordway with William Billington (1658), and Sarah Ordway with Humfrey Maynwaring Howorth (1742). This indicates a certain spread of the name and gives a fair impression of the direction. A more recent inspection of directories of larger English Cities shows that Birmingham is also a center for Ordways. But the Worcestershire settlement appears to have been lost. . . .

The growth of distinct branches of hereditary surnames in England took place say from 1250 to 1450. We may suppose that the name Ordwig remained rather common as a personal name in Worcestershire until that period, and that then the family gradually developed as a named unit in Worcestershire. As parish registers began to be kept in 1538 or later (and rather hesitantly, since the people felt that the plan was to be the basis of some new form of taxation by His Majesty Henry the Eighth), it will naturally be impossible to trace this yeoman family before say the late sixteenth century with any exactitude . . .

APPENDIX "C"

EXAMPLES OF SOUTHARD'S CHESS PLAY AND HIS USE OF "INTROSPECTION FOR CHESS IMAGERY." (His own notes.)

Queen's Pawn Game, transposing to the *Queen's Gambit Accepted,* played at 25 moves an hour in the New York State Chess Association Tournament at Trenton Falls, New York, August 21, 1912. Written down from memory 60 hours later, 12 minutes.

W. J. Ferris, WHITE	*E. E. Southard,* BLACK
1. P — Q4	P — Q4
2. Kt— KB3	Kt — KB3
3. P — B4	P x P
4. Kt— B3	P — B3
5. P — QR4	B — K3[1]
6. Kt— K5	P — QKt4
7. P — K3	Kt — Q4
8. P x P	Kt x Kt
9. P x Kt	BP x P
10. Q — B3	Q — Q4
11. P — K4[2]	Q — Q3
12. B — B4	Q — Kt3
13. P — Q5	P — B3
14. P x B	P x Kt
15. Q — R5 ch	P — Kt3
16. Q x KP	R — Kt
17. R — Q	Kt — B3
18. Q — Kt5[3]	B — Kt2
19. P — K5	Kt — Q
20. Q — Kt4	Kt x P
21. R — Q6	P x R
22. Q x Kt ch	K — B
23. B — K3	Q — B2[4]
24. P — B4	QR — K
25. Q — Q5	K — K2
26. P x P ch	Q x P
27. B — B5	K — Q2 ch
28. resigns	

(1) From Black's move 5 to White's move 9, the original transcript is covered with repeated erasures, due to transpositions necessary to secure position as played. With little or no visual content, the transcription was hurried to move 9 erroneously and halted suddenly in the up-stroke of a letter, with an oculomotor feeling upward and to the right. The explanation of this feeling is doubtless that an opera-

tion in the right upper quadrant of the board (from the Black side) had not been executed in the transcription.

In the recovery five sets of corrections had to be made, going back move after move, and small segments of the board with a P, a P and a piece, etc. were caught visually. Time of recovery probably three minutes. Sense of hurry in remainder of transcription.

(2) Muscle tension feeling, probably in right fore arm, interpreted as emotional on account of danger to Black Q and sense of hurry to get piece out of danger.

(3) In original transcription Q—Kt4 was written instead of Q—Kt5. No conscious content. On move 20, White's Q did move to Kt4 (forecast image)?

(4) (Southard made a mistake in transcribing this move as Q—Q2 indicating that these moves, which he recalled, were not made on a chess board but by memory. The correct play must have been as given, Q—B2.)

Evans Gambit, played at 25 moves an hour in the New York State Chess Association Tournament at Trenton Falls, New York, August 21, 1912. Written down from memory 48 hours later, 9 minutes.

G. H. Walcott, WHITE	*E. E. Southard,* BLACK
1. P — K4	P — K4
2. Kt— KB3[1]	Kt — QB3
3. B — B4[2]	B — B4[2]
4. P — QKt4	B x P[3]
5. P — B3	B — R4
6. O — O[4]	Kt — B3
7. P — Q4	P x P
8. P — K5[5]	Kt — K5
9. Q — K2	Kt x BP
10. Kt x Kt	B x Kt
11. Kt — Kt5[6]	Q — K2
12. Kt x BP[7]	P — Q4
13. Kt x R	P x B
14. Q x P[8]	B — K3
15. Q — Kt5	O O O
16. R — Kt	Kt — R4
17. Q — Q3	R x Kt
18. resigns	

(1) Sudden view of White's King's side seen from Black side of Board. Sense of orientation (faint auditory image of "orientation").

(2) Faint visual sense of the region of B4.

(3) Visual image of Black B at R4 as at move 5.

(4) Sense of rushing ahead with moves on an auditory or visual-point basis, as if visual imagery of things on the board itself would be a hindrance rather than a help. This feeling accompanied by a "wide-eyed" feeling with a sense of cold on conjunctiva (O—O = castles).

(5) 8th move, white and black, have some visual imagery, with a feeling of motion in the presence of a fixed White Q at K2 (cf. move 9). One "plays up" or endeavors to arrive at a position to be gotten later.

(6) Color-difference of pieces, a sort of chiaroscuro, due to White's Kt about to stand (move 11) on B7, surrounded by black pieces.

(7) Visual image of Black castled, a maneuver considered strongly but not executed.

(8) Moves 14 to 17 written down with visual accompaniments as follows: White 14, 15 (faint), 17; Black 14, 16, 17.

APPENDIX "D"

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nosis and Treatment Presented in One Hundred and Thirty-Seven Case Histories." Boston, W. M. Leonard, 1917.

130. Alienists and Psychiatrists. Notes on Divisions and Nomenclature of Mental Hygiene. Ment. Hyg. 1: 567-571, 1917.

131. Notes on Gold Sol Diagnostic Work in Neurosyphilis (Psychopathic Hospital, Boston). Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 45: 230-236, 1917.

132. The Desirability of Medical Wardens for Prisons. Proc. Nat. Conf. Soc. Work, Chicago, 44: 589-594, 1917, Reprint 119.

133. Zones of Community Effort in Mental Hygiene. Proc. Nat. Conf. Social Work, Chicago, 44: 405-513, 1917, Reprint 120.

134. Remarks on Advanced Training for Social Workers: A Physician's Point of View. Radcliffe Quarterly, 35-38, 1917.

135. (with M. M. Canavan) Autopsy Material of Poliomyelitis Epidemic of 1916. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 46: 216-217, 1917.

136. (with M. M. Canavan) An Anatomical Search for Non-Tuberculous Dementia Praecox. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 47: 41, 1918.

137. Remarks on the Progress of the Waverley Researches in the Pathology of the Feebleminded. Amer. Assoc. Study Feebleminded, Proc. 42: 48-59, 1918.

138. 1. General Aspects of the Brain Anatomy of the Feeble-Minded. (with Annie E. Taft) 2. Clinical Anatomical, and Brief Histological Description of Ten Cases of Feeblemindedness. (with Annie E. Taft) 3. Neuropathological Correlations with Clinical and Psychometric Findings in Feeble-Mindedness. Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14: No. 2,17-128, 20 plates, 1918.

139. Notes on Researches in Epilepsy at Monson State Hospital, Massachusetts. Bull. Mass. Commission Ment. Dis. 21: No. 2, 10-19, 1918.

140. (with M. M. Canavan) Notes on the Relation of Tuberculosis to Dementia Praecox. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 48: 193-200, 1918.

141. The Kingdom of Evil: Advantages of an Orderly Approach in Social Case Analysis. Proc. Nat. Conf. Social Work, Chicago, 45: 335-340, 1918. (Pamphlet 179.)

142. Suggestions in the Nomenclature of the Feeblemindednesses. Mental Hyg. 2: 605-610, 1918.

143. Shell Shock and After (the Shattuck Lecture). Boston Med. & Surg. Jour. 174: 73-93, 1918.

144. Mental Hygiene and Social Work: Notes on a Course in Social Psychiatry for Social Workers. Ment. Hyg. 2: 388-406, 1918.

145. Insanity versus Mental Diseases. The Duty of the General Practitioner in Psychiatric Diagnosis. Jour. Amer. Med. Assoc. 71: 1259-1264, 1918.

146. The Training School of Psychiatric Social Work at Smith College; II. A Lay Reaction to Psychiatry. Ment. Hyg. 2: 584-585, 1918.

147. Advantages of a Pathological Classification of Nerve Cells, with Remarks on Tissue Decomplication as Shown in the Cerebral and Cerebellar Cortex. Bull. Mass. Commission Ment. Dis. 2: No. 3, 75-89, 1918.

148. Diagnosis per Exclusionem in Ordine: General and Psychiatric Remarks. Jour. Lab. & Clin. Med. 4: 31-54, 1918.

149. The Empathic Index in the Diagnosis of Mental Diseases. Jour. Abnormal Psychol. 13: 199-214, 1918.

150. (with M. M. Canavan) Microlienia and Other Observations on the Spleen in Psychotic Subjects. Bull. Mass. Commission Ment. Dis. 2: No. 3, 136-142, 1918.

151. A Key to the Practical Grouping of Mental Diseases. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 47: 1-19, 1918.

152. Discussion on Illness in Industry—Its Cost and Prevention. Trans. Amer. Inst. Mining Eng. 59: 678-684, 1918.

153. Recent American Classifications of Mental Diseases. Amer. Jour. Ins. 75: 331-349, 1919.

154. Shell Shock and Other Neuropsychiatric Problems Presented in 589 Case Histories from the War Literature, 1914-1918. Boston, W. M. Leonard, 1919.

155. The Function of a Psychopathic Hospital. Canad. Jour. Ment. Hyg. 1: 4-19, 1919.

156. Prothymia: Note on the Morale-Concept in Xenophon's "Cyropedia." Contrib. Med. & Biol. Reas. to Sir William Osler, New York, Hoeber, 2: 786-795, 1919.

157. The Individual versus the Family as a Unit of Interest in Social Work. Ment. Hyg. 3: 436-444, 1919.

158. The Range of the General Practitioner in Psychiatric Diagnosis. Jour. Amer. Med. Assoc. 73: 1253-1256, 1919.

159. Non-Dementia Non-Praecox: A Note on the Advantages of Mental Hygiene of Extirpating a Term. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 50: 251-252, 1919.

160. The Activities of the War Work Committee of the National Society for Mental Hygiene. Jour. Nerv. & Ment. Dis. 49: 44-45, 1919.

161. Sigmund Freud, Pessimist. Jour. Abnormal Psychol. 14: 197-216, 1919.

162. The Genera in Certain Great Groups or Orders of Mental Disease. Arch. Neurol. & Psychiat. 1: 95-112, 1919.

163. On the Focality of Microscopic Brain Lesions Found in Dementia Praecox. Arch. Neurol. & Psychiat. 1: 172-192, 1919.

164. General Psychopathology. Psychol. Bull. 16: 187-199, 1919.

165. (with M. M. Canavan and D. A. Thom)The First Thousand Autopsies of the Pathological Service of the Massachusetts Commission on Mental Diseases, 1914-1919 Proc. Amer. Medico-Psychol. Assoc. 26: 459-466, 1919.

166. Cross-Sections of Mental Hygiene, 1844, 1869, 1894. Amer. Jour. Ins. 76: 91-111, 1919.

167. (with S. L. Pressey) A Review of Industrial Accident Board Cases Examined at the Psychopathic Hospital. Proc. Int. Indus. Accid. Bds. & Comm., 1917, Washington, 4: 159-170, 1919.

168. Applications of the Pragmatic Method to Psychiatry. Jour. Lab. & Clin. Med. 5: 139-145, 1919.

169. An Attempt at an Orderly Grouping of the Feeble-Mindednesses (Hypophrenias) for Clinical Diagnosis. Jour. Psycho-Asthen. 24: 99-113, 1919-1920.

170. The Movement for a Mental Hygiene of Industry. Ment. Hyg. 4: 4364, 1920.

171. The Mental Hygiene of Industry: A Movement that Particularly Concerns Employment Managers. Industrial Management, 59: Feb., 1920.

172. (with H. C. Solomon) Morbi Neurales: An Attempt to Apply a Key Principle to the Differentiation of the Major Groups. Arch. Neurol. & Psychiat. 3: 219-229, 1920.

173. Trade-Unionism and Temperament. Notes upon the Psychiatric Point of View in Industry. Ment. Hyg. 4: 281-300, 1920.

174. The Modern Specialist in Unrest: A Place for the Psychiatrist in Industry. Jour. Indust. Hyg. 2: 11-19, 1920.

175. The Left Hand's Toll. Social Syndrome, 13-15, Feb. 1920.

176. Grail or Dragon: Notes on the Prime Task of Humanity. Ment. Hyg. 5: 71-84, 1921.

177. (with W. E. Fernald, M. M. Canavan, Oscar J. Raeder and Annie E. Taft) Waverley Researches in the Pathology of the Feeble-Minded. Memoirs of American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 14: No. 3, 129-207, 32 plates, 1921.

178. The Kingdom of Evils. Psychiatric Social Work . . .with a Classification of Social Divisions of Evil. New York, Macmillan, 1922, 708 pages.

179. Artistic Experience: Its Relations to Other Forms of Ecstasy. (Unpublished).

And many other finished or partially completed articles, some of which were read before appropriate audiences. These are in part referred to in the text.

APPENDIX "E"

ANATOMY OF THE WICHT—READ JANUARY 27, 1904

No fairer prospect for the Purple Hour
Of WICHTINABEND honors than the task
The URWICHT sets his humblest analogue
(MYSELF, gray scalpel-wielder, EGO dour
And wan from splitting the non-ego's casque),
The task of thridding the illumined fog
Of physiochemical praise opaque
With joy of living and the ions dire,
The breathless faint chirurgical stern chase
ENS REALISSIMUM THE WICHT to wake
And, waking, flay, and flaying, to suspire,—
How little subcutaneous beauty's grace!

Apology forsworn this purple minute
In medias res realissimas here plunge I.
Would I in fixative of wit his tissues
Could forthwith drop, ensampling myriads in it,
Principal parts rehearse like FUNGOR, FUNGI,
And so ensure your wit and mine from misuse!
But, Luckily for wit and eke for Wighthood,
No fixative's required! No tissues are there!
Ray-action maybe, stuffy tissues never.
No lytic (and no lyric) wit's benighthood
Splits, fixes, budges any whit the bar there
Set list aught should love from victory sever.

APPENDIX "F"

A sample of Southard's "Novelettes." Represents a discussion on Cubistic Art with Marcel Duchamp à propos of the latter's famous painting commonly called, "Nude descending a staircase."

MLLE. DE L'ESCALIER

Marcel called her "Mlle. de l'Escalier." Marcel, to be sure, is no part of this story, but I had to put the case to him on the score of his now acknowledged authority in the premises. Altogether aside from the story of Diana, Marcel has projected the idea of the staircase full upon the screen of occidental art. Discussing this art with Marcel, one night, I inadvertently let fall some words about Diana and her now famous défi of the staircase. Whereupon there was nothing for it; Marcel burst the usual bonds of his French moderation and descanted at length upon his famous painting. Descant, expatiate, dissect, exfoliate,—only by such terms can I fitly recall the phrases of Marcel. The entire rush of ideas from Aphrodite's foam to the red cotton night-cap country was displayed and no decision rendered. The best we could unite on was that somehow putting together is nothing but taking apart. Of course, if we put it, that synthesis is nothing but analysis, the whole argument falls flat, for somebody must have said that before, and after all in the case of Aphrodite and the delivering foam, there was synthesis. When the headless foam let the Goddess slip forth, there was a severing, and as Marcel pointed out, even a dehiscence. Now severing and dehiscence are beyond question matters of analysis, or as you might say in plain English, of taking apart. Anyhow, when the staircase was projected on the screen of art and upon the staircase, the famous foil of Aphrodite was itself projected. There was, unfortunately, as I pointed out to Marcel, a frightful instance of imitation, for as usual the Orient was before us. "But this foil," cried Marcel, "was not projected, at least not alone projected." "What then?" we cried; "Was he let fall through? Was he somehow lurking beneath, as it were interjected between the treads?" Descent was clearly the obvious account; at all events the public account; but, we pointed out, descent might be merely in the moving-picture wise, and nothing but a matter of projection. Nor would any new principle, as Marcel readily agreed, be uncovered if projection was sidewise. Much interest might ensue upon an appearance from behind the staircase. This novelty of hollow and empty risers enchained Marcel's phrases for a moment. For a moment only, however, for no one of the three dimensions of daily life had aught for Marcel. Daily life itself was perhaps naught, but nevertheless we pointed out that Marcel had borrowed

a staircase from daily life and demolish it though he might, the staircase yet remained. There was the staircase living in the title. It might be condescension for Marcel, but if Marcel had condescended, at least the foil of Aphrodite had himself descended in some form.

"Well," said Marcel when the phase of the caramel custard and the red cotton night-cap country had arrived, "it is idle to explain it; I do not explain it. It is, after all, the fourth dimension." Whereat we separated for that portion of the night which remained, and to this day I do not know more of the staircase and the peculiar jacency of him who descended than can be expressed in the formula *exfoliate*. The staircase was exfoliate upon the occidental screen. He who executed the parlous descent was also exfoliate. The staircase and the somehow adjacent, super-jacent, subjacent, intrajacent, or otherwise-jacent (say in the manner of Riemann) descendant of the staircase was also exfoliate. Putting together was taking apart, synthesis was analysis, or put more simply still, thesis was lysis. To place upon a screen at all was to snuff out the life you set out with.

So much for Marcel's idea concerning the staircase. As I pointed out to him, Diana was at all events arrived, and so far from being snuffed out is leading a larger though possibly psychopathic life. I pointed out to him that, as an artist, he probably knew little or nothing about life and I only called upon him because, as an alienist, I might know still less. We were both hopeless analysts, I conceded, but I remained with the products of the foam, and as for Marcel, what did he have for all this extraordinary analysis but the well-know explosion in a shingle factory.

The facts that I laid before Marcel were not complete, nor did I know when I discussed the case with him what might be the outcome of the story.

Dictated Nov. 17, 1916. *(To be continued)*

APPENDIX "G"

Dr. Southard's editorial responsibilities during the latter years of his life were those of Associate Editor on:

ARCHIVES OF NEUROLOGY AND PSYCHIATRY
JOURNAL OF NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASE
JOURNAL OF CLINICAL AND LABORATORY MEDICINE
JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY
BULLETIN OF MASSACHUSETTS COMMISSION ON MENTAL DISEASES.
EPILEPSIA

Dr. Southard's membership in scientific societies was as follows:

American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Association of American Physicians
American Association of Pathologists and Bacteriologists
Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine
American Medical Association
American Association for the Advancement of Science
American Medico-Psychological Association
(President 1919)
American Neurological Association
National Association for the Study of Epilepsy
National Association for the Study of Feeble-Mindedness
New England Psychiatric Society
Massachusetts Medical Society
Boston Society of Psychiatry and Neurology
(President elect 1920)
American Genetic Association
American Psychopathological Association
National Research Council
(CHAIRMAN NEUROPSYCHIATRIC DIVISION)
Bedford Hills Laboratory
(MEMBER OF BOARD OF SCIENTIFIC DIRECTORS)
Bureau of Social Hygiene
National Committee of Mental Hygiene
Boston Society of the Medical Sciences
American Breeders Association (Chairman, Eugenics Section 1912)
Eugenics Record Office (BOARD OF SCIENTIFIC ADVISORS, SECTION ON NERVOUS AND MENTAL DISEASES)

APPENDIX "H"

CHAPTER I

1 At successive stages in his life Dr. Southard subscribed himself—Elmer E. Southard, E. E. Southard, and Ernest Southard; he was familiarly called Ernest from the beginning, or even "Ernie" in home circles, and never "Elmer" except by those who knew him less well.

2 Kindly loaned me by Mrs. Oliver Perkins, a niece of Olive Southard.

3 See page 151.

4 Myrtelle M. Canavan.[2]

5 Followed by "d," "b," "e," "c," in sequence.

6 His own neologism. See p. 101.

7 Harvard Class '97. Secretary's Fifth Report, 1917.

8 Kindly furnished by Frances M. Southard, a cousin. Also consulted Webber, S. G., "Southard Family. A Genealogy of the Southworths (Southards), Descendants of Constant Southworth." Fort Hill Press, 1905.

9 Dr. Thomas Ordway of the Albany Medical School.

CHAPTER II

1 See page 214.

2 George M. Gould. "Biographic Clinics. Influence of Visual Function upon Health," six volumes. Philadelphia, P. Blakiston Son & Co., 1903-1909.

3 In particular, Myrtelle M. Canavan. "Elmer Ernest Southard and His Parents—A Brain Study." The University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Privately published, 1925.

4 Richard C. Cabot.

5 Donald Gregg.

6 Robert Clement.

7 See Canavan, M. M.[2] in Appendix "A."

CHAPTER III

1 Thomas J. Sheehan, Headmaster.

2 Pauline Holmes: A Tercentenary History of the Boston Public Latin School, 1635-1935. Harvard University Press, 1935.

3 See Chapter XII.

4 The Latin School Register, 12: 158, 1893.

5 Henry Harisse, "Christophe Colomb," Paris, E. Leroux, 2 volumes, 1884-85.

CHAPTER IV

1 See Chapter XI.

2 *Harvard Monthly,* 21: 84, 1895.

3 Robert Clement.

4 Robert M. Yerkes,[3] "Introduction to Psychology," New York, Henry Holt & Co., 1911, Chapter 16.

5 In Appendix "C" we have given Southard's own transcription of the two games against Wolcott and Ferris, respectively, as examples of his successful tournament chess, together with his "Chess Imagery" as given in footnotes.

6 So-Called after the Danvers State Hospital, owing to the apparent "Insanity" of such an opening.

7 Yale Alumni Weekly, 6: (Jan. 7) 2, 1897.

8 Richard C. Cabot[2] Refers to published material; see page 291.

9 Corroborated by Clarence I. Lewis.

CHAPTER V

1 These uncredited quotations from Southard are in nearly every instance from his letters and conversations with the author.

2 The numerical references in the text and in footnotes refer to the chronologically arranged publications of Southard listed in Appendix "D."

CHAPTER VI

1 Ralph L. Thompson.

2 Harvard Class '97. Fourth Report, 1912.

3 Gilbert N. Lewis

4 At least one of his contributions was in verse of an over-intellectualized and cryptic form (Appendix "E").

5 Harry W. Morse.

CHAPTER VII

1 The subsequent success or eminence of this entire group is of interest.

2 The Bullard Professorship of Neuropathology, which Southard was first to fill, was endowed March 2, 1906, by Louisa Norton Bullard and her children, in memory of her husband, William Story Bullard, East India merchant of Boston, who was for twenty-three years a trustee of McLean Asylum, in order to record his unfailing interest in the relief of sufferers from nervous and mental diseases, and his belief in benefits from future scientific research.

The deed of Gift reads that: "This Professorship shall embrace study, research, investigation, and teaching in relation to disease of the nervous system whether functional or organic, and shall include not only the affections ordinarily classed under Neurology, but all diseases and disturbances, both those classed under Psychiatry and any others that may exist. The methods and detail of work under this Professorship are not restricted. It should include any form of research and investigation which may lead to the increase of knowledge of nervous and mental disease. It comprises the comparative study of these diseases in animals and all other living forms."

3 Edwin M. Deery.

4 It has interested me to obtain the unbiased opinion of this outline, interpreted by an able neuropathologist, thirty years later. My colleague, Dr. Edwin M. Deery writes: "This outline by Southard is a comprehensive survey greatly condensed. The remarks upon size, shape, color, and consistency of the brain, as a whole are in no sense out of date. His observations upon small pin point hemorrhages into the brain could have been written unchanged today. Like-wise there is nothing new today to add to regeneration of nerves. The microscopic

descriptions are entirely good and modern with the single exception of neuroglia. The fact that this aspect of his report is not up to date is directly explainable by the advent of the new metallic stains. The subject of new growths is out of date but is in no way less informative or inconclusive than many treatments of the subject of brain tumors to be found in modern text-books of general pathology. Here again the explanation lies in the development since that time of glioma classifications, made possible by the metallic methods. The remarks on tabes were very comprehensive for that time but improved methods of diagnosing syphilis have since changed the problem.

I was greatly impressed with his ability to condense a large amount of information into small space. The outline is highly factual and for its time and scope the best I have read. He was obviously extremely well informed on a wide range of neuro-pathological points. I find nothing in this survey which is now outmoded that is not directly explainable through work carried out after the paper was written."

CHAPTER VIII

1 See Appendix "A"; second reference under Cabot.

2 Henry Jackson Watt.

3 M. Bentley and E. V. Cowdry: *The Problem of Mental Disorder,* New York, McGraw-Hill Book Co., Chapter 5, 1935.

4 See in particular, Chapter XIV.

CHAPTER IX

1 Louis A. Lurie, Director of the Child Guidance Home in Cincinnati.

2 See page 194 *et seq.*

3 Dr. George J. Wright.

4 Robert M. Yerkes.

5 Oscar Raeder.

6 See Annual Report of the Rockefeller Foundation, 1934.

7 Posthumously published by Mary C. Jarrett as "The Kingdom of Evils," in 1923.

8 Harold I. Gosline.

CHAPTER X

1 Arthur P. Noyes.

2 Including Christian, Edsall, Lee, Howell, and Southard.

3 Articles 171, 173, 174. Appendix "D."

4 One may also consult to advantage in this connection "The Human Mind," by Karl A. Menninger,[2] page 413.

CHAPTER XI

1 Later called the New York State Psychiatric Institute (Wards Island, and then at the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center.)

2 Op. cit. page 525.

3 The choice of the group "LITIGIA" gave most concern to its author. In studying his earlier publications, and particularly his notes, I find that he considered and finally rejected as a heading for this group, "CRIMINA" (crimes). In turn "DELICTA" (delinquencies), was found

to point too much to a so-called "positive" law; "CULPA" was too purely moral in tone; "SCELERA" (intentional injury to others) was too narrow; "FACINORA," "FLAGITIA," "NEFAS" and "PECCATA" were likewise too particularizing. "LITIGIA," or legal entanglement, then, covers best those controversies and disagreements with others that "look in the direction of the courts but do not necessarily reach them." The wisdom of the final choice of this term, its justification, and its significance as a true evil, is emphasized by that eminent jurist Roscoe Pound (in a section contributed to the "Kingdom of Evils,") Professor Pound's own comment on the entire work itself as, "a book to quarry in," is the highest tribute to its importance.

4 See Chapter XIV.

5 Quoted from a letter from Mr. De Coppet to Professor J. H. Woods of Harvard.

6 See this letter in more detail on page 190.

CHAPTER XII

1 Edward L. Thorndike.

2 Ralph B. Perry.

3 Norman Fenton.

4 Myrtelle M. Canavan.

5 Walter B. Cannon.

6 Lydiard H. Horton.

7 F. Stuart Chapin.

8 Downey L. Harris.

9 Harry W. Morse.

10 Lydiard H. Horton.

11. Ralph B. Perry.

12 Robert M. Yerkes.

13 Ida M. Cannon.

14 Earl D. Bond.

15 Ralph B. Perry,[2] loc. cit. 1: 142, 143, 1935.

16 e. g., article 158. Appendix "D."

17 See page 174.

18 Ralph B. Perry.[2]

19 Letter from Dr. Harold I. Gosline.

20 See page 248.

21 See page 233.

22 Lydiard H. Horton.

23 L. Vernon Briggs.

24 Walter R. Miles.

25 William Pepperell Montague.

26 George C. Cox.

27 Ralph B. Perry,[2] "The Thought and Character of William James," 2: 122, 1935.

28 W. Beran Wolfe, "The Twilight of Psychoanalysis," American Mercury, Vol. 35: 385, 1933.

29 Lydiard H. Horton.

30 From a letter of E. E. S. to J. J. Putnam, Jan. 19, 1916.

31 Letter to Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe, August 15, 1919.

32 E. E. S. Jour. Abnormal Psych., 10: 276, 1915, in discussion of a paper by G. Stanley Hall on "Anger as a Primary Emotion, and the Application of Freudian Mechanisms to its Phenomena," ibid 10: 81, 1915.

33 Discussion of the paper "Psychoanalytic Tendencies," William A. White, Amer. Jour. Insanity, 73:

599, 1916-17. (Read at the seventy-second annual meeting of the American Medico-Psychological Assoc., New Orleans, La., April 4-7, 1916.)

34 Albert T. Poffenberger. "The Psychology of This and That," Columbia University Quarterly, 27: 379, 1935.

35 E. E. S. letter to James J. Putnam, June 27, 1913.

36 E. E. S. letter to James J. Putnam, January 19, 1916.

37 E. E. S. letter to James J. Putnam, June 27, 1913.

38 E. E. S. letter to Smith Ely Jelliffe, September 24, 1919.

39 E. E. S. letter to James J. Putnam, June 27, 1913

40 E. E. S. letter to Smith Ely Jelliffe, September 24, 1919.

41 E. E. S. letter to Smith Ely Jelliffe, May 5, 1915.

42 William A. White, loc. cit.

43 E. E. S. letter to James J. Putnam, June 27, 1913.

44 Letter E. E. S. to James J. Putnam, June 22, 1916.

45 Letter E. E. S. to James J. Putnam, June 22, 1916.

46 E. E. S. Report of Pathologist to State Board of Insanity, p. 85, 1910.

47 Drawn particularly from an unpublished paper: "Structure Versus Function in Psychopathology." Read before the American Psychological Assoc., Dec. 31, 1912.

48 E. E. S. Articles 100, 109, 128, 164 Appendix "D."

49 Ida M. Cannon.

50 See page 151 and article 157.

51 Ralph B. Perry.

52 Dr. Southard's plans written for Dr. Richard C. Cabot, August 28, 1919. See in full page 284.

53 Norman Fenton.

CHAPTER XIII

1 George E. MacPherson.

2 Myrtelle M. Canavan.

3 Harry G. Solomon.

4 Robert F. Loeb.

5 Tracy J. Putnam.

6 Charles B. Spruit.

7 Ida M. Cannon.

8 Samuel T. Orton.

9 William A. Hinton.

10 See page 319, Chap. VII, Note 2.

11 See page 123.

12 See page 129.

13 Victor V. Anderson.

14 See, for example, H. H. Hart, 'The Unhappiness of Genius," Jour. Nerv. & Mental Dis., 80: 410, 556, 1934.

15 J. McKeen Cattell, "A Statistical Study of Eminent Men," Popular Science Monthly, 62: 359, 1902-03.

16 Lippincott's Biographical Dictionary, Encyclopedia Britannica, Rose's Biographical Dictionary, Le Dictionnaire de Biographie générale, Beaujean's Dictionnaire Biographique, Brockhaus' Conversationlexicon.

17 Lawson G. Lowrey.

18 Karl A. Menninger.

CHAPTER XIV

1 Quoted from Southard No. 160. Appendix "D."

2 Lydiard H. Horton.

3 Robert M. Yerkes.

4 Leland B. Alford.[2]

5 Albert M. Barrett.

6 Henry R. Viets.

7 Myrtelle M. Canavan.

8 Lydiard H. Horton.

9 Karl A. Menninger.

10 Professor F. Stuart Chapin.

11 Adolf Meyer, Amer. Jour. Psychiatry, Vol. VII, 1, 1928. The single case was undoubtedly that of Josiah Royce whom he attended following his attack of apoplexy.

12 Frederick Tilney.

13 Norman Fenton, loc. cit. No. 2.

14 See page 283.

15 See page 167.

16 See page 200.

17 G. Philip Grabfield.

18 Leland B. Alford, loc. cit. No. 2.

19 See particularly pp. 282-3. There were also a number of other topics on which he wrote. Among them may be mentioned: Alcoholism (73); The effect of fasting on mentality (61); Senile dementia (47); Homeopathy (58); a number of articles on Hospital Organization, particularly the organization of psychopathic hospitals (51, 59, 74, 86, 115, 155); Medical wardens in prisons (132).

20 In a letter to Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe (1918) he wrote ". . .You have utterly missed the point and read quite superficially (to my way of thinking), if you think my motive in recent classification is nothing but a throwback to Linnæus. The throwback is to Aristotle at least—in short, I do nothing but classify in a field that has not been dominated by logicians."

21 See articles 29, 49, 63, 65, 75, 101, 118, 119, 121, 149.

22 Quoted from a letter from E. E. S. to Dr. Smith Ely Jelliffe September 24, 1919.

23 Article 118.

24 Karl A. Menninger.

25 Carl L. Alsberg.

26 Myrtelle M. Canavan.

27 E. E. S. letter to William N. Bullard, 1918.

28 E. E. S. letter to Charles B. Davenport.

29 Karl A. Menninger.

30 Leland B. Alford, loc. cit. No. 2

31 D. J. McCarthy, Mental Hygiene, 4: 704-705, 1920.

32 Harold I. Gosline.

33 Articles 32, 54, 56, 64, 92, 93, 96, 105, 116, 125, 140, 159, 163.

34 Leland B. Alford. No .2

35 Leland B. Alford, loc. cit. No. 2.

36 Carl L. Alsberg.

CHAPTER XV

1 Ralph B. Perry,[2] loc. cit. 2: 257, 1935.

2 "Artistic Experience: Its Relation to other Forms of Ecstasy." (179- unpublished.)

3 In a folder of Southard's labeled: "Numbers Elect," are gathered pages of data concerning "Tetrads": The four grammatical modes; the directions of the compass; logical modalities (necessary, contingent, impossible, possible); the Fortitude, Temperance, Prudence and Justice of Ethics; Bacon's Four "idols"; the Four gospels; the Four temperaments (choleric, phlegmatic, sanguine and melancholic). Out of this was growing a title such as: "The World on all Fours"; "Cardinal Categories of the Universe"; "Quarterings of the World"; or "Tetradic Universe"—to give only a sample of those that had already been jotted down.
4 See page 233.
5 Karl A. Menninger.
6 Presented in New York City as "Plums in the Dust," in 1936, without great popular success.
7 Walter C. Arensberg.
8 Walter C. Arensberg.
9 See Appendix "F."
10 Charles Sheeler.

CHAPTER XVI

1 L. Vernon Briggs
2 Robert Clement.
3 Lydiard H. Horton.
4 Robert M. Yerkes.
5 Henry A. Christian.
6 Lydiard H. Horton.
7 Douglas A. Thom.
8 Ida M. Cannon.
9 Harold I. Gosline.
10 Oscar J. Raeder.
11 Norman Fenton.
12 Leland B. Alford.
13 Letter from Dr. Walter E. Fernald to Dr. Mabel A. Southard, March 1920.
14 Karl A. Menninger.
15 William P. Lucas.
16 Lawson G. Lowrey.
17 Herman M. Adler.
18 Norman Fenton.
19 Harold I. Gosline.
20 Ralph B. Perry, loc. cit. No. 2.
21 Harry W. Morse.
22 Harry W. Morse.
23 Robert M. Yerkes.

CHAPTER XVII

1 Gay, F. P., Oxford System of Medicine, 1: 177, 1919; "Agents of Disease and Host Resistance." Gay and Collaborators, Springfield, Ill., C. C. Thomas, 1935, Chapter 2.
2 See under E. E. Southard in Appendix "A."
3 ἔλαφος (= a buck); δίδωμι (= to pass or give).
4 See page 179.
5 Here follows a paragraph on his interest in feeblemindedness, see page 239.
6 Here follows a paragraph on his relation to his own family, see page 202.
7 Peirce's Collected Papers are still in course of preparation under the auspices of Harvard University. Apparently six volumes have appeared under the editorship of Dr. Charles Hartshorne and Dr. Paul Weiss, and four more are due. (Cassius J. Keyser, loc. cit.)
8 See Appendix "G."
9 See page 255.
10-11 Myrtelle M. Canavan.[2]

COLOPHON

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