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The Trial, Execution, Autopsy and Mental Status of Leon F. Czolgosz, Alias Fred Nieman, the Assassin of President McKinley.

By CARLOS F. MACDONALD, A.M., M.D., NEW YORK,

Professor of Mental Diseases and Medical Jurisprudence in the University and Bellevue Hospital Medical College; Ex-President of the New York State Commission in Lunacy.

WITH A REPORT OF THE POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION

By EDWARD ANTHONY SPITZKA, College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City.

THE TRIAL, EXECUTION, AUTOPSY AND MENTAL STATUS OF LEON F. CZOLGOSZ.

BY CARLOS F. MACDONALD, A. M., M. D.

The terrible shock which the assassination of President McKinley, by Leon F. Czolgosz, at Buffalo, New York, on September 6, 1901, imparted to the entire civilized world, and which naturally engendered in the public mind a mingled feeling of horror, vindictiveness and revenge,—a feeling which was exceeded only by the profound sense of sorrow and depression which took possession of the people, when a few days later it was realized, that despite the highest efforts of surgical and medical skill, a fatal result to the distinguished victim was inevitable,—naturally sug-

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gested, both to the lay and medico-legal mind, the need of inquiry as to the mental status and responsibility of the perpetrator of so repulsive and atrocious an act. Moreover, there are many persons who are disposed to hold that the enormity of such a crime is in itself sufficient evidence to warrant the opinion of the existence of insanity, merely because it seems to them inconsistent with the principles of ordinary rational conduct, even though aside from the act itself there be nothing in the entire life and conduct of the individual that is suggestive of mental disease. On the other hand, there are many who, in view of the magnitude of the crime, would oppose the granting of exemption from the ordinary consequences of capital offenses even though the offender were a raving maniac. Suffice it to say that the position taken by such persons, in either case, is untenable, and would be an untrustworthy test of responsibility as regards the ends of justice, whether viewed from a legal or a medical standpoint.

It need scarcely be said that the question as to whether or not a certain act is the offspring of mental disease, cannot always with safety be determined by the act itself, but must be determined by all the attendant circumstances leading up to and surrounding the act.

"An act of violence," says Ray, "must not be attributed to insanity merely because to a person of high culture and correct morals, it seems inexplicable on the ordinary principles of human conduct."

According to the Code of Criminal Procedure of the State of New York, Section 21, the legal test of mental unsoundness, as applied to criminal cases, is based on the assumption that insanity is a question of law to be determined by the court, and that the question of responsibility in mental disease hinges upon a knowledge of right and wrong as to the particular act at the time it was committed; whereas medical science holds that insanity, in its relation to crime, is always a question of fact to be determined like any other fact in evidence, aided of course, in such case, by the interpretation of expert opinion evidence, and that whenever its presence can be so determined, the accused should be absolved from responsibility, irrespective of the form or degree of his mental disease or the nature of the act committed. "All that medical science has to do in any such case," says Dr. John P. Gray, "is to say whether the deed springs from disease or not. If it does not, the man is responsible, however ghastly, seemingly purposeless or vindictive the act may be." In other words, medical science holds that the whole question of responsibility should rest upon the presence or absence of mental disease,

and not upon a knowledge of right and wrong as regards the nature and consequences of the act in question, and that that which in fact is a condition of mental disease cannot in law be a condition of mental health.

The question to be determined then, in the case of Czolgosz, from the legal standpoint, as embodied in the Code of Criminal Procedure of the State of New York, was: When he shot the President did he know the nature and quality of the act he was doing, and that the act was wrong? If this question could be determined in the affirmative, then he was responsible under the law, and punishable for the offense which he committed, even though he was medically insane, so to speak.

On the other hand, the question to be determined from the standpoint of medical science was: Was Czolgosz at the time he committed the act a victim of mental disease or mental unsoundness? If so, according to the dictum of medical science, he was not responsible and hence not punishable for the act he committed. These are the sole questions upon which the guilt or innocence of the accused must rest, whether in the eyes of the law or in the judgment of medical science, and it follows logically that if he were guilty of crime owing to the absence of mental disease, he was equally guilty within the intent and meaning of the statute. Such being the case, the subject of the responsibility of the accused resolves itself into a question of health or disease—sanity or insanity. Hence the application of the legal test may be dismissed from further consideration here, and we may proceed to consider the question of his responsibility from a medical point of view.

THE TRIAL.

The trial of Czolgosz which took place in the city of Buffalo, N. Y., on September 23-4, 1901, Hon. Truman C. White, Presiding Justice, was neither attended by delay "nor harassed by the trivial technicalities of the law." The "machinery of justice" moved so smoothly and so rapidly, that the jury was procured, the case tried, and a verdict of guilty rendered within a period of two court days, with sessions from 10 to 12 o'clock in the forenoons and 2 to 4 o'clock in the afternoons, the time actually occupied being eight and a half hours in all. The proceedings were marked by no melo-dramatic or sensational episodes or unseemly wrangle among counsel; while the fact that, under the extraordinary circumstances, the trial was not anticipated or interrupted by any riotous demonstration against the prisoner—any attempt at mob or lynch law—when he appeared in public, affords

striking proof of the respect for law and order which prevails in the community where the trial was held. Czolgosz was brought into court closely guarded by a double cordon of police, and handcuffed to an officer on either side. He was neatly dressed and cleanly in appearance, his face clean-shaven, and hair neatly combed.

The preparation and trial of the case on the part of the people by the Hon. Thomas Penny, District Attorney, and his assistant, Mr. Haller, was well nigh faultless. Shortly after his arrest, the District Attorney procured from Czolgosz a statement several pages in length, which was taken down in longhand, in narrative form, each page of which he signed after himself making corrections and revisions as to matters which he claimed the reporter had misapprehended. This statement gave in detail facts concerning his premeditations and preparations for the crime, also his movements for some time prior, and up to the time of the shooting. The District Attorney also within a few hours after the crime was committed, proceeded to put the prisoner under the observation of local experts in mental disease, namely, Drs. Joseph Fowler, Police Surgeon, Floyd S. Crego and James W. Putnam. These physicians had free access to him, down to and during the trial—covering a period of nearly three weeks during which they examined him repeatedly and made a careful study of his case with reference to his mental condition. The District Attorney also permitted the experts on either side to confer together freely, and allowed those for the defense to have free access to all facts and information relative to the case in his possession—a proceeding which in effect was equivalent to the appointment of a commission of five experts—three for the prosecution, and two for the defense—to determine the prisoner's mental condition. This course on the part of the District Attorney, marks a new departure in the methods of getting expert evidence in criminal trials where the question of mental responsibility is involved, which is to be highly commended as a practical measure tending to eliminate much superfluous testimony, and at the same time to minimize the danger of contradictory expert opinions.

In view of the great importance of the case, it is regrettable that no experts were called to testify on the trial as to the prisoner's mental condition, in order that it might appear on the record of the trial that his mental state was inquired into and determined by competent authority. Had the experts on either side been given the opportunity of thus stating officially their unanimous conclusion, together with the grounds on which it

was based and the methods by which it was reached, it would have left in the public mind no room for reasonable doubt as to its absolute correctness, and that it had been arrived at only by the rules of professional conduct governing the examination of such cases.

The attorneys assigned by the court to the defendant, at the request of the Bar Association of Erie County, were ex-judges Loran L. Lewis and Robert C. Titus, both prominent lawyers and highly respected citizens of Buffalo. For obvious reasons, these gentlemen were reluctant to undertake what they regarded as a most distasteful task, and consented to do so only from a high sense of duty to the public, at the urgent solicitation of the President—Hon. Adelbert Moot—and other prominent members of the Bar Association, on Saturday, September 21st, preceding the trial, which began on Monday, the 23rd.

Respecting the defense, it appears that substantially no preparation was made, beyond a fruitless effort of counsel to confer with the prisoner, and the examinations made of him at their request, by Dr. Hurd and the writer, with reference to his mental condition, and a verbal statement by them to counsel, of their conclusion that he was not insane. It also appears that no plea was entered by the attorneys for the defense, but Czolgosz, speaking for the first time in court, entered a plea of guilty to the indictment, which plea the court promptly rejected, and directed that one of not guilty be entered on the record for the defendant.

Each juror on qualifying said, in answer to the usual question, that he had formed an opinion as to the guilt of the prisoner, but that his opinion could be removed by reasonable evidence tending to show that the defendant was innocent. And yet, to one accustomed to being in court and observing jurors when qualifying, it was difficult to avoid the impression that each of the jurors in this case held a mental reservation to convict the prisoner. Had Czolgosz been on trial for the murder of a common citizen, instead of the President, it is safe to say that not one of the jury, as completed, would have been accepted by the defense; and instead of getting a jury in approximately one hour and a half, that feature of the trial alone would probably have occupied several days.

Having in view the nature and importance of the case, the fact that no testimony was offered on the defendant's behalf, and that practically no defense was made, beyond a perfunctory examination of jurors, and a mild cross-examination of some of the people's witnesses, which was limited to efforts to elicit information respecting the President's condition during his illness

and of his body after death, and a summing up by one of the counsel—Judge Lewis—which consisted mainly of an apology for appearing as counsel for the defendant, and a touching eulogy of his distinguished victim, renders the case, in this respect, a unique one in the annals of criminal jurisprudence.

The jury retired for deliberation about 4 P. M., and returned in less than half an hour with a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree. Czolgosz heard the verdict of the jury standing, and without appreciable display of emotion. Several of the jurors were reported to have said after the trial, that the jury was in favor of conviction unanimously from the first, and could have rendered a verdict without leaving their seats, but deemed it best to make a pretense at deliberation "for appearance' sake." Czolgosz was remanded to jail for two days, and on Thursday, September 26th, was sentenced to be executed by electricity at Auburn Prison, in the week beginning October 28th, 1901.

When Czolgosz returned to his cell after his conviction he ate a hearty supper, and soon thereafter went to bed and slept continuously until midnight, when the guard was changed, when he awoke for a few minutes, and then slept again until 6 A. M., when he arose and took a short walk in the cell corridor, after which he made a careful toilet, and at 7.30 partook of a hearty breakfast. He talked freely, as usual, on ordinary topics, but maintained his usual silence respecting his crime, and would not talk of the trial or the verdict. On Thursday, September 26th, he was removed from the Buffalo jail to the State Prison at Auburn, N. Y., where he was confined in a "death cell," until his execution took place.

THE EXECUTION.

Czolgosz was executed by electricity on the morning of October 29, 1901. The official witnesses, consisting of the Superintendent of State Prisons and other prominent New York State officials, several physicians, three representative press associations, Mr. Spitzka and others and the official physicians, Dr. John Gerin, Prison Physician, and myself, having been assembled in the execution room, and having received the usual admonition from the Warden, as to the maintenance of order during the execution, the prisoner was conducted to the room a few minutes after 7 A. M. Every precaution was taken by the Warden, who had immediate charge of the execution, to minimize the opportunity for notoriety or sensationalism on the part of the prisoner as well as to insure that his taking off should be effected in an orderly and dignified manner.

As Czolgosz entered the room, he appeared calm and self-possessed, his head was erect and his face bore an expression of defiant determination. The guards, one on either side, quietly and quickly guided him to the fatal chair, the binding straps were rapidly adjusted to his arms, legs and body, and the head and leg electrodes were quickly placed *in situ* and connected with the wire which was to transmit the lethal current through his body. These preliminaries occupied about one minute. Czolgosz offered no resistance whatever, but during the preparations addressed himself to the witnesses in a clear, distinct voice in the following significant language: "I killed the President because he was the enemy of the good people—the good working people. I am not sorry for my crime. I am sorry I could not see my father." At this moment, everything being in readiness, the Warden signalled the official electrician in charge of the switch, who immediately turned the lever which closed the circuit and shot the deadly current through the criminal's body, which was instantly thrown into a state of tonic spasm, involving apparently every fibre of the entire muscular system. At the same time, consciousness, sensation and motion were apparently absolutely abolished.

Two electrical contacts were made, occupying in all one minute and five seconds. In the first contact the electromotive pressure was maintained at 1800 volts for seven seconds, then reduced to 300 volts for twenty-three seconds, increased to 1800 volts for four seconds and again reduced to 300 volts for twenty-six seconds—one minute in all—when the contact was broken. The second contact, which was made at the instance of the writer as a precautionary measure, but which was probably unnecessary, was maintained at 1800 volts for five seconds. That conscious life was absolutely destroyed the instant the first contact was made, was conceded by all of the medical witnesses present; also that organic life was abolished within a few seconds thereafter.

Czolgosz was pronounced dead by the attending physicians and several of the other physicians present, after personal examination, in four minutes from the time he entered the room; one minute of this period, as already stated, was occupied in the preliminary preparations, one minute and five seconds in the electrical contacts, and the remainder of the time in examinations by the physicians to determine the fact of death.

THE AUTOPSY.

The autopsy was made by Mr. Edward A. Spitzka, under the

direction of the official physicians, Dr. Gerin and myself. The examination occupied about four and a half hours, and embraced a most careful, gross examination of all the viscera, attention being especially directed to the brain and its meninges. The accompanying masterly description of the post-mortem findings and especially of the condition and anatomical structure of the brain by Mr. Spitzka, leaves nothing to be said here upon this point beyond the fact that the autopsy revealed no evidence whatever of disease or deformity of any of the bodily organs including the brain, which was normal in size, shape, weight and appearance, and was well developed in all respects,—a conclusion which was concurred in by all of the physicians present, several of whom had witnessed the execution.

In deference to the expressed wish of the relatives of Czolgosz, and for reasons of a sentimental nature on the part of the State authorities, the Prison Warden declined positively to allow any portion of the body to be removed from the Prison. Consequently, and regrettably, it was impossible for the examiners to retain honorable possession of any portion of the brain for microscopic examination and study. Accurate measurements, however, of the head and its appendages, of the face and of the exterior and interior of the skull, together with detail anatomical drawings and descriptions of the brain were made; also plaster molds of the head from which a cast was subsequently made and photographs of the same—full face and profile—taken. These measurements, together with plates of the drawings and photographs are presented in Mr. Spitzka's report of the autopsy.

In view of its great importance both to medical science and to medical jurisprudence, the writer regards it as fortunate that the State was able to secure the services of so able a brain anatomist and skilled operator and draughtsman as Mr. Spitzka, to make the post-mortem examination.

THE MENTAL STATUS.

On Thursday, September 19th, 1901, I received a telegram requesting me to meet Mr. Adelbert Moot, President of the Erie County Bar Association, in Buffalo, New York, on the following morning. On my arrival in Buffalo the next day, Mr. Moot informed me that he had sent for me for the purpose of requesting me to inquire into the mental condition of Leon F. Czolgosz, confined in the Buffalo jail, under indictment for the murder of President McKinley, and whose trial was to begin on the following Monday. Mr. Moot further stated in substance that three local experts had already examined the prisoner for the District

Attorney, but in view of the enormity of the offense and the fact that there obviously could be no legitimate defense other than insanity, it was deemed important, in the interests of justice, that his mental condition should be investigated by other experts acting in behalf of the defense, or at least independently of the prosecution to the end that the prisoner should be accorded every legal right, there being no desire to convict him if he were not mentally responsible, and that I had been selected for this responsible duty. With a deep sense of the responsibility involved, I consented to act, provided it should be distinctly understood that I was not there as a partisan expert in behalf of either side, but simply in a professional capacity to aid in determining the real mental state of the prisoner, and providing further that my selection would be acceptable to the eminent counsel whom the Bar Association had selected for the defense, should they decide to accept that duty, a matter which was then undecided. On the following morning—Saturday—Mr. Moot informed me that the gentlemen referred to had consented to act, and invited me to meet them in conference, which I did, and which resulted in their requesting me to proceed at once to examine into the prisoner's mental condition and to report my conclusion to them as soon as I had reached one. They also assented readily to my proposal to invite Dr. Arthur W. Hurd to become associated with me professionally in the case, Dr. Hurd being the Superintendent of the Buffalo State Hospital for the Insane, and a competent alienist of large experience in mental diseases. It was also agreed that we should be allowed to confer freely with the District Attorney and with the experts for the people, after completing our personal examination of the prisoner. Being unable to establish communication with Dr. Hurd before evening of that day, and in view of the short time intervening before the trial, I decided to make a preliminary examination of Czolgosz alone, and did so that afternoon, in the District Attorney's office, first disclosing to him my identity and the object of my interview, and informing him of his legal right to decline to answer any question I might ask him.

I examined him again on the following day—Sunday—in the jail, jointly with Dr. Hurd, and in the presence of one of his guards who was questioned at length, respecting his observations of him in the jail, as to his habits of eating, sleeping, talking, reading, etc. We subsequently interviewed the District Attorney and the Superintendent of Police, General Bull, who gave us all the facts and information in their possession respecting the case. The statement which Czolgosz made to the District At-

torney shortly after his arrest, throws much light on his mental condition on the day of the crime, but that official deemed it his duty to refuse to allow me to publish it. We also conferred at length with the people's experts—Drs. Fowler, Crego and Putnam, who stated to us separately and in detail their observations and examinations of him. We also observed him carefully in the court room throughout the trial.

After our examination of Czolgosz, on Sunday, we reached the conclusion, independently of each other, that he was sane, and we so informed his counsel, on Monday morning before the trial began.

It should be said that owing to the limited time—two days—at our disposal prior to the trial and the fact that his family relatives resided in a distant state and were not accessible for interrogation, we were unable to obtain a history of his heredity, beyond what he himself gave us.

Czolgosz, as he appeared at the time of my examinations of him at Buffalo, may be described as a well nourished, rather good looking, mild-mannered young man with a pleasant facial expression; features, regular; face, smooth-shaven and symmetrical; mouth and ears well formed and symmetrical; teeth, none missing, but in poor condition from neglect; tongue, clean; palate, fauces and uvula, normal in appearance; eyes, blue and normal in expression; pupils, equal in size and normally responsive to light and accommodation; hair, light brown and slightly curly; stature, medium—five feet seven and a half inches—and weight—estimated—about 140 pounds. The extremities were in all respects normal. The external genitals were normal, excepting two small, flat, unindurated cicatrices on the mucous surface of the prepuce, probably the result of previous chancroids, although he denied having had venereal disease other than gonorrhœa. There were no signs of specific nodes or periosteal tenderness over the usual sites of these lesions, nor was there any evidence upon the head or body of traumatism, excepting a slight deviation of the nose due to a blow which he received at the time of the assassination, and a superficial, perpendicular cicatrix on the left face which he said was the result of a slight injury he received when working in a barbed wire factory. There were no tremors or twitchings of the facial muscles, tongue or hands. The pulse and temperature and skin were normal, as also were the special senses, knee reflexes, coordinating power and the sensory and motor functions. Finally, a careful inspection of the entire visible body failed to reveal the presence of any of the so-called stigmata of degeneration. The

almost perfect symmetrical development—especially of the head and face—is a noteworthy feature in Czolgosz' case, although had deviations been found, the fact would have had little weight as tending to show mental disease or degeneracy, as marked asymmetries, both cranial and facial, are frequently observed in persons who are quite sane and above the average in mental capacity.

In answer to questions, he stated, in substance, that he was born in Detroit, Michigan, of Polish parents; that he was twenty-eight years of age, unmarried, and a laborer by occupation; that he was a Romanist, originally, but had abandoned that faith several years ago because he no longer believed in it; that he attended the common schools as a boy, and had learned to read and write; that he had used beer and tobacco, but not to excess; that he had done various kinds of unskilled labor, such as farming, factory-hand, etc.; that his mother was dead, and his father, one brother and a married sister were living; that so far as he knew there was no insanity in his family, and that he had not suffered any serious illness or injury during his life time; that he had never been subject to fits, spasms or vertigo; that he usually ate and slept well, and that his bowels were always regular. He admitted having had sexual intercourse with women, but denied masturbation or other unnatural practices.

Careful inquiry failed to elicit any evidence of delusion, hallucination or illusion. When questioned as to the existence of enemies, persecutions or conspiracies against him, he replied in the negative. He evinced no appearance of morbid mental depression, morbid mental exaltation, or of mental weakness or loss of mind; nor did he display any indication of morbid suspicion, vanity or conceit, or claim that he was "inspired" or had "a mission to perform," or that he was subject to any uncontrollable impulse. In fact, as regards the existence of evidences of mental disease or defect, the result of the examinations was entirely negative. On the contrary, everything in his history as shown by his conduct and declarations, points to the existence in him of the social disease, Anarchy, of which he was a victim.

My last examination of Czolgosz was made jointly with Dr. Gerin, physician of Auburn Prison, the evening before his execution. This examination revealed nothing either in his mental or physical condition which tended to alter the opinion I gave to his counsel at the time of the trial, namely, that he was sane—an opinion, which was concurred in by all of the official experts on either side, namely, Drs. Fowler, Crego, and Putnam, for the

people, and Dr. Hurd and myself for the defense, also by Dr. Gerin, the only other physician who examined him. Furthermore, the prisoner's manner, appearance and declarations in the execution room, together with the post-mortem findings, corroborated most conclusively the original opinion as to sanity,—while his dying declarations that he killed the President because he regarded him as “an enemy of the good people—the good working people,” and that he was not sorry for his crime,—all tend to stamp him as an Anarchist. In fact, his bearing and conduct from the time of the commission of the crime to his execution, were entirely consistent with the teachings and creed of Anarchy. Moreover, neither the three careful personal examinations which I made of him—one alone, one with Dr. Hurd, and one with Dr. Gerin—the measurements of his body by the Bertillon system nor the post-mortem findings, disclosed the slightest evidence of mental disease, defect or degeneracy. This opinion is confirmed by the people's experts who repeatedly examined him and observed him from time to time, from the day of the assassination to the close of the trial, and by Dr. Gerin, the physician of Auburn Prison, who observed him carefully during the four weeks that he was in that institution awaiting execution. Dr. Gerin has had exceptional opportunity for the study of criminals, both sane and insane, in his capacity as Prison Physician, and, previously, as Assistant Physician at the State Hospital for the Criminal Insane.

If Czolgosz was a victim of mental disease, the question would naturally arise as to what form of that disorder he was suffering from. If, in answer to this question, we undertake to make a diagnosis by exclusion, we find the following results: There was absolutely no evidence of insane delusion, hallucination or illusion. There was none of the morbid mental exaltation or expansiveness of ideas that would suggest mania in any form, none of the morbid mental gloom and despondency of melancholia, none of the mental weakness of dementia, none of the conjoined mental or motor symptoms that are characteristic of paresis, nor was there anything in his manner, conduct or declarations that would suggest the morbid vanity and egotism, the persecutory ideas or the transformation of personality which usually characterize paranoia or systematized delusional insanity. In fact, at no time during the period from his arrest to the time of his execution, did he exhibit any of the mannerisms, boastful display, etc., or claim to have a “divine inspiration” or “a mission,” or make any complaint or suggestion of personal wrongs and persecutions which are so characteristic of para-

noiaes; nor did he, during his trial, or subsequently, evince any indication of satisfaction or delight at being the central figure of the occasion, and the observed of all the observers, which he was; nor was there any attempt on Czolgosz' part to simulate mental disease. The refusal to talk with his counsel was perfectly consistent with the views which he expressed to the District Attorney soon after his arrest, namely, that he did not believe in law and that he wanted no counsel. He did, however, converse with others, namely, the District Attorney from time to time before his trial, also with his guards at the Buffalo jail, with whom he frequently walked in the corridor fronting his cell, for an hour or two at a time, conversing with them intelligently the while, and making his wants as to bathing, toilet, tobacco, etc., known in a natural manner. He also conversed freely with the people's experts, in their earlier examinations of him, and talked, though not so freely, with Dr. Hurd and myself, and when on arraignment for trial and formally asked to plead, he promptly arose from his chair and answered in a clear voice, "guilty." He also responded promptly when directed by the clerk of the court to "stand up and look upon the juror," as each of the jurors were sworn, and resumed his seat in each instance at the proper time. Beyond this he remained mute while in the court room, and yet to any one who observed him closely it was apparent that he was fully aware of, and attentive to the proceedings.

A recent writer*—an eminent alienist—discussing the mental state of Czolgosz says:

"We can perceive no indications of mental disease in Czolgosz, and were the absurdity of his statements and acts to be a criterion of mental unsoundness, we should have to establish a new category of insanity for the reception of the various groups of anarchists—not to mention other terrorists.

* * * * *

"We deem it an error to regard Czolgosz' mutism in court when called on to plead and before his counsel as an attempt to simulate insanity. This conduct is in line with his rôle expressed in the theatrical declaration, 'I am an Anarchist and have done my duty.' As it was his 'duty' to slay the President, it is his duty to go to death with his lips sealed, and with this intent, first the plea of guilty and his conduct are perfectly consistent. He shows no reluctance to converse on matters disconnected from

*"The Mental State of Czolgosz and of Assassins Generally," by E. C. Spitzka, M. D. *Medical Critic*, November, 1901.

the crime, nor even of matters connected therewith, provided they do not touch its preparations and thus betray his associates."

Aside from his reticence to his counsel, there was nothing in Czolgosz' manner, appearance or declarations that was indicative of insanity or of simulating. His reticence toward his counsel, as already intimated, was entirely consistent with his expressed disbelief in government and in law, and his declaration that he shot the President with a clear knowledge of the nature and consequences of the act; and while he pleaded guilty in court and also proclaimed when he went to his death, his reason for committing the crime, and declared that he was not sorry therefor, in a manner which clearly implied that he regarded the act as a justifiable one, he did not claim that it was not a crime on his part as paranoiacs usually do, nor did he in any way indicate that he regarded himself a victim of conspiracy or persecution. On the contrary, he declared—to the people's experts—that he fully understood what he did when he shot the President, and was willing to take the consequences; that "I know what will happen to me—if the President dies, I will be hung." Justice White, commenting on Czolgosz' plea of "guilty" when arraigned for trial—a plea which could not be accepted under the law—said: "The prisoner's plea of guilty indicates that he himself anticipates no escape from the penalty which the law prescribes for a crime of the character alleged in the indictment." Again Czolgosz said: "I have done my duty, I don't believe in voting; it is against my principles. I am an Anarchist." He further said that he had been an ardent student of the doctrine of Anarchy, and had attended many "circles" where these subjects were discussed. He had attended a meeting of Anarchists "about six weeks ago," and also in July; had met and talked with an Anarchist in Chicago "about ten days ago;" that he belonged to a "circle" in Cleveland which had no name. "They called themselves Anarchists." That he went to Cleveland "on no particular business" the Friday before the assassination. He had been in Buffalo for two or three weeks prior to going to Cleveland. "I planned to kill the President three or four days ago, after I came to Buffalo"—from Cleveland—"I don't believe in the Republican form of government, and I don't believe we should have any rulers. I had that idea when I shot the President, and that is why I was there."

In explanation of his abandonment of his religious faith and his rejection of the services of a priest, Czolgosz said the night before his execution, "I would like the American people to know that I had no use for priests. My family are all Catholics

and used to go to church until the hard times of 1893. We had been taught by the priests that if we would pray God would help us along, but it did no good; it didn't help us and we stopped going to church at that time." He also said at this interview: "McKinley was going around the country shouting prosperity when there was no prosperity for the poor man. I am not afraid to die. We all have to die sometime."

It may be said that Czolgosz' belief which he expressed as he went to his death, that the President "was an enemy of the good working people" was a delusion, and such it undoubtedly was in the broadest sense of that term; that is, it was a false belief, but it was in no sense an insane delusion or false belief due to disease of the brain. On the contrary, it was a political delusion, so to speak,—a false belief founded on ignorance, faulty education and warped—not diseased—reason and judgment,—the false belief which dominates the politico-social sect to which he belonged and of which he was a zealot, who in common with his kind believes that all forms of government are wrong and unnecessary—a body of mal-contents whose teachings oppose all government, and who advocate the use of violence to destroy the existing social and civil order of things. By his own admissions, Czolgosz was a devout Anarchist and a firm believer in the principles of "Free Society," as taught by Emma Goldman—of whom he was an ardent admirer—and others. These were the beliefs which furnished the motives for the murderous deed.

That Czolgosz was an Anarchist and actuated in his crime by the motives which spring from the teachings of that sect, are clearly shown by: 1. His declarations after his arrest, namely, that he did not believe in any form of government or law, and that all rulers were tyrants who ought to be put down. 2. His admissions to the District Attorney that he was a member of anarchistic societies or circles, and had frequently attended the meetings of the same; also that he had been influenced in his views by the "lectures" of Emma Goldman; and that when apprehended, anarchistic literature was found on his person, and 3. The recognition and commendation which he has received at the hands of Anarchists at their meetings both in this country and abroad since his death, several of these societies having openly recognized him as such and lauded his action.

The Anarchists' creed teaches that when one of their number is selected to do a certain deed, he is to proceed about it quietly and in his own way, taking no one into his confidence; that, having accomplished the deed, if apprehended, he shall not admit his connection with any other members of the circle; that, if con-

victed and sentenced to die, he shall go to his death without revealing his connection with others, resting secure in the belief that he will be ever regarded by his associates as a martyr and a hero, who died in the discharge of a noble duty. The course and conduct of Czolgosz from the beginning down to his death are entirely in keeping with this creed. And finally the cool and courageous manner in which he met his death, and the fact that from the day of his arrest until he died, he never uttered a word that could be used against his accomplices,—if he had any,—and that he died—as Anarchists who suffer the death penalty always die—without uttering a word that would tend to incriminate any of his co-conspirators, all tend to stamp him as an Anarchist.

In conclusion, the writer having viewed the case in all its aspects, with due regard to the bearing and significance of every fact and circumstance relative thereto that was accessible to him, records his opinion unqualifiedly that Leon F. Czolgosz, on September 6th, 1901, when he assassinated President McKinley, was in all respects a sane man—both legally and medically—and fully responsible for his act.

85 Madison Ave., New York.

THE POST-MORTEM EXAMINATION OF LEON F. CZOLGOSZ.

BY EDWARD ANTHONY SPITZKA.

The post-mortem examination of Leon F. Czolgosz was performed by the writer under the supervision of Dr. Carlos F. MacDonald, of New York, who was requested by the State Superintendent of Prisons to take medical charge of the execution, with Dr. John Gerin, the prison physician. The examination began at 7:50 A. M. and was completed at 12:30 P. M.

As the body lay upon the table in the dorsal position, the right leg—to which the electrode had been attached—was slightly flexed and a trifle abducted. This attitude of the body has been found by Dr. Ira Van Gieson (1) to be uniform in the electrocuted bodies which he has had occasion to examine. In all the cases which he has examined, the electrode has been applied to the knee reflex.

Corresponding to the attachment of the leg-electrode there was a superficial blistering, with some desquamation of the epidermis and some oedema. At the site of application of the head-electrode, there were only a few signs of vesication, limited to the occiput.

Post-mortem discoloration existed in all the extremities, but not in the trunk, head or neck, where the skin was fairly white. There was post-mortem lividity of the toe and of the finger nails. The pressure of the straps had not produced any discoloration. There was a small urethral discharge, probably of seminal fluid.

The physiognomy may be described as youthful and with rather a pleasant expression. The nose was pointed, slightly retroussé and fairly straight. The eyes were blue, the pupils equal and moderately dilated. The face was oval and symmetrical. The ears were well formed and absolutely symmetrical. The mouth was well shaped and the lips full. The teeth were normal in shape, but in poor condition. The palate, uvula, etc., were all normal. The external genitals were normal. There were two flat cicatrices on the mucous surface of the prepuce, about 5 mm. from the corona glandis. The tissues under and about these cicatrices were not indurated, and the scars were doubtless the remains of chancroids.

The body cooled very slowly throughout the examination, and the greatest amount of heat appeared to be retained in the brain.

Rigor mortis set in about three hours after death. The measurements of the head were as follows:

	Centimetres
Maximum circumference (21½ inches).....	54.6
Max. antero-posterior diam. (from glabella to max. posterior point).....	18.7
Max. lateral diameter.....	15.5
Cephalic index.....	82.88
Bi-auricular diameter (between roots of zygomae)	15.0
Length of face (from its inter-superciliary point to the superior alveolar point between the middle incisors).....	9.2
Bi-zygomatic diam.....	14.5
Min. frontal diam.....	12.0
Diameter from glabella toinion.....	19.1
From vertex to hair-line.....	12.0
From hair-line to root of nose.....	6.0
From root of nose to its base.....	5.3
From base of nose to chin.....	7.0
Total vertex to chin (diameter).....	25.4
Breadth between pupils of eyes.....	6.8
Breadth of nose at its base.....	3.4
Length of mouth (internally).....	4.0
Length of mouth (externally).....	5.0
Length of ears (both sides equal).....	6.1

A cast has been made from molds of the head and two photographic views, in full face and in profile, are presented here. Unfortunately the left ear in the mold was broken during transportation from Auburn, and the fragments were pieced together with difficulty. The defects have been rectified in the photograph. On the subject the ears were perfectly symmetrical, both as to form and size.

The attitude of the body gave rise to the prominence of the "Adam's apple" and to a slight parting of the lips.

On the skull the following measurements were taken:

Max. antero-posterior diam..... 18.0 ctm.

Max. lateral diam..... 14.7 "

Cranial Index, 81.66.

The head of Czolgosz, as is typical of the Poles, falls into the sub-brachy cephalic class; according to Weisbach the cephalic index of forty Poles was 82.9 (82.88 in Czolgosz).

The measurements of the body taken according to the Ber-

tillon system showed that they were all medium, and every one consistent with the other.

THE CRANIUM.—The scalp was divided by means of a median incision passing from the glabella to the inion. On incising the scalp a quantity of dark fluid blood escaped. The scalp was of moderate thickness, firm and well adherent to the skull. The two flaps of the scalp were dissected from the skull and drawn down on either side of the head. The sutures were well marked, and no synostosis was observed. Supernumerary or abnormally developed bones were not discernible.

The calva was removed by a saw-cut passing around the cranium about 1.5 cm. above the glabella and about 2.5 cm. above the inion. In Figure 7 is shown the outline of the thickness of the skull along this section. In the removal of the calva the saw was supplemented by the chisel and hammer. The calva came off readily, the dura being non-adherent. There was no marked escape of cerebro-spinal fluid. Along the saw-cut the skull was slightly flatter in the fronto-parietal region on the right side, while it was more curved or rounded on the left. The right parieto-occipital region was a trifle fuller than on the left side. The markings on the internal surface of the calva, such as the groove for the superior longitudinal sinus, and for the meningeal vessels, the digitations, and the impressions for the Pacchionian bodies, etc., were all distinctly marked.

The dura was grayish-white, moderately translucent and somewhat dry; there existed a marked engorgement of dark fluid blood. The dura was neither tense nor loosened. The Pacchionian bodies were of the usual number and distribution. The inner surface of the dura was fairly moist. There were no evidences of hemorrhagic pigmentation or of pachymeningitis.

The brain, invested by the pia-arachnoid, was exposed by crucial incisions into the dura, which was perfectly non-adherent to the membranes within. The brain was carefully removed, and during most of the subsequent examination was kept in a salt solution (about 1 part in 20 of water). At the time of removal (9.45 A. M.) the brain was still very warm, but of firm texture and normal appearance. A few minutes after removal, still invested by the pia-arachnoid, and with the ventricles unopened, the entire brain weighed fifty-one and a half ounces avoirdupois (1,460 grammes).

The base of the skull was normal in every respect.

The pia-arachnoid was of normal thinness, devoid of opacities or other signs of disease—past or present. The only unusual

appearance was an injection of bright red blood in the finer vessels of the pia, due, if we may judge from previous reports of autopsies on electrocuted criminals, to the action of the high electromotive force of the electric current in this part of the body. The pia was stripped off with ease, being nowhere adherent to the cortex.

EXAMINATION OF THE BRAIN.

In general, the brain presents no marked peculiarities of shape or size. It was firm to the touch, and no portion of it, despite most careful examination, felt softened or indurated.

The brain was divided into its natural segments according to the following method: The ectal border of the optic tract and the tænia thalami ("ripa" of Wilder) were used as guides for a single simple incision; those of either side converged cephalad to meet in front of the chiasm; the usual cut through the callosum and the terma (lamina terminalis) completed a tri-section which left the cerebrum (prosencephal) and brain-axis separated as nearly the ideal as can be. This mode of dissection is a modification of Meynert's plan and is a method by which each hemicerebrum, with the insula intact, is separated from the brain-stem, whereas Meynert's, by trenching round the circuminsular boundaries, separates the convex cortical mass from the brain-stem plus the insula, leaving a cortical component attached to the axial structures. The Meynert method, consequently, does not give the weight of the cerebral hemispheres, strictly speaking. This would not be a serious objection, so far as the caudatum and lenticularis are concerned; but as it also excludes the important cortical area of the insula—no inconsiderable portion of the cerebral projecting and associating tracts—it falls short of the modification adopted here.

After the brain had been thus dissected and drained, and the pia-arachnoid stripped off the cerebrum, the segments were found to have the following weights:

Left hemicerebrum (without pia)	585	grammes
Right hemicerebrum (without pia)	600	"
Cerebellum (with pia-arachnoid)	166	"
Isthmus (with pia-arachnoid)	64	"

1,415 grammes

Or a trifle less than 50 ounces.

Examination of the paracœles (lateral ventricles) in both hemicerebra revealed the veins of the striatum (striatal veins)

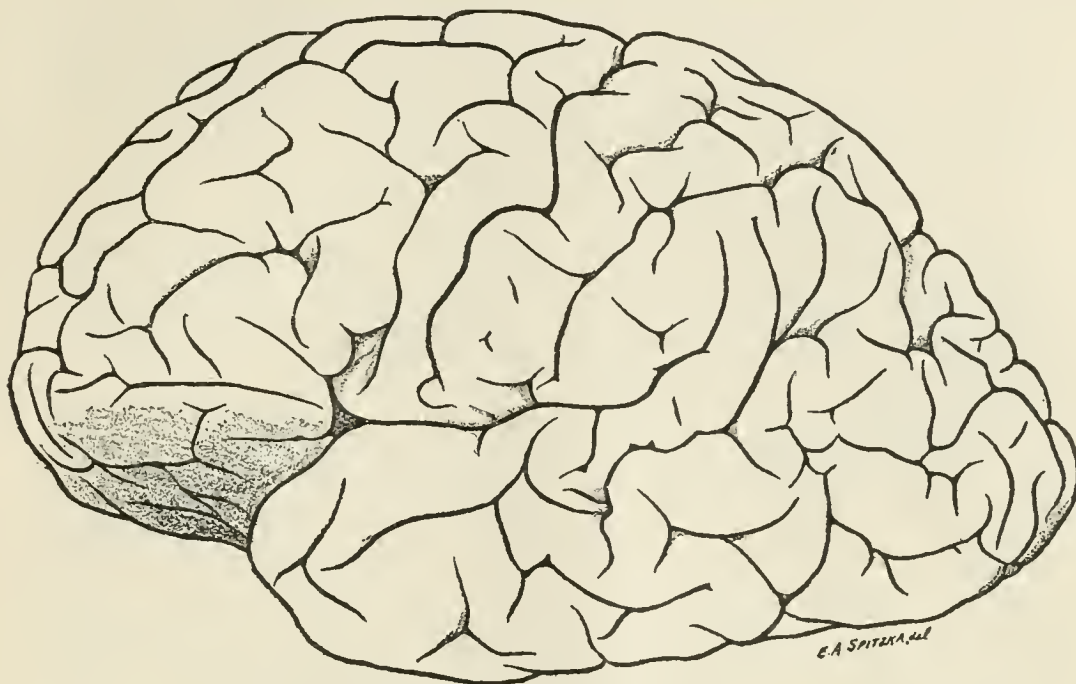


FIGURE 1.—LATERAL VIEW OF THE LEFT HEMICEREBRUM.

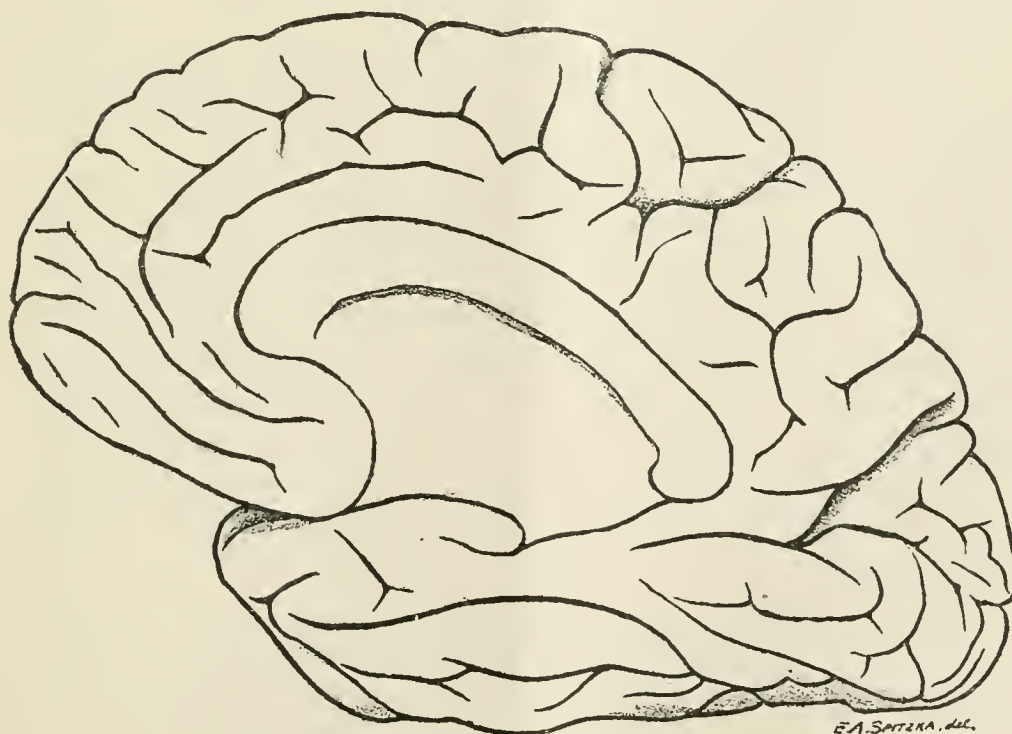


FIGURE 2.—MESIAL VIEW OF THE RIGHT HEMICEREBRUM.

injected with deep-violet colored blood. The cornua were of normal extent and conformation throughout. The endyma was smooth, the choroid plexus was normal and contained little blood, the velum interpositum was normal.

THE FISSURES AND GYRES.

LEFT HEMICEREBRUM.—The sylvian fissure was $6\frac{1}{2}$ ctm. in length; the episylian, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ctm.; the hyposylvian was absent. The presylvian ramus was 2 ctm. in length and the subsylvian 1 ctm. in length.

The central fissure was fairly flexuous and ramified; it was uninterrupted throughout its length and separated from the sylvian by a narrow isthmus. At its ventral end the fissure terminated in a hook-like manner. The supercentral fissure was confluent with the superfrontal, but was separated from the precentral. The superfrontal was distinct in the mid and post frontal regions, but was absent in the prefrontal region. The three-tier type was preserved in the prefrontal region by the existence of a medifrontal fissural segment about 4 ctm. in length, which was confluent with the orbito-frontal. This is not very clearly seen in the figure, owing to the effect of the convexity. The reader is referred to the schematic outline in Figure 8.

The precentral fissure was confluent with a small diagonal fissure, and this in turn with the presylvian. It sent an "anterior precentral ramus" across the medifrontal gyrus to anastomose with the superfrontal fissure.

The subfrontal fissure was independent and sent off several rami into the neighboring gyres. There was a very long radiate fissure.

The precentral gyrus was not very broad as compared with the postcentral gyrus. The three frontal gyres were fairly massive and marked by fissures which ran generally transversely.

The postcentral fissural complex consisted of three segments. The dorsal one was very flexuous and ramified, but independent. The middle segment was confluent with the parietal, and was only superficially joined to the third segment—the subcentral. The transpostcentral was hardly visible on the external surface, but on examination was found to communicate with the circum-insular fissure.

The parietal fissure was notable for the angle it made with the intercerebral cleft, converging rapidly toward it as it passed caudad. It communicated with the paroccipital fissure over a vadum about 6 mm. in depth. Otherwise, the paroccipital did



FIGURE 3.—LATERAL VIEW OF THE RIGHT HEMICEREBRUM.

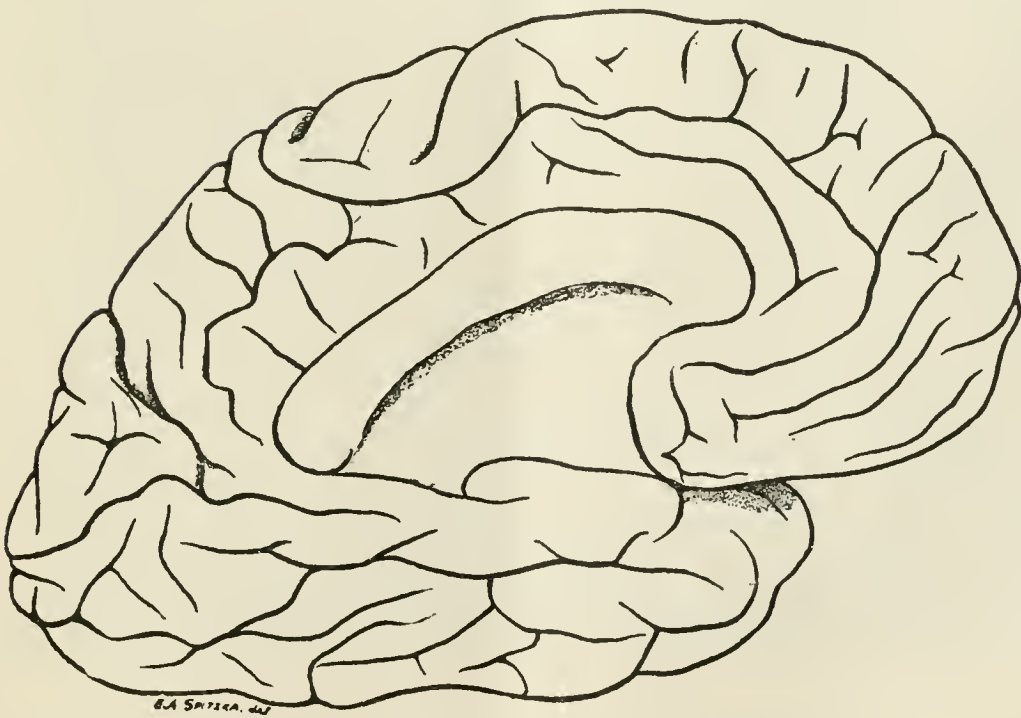


FIGURE 4.—MESIAL VIEW OF THE LEFT HEMICEREBRUM.

not communicate with any other fissure. There were two transparietal fissures, and the cephalic one communicated with the precuneal fissure on the mesial surface.

The temporal lobe was of good size and shape. The super-temporal fissure was uninterrupted throughout its length and communicated with the intermedial over a slight vadium. The mediotemporal fissure was represented by four segments. Numerous fissures, the "lateral occipital" among them, marked the region of the occipito-temporal transition. The postcalcarine fissure appeared on the external surface for about 2 ctm.

The postcentral gyrus was of good development and was fairly wide. The marginal, angular and postparietal gyral portions of the subparietal lobule exhibited a moderate development. The parietal gyrus was of cuneiform shape, broad cephalad, narrow caudad. The supertemporal gyrus was very sinuous. The remaining temporal gyres were fairly wide and well developed.

The subcalcarine gyrus was wide in its caudal portion. The cuneus was small—rather unusually so. The precuneus was of good size and conformation. The paracentral gyrus was of typical appearance and of the usual size. It was traversed by a well-marked inflected fissure, and by a tri-radiate intraparacentral fissure. The mesial surface of the superfrontal gyrus was of moderate size, and was marked by five or six transverse fissures, three of which were rami of the supercallosal. The callosal gyrus in its cephalic half was doubled by a long fissure running parallel with the supercallosal; in its caudal part it was traversed by several transverse fissures.

There were two well-marked rostral fissures (rostral and subrostral) and a short transrostral. The supercallosal fissure was long and anastomosed with the paracentral over a vadium of 5 mm.

The paracentral fissure in turn anastomosed with the precuneal over a vadium of 3 mm. The occipital and calcarine fissures anastomosed freely. A posterior cuneo-lingual subgyrus tended to partially separate the calcarine from the postcalcarine. The collateral fissure was fairly well ramified.

The insula exhibited a good development. There were six gyres proper, with seven peri-insular digitations. The insula was completely covered by the opercula.

RIGHT HEMICEREBRUM.—The sylvian fissure was $5\frac{1}{2}$ ctm. in length; the episylvian, 3 ctm.; the hyposylvian, $1\frac{1}{2}$ ctm.; the presylvian, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ctm.; the subsylvian was very short.

The central fissure was uninterrupted throughout its length, and was separated from the sylvian by a very narrow isthmus.



LEON F. CZOLGOSZ.

Profile view of plaster cast.



LEON F. CZOLGOSZ.

Plaster Cast made immediately after death, by E. A. Spitzka. Mould of left ear was broken in transit; defect rectified in Photograph.

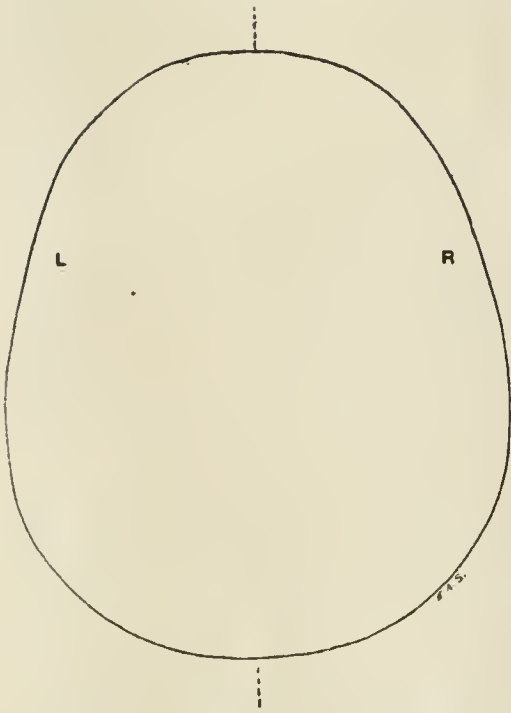


FIGURE 5.—HORIZONTAL OUTLINE OF THE HEAD (BY LEADSTRAP).

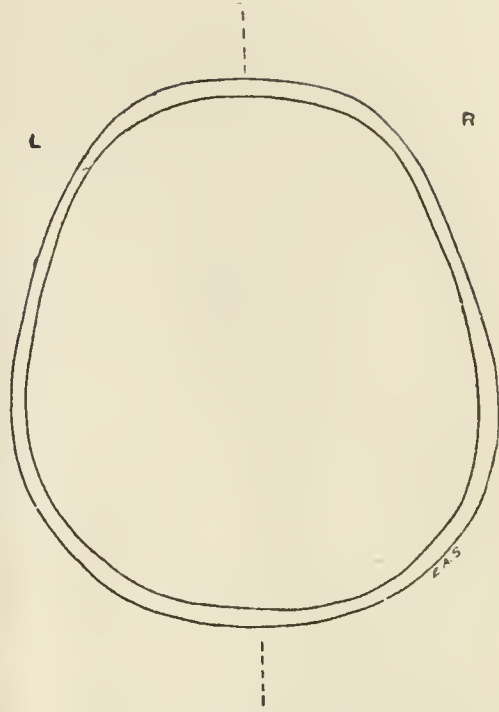


FIGURE 7.—OUTLINE DRAWING OF THE SKULL IN THE PLANE OF THE SAW-CUT DESCRIBED IN THE TEXT, SHOWING THE THICKNESS OF THE BONES.

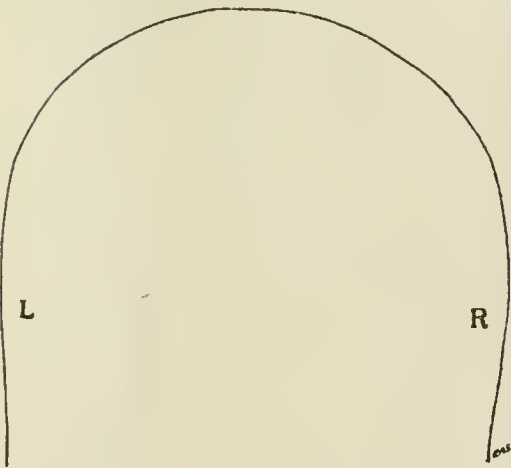


FIGURE 6.—OUTLINE OVER THE VERTEX, FROM EAR, TAKEN JUST IN FRONT OF THE ZYGOMAE.

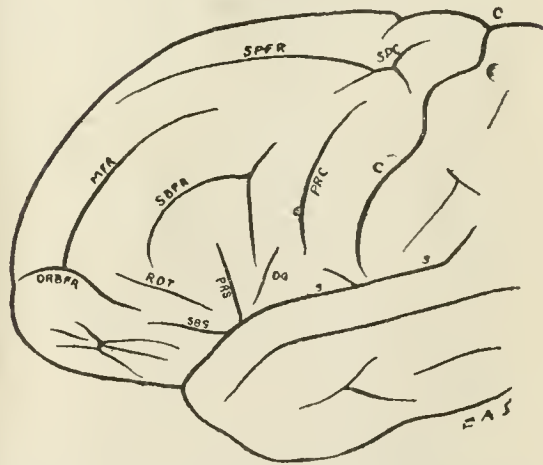


FIGURE 8.—DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH, SHOWING DISPOSITION OF THE FISSURES AND GYRAL TIERS IN THE LEFT FRONTAL LOBE.

The supercentral fissure anastomosed with a long superfrontal fissure, but not with the precentral fissure.

The precentral fissure joined both the transprecentral and the diagonal, and by means of these the sylvian cleft. This fissure gave off an anterior precentral ramus from which sprang the caudal segment of the subfrontal fissure.

The superfrontal fissure was long and uninterrupted, extending nearly to the frontal pole. There was no true medifrontal present. The subfrontal fissure was in two segments, the caudal segment being confluent with the precentral by means of its ramus; the cephalic segment anastomosed with the orbito-frontal. Besides an independent radiate fissure, there were other unnamed fissures in the subfrontal region. There were two long sagittally directed orbital fissures; the mesial one of these communicated with the orbito-frontal.

As in the left half, the precentral gyrus was rather narrow as compared with the broader postcentral gyrus. The three frontal gyres were all of good width and were chiefly marked by transverse fissures.

The postcentral fissural complex was made up of two segments superficially confluent with each other. The dorsal segment was short. The ventral segment was longer, and was confluent with the parietal fissure. The parietal fissure was uninterrupted, deep, and separated from the paroccipital fissure by an isthmus. There was a well-marked postparoccipital fissure and one distinct transparietal.

The supertemporal fissure was long, uninterrupted, and not deeply confluent with any other fissure. There were four mediotemporal fissural segments. The intermedial joined the parietal. There was a fairly well-marked "lateral occipital" fissure.

The postcentral gyrus was fairly wide and flexuous. The parietal gyrus was wide, and exhibited the same cuneiform shape as described for the left side. Of the subparietal gyres the angular gyrus was of fair size, while the remainder of this territory showed only moderate development. The paroccipital gyrus was very small, but quite flush with the general surface of the brain.

The gyres of the temporal lobe showed very good development, and in the occipito-temporal transition the markings were quite complex.

On the mesial surface the supercallosal fissure consisted of two segments, and there was a similar duplication of the callosal gyrus (in its cephalic portion) as has been described in the left half. A notable peculiarity consisted in the confluence of the

inflected fissure with the paracentral stem, while the cephalic paracentral limb was separated from its stem, but was joined to the caudal end of the supercallosal. There was a tri-radiate intraparacentral fissure. The precuneal fissure would be independent but for a superficial junction with the paracentral.

The occipital fissure was deeply confluent with the calcarine. The postcalcarine was tri-radiate and separated from the calcarine by a "posterior cuneo-lingual" isthmus.

The superfrontal gyrus was fairly well marked by many transverse fissures, and by two long and distinct rostral (rostral and subrostral) fissures. The precuneus was large, a little larger than its fellow on the left side. The cuneus was as small as on the left half. The subcalcarine gyrus was of considerable width in its caudal portion.

The insula presented an ordinary degree of development, and, as on the left side, possessed six gyres, with seven peri-insular digitations.

THE CONSISTENCY OF THE BRAIN.—In cutting the brain the resistance to the knife suggested neither increased nor diminished consistency. The cut surface was moderately moist, the gray as well as the white matter was of normal color, the cortex was of the usual thickness, and there existed neither anæmia nor hyperæmia. No hemorrhages, sclerotic patches, neoplasms or other lesions were discoverable.

The basal ganglia, crura, cerebellum, pons and oblongata were all perfectly normal, there being an absence, so far as naked-eye examination could determine, of even the small hemorrhages in the floor of the fourth ventricle which have been usually found in electrocuted criminals.

The spinal cord was not examined.

THE THORAX AND ABDOMEN.—The blood that came out from the lips of the incision of the abdominal walls was dark in color and fluid. The pericardial sac contained from three to four fluid drachms of clear fluid. The heart was firm and had ceased in systole. The ventricles were empty; the heart walls, endocardium and valves were normal. Weight, eleven ounces. Both lungs were somewhat emphysematous, floating a trifle more than half out of water. They were moderately pigmented and of firm consistency. None of the bronchial lymph-nodes were enlarged. Except for a few bands of pleuritic adhesions of the right lower lobe, there were no lesions in either lung.

The intestines presented nothing unusual.

The pancreas was normal.

The liver was dark and hyperæmic, but healthy; there were no patches or other lesions, and the organ weighed sixty-one ounces.

The spleen was also hyperæmic and mottled, with light pink streaks, but the structure seemed to be normal. Weight, $7\frac{3}{8}$ ounces.

The kidneys were markedly hyperæmic, but all the structures could be made out clearly, and they indicated the existence of a normal condition. The capsule was non-adherent in both kidneys.

The bladder was somewhat contracted and firm, and contained about three ounces of clear urine.

The results of the necropsy may be summed up by saying that Czolgosz was in excellent health at the time of his death. There was, of course, a marked condition of hyperæmia of all the viscera, and the blood was considerably altered, in that it remained fluid, undoubtedly due to the destruction of the fibrin-ferment, or of the fibrinogen, or both. These phenomena, such as the tetanized condition of the heart, have been observed by E. C. Spitzka, C. F. MacDonald, Van Gieson, and E. W. Holmes on criminals executed by lethal currents of electricity (2-3).

Describing the external appearances of the body, Murat Halstead says, in part: "The body was as white as marble, the face not at all distorted. One might say he was as if sleeping; the features were as if in a condition of repose." Whether his body invested a healthy mind is a question for discussion which it is not entirely in the writer's province to examine. So far as our knowledge of the correlation of brain structure and brain function extends, nothing has been found in the brain of this assassin that would lessen the enormity of his crime by the plea of mental disease due to intrinsic cerebral defect or distortion. The brain weight, although of itself unimportant, points to a good condition of the organ, when considered in its other relations; divested of its membranes, dissected, drained and after being immersed in a salt solution for several hours, its weight was 1,415 grammes—a trifle less than fifty ounces. This weight is a little over the average. Gietschenko records observations on the weight of 102 Polish brains, the average being, for males, 1,397.8 grammes, in cases of average statures of 168.12 ctm. The development of the fissures and gyres, from a morphological view-point, took place in the direction usual in ordinary average brains. There were no marked evidences of arrested development or of pithecoïdal anomalies. Generally speaking, this brain did not exhibit

that especial kind of asymmetry of gyral structure in the cerebral halves that is so characteristic of the brains of highly endowed individuals. There were many features in the one hemisphere that were reproduced almost exactly alike in the other. The few peculiarities encountered in the course of the fissures, such as the confluence of the left precentral, by its anterior ramus, with the superfrontal—across the medifrontal gyrus; or the separation of the right cephalic paracentral limb from its stem, while at the same time the inflected joins the paracentral (a feature found by the writer in 9 out of 160 hemicerebra in which the inflected was present), are significant so far as individual brains are concerned, and will be discussed at length in a later contribution.

The skull was not symmetrical, but the asymmetry was slight and fully within the normal range of variation. An absolutely symmetrical skull probably does not exist.

It is a probable fact that certain classical aberrations from the normal standard of brain structure are commonly encountered in some criminals and degraded classes of society; and some workers who have attempted to found a school of degeneracy have endeavored to explain the manifestation of crime and other psychic abnormalities by the fact of "accidental persistence of lower types of human organization." But these structural anomalies, so far as they have been described in the brains of criminals, are too few and too insufficiently corroborated to warrant us in drawing conclusions from them. Various perversions or anomalies of mind may exist in this class without presenting a uniform criminal type from the anatomical aspect. Of course, it is far more difficult,—and it is impossible in some cases—to establish sanity upon the results of an examination of the brain, than it is to prove insanity. This difficulty is so much the more complex because some forms of psychoses have absolutely no ascertainable anatomical basis. The assumption has been made that these psychoses depend rather on circulatory and bio-chemical disturbances. So far as this question touches upon the brain and body of Czolgosz, there have been found absolutely none of those conditions of any of the viscera that could have been at the bottom of any mental derangement. Taking all in all, the verdict must be, "socially diseased and perverted, but not mentally diseased." The most horrible violations of human law can not always be condoned by the plea of insanity. "The wild beast slumbers in us all. It is not always necessary to invoke insanity to explain its awakening."

In conclusion, the writer wishes to express to Dr. Carlos F.

MacDonald his appreciation of and thanks for the exceptional opportunity afforded in the performance of this autopsy.

66 East 73d street, New York.

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NOTE BY AUTHOR.

The reader who may have happened to see an article entitled "Degeneracy and Political Assassination," by Eugene S. Talbot, M. D., D. D. S., in "Medicine," December, 1901, must be surprised to find that the citation—"It is admitted by E. A. Spitzka that the brain presented anomalies"—is directly contradicted here. This is one of those numerous instances that shows the desirability of medical writers awaiting the responsible publications of scientific results or conclusions, instead of giving newspaper canards currency, by incorporating them in their papers, and at the same time distorting facts to fit the theories they hold. The paper of Dr. Talbot presents such an endless vista of inaccuracy as to give ground for apprehension, that many other facts on which it rests were obtained in a similarly uncritical way and hence have misled that writer as unfortunately as in the Czolgosz matter.

The incorrect and misrepresenting citations were sufficiently trying without additional infliction in the way of an invidious implication, be it over so unintentional on Dr. Talbot's part,—but when the entire tone of the article in reference to the Czolgosz trial is critical anent its alleged "cooked and dried" character, and he intimates suppression of post-mortem evidence, it

sounds as if "it is admitted by E. A. Spitzka that the brain presented anomalies" indicated an unwilling admission and hence a partisan spirit. However, as the statement is altogether untrue, this feature needs no more consideration than "no microscopic examination worthy of the name was made."

We deserve at least this piece of justice, that we did not pretend to have done anything we did not do. Had we made a microscopic examination, it would have been our aim to have been more accurate in citation of collateral writers than Dr. Talbot has been or seems to have aimed at being. So how it can have been worthy or unworthy of any name, I cannot see.

Dr. Talbot, not familiar with the laws of New York State, commits another error when he says:

"The course of the court in refusing to accept his plea of guilty and forcing him to accept counsel is justifiable only on the ground of assumed insanity."

The laws of this State do not permit the plea of guilty in capital offences.

E. A. S.



