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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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1893—4.

*The responsibility for both the facts and the reasonings in papers published
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ANALYZING

YOUR STATE

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETINGS.

The 56th General Meeting of the Society was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, January 27th, 1893, at 4 p.m., PROFESSOR SIDGWICK in the chair.

MR. F. W. H. MYERS continued his paper on "Sensory Automatism and Induced Hallucinations," published in the *Proceedings*, Part XXIII.

The 57th General Meeting was held in the same place on Friday, March 10th, at 8.30. p.m., MR. PEARSALL SMITH in the chair.

MR. MYERS gave an address on "Motor Messages from the Subliminal Self," the substance of which is included in Chapter VII. of his paper on "The Subliminal Consciousness," printed below.

MR. F. PODMORE read a paper on "Telepathic Dreams."

The 58th General Meeting was held in the same place on Friday, April 21st, at 4 p.m., PROFESSOR SIDGWICK in the chair.

MR. MYERS read a paper on the "Mechanism of Hysteria," forming Chapter VI. of his paper on the "Subliminal Consciousness," printed below.

MR. PODMORE gave a "Criticism of the Evidence as to Phenomena observed at Milan with Eusapia Paladino," which is printed in the Supplement.

The 59th General Meeting was held at the same place on Friday, June 2nd, at 8.30 p.m., PROFESSOR BARRETT in the chair.

PROFESSOR W. RAMSAY read a paper on "Experiments with Anæsthetics," which will be published in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

MR. MYERS read part of a paper by Dr. A. T. Myers and himself on "Mind-healing, Faith-healing, and the Miracles of Lourdes," printed below.



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I.

THE SUBLIMINAL CONSCIOUSNESS.

BY FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MECHANISM OF HYSTERIA.

The survey of human personality on which we are now engaged ;—involving as it does the discovery and discussion of such intimations as upraise themselves in many quarters from the hidden or submerged strata of our being into the consciousness of ordinary life ;—is a survey of which no single section can be complete until the whole field has been passed under review. On the other hand, fresh problems present themselves in each department as fresh phenomena are noted in other departments, and closer interrelations discerned or divined. And besides this increasing *complexity* there is an increasing *marvellousness* in the phenomena gradually encountered, which must needs send us back again and again in search of phenomena analogous, but less startling in character.

It is reasonable, therefore, that before we pass on from the complex and marvellous phenomena described under the head of sensory automatism to the no less surprising facts of *motor automatism*—especially of automatic script and speech—we should pause and consider how far our definition of motor automatism is to extend, and what earlier or simpler phases thereof may point the way to those highly-developed telepathic motor messages with which we are mainly to be concerned.

In the first place we shall observe once more—what has often been already manifest—that the simple partition of nervous action into sensory and motor does not suffice as a logical scheme for the arrangement of subliminal messages. We are not, indeed, entitled to assume that what we call sensory or motor qualities are inherent in these messages, either as received telepathically from others, or as initiated in the depths of our own being. Such qualities may be the mere translation into terms intelligible by the supraliminal self of impressions for which we possess no specialised term ;—impressions which we should be obliged to describe vaguely as “organic” ;—although, for aught we know, they may in reality be themselves specialised in categories of

which we have at present no conception. This seems to be the case with many even of those subliminal messages which are ultimately clothed in the most definite sensory form. An apparition or a phantasmal voice may be the exteriorisation of a telepathic impact which has first shown itself in a mere sense of apprehension or *malaise*. Such an apparition is no simple optical presentation; we may call it if we please an internal vision, but its deeper initiatory processes are as yet unknown.

Still more markedly is this the case with *motor* automatisms. The telepathic transmission of a message directly prompting to a motor act (as of writing) has no even apparent parallel in ordinary life. For I cannot directly prompt my friend to a motor act; I can so prompt him only by first producing upon him some sensory impression. I can tell him to write; I can stir him to answering speech; but my volition cannot touch his motor centres of hand or throat except through some such indirect road. All the harder, then, is it to conceive from what form of initial impulse these motor automatisms spring; all the more are we bound to study such vague, organic, internuntial messages as we can detect in their passage from one stratum of our psychical being to another, before we deal with the full-blown motor messages, telepathic or otherwise, which are conveyed by automatic script or voice. In other words, and using my old metaphor, before we follow motor automatism above the psychological end of the conscious spectrum, we must trace its beginnings below the physiological end. We must analyse the influence of motor and quasi-motor messages upon the organic functions before we analyse the intellectual contents of such messages, or discuss the source of such definite knowledge as they may contain.

To some extent this has been already done in previous chapters. Discussing the *Mechanism of Suggestion* (Chap. II.), we encountered many vaso-motor and trophic changes over which, in my view, the hypnotic stratum of the Self exerts habitual control. Again, the *Inspirations of Genius* (Chap. III.) were seen to have their motor side, both in the plastic arts, in music, and in oratory; although the greater definiteness of mathematical achievements led us to dwell mainly on a form of genius whose results are conceived and expressed mainly in visual terms. *Dreams*, which were next touched upon, involve obscure forms of motor as well as of sensory excitation; and the very name of somnambulism points to a pitch of dream-intensity at which its motor impulses translate themselves into more or less coherent action.

On these topics, then, I must be content to refer my readers to what has already been briefly and imperfectly said. But there is one cognate topic of great importance—one repertory of subliminal messages especially of the vaguer organic types—on which I have as yet

touched so meagrely that I must needs here discuss its lessons at some length before proceeding to those more specialised and intellectual motor messages of which automatic writing is the familiar type. I allude to the whole range of *morbid* interchanges or interactions between one section of the personality and another,—those “self-suggestive maladies,” or “diseases of the hypnotic stratum,” as I have termed them (*Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 309), “whose differentia is an irrational self-suggestion in regions beyond the powers of the waking will;—a morbid or uncontrolled functioning of powers over the organism which effect profounder modifications than the empirical self can parallel.” For convenience’ sake we may continue to give to all these perturbations the meaningless name of “hysteria”;—trusting that the reader will divest his mind of those popular notions of hysteria which merely reflect and misinterpret some superficial symptoms of a group of maladies which are among the most formidable, and the most instructive, disturbances to which human minds and bodies are exposed.

To define hysteria in nosological terms, by cataloguing and connecting its symptoms, is well known to be an impossible task. In our ignorance of the physical genesis and interrelation of those symptoms we cannot predict from one day to another what evolution the disease will follow, or what new phenomena may occur. If we would attain to a comprehensive view, we must seek it from some psychological standpoint. And we must begin by distinguishing all ordinary diseases, taken together, from their hysterical simulations, as profoundly as we distinguish all placental mammals from the marsupial parodies which by some freak of evolution so strangely mimic placental forms.

On the one hand we have a series of definite, objective lesions, inflicted upon the organism by some external injury, or by some internal operation of microbes, malnutrition, heredity disease, or senile decay. On the other hand, and side by side with this series, we have another series of what I may term *phantom lesions*, depending, of course, ultimately upon some cerebral conditions—hereditary, self-developed, or traumatic;—but so depending in an indirect rather than in a direct fashion, not as incapacities anatomically following on injury to definite nervous centres or tracts, but as the apparently capricious manifestations of an injury presumably affecting some unknown seat of highest co-ordination; in short, as *perturbations of personality*, which work themselves out through some morbid process of self-suggestion, according to laws of association cognisable by us, if at all, from the intellectual rather than from the anatomical side.

These phantom lesions, I say, are not like anatomical injuries, but like some ignorant patient’s objectified dream. Hysterical patches of anaesthesia do not correspond with any true areas of ordinary sensory

innervation ; they seem to follow the patient's crude notions of where his limbs begin and end ; they are "anæsthetic bracelets," "anæsthetic boots." The eye-troubles of the hysteric affect not the optical mechanism alone, but all that the ophthalmic patient would call his "eye"—all that occupies or surrounds the orbit. Nay, certain well-known syndromes—as the so-called hysterical "astasia-abasia," or inability to walk and stand—are, if I may so say, unblushingly intellectual in character, are the mere abolition by some profound self-suggestion of one special set of co-ordinated movements deeply rooted, first in the supraliminal, then in the subliminal life. The "rhythmic chorea," or "danse de S. Guy," on the other hand, so common in mediæval Germany, is an *intensification* of an acquired synergy, a helpless prolongation of a set of co-ordinated movements which the patient is unable to arrest, as the boy in the fairy tale was unable to arrest the *mill*, whose controlling charms he had forgotten, and which is still grinding out salt at the bottom of the sea. On these points all will agree. And I may suggest that from my own special point of view hysterical "allocheiria"—the confusion or reversal of motor conceptions of left and right—is but the *degenerative* counterpart of that *ambidexterity* which I regard as now accompanying the *evolutionary* process in man ; and, moreover, that hysterical *attaques de sommeil* are but that reversion to our primitive state of personality which is natural, which was even predictable, amid the upheavals of this psychic storm.

It is, then, this fundamentally psychological character of hysteria, as a perturbation of personality, which excuses, or rather compels, its study not only from the clinical, but from the psychological standpoint. But before we discuss symptoms which show us perturbed personality as an undoubted evil, I feel bound once more to disavow a view which, though it be taken for granted, for instance, by all writers on hysteria, I cannot but regard as erroneous. I mean the view that *any* perturbation of the ordinary personality is necessarily and in itself an evil. Such perturbations, no doubt, disturb the "normal man"; but the "normal man" represents in my eyes no true ideal, no stable synthesis, but rather a transitory and shifting compromise between the Sage and the Dement. The Sage,—if I may thus use the name of the imaginary Stoic hero with a new implication—would be the man who fully controlled all faculties immanent within him ;—who (for instance) could voluntarily receive and transmit telepathic impressions ; who could remedy by self-suggestion his body's remediable ills, and exempt himself at last from any painful perception of its inevitable decay. The Dement, on the other hand, has suffered the almost complete obscuration of personality. His organism retains barely so much of unity as suffices to protect it from piecemeal disin-

tegration. Between these two extremes—the one imaginary, the other real,—lies an almost infinite series of combinations and permutations of the elements of human personality. Combinations superior to the habitual combination which makes the normal man of the time being are wont to arise slowly by evolution, and may be hastened by deliberate experiment. And high among such improved plans of psychical structure I reckon the condition of those sensitives who, without injury to normal health or capacities, can exercise an easier commerce than is open to most of us with their own subliminal selves.¹ Of course I am not saying that members of this type are individually superior to men of the “normal” type any more than all persons who are “immune” against influenza are individually superior to all who catch it. Mr. Keulemans (on whose experiences we dwelt in the last chapter) is not wiser than Charles Darwin; but he nevertheless belongs, in my view, to an advanced, a forward-pointing type; he is wiser than he would have been if, with the same character and intelligence, he had been constructed on the physical pattern of the normal man.

But, nevertheless, among adjustments so complex and delicate as those of our psychical being, any perturbation will naturally be injurious more often than beneficial. For the most part it will indicate no progress towards a new ideal, but a mere incapacity of maintaining the practical compromise which has been found needful for terrene well-being. To all troubles of this kind, where no discernible organic lesion is suspected, the name of hysteria is loosely given. But what a difference between the various cases massed under this head! “Great wits” have at least never been supposed to be “near allied” to blank imbecility; yet we are content to include in the same class of “hysterics” at once such intense and epoch-making spirits as St. Theresa or Rousseau, and some dead-alive inmate of the Salpêtrière, who cannot vary the pattern of wool-work on which she started years ago, nor leave the hospital ward for the garden without bewilderment and alarm. “*Les hystériques mènent le monde,*” says the French proverb. “It is the fact,” say Breuer and Freud, “that among hysterics we find the clearest-minded, the strongest-willed, the fullest of character, the most acutely critical specimens of humanity.”² Can these things be true of the same class which contains all those poor Lucies and Marcelles who seem to exist flabbily for the mere purpose of moral vivisection,—“the

¹ It may, of course, be the case that the subliminal Self of the sensitive is not only more easily reached but also more capable or better-informed than with ordinary men. But since different degrees of facility in intercommunication seem enough to account for difference in results, I refrain from touching on that other (obviously insoluble) question.

² *Neurologisches Central-blatt*, January 15th, 1893, p. 44.

frogs of the experimental psychologist"? There is need, I venture to think, of some such generalisation as I propose, if definitions apparently so discrepant are to be brought under a higher unity. On the view here taken, the characteristic both of St. Theresa and of Marcelle is a perturbed personality. But there may be many different forms of such perturbation, leading to almost opposite results. Two leading types of possible derangement will at once suggest themselves. It is the business of the supraliminal Self to maintain the empirical span of consciousness and faculty both *unimpaired* and *uninvaded*. "Just in this fashion," has that Self decided, "is it needful for terrene prosperity that man should feel, and should react upon the world outside him. There may be faculties deeper down in him which can perceive more, and can react more profoundly. Let these faculties keep to their proper business of superintending the organic processes, whose mechanism I, the supraliminal Self, have never known or have long since forgotten. I do not desire the casual incursion of powers which I am unable to control. Nay, I must needs keep the threshold of consciousness stable, the psychical diaphragm impermeable, if I am to secure my own preservation. If that partition be too easily traversed, I shall fear that knowledge and faculty essential to my own well-being may sink into subliminality and pass beyond my control. I must not risk such losses. I need to be able to catch, retain, digest, the impressions from without which subserve practical life; to mix them in healthy association with each other, and to excrete them from memory when they have ceased to be of use and are becoming cumbersome or even noxious."

We shall find, I think, that in most cases of hysteria these two correlative dangers—of insurgence and of subsidence—are represented, but are represented in varying proportions. With "the hysterics who lead the world" there is no marked loss of supraliminal grasp or span, but there is irregular uprush of subliminal faculty—an uprush like that of genius, but less wisely directed—depending upon a lack of liminal stability, an excessive permeability, if I may so say, of the psychical diaphragm which separates the empirical from the latent faculties of man.

With the confirmed and often hereditary hysteric of the hospitals, on the other hand, the leading phenomenon is not the uprush but the down-draught. It is the gradual sinking of one supraliminal faculty after another—sensation, memory, will—into a subliminal region where indeed experiment or inference may show them to be still existing, but where they are useless for the purposes of common life. This is for the human spirit "that vast Serbonian bog, where armies whole have sunk"; where its powers are absorbed without annihilation, and rot beneath the treacherous surface in an unseen decay.

We must now come to concrete examples. And first let me remind the reader that there is nothing unique or isolated about these hysterical disturbances of personality. The personality of each of us is in a state of constantly shifting equilibrium, and the healthy person, under the influence of various intoxications, or from mere changes of trophic condition, undergoes shiftings of the threshold, uprushes and subsidences of many kinds, which bear to hysterical phenomena somewhat the same relation which those in turn bear to the more permanent psychical changes of actual insanity. Alcoholic intoxication simulates in its various stages a strange variety both of hysterical and of insane symptoms. Hunger, fatigue, slight poisoning by impure air, produce a well-known group of disturbances of memory and sensation. A very small degree of fever is enough to produce a transient perturbation of personality of the most violent kind. Familiar though all this may be, there is yet, I think, some interest in the following account of a feverish experience, sent to me by Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson, from Samoa. For in Mr. Stevenson's paper on his own *dreams*, elsewhere alluded to, we have the most striking living example known to me of that helpful and productive subliminal uprush which I have characterised as the mechanism of genius. It is, therefore, interesting to observe how under morbid conditions this temperament of genius—this ready permeability of the psychical diaphragm—transforms what might in others be a mere vague and massive discomfort into a vivid though incoherent message from the subliminal storm and fire. The result is a kind of supraliminal duality, the perception at the same time of two personalities,—the one rational and moral, the other belonging to the stratum of dreams and nightmare.

Vailima Plantation, Upoho, Samoan Islands.

July 14th, 1892.

DEAR MR. MYERS,—I am tempted to communicate to you some experiences of mine which seem to me (ignorant as I am) of a high psychological interest.

I had infamous bad health when I was a child and suffered much from night fears; but from the age of about thirteen until I was past thirty I did not know what it was to have a high fever or to wander in my mind. So that these experiences, when they were renewed, came upon me with entire freshness; and either I am a peculiar subject, or I was thus enabled to observe them with unusual closeness.

Experience A. During an illness at Nice I lay awake a whole night in extreme pain. From the beginning of the evening *one part of my mind* became possessed of a notion so grotesque and shapeless that it may best be described as a form of words. I thought the pain was, or was connected with, a wisp or coil of some sort; I knew not of what it consisted nor yet where it was, and cared not; only I thought, if the two ends were brought together the pain would cease. Now all the time, with *another part of my mind*, which I venture to think was *myself*, I was fully alive to the absurdity

of this idea, knew it to be a mark of impaired sanity, and was engaged with *my other self* in a perpetual conflict. *Myself* had nothing more at heart than to keep from my wife, who was nursing me, any hint of this ridiculous hallucination; the *other* was bound that she should be told of it and ordered to effect the cure. I believe it must have been well on in the morning before the fever (or *the other fellow*) triumphed, and I called my wife to my bedside, seized her savagely by the wrist, and looking on her with a face of fury, cried: "Why do you not put the two ends together and put me out of pain?"

Experience B. The other day in Sydney I was seized on a Saturday with a high fever. Early in the afternoon I began to repeat mechanically the sound usually written "mhn," caught myself in the act, instantly stopped it, and explained to my mother, who was in the room, my reasons for so doing. "That is the beginning of the mind to wander," I said, "and has to be resisted at the outset." I fell asleep and woke, and for the rest of the night repeated to myself mentally a nonsense word which I could not recall next morning. I had been reading the day before the life of Swift, and all night long one part of my mind (*the other fellow*) kept informing me that I was not repeating the word myself, but was only reading in a book that Swift had so repeated it in his last sickness. The temptation to communicate this nonsense was again strongly felt by *myself*, but was on this occasion triumphantly resisted, and my watcher heard from me all night nothing of Dean Swift or the word, nothing but what was rational and to the point. So much for the two consciousnesses when I can disentangle them; but there is a part of my thoughts that I have more difficulty in attributing. One part of my mind continually bid me remark the transrational felicity of the word, examined all the syllables, showed me that not one was in itself significant, and yet the whole expressed to a nicety the voluminous distress of one in a high fever and his annoyance at and recoil from the attentions of his nurses. It was probably the same part (and for a guess *the other fellow*) who bid me compare it with the nonsense words of Lewis Carroll as the invention of a lunatic with those of a sane man. But surely it was *myself* (and myself in a perfectly clear-headed state) that kept me trying all night to get the word by heart, on the ground that it would afterwards be useful in literature if I wanted to deal with mad folk. It must have been myself, I say, because *the other fellow* believed (or pretended to believe) he was reading the passage in a book where it could always be found again when wanted.

Experience C. The next night *the other fellow* had an explanation ready for my sufferings, of which I can only say that it had something to do with the navy, that it was sheer undiluted nonsense, had neither end nor beginning, and was insusceptible of being expressed in words. *Myself* knew this; yet I gave way, and my watcher was favoured with some references to the navy. Nor only that: *the other fellow* was annoyed—or *I* was annoyed—on two inconsistent accounts; first, because he had failed to make his meaning comprehensible, and second, because the nurse displayed no interest. *The other fellow* would have liked to explain further; but *myself* was much hurt at having been got into this false position and would be led no further.

In cases A and C the illusion was amorphous. I knew it to be so and yet succumbed to the temptation of trying to communicate it. In case B the idea was coherent, and I managed to hold my peace. Both consciousnesses, in other words, were less affected in case B, and both more affected in cases A and C. It is perhaps not always so: the illusion might be coherent, even practical, and the rational authority of the mind quite in abeyance. Would not that be lunacy?

In case A I had an absolute knowledge that I was out of my mind, and that there was no meaning in my words; these were the very facts that I was anxious to conceal; and yet when I succumbed to the temptation of speaking, my face was convulsed with anger, and I wrung my watcher's wrist with cruelty. Here is action, unnatural and uncharacteristic action, flowing from an idea in which I had no belief and which I had been concealing for hours as a plain mark of aberration. Is it not so with lunatics?

I have called the one person *myself*, and the other *the other fellow*. It was myself who spoke and acted; the other fellow seemed to have no control of the body or the tongue; he could only act through myself, on whom he brought to bear a heavy strain, resisted in one case, triumphant in the two others. Yet I am tempted to think that I know the other fellow; I am tempted to think he is the dreamer described in my Chapter on Dreams to which you refer. Here at least is a dream belonging to the same period, but this time a pure dream, an illusion, I mean, that disappeared with the return of the sense of sight, not one that persevered during waking moments and while I was able to speak and take my medicine. It occurred the day after case B and before case C.

Case D. In the afternoon there sprang up a storm of wind with monstrous clouds of dust; my room looked on a steep hill of trees whose boughs were all blowing in the same direction; the world seemed to pass by my windows like a mill-race. By this turmoil and movement I was confused, but not distressed, and surprised not to be distressed; for even in good health a high wind has often a painful influence on my nerves. In the midst of this I dozed off asleep. I had just been reading Scott's *Life of Dryden*, had been struck with the fact that Dryden had translated some of the Latin hymns, and had wondered that I had never remarked them in his works. As soon as I was asleep I dreamed a reason why the sound of the wind and the sight of the flying dust had not distressed me. There was no wind, it seemed, no dust; it was only Dryden singing his translated hymns in *one direction*, and all those who had blamed and attacked him after the Revolution singing them in *another*. This point of the two directions is very singular and insane. In part it meant that Dryden was continuously flying past yet never passing my window in the direction of the wind and dust, and all his detractors similarly flying past yet not passing towards the other side. But it applied, besides this, both to the words and to the music in a manner wholly insusceptible of expression.

That was a dream; and yet how exactly it reproduces the method of *my other fellow* while I was awake. Here is an explanation for a state of mind or body sought—and found—in a tissue of rabid, complicated, and inexpressible folly.—Yours very sincerely,

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

Let us now turn to cases of definitely hysterical uprush from sub-

liminal—and, as I have maintained, specially from *hypnotic* strata. It will begin by some citations from one of the best recent German sources, that the English reader may see that these observations are not peculiar to the French school.

In an important essay contributed to the *Neurologisches Centralblatt*, for January 1st and January 15th, 1893, Dr. Joseph Breuer and Dr. Sigm. Freud, of Vienna (in which capital there has already been much fruitful study of hysteria), give a preliminary account of a long series of observations on “The Psychological Mechanism of Hysterical Phenomena,” especially with regard to the nature of the incident which has originally started the train of symptoms. That incident, they say, cannot usually be discovered by examination of the patient in his ordinary condition. He will not realise its connection with his present trouble, he may even have forgotten it altogether. But hypnotise him, and he will clearly remember the incident itself, will fully realise its perturbing effect on his psychological equilibrium. In fact he will usually tell you that this very incident reproduces itself with distressing vividness in every attack which he undergoes. This close connection between some initial lesion and the subsequent troubles is observable not only in cases of so-called *traumatic* hysteria, where the effect of the primary shock—the rupture (if I may so call it) of the psychological diaphragm—is marked and obvious, but also in cases where the complex and persistent troubles are commonly regarded as spontaneous and idiopathic hysterical symptoms. Among such symptoms which have been found on analysis to be reproductions, more or less *symbolical* in character, of some definite original shock, are neuralgia, contractures, tic, persistent vomiting and anorexia, troubles of sight, hallucinations, &c. A momentary accident at the time of maximum shock may determine the character of years of malady; much as in certain cases of aphasia (*Cf.* the “come on to me” case, to which I have often alluded) the last sentence healthily spoken will dominate the aphasic utterance ever after. Thus a German girl, endeavouring to pray in a moment of bewildered anguish, could think of nothing but an English child’s prayer; somewhat as men, piously reared, when in danger of shipwreck, have been heard muttering “What is your name? M. or N.,”—the first words of the English Church Catechism. Hysteria developed itself, and for a year and a half this German girl could speak, write, and understand nothing but English. In other cases the connection between the original psychological lesion and the subsequent symptoms is dreamlike or symbolical in character; as when a shock of moral disgust is followed by persistent hysterical vomiting. The distressing idea which caused the original lesion seems to continue to keep up irritation like a foreign body lodged in the organism, say a thorn in the finger. It must be brought to the surface and extruded;—the painful

memory must be diagnosed in the hypnotised patient and then brought back to his waking consciousness and freely discussed, and thus reduced to its due proportions. "A mere unemotional recollection," say Drs. Breuer and Freud, "is generally useless; the psychical process which caused the trouble must be again set on foot, brought down to its *status nascendi*, and then worked out (*abreagirt*) and talked away." The neuralgia or the hallucination will thus recur once in full intensity and then disappear for ever. The act of thus luring the hypertrophied idea up from the hypnotic into the supraliminal stratum is quite analogous to the "bringing out" of an eruption, or the re-establishment of an arrested secretion. The benefit of tears in emotional shock—"she must weep, or she will die"—comes just midway between the benefit of auricular confession and the benefit of getting out a good crop of measles.

"It is not in the normal memory of the patient," continue our authors, with emphasis, "but in his hypnotic memory, that the recollection of the operative psychical lesion is to be found. The more we busy ourselves with these phenomena, the surer becomes our conviction that that sundering of consciousness which is so striking in certain classical cases of duplex personality exists in rudimentary fashion in every case of hysteria. The tendency to this dissociation, and consequently to the appearance of abnormal states of consciousness, which we propose to include under the term *hypnoid*, is the fundamental phenomenon of the hysterical neurosis. . . . Beside the well-known saying, 'Hypnosis is an artificial hysteria,' we would set this somewhat different dictum: The foundation and condition-precendent of hysteria is the existence of hypnoid states. Amid all their differences these hypnoid states agree in this;—that the images which in them rise to the surface (*auftauchen*) are of a very intense character, but are partitioned off from the rest of the contents of consciousness. . . . The intimate nature of these hypnoid states, and the degree of their separation from the remainder of consciousness, vary as widely as the hypnotic trance itself, which includes all conditions from light somnolence to somnambulism, from full recollection to complete forgetfulness."

And here it is noticeable that Drs. Breuer and Freud, who come to this discussion unpledged to any hasty theory, fully recognise the gravity—nay the insolubility under present conditions—of that problem of the unique effectiveness and power of hypnotic suggestions, and of hysterical self-suggestions, for which so many pseudo-solutions have been based upon so much hypothetical cerebral physiology.

"The question," they say (p. 44), "why it is that the pathological associations which form themselves in hypnoid states are so stable, and influence organic processes so much more profoundly than do the

ideas or presentations of our ordinary experience ;—this question forms a part of the general problem of the efficacy of hypnotic suggestion in any case whatever. Our observations throw no new light on this problem ; rather they bring into relief the contradiction between the dictum ‘Hysteria is a psychosis,’ and the actual fact that amongst hysterics we find the clearest-minded, the strongest-willed, the fullest of character, the most acutely critical specimens of humanity. In the cases to which we refer those characteristics hold good for the man’s waking consciousness, but in his hypnoid states he is insane—as we all are in dream. But whereas our dream-insanities have no influence on our waking life, in his case the products of his hypnoid conditions break in upon his waking life as hysterical symptoms.”

I need not point out the independent coincidence between these views and those already expressed in my chapter on “The Mechanism of Suggestion,” and elsewhere.¹ But I may repeat my conviction that this problem can only be solved by continued research into what I deem the healthy and orderly functioning of those subliminal faculties which hypnotic suggestion reveals to us acting blindly as in a dream, and which hysteria reveals to us acting wildly as in a nightmare.

“In hysteria,” say our authors once more, after citing further examples of these disturbed messages, these explosive uprushes from subliminal strata,—“in hysteria we are confronted with groups of formed images which have been developed under hypnoid conditions, which are cut off from interchange and association with the rest of the patient’s mental imagery, but are capable of association amongst themselves, and thus constitute a more or less fully organised rudiment of a secondary consciousness, a ‘*condition seconde*.’ Thus a chronic hysterical symptom corresponds to an incursion of this ‘secondary condition’ upon a tract of innervation previously governed by the normal consciousness, while a ‘fit of hysterics’ indicates a more organised development of the ‘secondary condition,’ and marks by its first onset a moment when this hypnoid consciousness (*Hypnoidbewusstsein*) has made itself master of the whole existence, as acute hysteria. . . . During such an attack the control over the whole bodily innervation has passed to the hypnoid consciousness. Yet the normal consciousness, as some well-known experiments show us, is not always entirely set aside. It can itself take note of the motor phenomena of the attack, although the psychical conditions-precendent of that attack lie outside its cognisance altogether.”

I could not wish for a more emphatic support, from wide clinical experience, of the view of hysteria to which my own observations on different branches of automatism had already, by mere analogical

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. VII., pp. 309, 349, 353, &c.

reasoning, directed my thought. What I would fain add to the exposition of Drs. Breuer and Freud the reader may have already divined. That extraordinary potency of subliminal action, which they frankly present as insoluble by pure physiology, is part and parcel of my scheme of man; and its occasional appearance in this disordered form is to me but the natural concomitant of its habitual and inevitable residence within us; in readiness—if we can contrive to summon it—to subserve our highest needs.

For I have urged that we men here incarnated are in very truth “*clausi tenebris et carcere cæco*”;—that in this darkness and imprisonment our terrene faculties represent merely such fraction of our preterrene faculties as the struggle for existence has compelled the organisms from which our bodies spring to conserve and develop. And I have claimed that the potential faculties which terrene evolution has not thus developed do none the less make themselves manifest from time to time in terrene life; that gleams of a wider perception, a truer insight, may flash into the darkened and narrowed chamber of consciousness which our earthly brain allows. Apart from such supernatural visitings, the evolutive process consists, in my view, of a constant expansion of the span of supraliminal consciousness; a constant re-selection of faculties and perceptions to suit an ever more extended purview, a wider *present* which opens upon man. We add the higher artistic and moral faculties—drawing these from their latency in the depths of our subliminal being;—and at the same time we lose the power of repairing injuries which our remote ancestors possessed, the acuter sense of smell which our near ancestors possessed;—and who knows what other faculties which existed somewhere in our long ancestral line? We widen, deepen, and select. The spectrum of empirical consciousness grows both longer and brighter; but some dark lines appear in places which once were bright.

A process thus involving our own selves may be as difficult to examine directly, and by our own sensations, as it is to examine directly, and by our own sensations, the rotation of the earth. Or, to recur to our earlier metaphor, if we would study solar physics we do not only watch for changes in the spectrum of our noonday sun; we look for the spectrum of a sun in the making, or of a sun eclipsed, or of a sun

¹ Conceptions of what I have called *stratified* consciousness are now coming to the front in so many places that it may be of interest to remark that (so far as I know) such a conception first presented itself independently to three observers, as the result of three different lines of experiment. Mr. Gurney was led that way by experiments on hypnotic memory; M. Pierre Janet by experiments on hysteria; and to myself the observation of various automatisms neither hysterical nor hypnotic,—as automatic script and the like—brought a still more developed (I do not say a better established) conception of the stratified nature of our psychical being, of the higher faculties discernible in the deeper strata, and of the unity which comprehends them all.

already darkening down into the night. The animal world still exists to show us our sun of terrene consciousness in its nebulous making; sleep and trance show that sun eclipsed; and the subliminal uprushes, seen more clearly when waking consciousness is obscured, are for us what for the astronomer are the rosy prominences, upleaping from the hidden flame.

But where shall we get our spectrum of a sun going out? Where, in plain words, shall we come upon a process dissolutive of terrene personality which may be the nearest approach to a precise reversal of the evolutive process which our hypothesis has assumed? For this we need some slow, functional brain-degeneration, not dependent upon any localised lesion or any specific intoxication. The process through senile decay to the coma of imminent dissolution has already furnished us with some observations strongly corroborative of the scheme of personality here proposed. Of vivid, supernormal messages received or transmitted at or about the moment of death,—and of the inferences which such facts suggest,—my readers have heard much and often. But for the detailed study here desired we need to find a narrowing of the field of consciousness at once more definitely progressive and more persistent under our prolonged experiment.

Now, surely, is the moment to remember that other result of hysterical loss of liminal stability to which we have as yet barely alluded. We have said that when the psychical diaphragm has once given way there is down-draught as well as uprush. Besides the incursions from the hypnotic stratum of which we have been speaking, there are losses from the supraliminal stratum;—narrowings of empirical consciousness which may look like absolute abolitions of familiar powers, but which often turn out to be the mere subsidence of those powers to a level where the empirical will can no longer reach them. Such are indeed the main phenomena of advanced, of chronic hysteria; and to these we must now turn; seeking whether in this disintegrative process there are traces of the original mode of integration; whether, when the stratum which remains supraliminal is thinned to a shell and straitened to a speck, there come to it upward messages from its own lost wealth and submerged powers,—simulating in that *misère psychologique* the gifts once sent upwards to its affluence from the still richer treasure-house below. In this inquiry we can have no better guide than Dr. Pierre Janet, whose recent work, *L'Etat Mental des Hystériques*, is full of precisely such observations as must either confirm or altogether discredit the theory with which we are now concerned.

What then, to begin with, is M. Janet's general conception of the psychological state of the advanced hysteric?

“In the expression *I feel*,” he says (*Etat Mental*, p. 39), “we have two elements; a small new psychological fact ‘feel,’ and an enormous

mass of thoughts already formed into a system 'I.' These two things mix and combine, and to say I *feel* is to say that the personality, already enormous, has seized and absorbed this small new sensation ; . . . as though the *I* were an amœba which sent out a prolongation to suck in this little sensation which has come into existence beside it." Now it is in the assimilation of these elementary sensations or affective states with the *perception personnelle*, as Janet terms it, that the advanced hysteric fails. Her field of consciousness is so far narrowed that it can only take in the minimum of sensations necessary for the support of life. "One must needs have consciousness of what one sees and hears, and so the patient neglects to perceive the tactile and muscular sensations with which he thinks that he can manage to dispense. At first he could perhaps turn his attention to them, and recover them at least momentarily within the field of personal perception. But the occasion does not present itself, and the *psychological bad habit* is formed. . . . One day the patient—for he is now veritably a patient—is examined by the doctor. His left arm is pinched, and he is asked whether he feels the pinch. To his surprise the patient realises that he can no longer feel consciously, can no longer bring back into his personal perception sensations which he has neglected too long—he has become anæsthetic. . . . Hysterical anæsthesia is thus a fixed and perpetual distraction, which renders its subjects incapable of attaching certain sensations to their personality ; it is a restriction of the conscious field."

On just the same principles may the amnesia and the akinesia or pseudo-paralysis of hysterics—which last is really an aboulia or defect of will and not a paralysis—be explained. In each case there is a dropping out from attention of groups of recollections, which through enfeebled attention (aprosexia,) the patient is no longer able to grasp. The life has shrunk to the smallest needs of the actual moment ; it has ceased to look before and after ; its threshold of consciousness has mounted higher, so that the waking consciousness of the hysteric embraces only a shallow and narrow layer of what was the waking consciousness of the healthy man. "*O dear spirit, half-lost In thine own shadow*" ;—surely the words which the poet addresses to the man-soul undergoing its descent into generation gain a fresh significance if we apply them to the man-soul thus shadowed anew ; his normal terrene consciousness shrinking into a fragment, even as into a fragment had shrunk already at earthly birth his memory of "the glories he had known, And that imperial palace whence he came."

Let us see if there is more in this analogy than a poetic fancy. I have urged—and the idea draws its descent from philosophers as well as poets—that amid our normal terrene life we trace incursions of a subliminal consciousness, with obscure pre-terrene memories, frag-

mentary pre-terrene powers. And I now ask whether any like incursion of *pre-Salpêtrière* faculties, any obscure traces of the freer, more potent life of old, are discernible amid the narrowed life of hysterics, and show to those who watch them from a larger existence that amid all their dimness and bewilderment those imprisoned spirits yet "are greater than they know"?

Let us take first a question as definite as may be possible;—the question of field of vision and subsequent visual memory. I have contended that what we know that we see is not really all that we see, and that what we know that we remember is not really all that we remember. I have urged that it is at least possible that whatever has once fallen within our actual field of vision may be perceived by the subliminal self and permanently registered in the subliminal memory, and I have adduced cases where dream or crystal-vision has brought to the surface some fact thus subliminally observed, but which provably has never come within the cognisance of the supraliminal self. And I have suggested that albeit the messages or reports of unobserved objects thus cast up from the subliminal storehouse—"the treasure of the heart"—were often casual-seeming and trivial, yet sometimes also they seemed to show selective choice, and to indicate a guardianship subliminally exercised over the ignorance and folly of the empirical self.

Can we, then, find any parallel phenomena in hysteria? Are there any cases where the narrowed and shallowed field of hysterical consciousness receives messages from the *normal* perceptive faculty, still persisting, though in what has now become a subliminal fashion? and are such messages ever made useful as warnings of danger, or as guidance to a fruitful end?

Thanks to the delicacy of modern experiments on various anæsthesiæ, and especially on optical defects, it is now possible to distinguish between the range of perception (visual field, &c.), of which hysterics have conscious control, and the range of perception (visual field, &c.), from which a certain amount of information reaches them in an unconscious fashion. Thus, for instance, it has now long been known that a hysteric might assert himself to be totally blind of the right eye, while yet, if he was made to look at a given object with his right eye, while believing that he was looking at it with his left, he could see the object perfectly well. This anomaly was naturally supposed to be due to mere simulation. Similar anomalies were soon observed in hysterical colour-blindness. The green (for example) which the hysteric said he could not see did nevertheless affect the retina and induce a complementary after-image. A still more naïve attempt (as it might seem) at deceit was exhibited by one of Professor Janet's subjects, who, when her head was placed behind a screen and the two

sides of her body—that on which she *could* feel and that on which she could *not* feel—were pinched at intervals, replied, “I feel,” whenever the sensitive side was pinched, and “I don’t feel” whenever the pinch was on the *soi-disant* insensitive side.

But in truth,—although I must refer my readers to Professor Janet’s book (see especially pp. 35-7) for the proof of what I here summarise,—in truth we are dealing in the great mass of these cases not with deceit nor with recklessness, but with a condition of things which, since it has till lately entirely baffled medical interpretation, may well have been puzzling enough to have bewildered the sufferers themselves. We are dealing with a fluctuating constriction of the conscious field; with a shifting faculty which can at one moment embrace some given stimulation within the range of “personal perception,”—as something which the “I” cognises as “my” sensation,—and then at the next moment loses grasp of the stimulation, which thus falls back into the condition of an “elementary sensation,” in some sense still existing but no longer comprised in the conscious personality. Or the difference may be, not between one minute of wider and the next of narrower purview, but between one mode and another mode of perceiving the stimulus;—the colour green, for instance, remaining unnoted when the subject endeavours to apply a voluntary act of choice among colours, but still manifesting itself to the more deeply-lying, more automatic perception which feels the red blur when the retina is exhausted by prolonged gazing on the green spot.

These phenomena, which to readers unfamiliar with the subject may look so dubious, are phenomena common both in incipient and in established hysteria; and their reality derives a stern confirmation from the cases in which their slow advance—still on the same lines of contracting personality, shrinking power of attention—lands the sufferer at last in worldly ruin, in compulsory seclusion, in insanity and irremediable decay. For ourselves every stage of this process is rich in parallels with our larger conception of pre-terrene personality submitting to, and reacting against, the limitations of the flesh. The internuntial messages which for us reach the normal terrene field or stratum of personality from profounder strata are paralleled for the hysteric by the messages which reach the shallowed hysteric stratum from the remainder of the normal terrene field. In each case such messages may be frequent or rare, trivial, or apparently purposive and designed to guide or restrain. They are frequent and trivial in the crystal-seer who can summon up a picture almost at will; and in the hysterical girl who, with her ordinary field of vision contracted almost to a point, is yet able to play at ball with her companions; the slight excitement of the exercise widening the visual field sufficiently to allow her to follow the ball’s flight through the air. Again, the messages are rare

and monitory in such incidents in healthy lives as that (already published) of the hurrying lady who saw the figure whose presence checked her from falling through the open door of the elevator ;—or of that other lady whom a sense of a touch on the arm hindered from heedlessly throwing her banknotes into the fire. And in like fashion they are rare and monitory in the hysteric who has long lost all feeling in the hands, but who nevertheless in some way avoids the burns on the hands characteristic of that profound insensibility which follows on the nervous lesions of syringo-myelitis.

Again, we have printed several instances where the nearness of some object, not cognisable by the ordinary senses (as the dried body of a baby in the roof, the buried body of a murdered man in a field), has apparently caused a distress or alarm which the supraliminal self has been unable to explain. Somewhat similarly we find that when an object which specially stimulates the hysterical fears of a given subject (as a lighted match, a stuffed mouse,) is brought within what would be the normal visual field of a hysteric, the alarming object starts a hysterical attack, although an indifferent object fails to be discerned until brought within the very much narrower visual field over which alone the hysteric is aware of having any sight. The parallel is maintained as to subliminal calculation. “When I count,” said a hysteric, “I write the result, but I know that I have not really worked the sum. I no longer understand my own ideas ; they seem to come of themselves ; it is as though they were written on a great roll of paper which unwinds itself before me.” Compare the “mental blackboard” of the “calculating boy.” Did space allow it, we might follow out these analogies in further detail. It must here suffice to say that this great mass of hysterical phenomena seems explicable only by the very conception which we have elsewhere advanced on a larger scale,—the principle of a restricted personality reinforced by intimations or messages proceeding from a wider personality subjacent but habitually unreachable ;—yet, meantime, more or less cognisant of the proceedings of the empirical self.

Turning from sensory to motor automatism, the more special topic of this paper, let us again consider what phenomena our theory would lead us to expect.

Do we find that beneath the kinesthetic obtuseness, the confused ataxia, the impotent aboulia of these miserable women there are any indications that the complex movements once acquired are not really forgotten ? that there is still a will which can rule the organism in the old way ? If so, we shall have a fresh parallel to our conception of a more potent and profounder personality, underlying for us normal persons also the personality which we know. When the hysteric is in an “aboulic” state—has lost the power to will any action which

presents novelty or difficulty—do we find that she can still perform such actions without conscious will, and as though by help of a motor message transmitted from the self which for her is now subliminal but which in health was the self which was habitually in conscious play? Have we parallels of this kind to the automatic writing or drawing of the normal man? or to his automatic speech? or to those inspirations of genius which transcend the fruits of conscious toil? I leave it to one of Prof. Janet's hysterics to reply:—

“I cannot in the least understand what is going on,” said Maria, when she entered the hospital; “for some time past I have been working in an odd way; it is no longer I who am working, but only my hands. They get on pretty well, but I have no part in what they do. When it is over I do not recognise my work at all. I see that it is all right; but I feel that I am quite incapable of having accomplished it. If anyone said, It is not *you* who did that! I would answer, True enough, it is not I. When I want to sing, it is impossible to me; yet at other times I hear my voice singing the song very well. It is certainly not I who walk; I feel like a balloon which jumps up and down of itself. When I want to write, I find nothing to say, my head is empty, and I must let my hand write what it chooses, and it fills four pages, and if the stuff is silly I cannot help it.”

“The curious point is,” continues M. Janet, “that in this fashion she produces some really good things. If she makes up a dress or writes a letter she sometimes shows real talent, but it is all done in a bizarre way. She looks absorbed in her work, but yet unconscious of it; when she lifts her head she seems dazed as if she was coming out of a dream, and does not recollect what she has been doing. Her way of acting recalls what is said of men of genius who obey their inspiration without being themselves aware of accomplishing their masterpieces. . . . To take a humbler comparison, she acts as we occasionally do when we let our hand write of itself a word which we have forgotten how to spell. But what with us is accidental is with her perpetual; although she has still activity she has no longer the personal consciousness of this activity, and her acts therefore can no longer be called voluntary. . . . Some patients, on the other hand, will not or cannot abandon themselves to this automatic activity. They try to perform the actions consciously and voluntarily, and then they fail altogether.”

I pass on to one of M. Janet's most acute observations¹;—a case where the difference between the faculty still at the command of the supraliminal personality and the faculty transmissible only by automatic impulse from the self now subliminal reaches its maximum point, and suggests some reflections of novel import.

“If we tell hemiplegics or amyotrophics to squeeze the dynamometer, we get such figures as 5 and 10,—very much what these hysterics manage to reach. But with the truly paralysed such figures do not surprise us. We know that we are dealing with impotent persons, whose every action shows their weakness. But our hysterics who mark

¹ *Etat Mental des Hystériques*, p. 171.

5 and 10 are by no means impotent ; they sew, they work, they carry burdens without any apparent trouble. Célestine, for instance, is a robust country girl, accustomed to hard work, and still asking as a favour to be allowed to sweep and rub the floors. She is quick-tempered, and when things do not go just as she likes she shakes the beds, changes their places, and lifts with one arm the wooden armchairs. She has terrible fits of passion ; and in some asylums where she has been she has soundly thrashed strong men. Well ;—I stop this young woman in the middle of her work, and give her the dynamometer to squeeze. To begin with, she is absolutely anæsthetic on both sides of her body, and must needs *look* at the instrument in order to be able to squeeze it at all. I have tried this experiment often ; and the dynamometer generally marks 9 with the squeeze of her right hand, 5 with that of her left. Now I repeat that such indications of feeble muscular power are in complete contradiction with what I see her doing every minute. I have made the trial myself, and although I can squeeze the same dynamometer up to 50, I cannot lift and move the chairs and beds as Célestine does. . . . It is clear that in the hysteric there is a special modification of muscular power when she is made the subject of an experiment ;—when she is told to pay attention, and to squeeze an instrument with *personal will* in order to show her *personal strength*. She can then no longer get at her strength ; she cannot use it in this fashion ; albeit the strength is really there and is lavishly expended in all the acts of common life, when the patient is not thinking of it. What we have here is a defect not of muscle but of will.”

I venture to make such a case as Célestine’s the starting point of a s range speculation. Suppose that it becomes necessary to form a conception of what really happens when a “spirit” is said to move an object lying near a “medium,” but beyond his normal reach ; suppose that we come to think that here, too, as in hysteria itself, there is something beyond the fraud and beneath the confusion,—will these hysterical phenomena afford us any analogy, however remote ? We see these hysterics with the strength of a mere baby at command, the strength of a strong man latent and operating through another stratum of the self. We see them with only vague and feeble movements under their conscious control ; while strong and definite movements are still evocable by suggestion coming from without.

And now let us suppose that each man brought with him into earth-life a force or will capable of a far more exhausting (and a far less useful) form of activity than that on which he usually employs it. He uses it to act somehow upon the brain, and somehow upon the nerves, and so to move heavy objects in contact with his muscular organism. But it is also (on our hypothesis) capable of moving small objects

which are near his person, but not actually in contact with it. Now if for a long time he should fail to discover this power of his, that need by no means surprise us. Until a few years ago he had failed to discover that he could affect matter at a little distance from him in a far more striking way ; namely, that he could light a fire with his fingers. Yet how to light a fire was the most essential discovery which man ever made ; and no one knows how many thousand years it took our ancestors to make it. If the cave-man, and Aristotle, and Bacon together could have seen the summer-boarder at Colorado Springs lighting the gas with his fingers, would they not have exclaimed, "*Ou supercherie, ou miracle !*" in absolute unison ? Yet all that the summer-boarder needed to do was to rub his feet on the floor.

Suppose, then, that man is born in virtual possession of this *telekinetic* power,—this capacity of acting upon ponderable objects at a short distance from his person in some way not wholly different from the way in which he acts upon his own limbs. And suppose that this latent power is not called forth and developed by natural selection, but remains unobserved and unsuspected in the subliminal strata of his being. He can now move by voluntary effort only objects in contact with his periphery ; just as the hysteric by voluntary effort can only squeeze the dynamometer with a baby's strength. But sometimes that power, less deeply subliminal in some of us men than in others, crops up in some "spontaneous physical phenomenon," or movement of an object at a small distance in accordance with no known law. So also with Célestine, the muscular strength—now for her *subliminally* controlled,—crops up sometimes in sudden action, when the hands that can scarce deflect the little brass index thrash the strong man. Or sometimes it may be that some other fuller intelligence, possessing man's terrene faculties in their entirety, and knowing that the hysteric does in truth possess those faculties too, will evoke by suggestion and artifice the latent power which the hysteric herself could never reach. Even so does M. Janet, who knows that Isabelle's co-ordinating power is really intact, tell her to touch her face, and she succeeds in doing so ; although if she tries to do this without his command her hands go helplessly astray. If we men also have lost by disuse and forgetfulness some pre-natal power, can we conceive that intelligences who consciously possess that power, and who discern it in us also, may by suggestion and artifice bring it to the surface, and startle us as M. Janet startles the confused hysteric by the seemingly impossible resurgence of what is her Self indeed ?

One more reflection, and I have done. I would call attention to the hysterical *indifference* ; to the apathy or frivolity of these wretched sufferers ; to their unconsciousness of their own lost powers, of their paralyzing disabilities ;—of what we feel, in spite of all

that apathy, to be their pitiful and bewildered woe. Is it a question of anæsthesia, or of contraction of the visual field? To the ordinary man even slight losses of cutaneous sensation are distressing and unforgettable. In graver disturbances,—to sufferers, for instance, from the “tabetic mask” of facial insensibility,—the affliction is no less than terrible. So likewise a retrenchment of the field of vision when caused by pigmentary retinitis will induce a sense of distressed confusion quite disproportionate to the actual loss of self-guiding power. But the hysteric, on the other hand, will support with absolute indifference sometimes an almost punctiform retrenchment of the visual field, sometimes an anæsthesia of half or of all her body.¹ She will not even be aware of her complete incapacity to distinguish objects by touch. Sometimes, indeed, she will save from the wreck of her sensibility some pre-hysteric reminiscence, some knowledge which—to adapt again the poet’s description of man’s limitation by earthly birth—she has “trailed” after her, “not in entire forgetfulness, and not in utter nakedness,” from that common world of humanity from which she is now exiled. She will still know by touch a comb, an earring, the feel of her own fringe of hair. She will dwell fondly on these recognised objects, and play with the shells which she has thus picked up upon the shore of the ocean of truth.

Is it loss of will, of memory, from which she suffers? If no demand is made upon her, no stimulus applied, she will pass days in re-reading the same newspaper, re-knitting the same pattern, with no apparent desire for progress, nor outlook beyond the present hour. Sometimes indeed there will be “obstinate questionings of sense and outward things”: “Is all this *true*?” said Marelle at a concert;—“the music, the dances;—it seems not true, it must be a dream.” The same patient, allowed to pass from the hospital ward into the garden, found her “shadowy recollections” too much for her peace. “Where am I? What is this?” she cried;—with “fallings from her, vanishings,” she felt with anxious feet whether the earth was solid beneath her; and, “moving about in worlds not realised,” her whole outlook merged into the dark.

Might not this tale be told, *mutato nomine*, of the whole race of mortal men? What assurance have we that from some point of higher vision we men are not as these shrunken and shadowed souls? Suppose that we had all been a community of hysterics; all of us together subject to these shifting losses of sensation, these inexplicable gaps of memory, these sudden defects and paralyses of movement and of will. Assuredly we should soon have argued that our actual powers

¹ See Janet, *op. cit.*, p. 18, &c. Charcot, Pitres, and many other observers have dwelt on the same phenomena; but here as elsewhere Janet’s statement is the best from the psychological side.

were all with which the human organism was or could be endowed. We should have thought it natural that nervous energy should only just suffice to keep attention fixed upon the action which at the moment we needed to perform. We should have pointed out that our lack of sensation over large tracts of the body rarely led to positive injury;—but by what means such injury was averted, by the action of what subjacent intelligence our skin was saved from steel or fire,—of this we should have been too contentedly ignorant even to ask the question. Nor, again, should we have been astonished at our capricious lack of power over our organisms, our intermittent defect of will. We should have held, and with some reason, that the mystery as to how our will could ever move any limb of our bodies was far greater than the mystery as to why certain limbs at certain moments failed to obey it. And as for defects of recollection;—is the reader inclined to think that the hysterical *memory* could never have been accepted as normal? That some guess of a more continuous consciousness, of an identity unmoved and stable beneath the tossing of the psychic storm, must needs have been suggested by all those strange interruptions?—by the lapses into other phases of personality, by the competing fields of reminiscence, by the clean sweep and blank destruction of great slices and cantles of the Past? I ask in turn how much of guess at an underlying continuity has been suggested, I do not say to the popular, but even to the scientific mind, by life broken as we know it now?—by our nightly lapses into a primitive phase of personality? by the competing fields of recollection which shift around the hypnotic trance? by the irrecoverable gaps in past existence when the sun's ray or the robber's bludgeon has struck too rudely on the skull?

Nay, if we had been a populace of hysterics we should have acquiesced in our hysteria. We should have pushed aside as a fantastic enthusiast the fellow sufferer who strove to tell us that this was not all that we were meant to be. As we now stand,—each one of us *totus, teres, atque rotundus* in his own esteem,—we see at least how cowardly would have been that contentment, how vast the ignored possibilities, the forgotten hope. Yet who assures us that even here and now we have developed into the full height and scope of our being? A moment comes when the most beclouded of these hysterics has a glimpse of the truth. A moment comes when, after a profound slumber, she wakes into an *instant clair*;—a flash of full perception, which shows her as solid vivid realities all that she has in her bewilderment been apprehending phantasmally as a dream. Ἐξ ὀνείρου δ' αὐτίκα—Ἦν ἴπαρ. Is there for us also any possibility of a like resurrection into reality and day? Is there for us any sleep so deep that waking from it after the likeness of perfect man we shall be satisfied; and shall see face to face; and shall know even as also we are known?

CHAPTER VII.

MOTOR AUTOMATISM.

The phenomena of hysteria which we discussed in the last chapter were perhaps in themselves strange to many of my readers. Still stranger must have been the hypothesis proposed for their explanation, and assuming them under the general theory of personality which these chapters set forth. Yet neither the phenomena themselves (attested, indeed, by leading medical authorities), nor the theory suggested could be said to transcend known laws in the same way as any form of thought-transference, for instance, transcends them. The "messages" which I described as passing between one stratum and another of the hysterical personality were purely *internuntiative*, and not *telepathic*. Their whole course, that is to say, lay within the individual himself; they transmitted the command or the information from one part of that individual's intelligence to another; but they did not involve any supernormal communication of ideas from an extraneous mind. Such supernormal element as hysteria does contain is of a different order; it consists in indications of powers beyond what I have called the "red end" of the conscious spectrum,—of potent influences exerted over organic processes by the apparently random orders of the dreaming or distracted hypnotic self.

In the motor messages to which we are now proceeding, on the other hand,—just as in the sensory messages discussed in Chapter V.,—the main interest lies in the *original source* of the message which in some way reaches the automatist's subliminal self, and is thence transferred to his supraliminal perception.

And to these definite telepathic motor messages the vaguer internuntiative, organic messages of hysteria, just discussed, as well as those of hypnotic suggestion, discussed in Chapter II., form a kind of approach or introduction. They form such an introduction, I say, more naturally to motor than to sensory messages; for although the sensory messages also—spontaneous hallucinations, crystal-vision and the like—are presumably themselves also based upon and developed from obscure organic conditions, yet the fact of such development is more obvious, as we shall presently see, with messages which, like those with which we shall deal in this chapter, often involve a considerable amount of varied organic disturbance, from which the definite verbal or written message issues at last as the final product towards which those less specialised efforts have been confusedly tending.

Our first inquiry, therefore, will naturally be: Are there messages which conform to the same general type as those hypnotic, those hysteric messages, but which differ in containing a telepathic or a clairvoyant element?

The reader well knows what reply we have to make to this question. The intermixture of telepathic phenomena in the phenomena of hypnotism has been one of our most constant themes of discussion. And the telepathic phenomena thus observed have often been of that comparatively vague organic kind with which we are at this moment specially concerned. Thus the sensory messages conveyed telepathically to the hypnotised subject have not belonged only to the higher, exacter senses of sight and hearing. They have included—from the time of Elliotson and Esdaile onwards—impressions made on the less definite or intellectual senses of taste, smell, temperature, contact and pain. And there have been motor messages also;—especially that deep-seated, pervading form of motor message which consists (as of old in H. S. Thompson's cases) in an impulse to rush to the distant hypnotiser. Without repeating what has been so often narrated, the reader may be reminded that at this special point of our scheme we have much corroborative matter to introduce.

If, then, hypnotic phenomena have proved thus fruitful in telepathic incident, can we say the same of hysteria? Hysterical disturbance mainly affects the *infra-red* spectrum; does it ever affect the *ultra-violet* spectrum as well?

The answer to this question is still doubtful. It is only in France that there is enough of experiment with hysterics to promise an answer, and one series of French experiments, which seemed at one time to afford an affirmative answer, is not, in my view, sufficiently confirmed. I allude to the supposed transference of hysterical symptoms, by aid of the magnet, from one patient to another, as often demonstrated by Dr. Babinski at the Salpêtrière, and kindly shown by him to the late Edmund Gurney and myself. Inasmuch as these experiments, if valid, would precisely have suited my argument at this point, the reader will probably not demand from me a long account of my reasons for awaiting their further confirmation.

Apart from these doubtful phenomena there seems little reason to think that hysteria, as apart from hypnotisability, exerts a specially favouring effect on telepathic phenomena. Some few hysterics (as the "Madame B." of the Havre experiments) who have been very constantly hypnotised, have become excellent subjects, but it is not clear that healthy persons, if similarly trained, might not have given like results.

A converse question is of considerable interest. Even if hysterics show no special aptitude for transmitting ordinary telepathic messages, do healthy telepathic agents show any power of transmitting hysterical phenomena? This is in fact the question at the root of *sorcery*. Gurney has already shown that such phenomena of witchcraft as have any real first-hand evidence to support them are explicable by hysteria,

hypnotic suggestion and self-suggestion. While dealing mainly with the most striking point—the effect of self-suggested hallucinations upon the witch herself,—he remarks also that “if we bear in mind the prevalent belief that the witch commanded the full powers of the devil, we need not refuse to connect the threats and angry words of unpopular old women with a certain proportion, at any rate, of the illnesses which are so freely testified to as having soon after supervened.”¹ We may expand this sentence, perhaps, by saying that the witch induced hypnosis in herself and hysteria in her neighbours. There is something indeed in the *wasting* of the bewitched person—apparently progressive, and then suddenly mending—which strongly suggests the now familiar hysterical malady of “pseudo-tabes.”

Limus ut hic durescit et hæc ut cera liquescit
Uno eodemque igni ; sic nostro Daphnis amore.

Could we better describe the intercurrent spasm and paresis of that phantom affection? the threatened death, yet the rapid disappearance under the influence of pleasurable shock?

But the incantations of the Pharmaceutria—unlike the face to face cursing of which Gurney speaks—were intended to take effect *telepathically*. Is there any evidence for such action? any evidence, that is to say, that there can be a telepathic projection into other minds not only of our harmless pictures of Queens of Hearts or of hippopotami, but of such impulses as may generate in the percipient some of those hysterical symptoms which we know to be generated with such disastrous ease by the unconscious self-suggestion of the hysteric's own unstable being? If this be so, we should have something like an explanation for many tales of mediæval sorcery and of the so-called “black magic” about which so much nonsense is still occasionally written. Nor is there any obvious reason why this should not sometimes occur; why a telepathic impulse should not sometimes be felt by the percipient as an obsessing presence, a disintegrating intrusion into a sensitive mind. I can only say that we have not as yet met with any well-attested case of this type; and that, on the other hand, we have heard various statements of telepathic persecution which we felt bound to rank as examples of a not uncommon class of insane delusions. It was, therefore, with surprise as well as interest that we received some years ago from Dr. Gibotteau (known to Professor Richet) the record (since published at greater length in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*) of certain experiments made partly by himself, but chiefly under his supervision, by a woman,—ignorant indeed of most other arts—but trained (as she said) in sorcery by her mother, in a village in Normandy. This woman was willing to communicate her hereditary artifices,

¹ *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 182.

which turn out to be precisely such as our knowledge of other telepathic experiments might have led us to anticipate. I have already quoted (*Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 466) some of Berthe's doings. I add some accounts, mainly of motor disturbances, akin to those of hysteria, and generated, as Dr. Gibotteau believes, by Berthe's telepathic action,—although the limits of suggestion and self-suggestion are in some cases hard to define.

M. 57.—“Passive telepathy,” says Dr. Gibotteau,¹ “the rôle of percipient, was not a marked feature in Berthe's case ; and it was generally by an exercise of will that she arrived at it. I do not remember that she ever became spontaneously aware of any action performed by me. More commonly she would seek and listen. Sometimes she mentally followed the track of her subject ; sometimes she watched a place where she supposed that he must pass ; and from this ambush, as it were, she seized him as he went by. For example, she had resolved to prevent me from walking up the Boulevard St. Michel, towards the Observatory,—a street by which I do not often pass. Seldom have I passed that way without feeling her presence, and a resistance which took two quite different forms. Sometimes I felt an unusual febleness in my legs, which seemed paralysed. It was as though I had been carrying on my shoulders a weight too heavy for me. If I turned to walk the other way, I felt myself light and free. At other times I had a certain difficulty in moving forwards, as if I had been struggling against a strong wind, or rather against a current of water which reached to my middle, for the sensation was confined to the legs. I amused myself by observing this effect, which I quite understood to proceed from Berthe. If I turned the other way, the opposite effect followed ; the imaginary current seemed to drag me towards the Seine, and I had difficulty in preventing myself from running.

“Berthe's other method of influencing me was mentally to explore a place—my own room, for instance, and thus somehow to discover whether I was there. This at last became very tiresome. When I wished that she should leave me alone I deceived her by the following artifice. I took the homeward route in the evening, *summoning* her strongly, and as soon as she mentally *replied* I continued my route in imagination, picturing to myself one point in it after another. I fancied myself entering my house, mounting the staircase, and going to bed and to sleep. Then I suddenly *broke contact* with her, and continued my real walk in another direction. It will be understood that in the absence of notes I cannot now give precise details, but all these facts stood out clearly enough at the time. I ought to add that she by no means always succeeded ; nor did she always tell the truth, being given to boast about her powers of this kind. Nevertheless, the kind of *surveillance* which I felt hanging over me for the space of two months was, perhaps, the most interesting to me among all Berthe's phenomena.

“My friend L. on one and the same evening both imposed upon Berthe, and received from her, a sensation of this kind. After a single sitting with her he endeavoured to prevent her from returning home, at about 11 p.m., and to make her take a road which led her away from her lodgings into a solitary

¹ *Annales*, September and October, 1892, p. 259, &c. (abridged).

quarter. He felt as if he had succeeded in this; and indeed he had succeeded, as Berthe told us next day that she had been astonished to find herself far from her lodging and her right road. But she took her revenge at once. L., on leaving me, went after a time to his club, at about midnight. He was there watching the play, when suddenly he felt a foreign influence; everything became distasteful to him; he only stayed a few minutes, and went home almost at a run. Next morning he told me of this experience, and said he was sure that it was Berthe who had made him thus suddenly change his mind. And Berthe afterwards gave me the same account, boasting that she had made him change his mind.

“Another time Berthe taught me how one ought to proceed in order to make a person fall down. The method is thoroughly logical. First you must get to know him, talk to him, impress him as much as you can, and make him afraid of you. When he is in the street you follow behind him and imitate his walk as closely as you can, *charging* him all the time. (This was the word she used for the process, to her quite familiar, of mentally possessing herself of someone’s thoughts, and slightly hypnotising him.) Then you must see a string stretched across the road a few steps in front of him. You follow the movements of your victim, and then, at the moment when he reaches the imaginary string, you yourself intentionally stumble, and the poor man is forced to tumble down.¹

“We had,” he continues, “been having a *séance* with Berthe; and we prolonged it in an open carriage, where she sat between P. and myself. It was a summer evening, near midnight, in the Quartier des Invalides. Before entering the carriage I said to Berthe: ‘Since you say that you know how to do it, try and make M. P. lose his sense of direction, so that he may imagine that he is turning his back on the direction in which he is really going. Wait to do this until I give you a sign.’ At a certain moment I gave her the sign; and after a few moments P. said to me, ‘I feel very odd; everything round me seems turning, and I feel sick; it is just as if I was sea-sick.’

“Nothing further occurred, so the hallucination remained incomplete. P. is entirely ignorant of medicine; he knows nothing of the sense of direction, or of the intimate connection which exists between a disturbance of this sense and the special discomforts of which he complained. One could hardly have a better proof of the reality of Berthe’s action, or a better commentary on the power of causing the victim to lose his way, so often attributed to sorcerers of every country.”

The production of sleep at a distance is, among the phenomena which we have already discussed, that which bears the closest resemblance to these unholy tricks.

What the exact mechanism of *sommeil à distance* may be we do not know. We do not know whether all telepathic transmissions are of the same type; nor whether the typical transmission is to be regarded as a physical transmission. On this point M. Gibotteau’s experiments are of interest:—

¹ *Annales*, Sept., Oct., 1892, p. 258.

M. 58.—“ I had been reading the account of the experiments with Mme. B. (Léonie) at Havre. I asked Berthe one day, ‘ Can you manage sleep at a distance ? ’ ‘ Certainly,’ said she, ‘ it is not difficult ; I have done it often with [an experimenter whose name I forget].’ ‘ Well then, look out, some time to-day I will send you to sleep.’ After lunching at the hospital-officers’ hall I asked a colleague to choose an hour for me at random. The hour chosen was, I think, 2.30. When that hour came I walked up and down in the corridor, at least 300 yards from the hall, mentally ordering Berthe to go to sleep, as if I had been close to her. After ten minutes, it seemed to me, I cannot say why, that I had succeeded. I walked back to the window of the *crèche*, where Berthe was, and looked in. She was asleep. I entered. They told me that she had been asleep for ten minutes or so. She had lain down, and they had seen her go to sleep. It was her ordinary somnambulistic sleep—a sleep into which she sometimes fell spontaneously. I repeated the experiment a great number of times, always choosing an hour at random. I almost always succeeded, with occasional failures when she was occupied in talking, or when I lacked patience. I observed that a prolonged effort was necessary for success. It did not seem that I merely supplied a signal at which she voluntarily sent herself to sleep ; but rather the sleep itself seemed an effect directly and laboriously produced by my will. I have had the same feeling in sending other subjects to sleep from a distance.

“ I tried further experiments ; I used to succeed pretty well in making Berthe come from the *crèche* to the hall at my mental order. In these cases she went to sleep first and moved forward tottering, her eyes ecstatically fixed. Unknown to me the head nurse forbade her to enter the hall. She then used to walk into the garden and come up to the window nearest to where I was at work. I tried to send her to sleep at greater distances ; for example, from my own lodgings in the *Rue des Ecoles*, &c. The results were less good, but still encouraging.”

It is certainly satisfactory that among the very few efforts which, so far as we know, have been made to repeat our Havre experiments one series should have been thus successful. It is to be regretted, however, that even an inquirer so active and so fertile in expedients as Dr. Gibotteau should have neglected that accurate and immediate registration which experiments of this kind so manifestly need.

And as regards those other and more novel experiments of Dr. Gibotteau’s they do certainly seem to afford us sporadic examples of just the kind which our series needs. If correctly described, they show telepathic affections (1) of the motor system generally, (2) of the centres for vertigo and nausea. Our argument needs both. We want to be able to point to vague motor affections, from which our more definite motor affections of hand or throat may be developed or specialised. And we want as many miscellaneous organic effects of telepathy as possible ;—instances of its action on special sensibilities, on the vaso-motor,

circulatory, respiratory systems, &c.¹ We may well conjecture that the telepathic impact may affect some sensitive internal organs,—*la vessie, ce miroir de l'âme*,—and so forth. We have had at any rate some telepathic cases of deep cœnesthetic disturbance, of a profound malaise which must, one would think, have involved some abnormal condition of the viscera. In Gurney's collection of "emotional and motor effects" (*Phantasms of the Living*, Vol I., Chap. VII.), we find such phrases as "a cloud of calamity which was almost a physical feeling," "deep depression," "a dreadful feeling of illness and faintness, and I felt that I was dying," "dreadful trembling with prostration," "trembling, with no apparent cause whatever," "conviction that I should die that night," and so forth. And we have, moreover, the definite vaso-motor phenomenon of sudden *weeping*, which in one case (*op. cit.*, p. 275) is described as "hysterics" by a lady who "never experienced a similar feeling." This attack corresponded exactly with the sudden death of a father at a distance. We must hardly press her phrase as implying more than a sudden, uncontrollable, unmotivated fit of weeping, though it would, of course, be specially interesting if we could find definite hysterical symptoms originated by a telepathic shock. Another informant (p. 277) speaks of an "extraordinary state of depression and restlessness; a violent fit of weeping, a thing quite alien to my character," as coinciding with the sudden illness and delirium of a distant husband.

Along with these emotional or vaso-motor cases, Gurney gives some narratives of pervading motor impulse,—“a sense of being wanted—an impulse to go somewhere or do something.” It is, of course, not easy to get a motor impulse quite clear of intellectual impression; since if (for instance) a man feels a strong impulse to go home he probably also has a strong impression that some of his family are ill. In at least one case, however, that of Major Kobbé (p. 288), the percipient is prompted to visit a distant cemetery, without any conscious reason, and there finds his father;—who had in fact, for certain quite unexpected reasons, sent to his son, Major Kobbé, a request to meet him there at that hour; a request which Major Kobbé had never received.

I add a case where the *object* of the motor impulse was perfectly well known, but where, nevertheless, the motor impulse itself is described as the vivid and controlling element.

IMPRESSIONS FROM A DISTANCE. BY REV. C. BADGER, HARVARD LIBRARY,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

L. 957.

Two cases my experience has met in which I must recognise powerful

¹ Dr. Purdon, now of Florida, has endeavoured to show by sphygmographic tracings the influence of an agent's thought in bringing a percipient's pulse to the same rhythm. His tracings may be seen in the rooms of the S.P.R., but are too few to be convincing without further corroboration.

impressions from a distance, even if one also indicated that "coming events cast a shadow before."

CASE I.

In the summer of 1859 (I being twenty-six years of age), she whom I was about to marry was to arrive by steamer, after two years' absence in Europe, at New York.

The steamer was due at 12m. on Saturday, July 2nd. I had engaged to preach in New York on Sunday the 3rd, and I was somewhat amazed when Saturday's sunset came, and only the word from Sandy Hook, "no signs yet of the *Vanderbilt*." I feared the steamer might come in during the forenoon while I should be detained in the pulpit. Late at night I went several miles up town to my lodging-house, having been officially assured that, late as it then was, with no tidings, the steamer could not possibly get in before 12m. on Sunday. That assurance was perfect in my mind and gave me great satisfaction and I fell asleep.

After a quiet night, I suddenly woke, soon after six a.m., finding myself spring out of bed, exclaiming, "She's in, she's in!" It was not a question I was discussing. It was fully settled; there was not a shadow of doubt in my mind; and I began dressing with all conceivable rapidity to fly to meet her. I was alone. Anybody with me would have deemed me as good as insane, so eager and confident was my assurance. I rushed out of the house, across, some distance, to Broadway, and took the down town omnibus. Wholly alone, I had time to reflect on the ridiculousness of my conduct. My faith in my impression was somewhat shaken by the long shaking in the slow 'bus before we reached the Astor House about 7.30 a.m. I rushed in, however, asking at the desk, "Any news of the *Vanderbilt*?" "She's coming up the Bay, sir," answered the clerk, and I rushed out with fresh speed, moved quickly over the intervening mile, sped down the long pier, and leapt on board just as she drew up to the dock—not pausing an instant in my eager movement, and being the first to board her from the pier. A moment later, I stood quietly leaning against the jamb of the upper cabin door, gazing upon her whom I sought, who sat before me conversing with a friend, not being aware that the steamer had drawn up to the dock, and by no means expecting to see anybody she knew so early in the day.

I consider this a case of immediate *agnition*, or perception not attained by any process of unconscious reasoning during sleep. My active mind had previously scrutinised the facts, weighed all the probabilities, and fully settled the conviction so far as *cognition* could, that the *Vanderbilt*, under the then present conditions of weather, &c., could not reach her dock before 12m. on Sunday.

The two following cases, in both of which the same percipient was concerned, come to us through the American Branch of the Society. In the first, the conscious desire of the agent seems to have been the predetermining cause of the percipient's impression.

L. 877. Ae Pⁿ Motor Impulse.

The percipient, Mrs. Hadselle, writes to Mr. Hodgson as follows:—

28, Bradford-street, Pittsfield, Mass., May 28th, 1888.

"Less than two years ago a curious thing happened to me. I had been

in Wash. Co., N.Y., giving half a dozen readings, and was on my way to Williamstown, where I had spent a part of the summer, and where much of my worldly goods, in the shape of wearing apparel, was safely stowed in my room at the 'Mansion House.' With ticket purchased, I was serenely seated in the ear, 'box, bundle and bag' beside me, the conductor's 'All aboard' was at that instant in my ears, when I sprang to my feet with the force of an inward command, 'Change your ticket and go to Elizabeth (N.J.). *Change your ticket and go to Elizabeth. Change your—*' Here a gentleman in the opposite seat—an utter stranger—rose and said: 'Madam, have you forgotten something, can I help you?' I said: 'Do you think the train will wait for me to change my ticket?' For there appeared to be no alternative. As I spoke I moved towards the platform; he followed, and seeing that the office was but a few steps distant said: 'Go, I'll see that you are not left.' I did go, and in a moment more was on my way to Elizabeth, *though I had not before even thought of such a thing.* Next morning, on reaching my friend's house, she threw her arms about me and sobbed out: 'Oh, I have wanted you so.' Then she led me to a room where an only and beloved sister lay in life's last battle. In an hour it was ended.

"My poor grief-stricken friend declared then—declares now—that my sudden change of purpose was a direct answer to her repeated though unspoken demand for my presence. And who shall say it was not? I wish to add that while I had learned by letter of the sister's illness of a chronic disorder, I did not suppose her case hopeless; indeed, from the fact that no tidings had reached me lately, was hoping that she was on the road to recovery, and had I been questioned concerning her that 10th of November, 1886, should have replied confidently, 'She will without doubt last through the winter.' My friend, by the way, is, much more than I, a believer in psychical phenomena.

“(Signed) C. A. C. HADSELLE.”

Mr. Hodgson writes:—

"Mrs. G.—the friend referred to—has sent me her corroboration, dated March 5th, 1890. The date of the incident, she states, was November 11th, 1886. She says:—

"“I had not expected Mrs. H.; did not at that time know where she was, so could not have summoned her had I wished to do so,—but in my trouble there grew upon me a great desire for her presence, and I said many times, “If she would only come. If she were only here.””

"“My sister's failure at the last was somewhat rapid, but of this Mrs. H. knew nothing, and when she told me of her sudden change of purpose, hundreds of miles away, I said: “The impulse was sent you in answer to my wish,” or words to that effect.””

The gentleman who helped Mrs. Hadselle to change her ticket, the Rev. James Wilson, then of Greenwich, N.Y., writes in answer to Mr. Hodgson's inquiries:—

March 20th, 1890.

I recollect the circumstance of “assisting a lady” at Greenwich ticket office, who exchanged her ticket at the last moment, because of a change of purpose; and it was in November, 1886. She sent me a few lines afterwards,

detailing certain facts touching a sick friend at the point of her destination—not clearly recalled at this moment.

J. T. WILSON.

L. 878. Ae Pⁿ Impression.

Mrs. Hadselle sent at the same time another narrative, of which she said :—

“I send you with this a bit of experience which I had years ago—so long ago, indeed, as the time Dr. Holland edited the *Springfield Republican*. He wrote me that the ‘Warning’ was copied from Maine to California, and that he received many letters asking if it was authentic. To this he could safely reply, as I was an old-time contributor to that and other leading journals. A local paper lately copied it. Many of the then witnesses have, with Dr. Holland and my darling ‘Eddie’ (Kleber Loomis Hadselle), gone over to the ‘great majority,’ but there are several still living who remember the episode, and no one of my acquaintances doubts or thinks the sketch overdrawn.

“The account is taken from the *Berkshire County Eagle*, May 10th, 1888, Pittsfield, Mass., and is there headed ‘The Unspoken Warning—A Mother’s Experience.’ As above implied, the account itself is nearly contemporary with the incident, being here quoted from a *reprint*, which the author accepts as correct :—

“One bitter cold day in winter a merry party of us, nestled down under furry robes, went to meet an appointment with a friend living a few miles distant, with whom we were to spend the afternoon and in the evening attend a concert to be held near by. The sleighing was delightful, the air keen and inspiring, the host and hostess genial as the crackling fires in the grates, and the invited guests, of whom there were many besides ourselves, in that peculiar visiting trim which only old-time friends, long parted, can enjoy. Restraint was thrown aside ; we cracked jokes ; we chattered like magpies, and not a little of the coming concert, which promised a rare treat to our unsophisticated ears. All went merry as a marriage bell, and merrier than some, till just before tea, when I was seized with a sudden and unaccountable desire to go home, accompanied by a dread or fear of something, I knew not what, which made the return appear, not a matter of choice, but a thing imperative. I tried to reason it away, to revive anticipations of the concert ; I thought of the disappointment it would be to those who came with me to give it up, and running over in my mind the condition in which things were left at home, could find no ground for alarm.

“For many years a part of the house had been rented to a trusty family ; our children were often rocked in the same cradle, and half of the time ate at the same table ; locks and bolts were things unused, and in deed as in word we were neighbours. In their care had been left a boy of ten years, the only one of the family remaining at home, who knew that when he returned from school he was expected to bring in wood and kindlings for the morning fire, take supper alone, or with little Clara E., as he chose, and otherwise pass the time as he pleased, only that he must not go into the street to play, or on to the pond to skate. He had been left many times in this way, and had never given occasion for the slightest uncasiness ; still, as this nameless fear grew upon me, it took the form of a conviction that danger of some sort threatened this beloved child.

“I was rising to go and ask Mr. A. to take me home, when someone said, ‘You are very pale; are you ill?’ ‘No,’ I answered, and dropping back in the chair, told them how strangely I had been exercised for the last few minutes; adding, ‘I really must go home.’ There was a perfect chorus of voices against it, and for a little time I was silenced, though not convinced. Someone laid the matter before Mr. A., who replied, ‘Nonsense; Eddie is a good boy to mind, will do nothing in our absence that he would not do if we were there, and is enjoying himself well at this moment, I’ll warrant.’ This answer was brought to me in triumph, and I resolved to do as they said, ‘not to think about it.’ But at tea my trembling hand almost refused to carry food to my lips, and I found it utterly impossible to swallow a mouthful. A death-like chill crept over me, and I knew that every eye was on me as I left the room. Mr. A. rose, saying in a changed voice and without ceremony, ‘Make haste; bring the horse round, we must go right away. I never saw her in such a state before; there is something in it.’ He followed me to the parlour, but before he could speak I was pleading as for dear life that not a moment be lost in starting for home. ‘I know,’ said I, ‘it is not all imagination, and whether it is or not I shall certainly die, if this dreadful incubus is not removed shortly.’

“All was now confusion; the tea-table deserted, the meal scarcely tasted; and my friends, alarmed as much at my looks as at my words, were as anxious to hurry me off as they had been before to detain me. To me those terrible moments seemed hours, yet I am assured that not more than half an hour elapsed from the time my fears first found expression before we were on the road toward home. A horse somewhat noted for fleetness was before us, and with only two in the cutter—the rest stayed to concert, and made Mr. A. promise that if nothing had happened we would return—went over the road at a rapid pace. I knew from the frequent repetition of a peculiar signal that the beast was being urged to his best, yet I grew sick with impatience at the restraint. I wanted to fly. All this while my fears had taken no definite shape. I only knew that the child was in danger, and felt impelled to hurry to the rescue. Only once was the silence broken in that three-mile journey, and that was when the house was in full view. I said, ‘Thank God, the house is not on fire.’ ‘That was my own thought,’ said Mr. A., but there was no slackening of speed.

“On nearing home a cheerful light was glimmering from Mrs. E.’s window; before the vehicle had fairly stopped we were clear of it, and opening the door, said in the same breath, ‘Where’s Eddie?’ ‘Eddie? why, he was here a little while ago,’ answered Mrs. E., pleasantly striving to dissipate the alarm she saw written on our countenances. ‘He ate supper with the children, and played awhile at marbles; then spoke of Libby Rose having a new picture book, and that he wanted to see it. You’ll find him over there.’ With swift steps Mr. A. crossed the street to the place mentioned, but returned with ‘He has not been there.’ Eddie was remarkably fond of skating, and my next thought was that he had been tempted to disobedience. I said calmly, ‘We will go to the pond.’ I was perfectly collected; I could have worked all night without fatigue with the nerves in that state of tension; but Mr. A. said, ‘No, you must go in and lie down. Eddie is safe

enough, somewhere about the village. I'll go and find him.' But there was nothing in the tone as in the words to reassure me.

"As he spoke he crossed the hall to our own room and turned the knob. The door was locked. What could that mean? Eddie was either on the inside or had taken the key away with him. Mr. A. ran round to a window with a broken spring which could be opened from the outside. It went up with a clang, but a dense volume of smoke drove him back. After an instant another attempt was made, and this time, on a lounge directly under the window, he stumbled on the insensible form of little Eddie, smothered in smoke. Limp and apparently lifeless, he was borne into the fresh cold air, and after some rough handling was restored to consciousness.

"Eddie said, on returning from school, he made a good fire, and as the wood was snowy thought he would put it in the oven to dry; something he had never done before. Then on leaving Mrs. E.'s room he went in for an apple before going to see Libby Rose's picture book, and it seemed so nice and warm he thought he would lie down awhile. He could give no explanation as to what prompted him to turn the key: it was the first and last time; but this could have made no difference in the result, for no one would have discovered the smoke in time to save his life. The wood in the oven was burned to ashes, but as the doors were closed there was no danger of falling embers setting the house on fire; and had we stayed to the concert everything would have been as when we left, except that little Eddie's voice would never more have made music for our ears. Everyone said that with a delay of five or even three minutes we should have been too late.

(Signed) "MRS. C. A. C. HADSSELLE."

In reply to inquiries, Mrs. Hadselle informed Mr. Hodgson that the event took place about 1854, Eddie being then nine or ten years old. Mr. A. is no longer living, but the lady at whose house the party met, on being asked by Mrs. Hadselle what she could remember of the circumstances, wrote:—

Albany, N.Y., *January 6th*, 1891.

"I remember distinctly the incident described by Mrs. Hadselle in her sketch, 'An Unspoken Warning.' It was at my house that the little party gathered for the old-fashioned afternoon visit and tea. I remember well her strange condition, arising from anxiety over the child, which had been left at home. The statement made by her I believe to be true.

"M. W. ROGERS."

These cases show in intimate connection general malaise, motor impulse, and auditory hallucination. In the case next to be cited, Lady de Vesei described to me in conversation a similar malaise, defining itself into the urgent need of action,—namely, of sending a greeting to the friend then dying at the other side of the world. Such an impulse was unique in her experience.

May 24th, 1891.

L. 885.

"Madame X. was a very remarkable woman, and I was most deeply attached to her. She had had great troubles and difficulties in her life, an unhappy marriage, and two sons who were entirely educated by her,

When they came to London as clerks in the City she followed them to make a home for them there ; but as one was soon sent out to work at Hong-Kong and the other to a business at Bahia, she sought employment for herself in London and came to us as governess in 1864. In 1869 she became ill, and spent the winter alone at Bournemouth. She and I wrote constantly to each other, and when she moved to Norwood for the summer of 1870 my eldest brother and I went often to spend long afternoons with her. He died that summer, and although she had not left her sofa for months she came at once to see me when she heard of our great sorrow ; the doctor said he had never seen such an indomitable spirit as she showed through her illness, and when in the spring of 1871 Sir J. Burrows told her that she had not many months to live she resolved to go out to Hong-Kong and see her eldest son once more. It was not thought that she would survive the voyage. Our deep love for each other was unchangeable, and this final farewell was a great grief to us both. She reached Hong-Kong and spent the last 18 months of her life with her son there. I heard from her by every mail.

“In 1872 I married, and shortly afterwards we were quartered at the Curragh. It was from there that I sent the telegram which she received less than 24 hours before her death. Until 2 years ago I had in my possession a few faint lines written by her on blue foreign paper, saying she had received my message and that her ‘fever dreams’ were filled with memories of our happy days together at Cannes and elsewhere. Her son is now dead. He came to see me in ’76 and told me that my telegram had made his mother very happy.

“The impulse that made me communicate with her on that particular day was a very strong one. It came to me suddenly and not in consequence of any increased anxiety from news received. On the contrary, the accounts were quite satisfactory. I had heard from her by the mail a few days before. I asked my husband to go with me to the Curragh Post office, as I wished to find out the cost of a telegram to China, and he accompanied me to the Post-office and we were told it would cost £5 to send 12 words or so, I think. I at once wrote and sent the message containing a few words of loving greeting. These words she received and acknowledged only a few hours before her death.

EVELYN DE VESCI.”

Lord de Vesce adds :—

“I certify that the account given by Lady de Vesce is correct and accurate.

“DE VESCI.”

June 2nd, 1891.

This special sensibility to the *motor* element in an impulse recalls to us the special susceptibilities to different forms of hallucination or suggestion shown by different hypnotic subjects. Some can be made to see, some to hear, some to act out the conception proposed to them. In a recent paper¹ Dr. Bérillon has even shown that certain subjects who seem at first quite refractory to hypnotisation are nevertheless at once obedient, even in the waking state, to a motor suggestion. This was the case both with a very strong man, with weak men and

¹ *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, March, 1893, p. 268.

women, and with at least one subject actually suffering from locomotor ataxy. It would seem, then, that sometimes a *loss* of motor control may predispose to motor suggestibility. On the other hand, a specially well-developed motor control may predispose in a similar way ;—as for instance, the subject who can sing already is more easily made to sing by suggestion. We must, then, await further observations before we can pretend to say beforehand with which automatist the messages will take a sensory, and with which a motor form.

Still less can we explain the special predisposition of each experimenter to one or more of the common kinds of motor automatism,—as automatic speech, automatic writing, table movements, raps, and so forth. These forms of message may themselves be variously combined ; and the contents of a message of any one of these kinds may be purely dream-like and fantastic, or may be veridical in various ways.

Let us enumerate the modes of subliminal motor message as nearly as we can in order of their increasing specialisation.

1. We may place first the massive motor impulses (like Major Kobbé's) of which mention has already been made, and which mark a kind of transition between cenesthetic affections and motor impulses proper. There was here no impulse to special movement of any limb ; but an impulse to reach a certain place by ordinary methods.

2. Next, perhaps, in order of specialisation come the simple subliminal muscular impulses which give rise to table-tilting and similar phenomena.

3. Musical execution, subliminally initiated, might theoretically be placed next ; although definite evidence of this is hard to obtain, since the threshold of consciousness with musical performers is notoriously apt to be shifting and indefinite. ("When in doubt, play with your fingers, and not with your head.")¹

4. Next we may place automatic drawing and painting. This curious group of messages has but seldom a telepathic content, and may be better considered hereafter in connection with other non-telepathic forms of subliminal faculty.

5. Next comes automatic writing, on which much has been said in previous papers, and much remains to be said here.

6. Automatic *speech*, which would not seem to be *per se* a more developed form of motor message than automatic script, is often accompanied by profound changes of memory or of personality which raise the question of "inspiration" or "possession" ;—for the two words, however different their theological import, mean much the same

¹ The often-cited case of "Blind Tom" (a semi-idiotic negro of extraordinary musical gift) will be better dealt with later in connection with the phenomena of trance.

thing from the standpoint of experimental psychology. Much has been said on this subject in connection with Mrs. Piper's trances; and since those trances still continue it is hoped that the topic may be dealt with again before long.

7. I must conclude my list with a class of motor phenomena which I shall in this present paper merely record in passing, without attempting any explanation. I allude to raps, and to those telekinetic movements of objects whose real existence is still matter of controversy.

Comparing this list of motor automatisms with the sensory automatisms enumerated in Chap. V., we shall find a certain general tendency running through each alike. The sensory automatisms began with vague unspecialised sensations. They then passed through a phase of definition, of specialisation on the lines of the known senses. And finally they reached a stage beyond these habitual forms of specialisation:—beyond them, as of wider reach, and including in an apparently unanalysable act of perception a completer truth than any of our specialised forms of perception could by itself convey. With motor messages, too, we begin with something of similar vagueness. They, too, develop from modifications of the percipient's general organic condition, or cœnesthesia; and the first dim telepathic sense apparently hesitates between several channels of expression. They then pass through various definitely specialised forms; and finally, as we shall see when automatic script is considered, they, too, merge into an unanalysable act of cognition in which the motor element of the message has disappeared.

But these motor messages point also in two other even more perplexing directions. They lead, as I have said above, towards the old idea of *possession*;—using the word no longer in an unfavourable sense, but simply as an expression for some form of temporary manifestation of two veritably distinct and alien personalities through the self-same physical organism. And they appear to lead also to another class of phenomena in which (just as in “possession”) the influence at work, instead of becoming more and more identified with the automatist's conscious thought, appears to become more and more markedly distinguished from it. I allude to *telekinesis*, or *hyperboulia*, or whatever name we may decide to give to effects apparently exercised in the automatist's presence, but not through his normal agency, upon the physical world.

These two last named topics, so-called “possession,” and so-called “telekinetic phenomena,” although unavoidably mentioned here, must be reserved for fuller description in a subsequent chapter. It will be enough for the present to consider motor messages as running parallel to sensory messages;—as covering much the same ground, and pre-

senting the old problems as to their source and initiation in an instructively different light.

I will, then, briefly recount what seem to be the conceivable origins of written and other messages,—which messages, be it said, usually profess, with more or less insistence, to come from some departed spirit. Such assertion is no proof; and judging by their definite contents alone, we may arrange the messages in the following classes.

A. In the first place, the message may come from the percipient's own mind; its contents being supplied from the resources of his ordinary memory, or of his more extensive subliminal memory; while the *dramatisation* of the message,—its assumption of some other mind as its source,—will resemble the dramatisations of dream or of hypnotic trance.

Of course the absence of facts unknown to the writer is not in itself a proof that the message does not come from some other mind. We cannot be sure that other minds, if they can communicate, will be at the pains to fill their messages with evidential facts. But, equally of course, a message devoid of such facts must not, on the strength of its mere assertions, be claimed as the product of any but the writer's own mind.

B. Next above the motor messages whose content the automatist's own mental resources might supply, we may place the messages whose content seems to be derived telepathically from the mind of some other person still living on earth; that person being either conscious or unconscious of transmitting the suggestion.

C. Next comes the possibility that the message may emanate from some unembodied intelligence of unknown type,—other, at any rate, than the intelligence of the alleged agent. Under this heading come the views which ascribe the messages on the one hand to "elementaries," or even devils, and on the other hand to "guides" or "guardians" of superhuman goodness and wisdom.

D. Finally we have the possibility that the message may be derived, in a more or less direct manner, from the mind of the agent,—the departed friend,—from whom the communication does actually claim to come.

Let us consider each of these possibilities in turn.

A. My main effort has naturally been thus far directed to the proof that there are messages which do *not* fall into this lowest class,—in which class most psychologists would still place them all. And I myself,—while reserving a certain small portion of the messages for my other classes,—do not only admit but assert that the great majority of such communications represent the subliminal workings of the automatist's mind alone. It does not, however, follow that such

messages have for us no interest or novelty. On the contrary, they form an instructive, an indispensable transition from psychological introspection of the old-fashioned kind to the bolder methods on whose validity I am anxious to insist. The mind's subliminal action, as thus revealed, differs from the supraliminal in ways which no one anticipated, and which no one can explain. There seem to be subliminal tendencies setting steadily in certain obscure directions, and bearing as little relation to the individual characteristics of the person to the deeps of whose being we have somehow penetrated as profound ocean-currents bear to waves and winds on the surface of the sea.¹

Is this indeed the drift of the *Zeitgeist*, as Professor James suggests, steady beneath the tossings and tumblings of individual man? Or is it something independent of age or season? Is there some pattern in the very fabric of our nature which begins to show whenever we scratch the glaze off the stuff?

All this may be better considered hereafter, apart from the evidential discussions with which this chapter must be mainly concerned.

Another point also, of fundamental importance, connected with the powers of the subliminal self, will be better deferred until a later chapter. I have said that a message containing only facts normally known to the automatist must not, on the strength of its mere assertions, be regarded as proceeding from any mind but his own. This seems evident; but the converse proposition is not equally indisputable. We must not take for granted that a message which *does* contain facts not normally known to the automatist must therefore come from some mind other than his own. If the subliminal self can acquire supernormal knowledge at all, it may obtain such knowledge by means other than telepathic impressions from other minds. It may assimilate its supernormal nutriment also by a directer process,—it may devour it not only cooked but raw. Parallel with the possibilities of reception of such knowledge from the influence of other embodied or disembodied minds lies the possibility of its own clairvoyant perception, or active

¹ See James's *Psychology*, Vol. I., p. 394: "One curious thing about trance utterances is their generic similarity in different individuals. . . . It seems exactly as if one author composed more than half of the trance messages, no matter by whom they were uttered. Whether all sub-conscious selves are peculiarly susceptible to a certain stratum of the *Zeitgeist*, and get their inspiration from it, I know not." See the account of automatic and impressional script, by Mr. Sidney Dean, which Professor James goes on to quote, and which is closely parallel to (for instance) Miss A.'s case, to be given below, although the one series of messages comes from the hand of a late member of Congress, "all his life a robust and active journalist, author, and man of affairs," and the other from a young lady with so different a history and *entourage*.

absorption of some kind, of facts lying indefinitely beyond its supraliminal purview. This possibility must be kept in sight throughout; but our easiest plan will be to defer its discussion until we have, in this chapter, reviewed the evidence so far as it makes for the influence of different orders of mind external to the automatist.

B. We may proceed, therefore, to those motor messages which seem to indicate the telepathic influence upon the automatist of other still embodied minds. Messages of this kind have been dealt with at various stages of our past work. The transferences of *diagrams* of which we have from time to time given examples sometimes contained a motor as well as a visual element;—the percipient feeling an impulse to *draw*, as well as discerning a “mind’s eye” sketch of the diagram on which the agent was gazing. Again, a case, contributed by Dr. Liébeault, where automatic writing announces the *death* of a distant person, is regarded by Gurney as a motor message transmitted in the last moments of the decedent’s earth-life.¹ But our leading instance of this kind is undoubtedly the long series of communications between the Rev. P. H. and Mrs. Newnham, which we have already cited at so much length that I need not repeat them here.² These experiments, which date back to 1871 and whose contemporaneous written record is preserved in the archives of the S.P.R., must, I think, always retain their primacy as early and trustworthy examples of a telepathic transference where the percipient’s automatic script answers questions penned by the agent in such a position that the percipient could not in any normal manner discern what those questions were. No part of our evidence seems to me more worthy of study than this.

In the Newnham case we have the advantage of seeing before us the entire series of questions and answers, and thus of satisfying ourselves that the misses (which in that case are very few) are marked as well as the hits, and consequently that the coincidences between question and answer are at any rate not the result of chance. In several other cases which I have known, where the good faith of the informants has been equally above question, the possibility of an explanation by chance alone has been a more important element in the problem. All our evidence has tended to show that the telepathic power itself is a variable thing; that it shows itself in flashes, for the most part spontaneously, and seldom persists through a series of deliberate experiments. And if an automatist possessing power of this uncertain kind has exercised it at irregular moments and with no scientific aim;—and has kept, moreover, no steady record of success and failure;—then it becomes difficult to say that even some brilliant coincidences afford cogent proof of

¹ *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 293.

² *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 63; *Proceedings*, S.P.R., Vol. III., p. 8.

telepathic action. The case which I am about to cite presents these drawbacks; but it presents also positive points of interest and corroborations of memory quite sufficient, I think, to justify me in laying it before my readers as an example of telepathy acting—not just in the way in which we should like it to act, but in the way in which it apparently does act;—and with that strange intercurrency, moreover, which we so often find of something like clairvoyance and premonition mingling with the reflection of thoughts which pass through minds in *rapport* with the automatist's.

The following account, dated Thornes House, Wakefield, January 30th, 1893, is signed by Lady Mabel Howard; her husband, Mr. Henry Howard, of Greystoke Castle, Westmoreland, attesting the facts which lie within his cognisance. Some corroborations, and some comments of my own, are added in brackets.

M. Aut. 59.

"1. I began to write automatically every now and then when a young girl, as some relations of mine were in the habit of doing so. I do not, however, remember any of the messages until I was eighteen, when one day a girl friend asked me as a joke, 'Who wished to marry her?' My pencil wrote two initials which had no meaning for me. The girl was very angry, as though the writing implied that she was fated to marry this man. She told me nothing; but some years afterwards a man with these initials told me that he had wished to marry this lady at just that time." [The transference of an idea *latent* in the agent's mind—to the exclusion of the idea which he *wishes* to have transferred—is, of course, a frequent phenomenon in these experiments.]

"2. Some time after my marriage (1885) there was a burglary at Netherby Hall, in Cumberland, a few valuable jewels being stolen. The robbers were caught three or four days later, but the jewels were not found. Next Sunday [apparently November 1st, 1885, see below], I was asked by some friends to write where the jewels were. I wrote, 'In the river, under the bridge at Tebay.' This was very unlikely, and had never been suggested, so far as I know, by anyone. Everyone laughed at this; but the jewels were found there." [The Hon. Mrs. C. J. Cropper, of Tolson Hall, Kendal, corroborates as follows, in February, 1893: "We were staying at Greystoke just after the capture of the Netherby burglars, and some questions about the burglary were answered by Lady Mabel's pencil. I am *absolutely* certain that in answer to the question 'Where are the jewels?' the pencil wrote 'In the river.' I think that in answer to a further question it added 'Under the bridge,' but I am not so certain of this. I am perfectly certain that it went on to say that the fourth man, who never was caught, was then 'in Carlisle' and that it also gave his name. (The fourth man was some time after suspected to have been a *local* man.—M. H.) My husband, who was also present, is quite sure about the words 'under the bridge.'—EDITH E. CROPPER."]

[From the *Carlisle Express and Examiner*, October 31st, 1885, it appears that two of the burglars were captured at Tebay Station. The guard saw them

conceal themselves in a truck, and telegraphed in advance for assistance. The third man escaped, but seems to have crept back to the train, for he was subsequently caught at Lancaster, as he was quickly making for a London train. It was not in the least known where the jewels were (a *fourth* man having got away), and the finding of the first jewel near Tebay Station, close to the water side (reported in same paper November 7th), was accidental. This discovery, of course, caused search to be made in the river, where the jewels were found "near the railway bridge," more than a month later. (Same paper, December 19th.) There can, I think, be no doubt that the writing was on November 1st. Lady Mabel Howard, writing from Lyulph's Tower, Penrith, May 5th, 1893, is quite certain of this: "It was immediately after the men were caught, and before any jewel at all was found. This all will assert—the Bullers, Croppers, my brother and husband—for all five of us were local people, and looking out for every fresh detail about it, and *only* the capture had taken place when the pencil wrote."]

"3. On the same night I wrote that my sister would be engaged to be married in September, 1887. At the end of September, 1887, she became engaged to a gentleman of whom there had been no idea at the time." [It is, of course, conceivable that the prediction, known to this lady, may have influenced the date of the event.]

"4. At nearly the same date some connections of mine who had let a house, the lease of which was expiring, were expecting to hear whether any damage had been done, but did not speak of any particular possibility. I wrote that nothing was injured except a particular table in a particular spot. Next day they heard that this particular table, and this alone, had been injured.

[Miss Buller corroborates and expands this statement as follows:—

"36, Green-street, Park-lane, W., April 26th, 1893.

"The following incident happened when I was staying at Greystoke more than a dozen years ago [discrepancy as to date], but I have often told the story since, and to the best of my recollection the facts were these:—

"On being asked what damage our tenants had done, Lady Mabel Howard's pencil replied: 'They have broken the table and a chair,' and added, 'the table has been mended.' On reaching our house and asking the same question of our housemaid, she replied that a table in the drawing-room (the only one of its kind) had been broken, but had been mended, and one of the kitchen chairs had been broken. Nothing else in the way of furniture had been injured.

"HENRIETTA J. BULLER."]

"5. Shortly afterwards I went for some winter months to St. Moritz. For some reason or other the answers were particularly good there. One day, a lady living in quite a different part of the huge hotel, and on the fourth floor, while we were on the first floor, missed a valuable object which she had bought as a prize for tobogganing. I knew nothing of the circumstances, but my hand wrote that the object had been taken by a light-haired young waiter called Richard. I knew of no such waiter, as he had nothing to do with our part of the hotel. But on mentioning this answer to the lady in question she said that there was in fact a young light-haired waiter called Richard who waited on her floor; and that she had suspected him. My

hand had written where the object was hidden ; but the lady would not have search made.

“6. A Mr. Huth, who was staying at our hotel, was leaving the next day for Paris, and had arranged to dine the day after with a friend, a young doctor attached to the Embassy in Paris, from whom he had just received an invitation. He asked me to predict something about his journey. My hand wrote words to this effect : ‘ You will have an accident on your journey ; and you will not see your friend, and you cannot see him.’ He derided this, as the arrangement with the friend had just been made. As he went to Chur next day by sleigh his sleigh was overturned, and his journey was thus delayed for a day. When he got to Paris he found that his friend was dead.”

Mr. Huth independently corroborates and adds to this account as follows :—

Oakfield Lodge, Huddersfield, *April 16th, 1893.*

“In March, 1889, I was staying at St. Moritz (Engadine), where I met with a very serious accident tobogganing. Although still crippled I decided to return home, and on the morning of my departure the weather was brilliantly fine. I asked Lady Mabel Howard’s pencil, more in joke than anything else, what sort of a journey I should have. The pencil promptly replied that I should have an awful journey and meet with an accident. I then asked whether I should meet and dine with any friend in Paris. I asked this question because I had arranged to dine with a friend of mine, a Dr. Davies, who was living there, to talk over some theatricals he was to get up at the British Embassy. The pencil at once replied that I should neither meet nor dine with anyone I knew. Knowing of my arrangement and incredulous as to this reply, I repeated my question, with the same result. I then asked what day I should get back to England, having decided in my own mind to return on the Friday. The pencil at once answered ‘ On Thursday.’

“On the summit of the Julier Pass the weather suddenly changed from bright sunshine to a perfect hurricane of wind, snow and sleet, which completely blinded us, and the snow was so thick we could not see ten yards in front of us. Our driver missed the track, the sleigh upset, and we were all thrown out on to the snow, and it was three hours before we were in comparative safety. On my arrival in Paris I found no word from my friend Dr. Davies and on inquiry at his rooms I learnt that he had died from typhoid fever ten days previously. I neither dined with nor met anyone I knew whilst in Paris, and I returned to England a day sooner than I had intended in consequence of my friend’s death, and it was only upon my arrival in London that I remembered it was Thursday, the day foretold by the pencil.

“ HARRY HUTH.”

“7. In 1888 another girl friend of mine asked when she was to be engaged to be married. My hand wrote : ‘ In March, 1890.’ She became engaged in that month to a man of whom there had been no idea at the time. [The lady in question, Mrs. Lawson, writing from Greystoke Castle, February, 1893, confirms and enlarges this statement as follows : “I was at Greystoke in February, 1888, and Lady Mabel Howard was writing with her pencil, which said that I should be engaged to be married in March, 1890, and it also said that I should not be married until the following year. I *was* engaged to

be married on March 27th, 1890, and it was all settled that I should be married within six weeks ; but most unforeseen circumstances arose, and my marriage did not take place until April, 1891.—CAMILLA LAWSON.”]

“8. I have never tried experiments in thought-transference, such as those recorded in the S.P.R. *Proceedings*. But I have no doubt that words and ideas do pass without speech from my husband’s mind into mine. I have specially remarked this apropos of bye-elections, when I feel certain that I have never consciously known the names of the candidates. Many times my hand has written those names (when known to him) truly, and sometimes it has predicted results of elections with an accuracy which seemed to both of us not to be the result of chance. In one case, where a gentleman named Nanney was standing, of whom I was quite sure that I had never heard, my hand kept writing ‘Goat, Goat.’ In this case my husband was not present, but someone else who was present knew the name.—MABEL HOWARD.”

“Correct, as far as I am concerned.—HENRY HOWARD.”

[These last instances must, according to our canons of evidence, be reckoned merely as revivals of subliminal memory. Names which have been printed in newspapers which have been lying about must be taken as having possibly fallen within the field of at least unconscious vision. The emergence of an unconsciously observed name *Nanney* in the grotesque form *Goat* would thus be parallel to the emergence of the unconsciously observed word *Bouillon* in the grotesque form *Verbascum Thapsus*, mentioned in *Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 455.]

9. Writing later, from P— Park, April 18th, 1893, Lady Mabel adds : “The H. girls asked what entertainment they should go to directly on arriving in London. The pencil answered, ‘Lady C.’ This puzzled us all, as no one knew of an entertainment to be given next week. At last, as it continued writing ‘Lady C.,’ we gave it up, thinking it must mean dining at home, Lady C. meaning [their mother]. That very evening, 8 hours after, a letter arrived from [Lady W. G.] saying Lady Carrington wished to know if the H.’s could dance the minuet at her house on the 27th. They will arrive in London on the 25th.” [From a later letter it appears that the Ladies H. knew that this engagement impended, but believed that it would be much later in the season, “and were much surprised themselves at receiving the letter.”]

10. I have myself [F.W.H.M.] succeeded in getting two correct answers to questions absolutely beyond Lady Mabel’s knowledge. I was asked to luncheon at the house of a gentleman whom I knew only by correspondence, and of whose home and *entourage* the rest of the party knew absolutely nothing. On my return I asked, “How many people sat down to luncheon ?” The answer was “Six,” which was right. “What was the name of the gentleman, not my host, with whom I sat and talked after luncheon ?” The pencil wrote MO, and then began to scrawl. The name was *Moultrie*. It was impossible that Lady Mabel should have had any kind of notion that a gentleman of that name would have been present in a group of which she knew nothing whatever. But here the impulse to write seemed spent, and a few further questions were answered by erroneous words or mere scrawls.

11. The following statement, dated Downes, Crediton, Devonshire,

April 8th, 1893, is signed by Sir Redvers Buller, K.C.B., and by Miss Dorothy Howard (daughter of Lady Audrey Buller). "Lady Mabel Howard was stopping with us this week. She was writing with her pencil just after arriving. Someone asked: 'Where is Don?' The pencil immediately answered, 'He is dead.' Lady Mabel then asked who Don was, and was told that he was a dog. No one in the room knew that he was dead; but on inquiry the next day, it was found that it was so. One of the party then asked how many fish would be caught in the river the next day. The pencil at once wrote *three*, which was the number obtained the next day.

"A little girl in the house, who attends a school in London, asked who was her greatest friend at this school. The pencil answered *Mary*, which was again a fact absolutely unknown to Lady Mabel.

"DOROTHY E. HOWARD.

"REDVERS BULLER."}]

I defer for the present any discussion of the elements of clairvoyance and precognition which these incidents apparently contain. I quote the case as one where thought-transference from the living seems to play at least a considerable part in supplying the contents of the messages.

I pass on to two cases where an actual conversation goes on between the distant agent and the automatist, informing the automatist of matters which the agent—consciously or unconsciously—wishes him to know. The first of these cases was printed in the *S.P.R. Journal* for July, 1888, but is now published for the first time. Evidentially it is not strong, for it depends upon a single memory, corroborated on one collateral point alone (although not invalidated upon any point); and the writer was not personally known to any of us. The date is also very remote. On the other hand the reasons for the absence of corroboration seem satisfactory; and in my view at least the narrative offers internal evidence of honesty and care, while the incident is such as might stamp itself permanently on the mind.

Mrs. Kirby wrote to me from Santa Cruz, California, August 13th, 1886, as follows:—

M. Aut. 60.

"In 1850 I left New York for San Francisco. Spiritualism, in the sense in which that word is now used, had no existence. The facts and philosophy it covers were unknown, except partially to the very few readers of Swedenborg's cumbrous and involved theology.

"Attention had been called to some rappings which had made themselves heard in a house in Rochester, N. Y., and there had been some violent demonstrations (breaking of windows, moving of furniture, and unlocking of locked drawers and doors) in the house of an orthodox clergyman somewhere in Connecticut.

"In 1853 I was living on a ranche three miles from what is now the city of Santa Cruz. (It was but a village then, though they called it a town.) My family consisted of my husband, myself, and in a certain sense, of a young English sailor, a healthy, kind-hearted, and very decent, though very

ignorant fellow, whom my husband had employed to work on the ranche during the previous year. His name was Thomas Travers, and he had just made his mark (×) to a written agreement for another year's service. As it will be seen, I had no servant, but Tom stood ready to help me in any way he could. For instance, when, at intervals of weeks, visitors would make their appearance, he would immediately kill and clean some chickens for me. (If you wanted beef-steak in those days you could only have it by killing an ox. The nearest neighbours sometimes combined and took a quarter each.)

"On one occasion the two most intelligent men in town came out, a Dr. McLean and the Rev. — Dryden, and they presently asked me if I had a small table I could let them have (while I was busy, and my husband a mile off at his tannery), with which they could continue some strange experiments that had lately been made among our mutual friends in town. Spirits tipped the table, and they said sentences were spelled by the use of the alphabet. The A's and B's had in this way heard of their long since departed children, &c., &c.

"I listened eagerly. I had left a large circle of friends at the East, and here was not one of the old kind: Lueretia Mott, Luey Stone, Garrison, Purvis. A view of the entire bay of Monterey from my sitting-room window did not prevent me from longing continually for a little of the old sympathy. One of my most devoted friends had a few years since passed to the other shore; my young brother was there too. If I could establish communication with them what a relief, what a pleasure it would be to me!

"My smallest table was in size 3½ft. by 1½ft. My husband was willing to test the matter, and as we were given to understand that three or four persons together would be more likely to succeed than two (since magnetism or electricity was drawn from them by the invisibles to help in accomplishing their object), Mr. K. went out to Tom's shanty and asked him to come and sit at the table with us.

"We had not held our hands one moment on the table before it tipped very decidedly, and I forthwith proceeded to repeat the alphabet. The doing so, however, struck me as worse than ridiculous; it was very unpleasant, too, and I observed that if spirits were present they could hear me say the letters in my mind as well as if they were uttered from my tongue.

"'All right. Go ahead!' my husband replied, 'we will sit and wait for results.'

"I did so, and the table tipped promptly to the letters, spelling out—

"'Mary Howells.'

"As I knew no such person, I asked if she was a friend of Mr. K.'s? Answer: 'No.' Of Tom's? Answer: 'Yes.' A relation of his? Answer: 'Sister.' Are you married? I questioned. Answer: 'No.'

"'Oh, don't let us waste any more time!' I exclaimed. 'It's all falsehood and nonsense. Here is someone professing to be Tom's sister who says her name is Mary Howells, and that she is unmarried. If this were true of course her name would be Travers.'

"Tom nodded aside to me and said in a low tone—

"'Yes, mum. That's her name. Mary Howells.'

"He looked extremely confused and astonished.

"'Why, what do you mean?' Mr. K. broke in; 'your name is Travers, how can hers be Howells?'

“‘No, sir,’ Tom replied, looking down, ‘my name is Howells.’

“‘But Mr. K. insisted that it could not be. Had he not made his mark after the Travers only the other day? Five minutes were taken up in the attempt to convince Tom that he did not know his own name.

“‘You see, sir,’ he at length explained, ‘I ran away from a whale ship in San Francisco, and sailors is so scarce there I was afraid they would hunt me up and take me back, so I just took another name.’

“‘Hardly convinced now, Mr. K. advised him to drop the alias at once, assuring him that no one would molest him. This he did, and the second year following married, and he is now the father of 12 girls and three boys who bear the strangely discovered name.

“‘But to return. Finding that the communication had been so far correct I proposed that we should compose ourselves while I repeated the alphabet as before, still hoping to receive the name of my dear friend. But Tom’s sister had not accomplished her purpose, and she proceeded to spell the following words :—

“‘I—have—a—child—a—girl.—She—is—seven—years—old—and—now—is—in—a—house—of—ill—fame—in—Cat—street.—I—want—my—brother—to—bring—her—away—from—there.’

“‘This was a difficult and painful message to convey, and I told Tom that I did not like to tell him what was spelt.

“‘She says that she has a little girl seven years old,’ I began.

“‘Here he removed his hands quickly from the table, and counting on the fingers of one hand by those of the other, looked up and observed :—

“‘Yes, mum, that’s so. She’s seven now.’

“‘When I gave him the rest of the message he became much excited, and begged me to assure his sister that he would send home 50dol. the next month, and have the child removed to a better place, and that as soon as the crops were in he would go home and get the child.

“‘I assured him she could hear all he was saying.

“‘But is it true that there is a street called Cat-street?’ I asked.

“‘Yes, mum ; and it is the worst in the city,’ he returned.

“‘The following day he acknowledged to me that his sister was a woman of the town.

“‘I now asked my husband to procure me a smaller and lighter table so that I might sit at it by myself and in that way be more likely to attract my own friends. This he did, but to my great annoyance, Mary Howells immediately presented herself. This time, however, she came to say that her child was ill. When she left the movements of the table were weak and uncertain.

“‘The following evening, she came to say that the child was much worse, and she thought it would die. A day or two later she reported it dead. I asked if the child were now with her, and she replied by very decided movements, that she *was not*.

“‘After this, Mary Howells never put in an appearance, and every day I prayed that someone I loved might speak a word to me. They did not. I know now that they could not, for want of the honest sailor’s electrical help, which I rejected in my ignorance. Seafaring persons are apt to possess great mediumistic power.

“After hearing that the child was dead I wrote a guarded letter to Tom’s parents, for him, asking how they all were, including the little girl. In due time I received a reply, or, I should say, Tom did, though he could not read writing. They said they were all well except Mary’s little girl, who had died. (They did not say exactly when, but as Tom had not been absent from England much over a year, it must have been within that time, and we had every reason to believe the mother’s statement a true one.) The old people further said that *Mary had married a soldier.*

“I understood from this that the child’s mother was not wholly depraved, that she was concerned about the welfare of her little one, and looking about for help in her destitute circumstances her thoughts had turned to her brother, most likely persistently turned to him, and this resulted in her leaving her body temporarily during sleep in search of him. We had *assumed* that she was, as we say, ‘dead.’ She had not asserted the fact.

“I submit this one experience and will write out another as soon as I can.—Very truly yours,

GEORGIANA B. KIRBY.”

A second letter from Mrs. Kirby, dated Santa Cruz., Cal., October 12th, 1886, gave further particulars, as follows :—

“DEAR SIR,—YOURS of September 9th arrived in due season. My reply has been delayed by my ineffectual efforts to ascertain the *month* when our two friends, McLean and Dryden, visited us on the ranche, because it was within a month after this that Mary Howells told me her child was ill, and later that she was dead, and I thought it might not be so difficult to search the death record of *one* month for the child under the head of ‘Howells.’ As it is the gentlemen have proved to me that their visit occurred in 1852, and not in 1853 as I had supposed, but they could not remember if it were the spring or fall of that year. This, our ignorance of the date of the death and of the child’s Christian name, is the most unsatisfactory part of my record. Neither were mentioned in the grandfather’s letter, and from Tom never mentioning the name I fancied he did not know it. I saw him recently, but I could not venture to speak to him of his sister’s illegitimate child. He has 12 living daughters of his own, and he would be justly offended if I should remind him of how we had gained a knowledge of his sister’s life. He told us that his father was still alive and living where they always had lived, at Saltash, which he thought by this time must be a part of Plymouth.

“I should explain that neither Dr. McLean nor the Rev. — Dryden were personally cognisant of our doings, so that they could not act as witnesses in the case.

“You ask if I can point you to any contemporary record. Thirty-four years ago no Spiritualistic paper was published in the United States, and such a narration given as *true* in any ordinary journal would have laid us open to the charge of lunacy. And had this been otherwise, we could not have proclaimed the fact that the sister of the honest fellow who was working for us was a disreputable woman.

“As to fraud on Tom’s part, he could hardly understand why we wanted him to sit with his hands on the table. I repeated the letters *in my mind*. How could he tip the table at the right instant so as to spell words which disclosed his sister’s disgrace? Then he was in no want of money. He had

been earning 60dol. a month (and had spent it all, mostly at Spanish fandangos), and the agreement with my husband, to which he had lately placed his X, bound him to work for Mr. K. for one year for the sum of 60dol. a month and his board and lodging. You, sir, must have read something about the high price of labour in California in those early years of its settlement.

“The sittings were held after supper (or dinner, you would call it), between seven and nine o’clock.

“Cat-street was in Plymouth, England. If it has given place to another the fact of its former existence could be verified.—GEORGIANA B. KIRBY.”

The actual existence of the “Cat-street” of the narrative is shown by the following letter :—

Post Office, Plymouth, *January 23rd*, 1888.

“SIR,—In reply to yours of the 21st instant I beg to inform you that a few years ago there was a street named Catte-street, but it is now called Stillman-street.—I am, sir, yours obediently,

“R. A. LEVERTON (for POSTMASTER).”

The regretted death of Mrs. Kirby soon after the date of her last letter put an end to this correspondence.

It will be observed that the communications from the woman at Plymouth were received at an hour which, in England, fell in the middle of the night.

The case next to be cited is a thoroughly modern one, and is in fact still in course of development. Mr. W. T. Stead, the well-known journalist and editor of the *Review of Reviews*, has repeatedly called attention in that magazine to the telepathic correspondence which he is able to maintain with several persons, who “write through his hand” while at a distance, and thus convey to him information which though sometimes erroneous, is true in a far larger proportion of instances than chance would allow. Mr. Stead has been good enough to introduce me to four of these correspondents, who confirm his statements, and to give me the written testimony of a fifth and sixth. I propose with his permission, to quote three of these cases at length.

The most important of Mr. Stead’s telepathic correspondents thus far is a lady whom he describes as A, but on whom, for the sake of clearness—among many initials—I shall bestow the name of Miss Summers. This lady is engaged on literary work of a kind needing much care and accuracy. I consider her a good witness.

Miss Summers verbally confirmed to me Mr. Stead’s account, given below, and wrote the following statement: “I, the subject of Mr. Stead’s automatic writing, known as ‘A,’ testify to the correctness of the statements made in this report. Mr. Stead’s hand wrote these things just as they happened;—excepting, of course, the few incidents which he gives as errors. I should like to add what I think more wonderful than many of the things which Mr. Stead has cited, namely, the correctness with which he has on several occasions given the name of persons whom he has never seen or heard of before. I remember on

one occasion a person calling upon me with a very uncommon name. The next day I saw Mr. Stead and he read to me what his hand had written of the visit of this person, giving the name absolutely correctly. Mr. Stead has never seen that person, and till then had no knowledge of his existence."

I now quote from the *Review of Reviews* for April, 1893, pp. 428-430, substituting "Miss Summers" for "A," and giving the true sex of the correspondent, which Mr. Stead at first altered as an additional precaution against identification.

M. Aut. 61.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN.

One day in August [1892], "Julia"—as I call the invisible intelligence that from time to time controls my hand—suddenly wrote, "Why do you think that it is strange that I should write with your hand? Any one can write with your hand." I asked what she meant, and she answered, "Any of your friends." "On this earth?" I asked incredulously. She wrote, "Try it." "Need they know about it?" "No." "Then," I said, "there will be an end of all secrets in the world." She wrote, "No; mind is in contact with mind all over the world. Any one to whom you can speak if you were within range of the physical senses you could speak to mentally wherever he is, because the mind is not trammelled by the limitations of matter." She explained that the real self, the Ego, had both mind and body as its instruments, by which it could communicate with the outside world. Both were instruments, either could be used, but each was not always informed of the use which had been made of the other. That is to say, it was perfectly possible for the Ego to use your mind to direct my hand without finding it necessary to inform your physical consciousness that any such communication had taken place. But the mind would no more communicate a secret which the Ego did not wish to be known, than the tongue would be guilty of such an indiscretion, for tongue and mind are alike the servants of the real self.

I.

THE TEST OF THE OLD THISTLE.

I was rather incredulous, but I began experimenting with a friend in London who was sympathetic. I found that it succeeded to a marvel. That is to say, I found that my friend had no difficulty whatever in using my hand to communicate information or the expression of the mood of the moment. When my friend, whom I will call Miss Summers, was writing, I said to her in the middle of the communication, "Are you really writing, or is it only my subliminal consciousness?" My hand wrote, "I will try and prove to you that I am really writing. There is an object in my hand just now which I will bring to your office. I am sitting at my table. It is a small present that I want to make to you. It is an old thistle."

"What!" I said, "a thistle?"

"Yes, an old thistle; it played a part in my life that made it dear to me. I will give it to you to-morrow. I will explain to you when I give it. I hope you will accept it."

Next day, when my friend came, I asked her if she had brought a present for me. She said no, she had not. She had thought of bringing one, but

she had left it at home. I asked her what it was. She said it was such an absurd thing she did not like to mention it. When I pressed her she said it was a piece of scented soap ! I was considerably disgusted at this apparent failure, and told her why. She said at once, "That is very curious. Everything happened as you have it written there, and it is a thistle, and an old thistle. But it is a thistle that is stamped on the piece of soap. I will bring it to you next time I see you. It did play a part in my life," which she then proceeded to explain. I have the soap now in my possession. It is stamped with a thistle. [The private incident has been explained to me, and shows that it was the thistle stamped on the soap which gave that object its significance. Miss Summers had thought of the gift before Mr. Stead's hand wrote,—perhaps at the exact time of his writing.—F.W.H.M.]

A JOURNEY DESCRIBED.

She wrote from time to time describing her movements. The first dispatch which is worth quoting was one I received on Saturday, September 18th. It will be noticed that there are inaccuracies, but they are very slight.

"I went to Waterloo Station by the 12.0 train and got to Hampton Court about one. When we got out we went to an hotel and had dinner. It cost nearly 3s. After dinner I went to the picture galleries. I was very much pleased with the painting of many of the ceilings ; I was also interested in most of the portraits by Lely. After seeing the galleries I went out into the grounds. How beautiful they are ! I saw the great vine, that lovely English garden, the avenue of elms, the canal, the great water sheet, the three views, the fountain, the gold fishes, and then I lost myself in the maze. I got home about nine o'clock. It cost me altogether about 6s."

On communicating this to Miss Summers, she said that everything was right with two exceptions. She went down by the 2.0 train and not by the 12.0, and got to Hampton Court about three. The dinner cost her 2s. 11d., which was "nearly 3s.," and the total cost of the expedition was 6s. 3d. The places were visited in the order in which they were named. The only mistake was the train by which Miss Summers went to Hampton Court.

THE UNRESERVE OF THE REAL SELF.

Then came some curious experiences which showed that the real self which wrote with my hand was much more ready to communicate its wants than the physical self. On September 20th, for instance, my hand wrote from Miss Summers :—

"I have had rather a sad day. I have had a disappointment in some work, or rather in the payment of some work, and as the result I am rather short of money. I don't like to tell you this, because you will want to give me some. But I don't want you to. I am rather pinched for money just now ; I have £3 to pay for lodgings. But I will pull through."

I said, "I will send you the money." My hand wrote and said, "No, I won't take it. I will send it back if you do. I don't like to seem mercenary." On sending up to Miss Summers the next day I found that it was as stated, but that she was very much disgusted on finding that I knew of her needs.

From that time forward any incident was reported as a matter of course

by her. Occasionally an incident would be slightly misstated, but broadly speaking out of 100 statements 90 were as correctly written by my hand as if Miss Summers had written them herself.

A TRIP TO WINDSOR.

One among many may be mentioned. It was written on October 15th. This was interesting, because my hand wrote the communication when I was 250 miles distant in the North of England.

“It is a very fine day. I went from Paddington by the 1.15 train. When I got to Windsor I went to the Castle. I went first upon the terrace, then I went to St. George’s Chapel. I thought it might be as well to stay there, but reconsidered it, and thought I would go into the park. So I left the Castle and went into the park. I wanted to find a beautiful oak that I had spoken of to you. There were many deer and many great trees, but I could not find the oak. I wandered about for some time until I found a beautiful oak, but it was not the oak I was in search of. After finding it I went for a walk to seek a cavern, but could find none. I have spent for the railway 3s. ; for food I spent half-a-crown. I spent 6d. for a telegram, and taking two busses made my expenses for to-day 5s. 10d.”

This was exactly correct in every particular, as to the time of the train, and the succession of events, and the sum of money paid, [although wrongly added up].

AUTOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE.

For several months past I have almost every day received communications from my friend when anything interested her, or she felt she had anything to communicate with me. The immense majority of these communications are of a private character, and can only be referred to here. Often they are but brief memoranda regarding a visit to a church or a business appointment, or a visit to some friend. Frequently mention is made of books she has been reading, and the usual information given as to the state of health, of good spirits or depression, which one friend might send to another. On one occasion she startled me by reporting a rather disagreeable *fracas* which had taken place in a carriage on the South Western Railway, but which fortunately terminated happily. The aggressor took alarm and jumped out of the train as it was slowing up at a station. Nor was it only contemporary events which were described. On one occasion a rather painful chapter in my friend’s history, which she had shrunk from telling me in detail, was written out by my hand with the utmost minutæ, and, as she informed me when I read it over to her, with the most absolute accuracy. Although it had happened some years ago it had made a very deep impression upon her mind at the time, and it remained as vividly present in her mind as if it had happened on the previous day. In my communications with this correspondent, Miss Summers, the mistakes are extremely small. I have frequently kept appointments, and written letters, and even sent cheques, in response to communications written by my hand, nor have I on any of these occasions found that there was a mistake. Once or twice my hand has written that Miss Summers was about to visit me and I have been disappointed, but in every case I have afterwards learned that she had actually started to call upon me, but had been hindered by some unforeseen event.

ERRORS IN TRANSMISSION.

There have been, however, two or three occasions when there have been curious errors in detail. These are quite as important to note as those cases in which the messages have been correct. The first error was a statement that on a certain Saturday afternoon she had walked in Regent's Park, whereas, as a matter of fact, she had not left her house. I do not know how that error arose; there may have been some expectation on my part that she was going to walk in the park, but, whatever the cause, the fact remains that it was a mistake. On another occasion a still more remarkable error occurred. It was when I was at Redcar. My hand wrote an account of an interview which it said Miss Summers had had with a certain person who was named. It was a disagreeable interview, and portions of the conversation were reported. On comparing notes I found, to my surprise, that while she had been to the office of the person in question, the interview which was reported had not taken place with him or my friend. The conversation reproduced had, however, taken place between a friend of Miss Summers's and another person. Miss Summers's friend had told her what had taken place, and my hand had given a very much exaggerated account of that conversation at a distance of 250 miles. Miss Summers's friend was personally unknown to me, and Miss Summers was very much astonished to find that her friend's interview was attributed to herself and interpolated into her business conversation with another party.

INSTANCES OF INACCURACIES.

I will close my account of my experiences in automatic telepathy with Miss Summers with a report which was curiously inaccurate in some points. For me the inaccuracies have more interest than the accurate statement. I am so accustomed to use this faculty for the everyday purposes of life, that an accurate statement is to me a matter of course; it is the inaccurate statement which puzzles me. On Christmas Day I knew that Miss Summers intended to visit Matthew Arnold's grave. That I knew, but nothing else. On the afternoon of Christmas Day my hand wrote a narrative of what had happened. It stated that in the morning my friend had gone to St. Paul's to attend the service, where she had enjoyed the music very much. After leaving St. Paul's she had gone home, and then had gone to Paddington Station, where she took a ticket for Lalcham. When my hand wrote this I stopped, and asked whether there was a station at Lalcham. My hand wrote Yes, and continued that she had taken a return ticket to Lalcham, which had cost about 3s. 6d. It was a beautiful day, and there were very few people in the train. It went on to say that she had gone to the church, and had had no difficulty in finding the grave. There was no one in the churchyard but Miss Summers. She stayed there about half-an-hour, and laid on the tomb some white flowers, the name of which my hand tried to write, but only succeeded in making unintelligible scrawls. She had then come back to the station. The train was nearly empty, and Miss Summers had a compartment to herself all the way to London. Returning home she spent the evening in front of a roaring fire, reading Arnold's poems. I did not see her for several days, and then I told her the narrative. I learned that while on the whole the statement was quite correct, in three

minor details it was erroneous. Miss Summers did not go to Laleham from Paddington; but from Waterloo. I can only explain that mistake by saying that as the previous journey to Windsor had been made from Paddington, possibly my mind thought that she would start again from the same station, and thus led my hand to write wrongly. As for the railway fare, I believe it was wrong; but my friend did not remember how much change she got out of the half-sovereign with which she had paid for her ticket. The other mistake was that the flowers she had laid on the tomb were not white, but blue. The name of the flowers Miss Summers did not know, and this of course accounts for the unintelligible scrawl which was the only reply when asked for the name. Before seeing my friend, I had referred to a railway guide to see if there was a station at Lalcham; I found that there was none. I thought that my hand had been writing wrongly; but when I asked my friend where she took her ticket for, she replied at once, "To Laleham." I said, "Why, there is no station at Lalcham." "No," she said; "but I asked the booking-clerk for a ticket to Lalcham, and he gave me one for Staines, and said that was the station for Laleham."

II. The second case is interesting as involving a very distinct statement from a slight acquaintance. I quote from the *Review of Reviews*, p. 432, and add a corroborative letter.

I will conclude this very imperfect account of the communications which have been going on now for more than seven months—hardly a day of which has passed without communications of one kind or another—by describing a remarkable instance in which a comparative stranger to me communicated to me things by my hand which he had expressly refused to communicate face to face. Last February, I met a correspondent in a railway carriage with whom I had a very casual acquaintance. Knowing that he was in considerable distress, our conversation fell into a more or less confidential train, in which I divined that his difficulty was chiefly financial.

THE HAND MORE COMMUNICATIVE THAN THE TONGUE.

I said I did not know whether I could be of any help to him or not, but I asked him to let me know exactly how things stood, what were his debts, his expectations, and so forth. He said that he really could not tell me, and I refrained from pressing him. We parted at the railway station. That night I received a letter from him apologising for not having given me the information, but saying that he really could not. I received that letter about ten o'clock, and about two o'clock next morning, before going to sleep, I sat down in my bedroom and said, "You did not like to tell me your exact financial position face to face, but now you can do so through my hand. Just write and tell me exactly how things stand. How much money do you owe?" My hand then wrote, "My debts are £90." In reply to a further inquiry whether the figure was accurately stated, "ninety pounds" was then written in full.

"Is that all?" I asked.

My hand wrote, "Yes; and how I am to pay them I do not know."

"Well," said I, "how much do you want for that piece of property you wish to sell?"

My hand wrote, "What I hope is, say, £100 for that. It seems a great deal, but I must get money somehow. Oh, if I could get anything to do, I would gladly do anything!"

"What does it cost you to live?" I asked.

My hand wrote: "I do not think I could possibly live under £200 a year; you see I have to keep some relatives besides myself. If I were alone I could live on £50 per annum, but there is rent and everything. Where can I get this? I cannot tell."

A SUCCESSFUL RESULT.

The next day I made a point of seeking my friend. He said, "I hope you are not offended at my refusing to tell you my circumstances, but I do not think it is right to trouble you with them." I said, "I am not offended in the least, and I hope you will not be offended when I tell you what I have done." I then explained this automatic telepathic method of communication. I said, "I do not know whether there is a word of truth in what my hand wrote. I hesitate at telling you, for I confess I think that the sum which was written as the amount of your debts cannot be correctly given. It seems to me to be much too small, considering the distress in which you seemed to be. Therefore I will read you that first, and if it is right I will read you the rest; but if it is wrong I will consider that it is rubbish, and that your mind in no way influenced my hand." He was interested but incredulous. "But," I said, "before I read you anything, will you form a definite idea in your mind as to how much your debts amount to; secondly, as to the amount of money you hope to get for that property; thirdly, what it costs to keep up your establishment with your relatives; and fourthly, what could you live upon if you were by yourself?" "Yes," said he, "I have thought of all these things." I then read out, "The amount of your debts is about £90." He started. "Yes," said he, "that is right; but the figure I was going to mention was £100. But that includes some money for current expenses."

Then I said, "As it is right I will read you the rest. You hope to get £100 for your property." "Yes," said he, "that was the figure that was in my mind, although I hesitated to mention it, for it seems too much."

"You say you cannot live upon less than £200 a year with your present establishment." "Yes," said he, "that is exactly right."

"But if you were by yourself, you could live on £50 a year." "Well," said he, "a pound a week was what I had fixed in my mind." Therefore there had been a perfectly accurate transcription of the thoughts in the mind of a comparative stranger, written out with my own hand at a time when we were at a distance of some miles, within a few hours of the time when he had written apologising for not having given me the information for which I had asked.

I could multiply instances of the same kind of thing, but this will probably suffice.

The unconscious correspondent confirms as follows, in a letter in my possession. I suppress his name, but it may be given to inquirers.

April 6th, 1893.

DEAR MR. STEAD,—I received your communication and have no hesitation

in allowing you to submit it to the P. R. Society. The statements are correct. I was unaware of the experiment until next day. I consider the proof a very striking one, as from some circumstances connected with my [affairs] you could not possibly have formed an estimate even—at least I think it hardly possible,—of what my debts, prospects, or expectations were.

I am, yours faithfully, E. J.

III. The third case which I shall quote also involves a message from a comparative stranger:—

AN IMPROMPTU TEST.

It may be said that between my friend “Miss Summers,” my son, and myself there existed a knowledge that I would try to let them write with my hand, but this can hardly be said in an impromptu experiment which I made with a correspondent whom I had only seen once before in my life. Some months ago I was at Redcar, in the North of England. A foreign lady who does some work for the *Review* had to meet me at Redcar railway station about three o'clock. I was staying with my brother, who lives about ten minutes' walk from the station. At twenty minutes to three it occurred to me that “about three,” the phrase used in her letter, might mean some time before three, and as I could not lay my hand upon a time-table, I simply asked her to use my hand and tell me what time the train was due. This, I may say, was done without any previous communication with her upon the subject. She immediately wrote her name, and said the train was due at Redcar station at ten minutes to three. I saw that I should have to leave at once, but before starting I asked her where she was at that moment. My hand wrote, “I am in the train at Middlesborough railway station, on my way from Hartlepool to Redcar.” I then went off to the station. On arriving there I went up to the time-table to see when the train was due. It was timed to arrive at 2.52. The train, however, was late; three o'clock came, and it had not arrived. At five minutes past three, getting rather anxious, I took a slip of paper from my pocket, and taking a pencil in my hand, asked her where she was. At that moment she wrote her name (they always write their names at the beginning and end of each communication), and said, “I am in the train, rounding the curve before you come to the Redcar station; I will be with you in a minute.” “Why the mischief have you been so late?” I mentally asked. My hand wrote, “We were detained at Middlesborough for so long; I do not know why.” I put the paper in my pocket, walked to the end of the platform, and there was the train! The moment it stopped I went up to my friend and said to her, “How late you are! What on earth has been the matter?” “I do not know,” she said. “The train stopped so long at Middlesborough, it seemed as if it never would start.” I then showed her what my hand had written. The lady in question confirms as follows:—

West Hartlepool, *April 4th*, 1893.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—I most certainly and very distinctly remember the occasion you have referred to in the subjoined newspaper cutting. I was much surprised when you told me that you had made me telepath you the time I should arrive at Redcar, as I was quite unconscious of having telepathed any information to you with regard to my arrival. I don't see that I can add

anything to your account of the incident. It is very clear, and I can make no corrections.—Yours sincerely,
GERDA GRASS.

Mr. Stead also favoured me with an account of further experiments with his own son (see p. 430 of *Review of Reviews*), being a narrative of incidents on a bicycle tour, as written by Mr. Stead's hand, and as actually recorded by his son, Mr. William Stead. This was a good and careful experiment, and contains messages which to the persons concerned seem beyond the scope of chance. There are, however, a good many mistakes; nor is it quite easy to estimate how far the little incidents of such a journey might have been unconsciously foreseen by a father at home.

There is an evidential difficulty of a somewhat similar kind with regard to the experiment with "B" given on p. 431, of which "B" has kindly given me a written confirmation. The point which Mr. Stead there makes is an interesting one, and is in conformity with evidence already adduced. "B" willed to transfer certain statements to Mr. Stead; but the statements which were actually transferred were for the most part not these, but (as "B" expressed it) "all the thoughts that kept bobbing up in my mind when I have been trying to make you write the other things." "This," says Mr. Stead, "was an interesting experiment, as it seems to indicate that this power is exercised not so much by the power of the will of the conscious mind as by the spontaneous action of the subliminal consciousness." This may well be so; but in the present instance the statements written by Mr. Stead (and which he read to me), seemed to me to be scarcely so unexpected and definite as to make it quite certain either that Mr. Stead's own subliminal self might not have supplied them, or that "B" could clearly have remembered that these special facts "bobbed up" at that special moment.

It will be observed, indeed, that throughout these experiments of Mr. Stead's the telepathic correspondent communicates not what his supraliminal self, but what his subliminal, desires to communicate. It is as though, not Léonie I., but Léonie II., were to have used Professor Janet's hand for the purposes of her outspoken correspondence. This adds some difficulty to the evidential record; but in itself it is a fact of great interest, and is, I need not repeat, in thorough accord with what the theories advanced in these papers would have led us to expect. Mr. Stead's experiments, indeed, are so precisely confirmatory of the existence of a continuously active subliminal consciousness in all mankind that I almost shrink from pressing cases which look as though they had been constructed (although they most certainly were *not*) expressly to bolster up my own hypotheses.

In reply to further inquiry Mr. Stead says:—

"I quite appreciate the need of seeing the original MS., but it is em-

bodied in a mass of other matter, some of which is extremely confidential, and I think that it would be much better to begin *de novo*."

We hope, therefore, to be able to report further on Mr. Stead's writings at no distant date.

My next case is on a smaller scale, but equally encouraging, I think, in its own way.

I have often urged that attempts should be made to imitate Mr. and Mrs. Newnham's series of experiments in the transference of an unseen question through an automatist's subliminal self to his pencil; and I have lately been fortunate enough to find a friend,—Mr. R. H. Buttemer, of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, a graduate in honours in Natural Science,—willing to make a serious endeavour of this kind. Some perseverance was required; but a friend of Mr. Buttemer's, Mr. H. T. Green, having first been several times lightly hypnotised by Mr. Buttemer, showed during some months unmistakable power as a percipient. I was cognisant of the experiments throughout; although on the only occasion on which I was myself present Mr. Green's mind was distracted by a theological examination which he was to pass next day, and his pencil would write little but names of kings of Israel and Judah. The conditions were throughout good; the question being written down out of Mr. Green's sight, and indications carefully avoided. In the last sitting Mr. Green had his back to all the other persons present—which is of course the right plan;—and that sitting was, as will be seen, the best of all. But considering the nature of the questions asked, there was, I think, little opportunity for unconscious indications, even when some of the persons who knew the question were within sight of Mr. Green. There was never any contact. The selection of questions and answers given below is a nearly average sample;—those which are omitted being mainly questions on private affairs, where the answers were necessarily less definite than *numbers* or *letters*, and where their degree of correctness would need cumbrous explanation. The *best* answer is certainly the spelling out of John Bou—from the unseen card.

The answers here classed as "irrelevant" were sometimes a reproduction of thoughts likely to be in the operator's mind (persons like Jeroboam and Omri frequently turning up); and sometimes, I think, represented imperfect efforts of the subliminal self to get at the unseen question. In this and other points these experiments resemble the much more completely successful Newnham series. There is no apparent reason for the cessation of Mr. Green's power. He is a healthy man, but had one or two trifling ailments during the experiments, which seemed to check the faculty for the time. Mr. Green, Mr. W., and Mr. S. are known to me; and all, I think, have pursued the inquiry in a scientific spirit. The frivolous and roundabout

style of the replies is very characteristic of automatic messages in their earlier stages. I now give Mr. Buttemer's account.

AUTOMATIC WRITING EXPERIMENTS WITH PLANCHETTE.

M. Aut. 62.

The following series of experiments were conducted at Cambridge, the operator being Mr. Green, of Emmanuel College. The agents (present during all the experiments described) were Mr. W. and Mr. Buttemer. The series of experiments commenced on November 12th, 1892: prior to this Mr. Green had made one or two more or less successful attempts at automatic writing, but the obvious difficulty of avoiding the chance of conscious interference where the questions put were asked aloud had prevented the following up of these till the suggestion was made that the questions should be written down and concealed from the operator. Under these conditions a trial was made on the above date, time 2 p.m., the questions being known only to the two agents. No one else was present.

Q. : What is number on machine? (an automatic dice-box, none of the three having seen the numbers on it).

A. : Give another.

Q. : Who is ill on this staircase?

A. : Ke pike pike. (A man of that name, Pike, was ill, as all were aware; but Mr. Green had not seen the question.) All then (Mr. Green included) looked at the dice-box, and saw the number—seven—on it.

Q. : Why would you not answer first question?

A. : Seven.

Another question was then correctly answered.

Q. : What is the matter with H. T. Green?

Answer referred to previous question.

Question was put again, still without Mr. Green seeing it.

A. : A bad cold. (Correct.)

Q. : Why cannot (Mr. W.) write with Planchette?

A. : W—, you mean. There is nothing in good health. Liver is not in good condition.

Q. : Whose liver is not right?

A. : i. (Irrelevant.) ii. Nobody particularly.

Q. (By Mr. Buttemer): Where am I going this afternoon?

After waiting some time the answer was written rapidly.

A. : Away, away, away.

Mr. Green knew where I was going, but did not write a more definite answer automatically.

Eight questions were put in all, of which four were answered immediately and correctly, and two after a sentence referring to the previous question had been written. The first and third were not answered, the answer to the first being unknown to the agents, while at the third Mr. Green's subliminal consciousness appeared to seize the opportunity of showing its just-acquired knowledge of the first. [When two answers are given, the operator was simply told to write again, after the first irrelevant answer, without being shown the question; except where otherwise stated.]

At the next sitting, on the 14th November, Messrs. W., S., and Buttemer were present, while Mr. Green operated Planchette, as before. Six questions

[the answers to which were known to the agents] were put in the same way, two being answered directly and unmistakably, while one was answered after some irrelevant writing, two incorrectly, and the last was not answered, the operator appearing tired.

November 20th. Agents and percipient as before. 4 p.m.

The questions were put in the same way.

Q. : Who is J. O. F. M. ? (The initials being given in the question, we wished the name to be written.)

A. : i. Man. Dean. (Rather illegible.) ii. Murray. (Right. Dean of Emmanuel.)

Q. : Who is G. R. S. ? (Only S. knew who was meant.)

A. : Not S——. (Here S. told the other agents the name—Smith.) Mr. Green wrote “Sleep,” and became drowsy. He was spoken to, to rouse him, and the question was written.

Q. : Why did you become drowsy and write “Sleep” ?

A. : H. T. Green (pause) cannot help himself.

Q. : Why ?

A. : He is tired, he is tired, he is tired. (Written very fast.)

January 31st, 1893. 4 p.m. Agents as before, with the addition of Mrs. H. and Miss B.

Q. : How many cups of tea did Miss B. have ?

A. : i. Cannot be ascertained. ii. It was in all two—2 2 2. (Correct.)

(When a second answer was waited for, care was taken that the writer should glean no idea of the question in the interval.)

Q. : What engraving is on the wall over the piano ? (It was one of the Queen soon after her marriage.)

A. : i. You may perceive it was so. (Apparently referring to previous question.) ii. It is a girl, the daughter of a man.

Q. : Who was playing the piano when the ladies came in ?

A. : i. The clock hath stricken five. (The clock struck just as Mr. Green began to write.) ii. Mr. S. (This was correct.)

Q. : What was it ?

A. : i. The one that was asked first. ii. Something. iii. Explain yourself more clearly.

Q. : What was S. playing when we came in ?

A. : i. The original one of all. ii. All I can say is “La Cigale.” (Correct.)

Two more questions were answered correctly, and then the writer began writing on a subject in his mind at the time, and four more questions that were put received no direct answers.

February 18th. 8 p.m. Mrs. H., Miss B., Mr. and Miss M. present, in addition to Mr. Green, and Messrs. S., W., and Buttemer.

Mr. Green, as usual, operated Planchette, and on this occasion sat with his back to all the other persons present.

Q. (from Mr. M.) : What was I doing this afternoon ?

A. : i. — the sun — (all else illegible). ii. Enjoying the fresh air of heaven.

Q. : What was Mr. Rogers doing in Cambridge ?

A. : i. (Irrelevant, or possibly connected vaguely with the question.) ii. Ask another, but Mr. Rogers came up on important business connected with the Lodge. (Correct.)

Q. : Where has Mrs. M. gone ?

A. : i. (Irrelevant.) ii. Far, far away, but more next time. iii. Her mother has gone to—oh, what a happy place is London ! iv. All change here for Bletchley. (Mrs. M. had possibly passed this station on her journey.)

Q. : Who has won the Association Match to-day ?

A. : i. (Illegible.) ii. O ye simple ones, how long will ye love simplicity ? Why, Oxford, of course. [This fact was known to some persons in the room, but not to Mr. Green.]

One of the company then suggested the attempt to get the name on a visiting card transmitted, and the question was written, "Write name on card." Mr. Green did not know that this experiment was about to be tried, and the card was picked from a pile at random. The name was John B. Bourne. A sentence was written by Mr. Green, which proved to be, "Think of one letter at a time and then see what will happen." We did so.

A. : i. J for Jerusalem, O for Omri, H for Honey, and N for Nothing. ii. B for Benjamin, O for Olive, U for Unicorn. (The remaining letters were given incorrectly.)

Q. : How many of the Society's books are here ? (There were two volumes of *Proceedings* on the table.)

A. : i. (Irrelevant.) ii. The answer is 100-98.

Q. : What is 2×3 ?

Two irrelevant answers were given, possibly owing to a slight disturbance in the room. The third answer was—"When that noise has ceased and S. has finished knocking the lamp over I say 6."

A trial shortly after this, February 19th, gave no results, and the power of automatic writing appears to have entirely left Mr. Green for the present.

I pass on to a small group of cases which form a curious transition from these communications *inter vivos* to communications which I shall class as coming from the dead. These are cases where the message professes to come from a deceased person, but shows internal evidence of having come, telepathically, from the mind of someone present. I shall begin with a case such as is often cited as proof (insufficient proof, I think,) that a deceased person is communicating.

Dr. Hodgson's informant, Mr. Lewis, a man of business in Cincinnati, states that an automatist to whom his (Mr. Lewis's) family were absolutely unknown wrote a message, with true name, purporting to come from an infant sister long deceased. Mr. Lewis, naturally enough, accepts this message, as similar messages have often been accepted, as an indication of his sister's actual presence.

From Mr. S. Lewis, 347, Baymiller-avenue, Cincinnati.

M. Aut. 63.

April 9th, 1888.

"On January 28th last I called at the house of some friends ; and on this occasion there was some planchette writing. The friends I called on, I believe, are professed Spiritualists. Some four or five of us (I also did) sat around a table in a full and well lighted room (lighted the entire evening). The operator of the planchette was a lady ; her husband was at the table,

also three other friends, including myself. Different communications (so called) were received by different ones at the table, from different friends (as the Spiritualists say), who have passed into the spirit world. I can't give all communications to-day, but one I wish to state. But first let me say that many years since in my father's family the first little one that came to live—a short time—with them was a little girl, named Angeline; she lived only about two years and died; next to this little girl was a brother, named Charles (in after life a clergyman in the Episcopal Church); and next to Charles was another little sister *also* named Angeline, and next to her was another sister named B. Ann; then next to B. Ann appeared, well, your humble servant, *myself*, to behold many of the beauties of this beautiful world. So that you see that between the two brief years of my first little sister, Angeline (1st), and my own coming on this globe there was born one brother and two sisters; therefore, my first little sister, Angeline (1st), I never saw; and only heard my mother (in her lifetime) speak of Angeline (1st), and I have also seen her name in the records, &c., in the Bible at my old home.

“The operator of the planchette, on the evening of which I am speaking, knew nothing of my father's family (excepting, of course, myself). I never had mentioned one word to the operator (of planchette), or anyone else in that little company, anything whatever about my brothers and sisters or even about my father's family in any way or manner; and besides, we all lived and grew up in the north part of the State, not far distant from Lake Erie, while the operator has (I think) lived in the south part of this State not far distant from the Ohio River; and there never has been any *acquaintance* nor any communication between any member of my father's family (or anyone else even) to give any history or information of any kind to the operator, and I certainly never gave the operator any information whatever until *after the occurrence and the writing* on the planchette, which wrote this evening, January 28th last, the following, viz.: ‘*Mr. Lewis, I am his sister, I am glad you came here to-night; come again (signed) Angeline.*’

“Now I want to ask, how could originate in the mind of operator any ideas or thoughts about this little sister Angeline (1st) and myself? I had not for years past even thought of her until the name was written on the evening spoken of.

“The operator is not, never has been a paid medium. S. LEWIS.”

Now let us consider a similar message, which might have produced a similar belief in another informant's mind. But here it so happened that he tested the alleged fact of death; and found that the supposed spirit was still alive at the time of the message. The correspondent, Mr. G. S. Long, is known to Dr. Hodgson.

M. Aut. 64.

Jersey City, N.J., October 22nd, 1888.

* * * * *

“I think I wrote you once that about two years ago I had received what was said to be a most convincing test of spirit-return, convincing to all except myself. A young lady, a Spiritualist and medium, though not a professional, nor one that ever received one cent in pay, by means of a lettered board and toy chair, she holding one leg of the chair and I another,

while a third leg of the chair served as a pointer, gave the following by means of the chair:—

“First the chair spelt out my name and showed a disposition to get in my lap; then it spelled out ‘CARY,’ and when I asked for the name of the ‘spirit’ it spelt out ‘George (my name), you ought to know me as I am Jim.’ But I didn’t, and said so. Then, without my looking at the board, it spelt out ‘Long Island, Jim Rowe,’ and ‘Don’t you remember I used to carry you when you were a little fellow,’ or words to that effect. I had to acknowledge the truth of it and also to say that as he was an ignorant man he possibly intended ‘CARY’ for carry. I must own I was puzzled for the moment. To make sure of his power I asked that he count the pickets in the fence outside of the house and I would go out and confirm his statement. Somehow he couldn’t agree to this, and even the medium objected. As a last resort I asked how long he had been in the spirit land and the answer came, between 13 and 14 years.

“Now to the sequel. First it occurred to me a day or two after, that while all the incidents given were correct, the name should have been given as ROE instead of ROWE. Second, I was upon Long Island this summer, and the matter coming to my mind I inquired how long Jim Roe had been dead, and was informed he died last winter; so when I received this test so convincing to the believers *the man was not dead.*

“Yours truly, GEO. E. LONG.”

On October 26th, 1888, Mr. Long adds:—

“I do not think that the medium was fraudulent. Her family consists of Mr. S. and 3 daughters, she being the youngest. I have found all to be hypnotic subjects, with the exception of the eldest daughter. They are all believers in Spiritualism, the youngest having been the medium. They do not sit now, as it is claimed that the sittings, while rich in spiritualistic satisfaction, were productive of a state of poor health in the medium.

“As I myself have obtained information supposed to have been impossible for me to have reached, I cannot say for certainty that she had not obtained information about Jim, but I don’t believe she had. As the name Rowe was being spelled I sat with my eyes turned from the board and had in mind the name Scudder, and mentally followed the taps of the chair to S C U D—when the medium said, ‘The name Rowc is given,’ &c. This would seem to leave out any involuntary muscular action. Why Rowc should have been given instead of Roe is still another phase. I wonder whether if any question of the Roe family had arisen I would have had in mind the name of Rowe? If so, then she produced that which I had long while before been conscious of, but was at the time unconscious of, and had it coupled with an error in spelling that I might have been guilty of had I myself been called upon at that moment to spell it. Had she been fraudulent the probability is she would have spelt it correctly.

“It seems to me that the basis of Spiritualism rests mainly upon this phenomenon which men and women in a supernormal condition produce, without understanding it, and credit to spiritual agencies.”

[A general corroboration of Mr. Long’s memory of the incident is added from a lady present at the time, who does not now recall the details.]

The next case is very remote; and I should not use it to aid in *establishing* communication with the dead. But as indicating a possible source of *error* it seems worth quoting, as it is vouched for by two informants who, although here anonymous, are distinguished and intelligent men. Professor H. writes to Dr. Hodgson in 1889:—

M. Aut. 65.

“I write you the details of another matter told me by a friend, Hon. Z., of C—. He is one of the leading members of the — Bar, has represented his State several times in the National Congress, and has a very clear, discriminating, and vigorous intellect. He does not believe in Spiritualism, but regards its phenomena as illusions or hallucinations. In his youth, in 1854, he had taught a winter’s term in his native town of P—, and in the spring returned to Q— to complete his fit for college in the Academy in that place. One evening after his return to Q—, a party of young people to the number of eight were gathered about a table to witness the trance-writing of one of their number, a Miss A., a very beautiful girl of eighteen years of age, and the music teacher of the Academy. She wrote the name of Mr. Z.’s father, — —, who had died in 1845, and whom no one in the room save his son could have known. I may add that none of the party save my friend knew anything about P— or its inhabitants. Mr. Z. declared that he did not believe his father had anything to do with the writing. At this Miss A., who sat on the opposite side of the table from Mr. Z., arose, came about to his side, drew her pencil several times rapidly across the two middle fingers of his left hand, returned to her seat, and wrote quickly, ‘Does this convince you?’ Mr. Z. said that those two fingers were gone from his father’s left hand, having been cut off in his boyhood. Mr. Z. was startled, but still expressed his disbelief. Miss A. then wrote H. T. Y.’s name, and continued: ‘Killed on — day of —, sliding down M— Hill, running off embankment, broke his neck; Rev. Mr. W. attended funeral; text: book—, chap. —, verse —., Both date and text were given with particularity. Mr. W. was a Congregationalist clergyman of P—, and Mr. Y.’s family were active and leading members of his church. Mr. Y. had been one of Mr. Z.’s pupils that winter in P—, and with the other boys had coursed M— Hill, a very steep hill near the school-house, and covered with glare ice from summit to foot. Near the foot was an embankment wharfed up to sustain the road-bed, and that was a very dangerous place to slide by. Mr. Z. had repeatedly warned the boys of the danger, but had not deemed it best to forbid their sliding. He had worried over the matter a great deal, and was exceedingly relieved when school closed without any accident having happened. Mr. Z. looked up the text and found it entirely inappropriate to a funeral occasion. H. T. Y. is living to-day, and is the head of the K— School of Technology. This fact made Mr. Z. scout the whole affair as unworthy of his notice; but to me it seems to indicate a telepathic explanation of both occurrences. I asked Mr. Z. if either his father or Mr. Y. were in his mind at the time. He replied, ‘No,’ they came into his mind with a shock of surprise when their names were written. We must so suppose the telepathic communication to be without consciousness on the part of the agent.”

The Hon. Z. of this case writes as follows:—

“This statement by Professor H. is correct, and I cannot improve it, or make it more correct by re-writing. Now you may use these facts, but I earnestly desire you not to make use of *any names or places.*”

My next case comes from Dr. Ermacora, of Padua, one of the group of *savants* whose experiments with Eusapia Paladino are mentioned in the Supplement to this Part of our *Proceedings*. Professor W. James has visited Dr. Ermacora at Padua, and tells me that Dr. Ermacora's experiments are seriously and carefully conducted. Dr. Ermacora himself, for reasons which he states below, regards this message as probably coming from a disembodied intelligence. But it seems to me that the statement as to the date of the letter's arrival may have emanated from the mind of the Venetian cousin at the time when she meant to post her letter in the evening. Dr. Ermacora has sent me a case (not for publication) where a message written by the same automatist predicted some remarkable points with regard to her own future health. Such a prediction, however,—like the frequently recorded predictions of somnambulists with regard to their own epileptic fits, &c.—seems to me to belong to the province of the subliminal self, which I conceive as more intimately acquainted with the state of the organism than the supraliminal self can be. Dr. Ermacora is continuing his experiments, and we may hope for fresh light upon the source of these messages.

M: 41.

Padua, June 17th, 1892.

The following case offers some resemblance to that which is quoted in the S.P.R. *Journal* for April, 1892, p. 246 [L. 936], but is in one respect more complete, inasmuch as it seems to show that the presence or near neighbourhood of a letter containing news not yet read by the percipient (in this case a writing medium) may be without influence on the phenomenon. It has, moreover, I think, a wider interest, as showing that the simple messages obtained by writing or similar means may often be more trustworthy than messages obtained in more complicated and elaborate ways. It is most desirable that cases of this type should be collected in greater numbers and with greater care.

Signora Maria Manzini, residing here in Padua, has been for a few months experimenting with automatic writing, and is habitually controlled by a personality which announces itself under the name of Elvira

On April 21st, 1892, Signora Maria Manzini received a letter from Venice informing her that her cousin, Maria Alzetta, was seriously ill with phthisis. It was long since Signora Manzini had heard news of this cousin, and she only knew that, having been left a childless widow, she had remarried and had two children by her second husband. On the evening of the same day Signora M. was writing in my presence, under the control of Elvira, and asked questions as follows:—

Q. : Can you tell me if my cousin's illness is really serious ?

After a pause of about a minute and a half the answer came—

A. : She has a very short time to live, and she leaves three lovely children.

Q. : Did you first know this when I received news of the illness ?

A. : No, I have known it for many days, but did not mention it for fear of paining Maria [the medium].

Q. : Why, then, were you so slow just now in answering my question ?

A. : I went to see how she was, so as to be able to tell you precisely.

Next day Signora M. wrote to Venice offering to go and see the invalid. On the 24th she received an answer expressing a desire for her arrival, and stating that the invalid was at the hospital. She wrote again to ask on what days it was allowed to visit the hospital patients. Before an answer arrived, Signora M. wrote in my presence (April 28th) under Elvira's control, and we put the following questions :—

Q. : How is the invalid at Venice ? Do you know why the answer to my letter has not arrived ? and do you know on what day it is allowed to visit the hospital ?

A. : The invalid's condition is the same. There is little hope. She has undergone a serious operation ; there is danger. To-morrow morning Maria will receive a letter. Visitors such as she are received every day at the hospital.

Q. : Do you mean because Maria is a relation of the invalid's ?

A. : No, but because she comes from a distance.

Failing to see what connection there could be between pulmonary disease and a surgical operation, we asked :

Q. : If the patient is in a consumption, what operation can she have undergone ?

A. : She is in a consumption ; but the operation was necessitated by the birth of her last little girl.

Next morning Signora M. received a post-card from Venice containing these words : " Amalia inquired at the hospital and was told that you and your mother would be received on any day, as strangers from another city, if you will come when it suits you."

The date of the letter's arrival and the news contained in it thus corresponded with the prediction. But an embarrassing circumstance remained. When the postman delivered this letter he said that he had in fact brought it to the house on the previous evening, but finding no one at home he had taken it away with him again till the following morning. Thus the messages from Elvira had been received after the postman had endeavoured to deliver the letter. Had, then, the fact that the letter was already in Padua determined the communication which announced its approaching delivery and part of its content ?

On April 30th Signora M. went to Venice and found that her cousin had really had a third child a few months previously, and after its birth had been ill in a way which had ultimately needed a surgical operation. Another small detail previously communicated to Signora Manzini by Elvira was likewise found to be true. Signora Manzini made no mention whatever of her own experiments, and her cousin at Venice continued entirely ignorant of them.

On that same evening, April 30th, on Signora Manzini's return from Venice to Padua, I was anxious to inquire from the "control" as to the effect of the presence in Padua of the letter which had been announced on the evening of the 28th for the following morning. Under the control of Elvira,

Signora M. wrote the following answer : " I did not know that the letter had arrived ; but I was sure that Maria would receive it next morning, because those who wrote it had intended that it should reach her in the morning. They had intended to post it in the evening, but instead of that they posted it directly it was written. I was, in fact, mistaken ; for it was a mere chance that it was actually received in the morning."

I then requested Signora M. to write to her friends at Venice in the following terms : " I would beg you to satisfy a feeling of curiosity on my part with regard to a presentiment which I had about your last letter. I should like to know whether it was posted at the hour which you originally intended ; or whether you changed your intention and posted it at a different hour. Will you please tell me all you remember about this ?"

The following answer was received on May 2nd :—

" I had meant to post my last letter to you in the evening, but, fearing to forget it, I posted it at mid-day, when I had occasion to go out."

To resume the facts. Automatic writing informed us of facts entirely unknown to our ordinary consciousness ; namely, the fact that the invalid had three children, and the fact that she had undergone an operation. Thus far we might invoke telepathy and clairvoyance as the explanation. Then there was a true prediction of the arrival of a letter, and of part of its content. But although the letter was delivered on the morning specified, it had, in fact, already arrived in Padua when the communication was made, and its non-delivery in the evening was due to accident. Clairvoyance would not explain this incident, as that power might have been expected to reveal the presence of the letter in Padua. Neither was there an indication of so-called psychometry—an influence from the nearness of the letter itself. But, lastly, an automatic message explains the incident in the simplest manner, and that explanation turns out to be the true one.

DR. G. B. ERMACORA.

C. Thus much for the present with regard to communications from the living ; and as to the danger that a message purporting to come from a deceased person may in reality emanate from the mind of one of the living persons present. But this, although a real risk, is by no means the only risk of deception which such messages involve. The communication may conceivably come from some unembodied spirit indeed, but not from the spirit who is claimed as its author. Have we any way of guarding against this deception ;—any hints which may even help us to conceive the nature of a danger which lies so entirely outside our terrene experience ?

Let us at least make an attempt to consider the possibilities of disembodied existence, apart from any dogmatic preoccupation, and simply in the light of such analysis of terrene personality as our discussions may have suggested.

It is clear in the first place that we must put aside the *moral* distinctions on which men have mostly dwelt in such speculations as these. Men have for the most part confined themselves to imagining personalities shaped on their own familiar type,—but some of them so

good as to be called angels, some of them so bad as to be called devils. These conceptions have constantly deflected and distorted our present inquiries, by suggesting that if we are dealing with intelligences very different from our own, these strange intelligences must either be immensely better than ourselves or immensely worse. But this is eminently an anthropomorphic illusion. Angels and devils there may be, if you like, in indefinite numbers ;—as there may be mermaids and sea-serpents in the deep sea ; but that does not make it logical to assume that every form of deep-sea life which comes to our net will be either a sea-serpent or a mermaid. For our present purpose it will be more instructive to regard man—not as a *moderately good* being,—intermediate between possible extremes of fiendishness and beatitude,—but rather as an *extremely complex* being, more complex and at the same time more integrated than any other being that we know. As compared with a civilised adult man, all other creatures are less complicated and some are less coherent. The man's earlier stages, whether as savage or as infant, are less coherent ; and his arrests of development, or retrograde processes, are always a sort of disintegration. The hysteric exhibits this disintegrative process in its active stage of extreme instability ; the dement shows us a kind of stability reached when the disintegration of personality has been pushed as far as is consistent with keeping a human frame alive.

In the animal creation we have unification and specialisation secured at the cost of range and adaptability. And we must remember that the enormous majority of animals are protozoa, microscopic and unicellular ; and that the enormous majority of metazoa or multicellular animals are parasitical. So that if we were simply told that we were to be introduced to a great number of new living beings, with no further details, the presumption would be that these new beings would be extremely short-lived, and dependent for their very existence upon close proximity to some higher organism. And by analogy, if we are told that we are to come across a number of denizens of the unseen world, taken at random, the presumption will be that we shall not encounter a Gabriel or a Plato, a Beelzebub or a Napoleon, but simply a number of parasitical existences who perhaps rise into individualisation by the mere momentary contact with our own spirits, and sink back again presently into some psychical "womb and tomb of things" out of which they for an instant rose. Or if this be lower than we like to go even in imagination for our comradeships, let us realise at least that spirits of the same grade as the higher animals here may be able to communicate with our spirits simply from the removal of those conditions which the struggle for existence has here imposed on the animal creation, and which have fitted them for objects more important to their well-being than converse with man.

The only excuse for speculations so wild as these is that they are at least *less* wild, more in accordance with analogy, than the popular fears which see a full-blown "lying spirit" in every random utterance of a planchette, and endeavour with Bibles and invocations to test the theology of suspected entities, which (to judge from all that we can learn of them) may be about on the level of a psychical jelly-fish.

Well, it will next be said, all this may apply to the nameless, witless agencies from which (if not from our own spirits) most of our messages do assuredly come. But what say you to the higher communications? to those that are above and not below the automatist's ordinary level? If these messages come from outside ourselves, have you anything to say of *high* spirits, such as the senders claim to be?

One suggestion I have, which seems to me to be again founded on analogy and to help in explaining certain fresh difficulties of "spirit identity" which meet us so soon as the alleged spirit assumes the character of a "guide," and communicates continuous advice or teaching.

We have seen that on earth the pathway of ascent in the scale of organisms is through integration, through unification. The cells of the metazoon—say of man—could have carried on an inferior existence separately; they have modified and unified themselves into man, and have made an organism more capable than any other of subduing the world. But how, again, has man's organism subdued the world? By its capacity for further integration; its ability to collaborate as a unit in a social organism, in which the minds of many act as one. These are truisms. But it is not yet a truism to point out that the psychical law of telepathy (if such it be) represents a still more advanced, a still closer integrative process. It points to a surer convergence, a more intimate fusion of spirit with spirit than is possible so long as all converse has to pass through mere rifts in the veil of flesh. How far, then, may such unification extend? We have suggested the possibility that parasitical minds may form a temporary union (possibly a permanent union) with our own. What if minds like our own should in their turn become in some way components of a larger spiritual aggregate? This need not interfere with our individuality. A corpuscle in a human artery is as indefeasibly a cell as if it were swimming freely in pond-water. But nevertheless it may give to certain communications something of a conjoint and collective character, which may interfere with our attempts at individual identification.

I have suggested these difficulties as possibly inherent in the very nature of the unseen world with which we have to deal;—quite apart from any deliberate wish to deceive us,—such as may, of course, exist in that world as well as in ours. There also, there may be "clashings and entanglements"—opposing wills, confusion of memory, desire to baffle

and annoy. Both for good and for evil the possibilities which these messages open out must long remain beyond our power to estimate or to understand.

At this point the record may fitly be given of the varied experiences of automatic writing which have been intermingled with Miss A.'s crystal-visions, &c., already narrated in my chapter on "Sensory Automatism." Such account as can here be produced is, from various causes, very incomplete. It contains, however, specimens of several of the problems of which mention has already been made. I may remind the reader that this is a case with which I am intimately acquainted, having carefully watched the progress of the phenomena for some years. The following statements refer largely to facts within my own knowledge, and these are given without exaggeration.

M. Aut. 66.

STATEMENT OF MISS A. AS TO HER AUTOMATIC WRITING.

"1. *Origin of the Writing.*—About eight years ago we first heard that people could sometimes write without knowing what they wrote; and that it was supposed that departed friends could communicate in this way. We determined to try whether any of us could write thus. We tried first with a planchette, and when my mother's hand and my hand were upon it we got writing easily. We did not at first get any message professing to come from any spirit known to us.

"2. *Mode of Writing.*—We soon ceased to use the planchette, and I was able to write alone. I can now generally, but not always, write when I sit quiet with a pencil in my hand. The writing often comes extremely fast; at a much faster rate than I could keep up by voluntary effort for so long a time. I have to turn over the pages of the large paper which I generally use, and to guard the lines of writing from running into each other, but except for this there is no need for me to look at the paper, as I can talk on other subjects while the writing is going on. I can always stop the writing by a distinct effort of will. One curious thing is that my hand is never in the least tired by automatic writing.

"3. *Character of the Script.*—I get various handwritings; I may have had a dozen altogether. I may divide these simply into two classes.

"4. Large and scrawly hands, which seem to aim at ease of writing, rather than at individuality, and do not divide their words, but run on without a break. Such are the hands of the so-called 'guides' and of other 'spirits' who write frequently. (Whatever the sources of this writing may be, I must use the terms which the writing uses in order to avoid constant roundabout phrases.) These large running handwritings do differ somewhat both from my own handwriting and from each other; but they most of them have a general resemblance to a large, rapid scrawl of my own, with an alteration in the shape of some letters so as to avoid breaks in the continuous scrawl. I can almost always tell who is writing; but there are differences in energy, in little details of management of the paper, &c., which help me to distinguish, even before the end of the message comes, when the signature shows me who has been writing. When the pronoun 'we' is used there is no signature, as that represents 'the guides.'

“*B.* There are also several handwritings which keep a strongly *individual* character, sometimes plainly of an assumed kind ; I mean writing in a way in which no one would have written in life. Thus John Longland wrote in an odd twisted, serpentine way and very small. We unluckily burnt all his writings except one scrap, as we did not believe that he was a real person. A spirit calling himself Detorno makes all the letters square.

“Then, again, when the guides are writing in reply to a private question put by some friend of mine they write wrong side up, so that the friend sitting opposite to me can read the writing and I cannot. They seem to write this way just as easily as the other. Sometimes there is mirror-writing. Sometimes each word in a sentence is written backwards, and sometimes the whole sentence is written backwards, beginning with the last letter of the last word. In a few cases only have we thought that the handwriting resembled what the supposed spirit wrote in life. This was especially so in the case of a communication claiming to come from my grandfather, whose handwriting I had never seen. My mother produced an old signature of his, and certainly it was like ; but there was not enough of the automatic writing to make us quite sure. When the ‘spirit’ or ‘control,’ or whatever it is, leaves me I cannot make it come again, and writing from spirits known to us on earth is rare in comparison with writing from the guides, or from quite unknown spirits giving fantastic names. Sometimes they give what they say were their real earth-names ; and then we can sometimes identify them ; although there is, of course, this difficulty, that if they are obscure we cannot find them, or if they are well-known, people who give me credit for more knowledge of history than I possess may think that I knew all about them, and that the messages come from my own mind.”

[“I think Miss A. has considerably understated the number of distinctly and remarkably different types of handwriting that have come through her hand. I enclose a list of thirteen names of ‘guides,’ each one of whom has a characteristic handwriting,—invariably the same, however great the length of time that elapses between the communications. In addition to these there have been many instances where personalities,—the so-called dead, or occasionally the living—have written in distinct handwritings.—H. M. RADNOR.”]

“4. *Drawings.*—Sometimes my hand is moved to draw instead of to write. The impulse in such cases is quite equally distinct. I never know what I am going to draw till the picture is half finished. My hand begins at odd, unexpected places ; for instance, with shading in a corner, or at the ear of a profile ; and approaches the principal lines in a way which no artist would choose. There is no rubbing out or alteration of what is once done, but if whatever moves my hand does not like the picture it suddenly scrawls it all over and begins again on another piece of paper. Sometimes twenty or thirty pieces of paper have been spoilt in this way,—even when the picture was all but finished ; so that if I think that a picture is pretty I sometimes beg someone to take it away from under my hand for fear it should be scrawled on. I have no natural gift for drawing, and have only received a few lessons as a child. I could not even copy some of these automatic drawings. I have never of myself painted in oils, but sometimes I am moved to paint automatically in water-colour or oils. I put out a number of

oil colours in a row, and my brush goes to them automatically and dabs one wet colour on the top of another, making a picture which is odd enough, but much less muddled than might be supposed; in fact, artists have said that it was curious that a distinct picture could be produced in that way. When I paint thus there is no drawing or outline, only the brush-work. These drawings and pictures have a certain boldness and strangeness about them, but they are certainly not like the work of a regular artist.

“5. *Connection of written with other messages.*—The writing sometimes explains or completes other phenomena, as, for instance, figures seen, or sentences begun by raps. Sometimes, on the other hand, raps will come when I wish to have writing. But the writing will hardly ever explain or in any way allude to what really most needs explanation, namely, the crystal-visions. The guides who write seem to know nothing about these visions.

“6. *Subject of the Writing.*—The great mass of the writing consists of teachings, as to religion and philosophy. This is what my guides seem to wish to give, and it is strange that it should be so, as my own thoughts have not been much directed to such matters.

“Another large part of the writing consists in a kind of fantastic description of the way in which a world was made. The name given with these writings is Gelalius. I suppose that this is a kind of romance. It is very different from anything that I should myself ever write or dream of, nor am I at all fond of reading romances of that kind. The writing professes to be copied from a book open at that particular chapter, and sometimes a passage will be continued weeks or months after the first part of it was written, as if the book had chanced to be open again at that same place.

“Some of the messages, however, deal with earthly matters. Some give general advice, some give medical advice, and some show a knowledge of things in the past or present which I do not possess. Some of these messages have been curiously right; some have been partly right, but confused or interrupted; and some have been wrong altogether. The sense of *time* seems confused, so that it is hard to say whether the incidents are meant to have happened long ago, or lately, or to be still in the future. Many of the messages we have not tested, as they were about things which did not interest us. Often, for instance, there would be messages about events in the newspapers which I had not thought or cared about.

“As to what I have called ‘general advice,’ I think that this has always been good when it related to the conduct of the automatic writing itself. I should be told, I mean, when to write and when not to write, and what people’s presence was desirable, and so forth. The advice is often quite different from what we *wish*;—forbidding us to ask people whom we had desired to ask. There has been one very curious case where we were repeatedly told to ‘send for’ a gentleman whom I will call Mr. C. D., of whom we knew nothing, except that we had seen his name in the papers in quite a different connection. It so chanced that a friend of ours knew Mr. C. D. and brought him to see us, but for some years there seemed to be no particular result. Lately, however, Mr. C. D.’s presence has very greatly helped the phenomena; and the advice given so long ago has turned out important in a way which we could not possibly have foreseen.

“On matters not connected with these phenomena I should always care-

fully read what the writing told me, but I should not go by it unless it seemed sensible. It does not always advise either what I wish or what I think wise ; but generally it is wiser than I.

“7. *Medical Advice* has often been given by a control calling himself ‘Semirus,’ and this has been often successful ; which is strange, since I am quite ignorant of medicine, and often do not know the names either of diseases or of drugs mentioned. Of course I cannot be quite sure that I have never *read* the words, but certainly when I have written them I have often not known what they meant.

“At other times the facts relating to the illness have been quite outside my knowledge. One friend has given an instance of this kind [printed later] ; but I have not liked to ask others, as what Semirus says is generally meant for the questioner alone.

“8. *Thought-transference*.—The writing occasionally, but not often, tells me of thoughts in the minds of persons present. One day a lady handed me a letter, in a handwriting which I did not know. I held the letter in one hand, and the other hand wrote, ‘Bright metal and brown earth.’ The letter was from a gentleman whom I had never seen, and who committed suicide by throwing himself on the rails in front of a railway engine. I think that this message came from thought-transference, as I do not find that merely holding letters in my hand tells me anything about their writers unless someone is there who knows the content ; and even then I so seldom succeed that I do not care to try experiments of this kind.”

[Lady Brooke (the Ranée of Saráwak), who was present at the time, has given me a written confirmation of this (quite recent) incident, for which I have not pressed the owner of the letter, on account of the painful nature of the circumstance.—F. W. H. M.]

“9. *Clairvoyance*.—I sometimes get messages which perhaps may be called clairvoyant, telling me, for instance, where lost objects are, or warning me of some danger at hand. Thus about September 20th, 1888, [this incident was written down October 21st, 1889], my sister M. and I had just finished dressing for dinner in the dressing-rooms leading from a large bedroom. The maid had left the room. M. had left her dressing-room, and was standing in the bedroom, when suddenly she called to me : ‘Get a bit of paper ; there are some raps.’ I came in and took an envelope and pencil, and at once the words came, by raps : ‘Look to the candle or the house will be on fire.’ We saw that it was not the candle in the bedroom, so we went into M.’s dressing-room, and found that her candle was so close to a cardboard pocket depending from the looking-glass that it would have been on fire in a moment. It was already smoking. No servant would have come in for some time.” [Mrs. A. confirms as follows : “I heard of the incident in my daughter’s next letter.”]

“Again, I was descending a dark corkscrew staircase at Longford, in August or September, 1889, [account written October, 1889] when I heard a rapping on the stair. It was persistent, and drew my attention. I looked about with a candle, and at last saw a gold pencil-case of Lady Radnor’s, with which I was accustomed to write automatically, lying on a dark little landing of the stair. I did not know that the pencil had been lost.

“10. But the most puzzling cases are those where the message professes to

be from some departed person, and tells some true things, but perhaps mixes up some mistakes with them. 'Jack Creasy' was a case of that kind. [See *Proceedings*, XXIII., p. 513. We have since ascertained that the widow's name is not Mary.—F. W. H. M.] I certainly had not read any newspapers about his accident, and had no connection whatever with Greenwich or Deptford. I can see no link, and I do not know either why the message should have come at all, or why it should have come so confusedly. But sometimes I do think that the message really comes from the person who professes to communicate.

"Another frequent writer is a strange person to have come to us, as I knew nothing about him, and should not have thought that we had anything in common. That is Lord Chancellor Hardwicke. He—or whatever it is that takes that name—has become a sort of family friend. He has a distinct character of his own, which is not quite what I should have expected in a Lord Chancellor, for he is full of jokes and very bluff and outspoken. He has given a number of facts about himself, names of friends, and laws about marriage that he had made.

"One reason which makes me think that the messages come from outside myself is the feeling which I have sometimes of rivalry or even conflict between them. When I am writing there will occasionally be sudden changes, as if some new personality had been able to get hold of the pencil. And in one long case [John Black] there seemed to be spirits purposely trying to confuse each others' messages; or perhaps one telling a story and others simply trying to prevent us from hearing it.

"Again, if I see figures and then have writing which professes to come from those figures, it seems to me natural to suppose that it does so come."

I will now give some examples of motor messages, by writing and raps, given through Miss A. Here, as in the case of Miss A.'s crystal-visions, I am obliged to confine myself mainly to cases corroborated by the few friends who have felt in the messages more than a merely personal interest. It must, of course, be remembered, in justice to other friends, (who have often carried off messages without even showing them to the writer), that much of what has been thus written has dealt with very private matters.

The first message which I shall quote is evidentially interesting, on account of the mere chance by which its truth was verified. It should be premised that Miss A. has never been to Blankney, and is not acquainted with the Chaplin family.

I. Lady Radnor writes under date January 15th, 1893 :—

"The following case has always struck me as particularly curious.

"About 8 years ago, when Miss A.'s powers had only quite recently shown themselves, her automatic writing told me that I had two *guides*, 'Estelle' and 'Silvo,'—spirits who accompanied me and took an interest in my welfare. I did not think of this at first as a thing which could be either proved or disproved. But one day, when a question was mooted as to whether 'spirit guides' had ever lived on earth, I asked whether mine had done so, and was told that *Estelle* had. I asked for her earth-name; and as we were then getting answers by *raps* (through Miss A.'s power) it was rapped out 'Loved voices called me Anne.' I asked for the surname. C—H—A was rapped out.

As my maiden name was Chaplin I at once jumped to the conclusion that that was the name meant. But the raps said decidedly No, and rapped out *Chambers*. I had no associations with this name. I asked if connected with my family? 'Yes.' Any portrait? 'Yes.' At Blankney? (my brother's place). 'Yes.'

"Now I had spent much of my childhood at Blankney, and I had been particularly fond of one picture there, representing a lady whose name I did not know. It used to hang in the morning room, and then on the staircase, and represented a lady in a red velvet gown with a basket of cherries in her hand. As a child I used to sit and talk to this picture and make a friend of the lady with the cherries.

"So when I heard that the picture of my 'guide' was at Blankney I hoped it might be this lady, and asked, 'Is it the lady with the cherries?' 'Yes' was eagerly rapped out. I at once wrote to my old nurse who was still at Blankney, and who knew a good deal about the pictures, and asked her to get the picture examined for any name which might be on it. She got the picture taken down and carefully examined, but there was no clue. She told me, however, that she thought she had heard a Mrs. S.—a connection of the family, who knew the pictures better than anyone—say that the lady with the cherries was a Miss *Taylor*. This disheartened me; but I wrote to a friend at the College of Heralds to ask whether the name *Chambers* occurred anywhere in the Chaplin pedigree. He wrote back that there was no such name in the pedigree.

"The same day that I got his letter I happened to meet Mrs. S. (whom I had not seen for many years) in a shop in London. I knew that she had once made a catalogue (which I had never seen) of the Blankney pictures; so I felt that here was my last chance. I asked her if she knew who the lady with the cherries was. 'Oh, that is Lady Exeter,' she said, 'whose daughter, Lady Betty Chaplin, married an ancestor of yours.' 'Do you know what Lady Exeter's maiden name was?' 'It was Mellish.' I now lost all hope, but I just asked: 'Has the name *Chambers* any association for you?' 'How stupid I am!' she exclaimed, 'Lady Exeter was a Miss *Chambers*, of Mellish!' My friend at the Heralds' College then looked in the *Exeter* pedigree, and, sure enough, the lady with the cherries was *Hannah Chambers*.

H. M. RADNOR."

"I was cognisant of all this, and attest the accuracy of the account.

"RADNOR."

In a later letter Lady Radnor adds: "Personally I had always believed 'the lady with the cherries' to be someone (name unknown) who had married a *Chaplin* ancestor. There was no Chaplin pedigree, and it was I who suggested to my brother that he should ask 'York Herald' (Mr. Gatty) to draw one up; and I therefore applied to Mr. Gatty as being the only person who would know the names of the families connected by marriage with the Chaplins. I knew that the great-grandmother was 'Lady Betty,' *née* Cecil: but as in those days pedigrees and family history did not interest me, I *had* never—and up to the present time never *have*—seen the Chaplin pedigree. In any case the name *Chambers* would not appear in it."

II. The next case is typical of many similar trifling incidents.

January 15th, 1893.

“I have several times had reason to think that some intelligence writing through Miss A. was aware of trifling circumstances happening to myself. A good instance occurred the other day. I came back from hunting and joined in a séance, where my so-called ‘guide’ was communicating. I asked ‘Well, have you been with me in my run to-day?’

“‘Yes,’ was the answer, ‘but you should have gone up the hill instead of down.’ ‘Was Nancy right, then?’ ‘Yes.’ Now, in point of fact we had changed foxes that day by going down a hill instead of up, one hound, alone, Nancy, running up hill on what was doubtless the original scent.

“RADNOR.”

January 16th, 1893.

III. “The following writing was given at Longford, February 27th, 1890, avowedly by ‘Estelle’ :—

“‘You ask me whom I see in this habitation. I see so many shades and several spirits. I see also a good many reflections. Can you tell me if there was a child died upstairs? Was there an infant who died rather suddenly? [Why?] Because I continually see the shadow of an infant upstairs, near to the room where you dress. [A shadow?] Yes, it is only a shadow. [What do you mean?] A shadow is when anyone thinks so continually of a person that they imprint their shadow or memory on the surrounding atmosphere. In fact they make a form; and I myself am inclined to think that so-called ghosts, of those who have been murdered, or who have died suddenly, are more often shadows than earthbound spirits; for the reason that they are ever in the thoughts of the murderer, and so he creates as it were, their shadow or image; for it would be sad if the poor souls suffered, being killed through no fault of their own,—that they should be earthbound; though, remember, they very often are earthbound too.’

“With reference to the above communication I may say that an infant brother of mine died of convulsions in a nursery which then occupied the part of the house where the figure of the baby was said to have appeared. I do not see any way in which Miss A. could have known either of the death of my infant brother or of the fact that that part of the house had previously been a nursery.

RADNOR.”

IV. A few further points connected with Longford may conveniently be added here.

January 15th, 1893.

“The following point should be added to the account of Miss A.’s vision of the Long Drawing-room at Longford as a Chapel, which (as we knew) it was in Lord Coleraine’s time, although she had no means of knowing this.

“She remarked that there was a door where the altar ought to be (*i.e.*, at the east end), and that there was an altar between two of the side windows, which she designated. None of us knew at that time where the altar had been, but later on we found in the muniment-room, (which, of course, is always kept locked), an old plan of Longford, in which the Long Drawing-room is a chapel, and the altar is in precisely the place where Miss A. located it. This is just like her putting the Cathedral altar in the place in

which, unknown to her, it used to be, when she saw the induction of Brian Duppa.
RADNOR.”

January 15th, 1893.

V. “It should be added to the account of Brian Duppa that Miss A. subsequently in my presence pointed out to me a portrait, in a room and house which she had never previously entered, as being the man whom she saw as Brian Duppa.¹ Although very short-sighted, she recognised the face and figure at a few yards distance. I did not know the picture, and although I have long-sight, I could see no name on it from where we sat. I went up and examined it, and found that the name Brian Duppa was on it in small letters.
H. M. RADNOR.”

VI. The next case, so far as it goes, supports the view that the “douser’s” water-finding may be the result of a real motor message from the subliminal self; a thrill passing unconsciously through the organism and acting, by a tightening of the muscles, upon the hazel-rod :—

January 15th, 1893.

“Feeling some curiosity as to the alleged powers of water-finders or diviners, I recently sent for a man who had much local repute of this kind, and set him to find water in the park at Longford. His rod turned up in various places where there may or may not be water, but when we came to a place where I knew that there was water running through a brick conduit underground, his rod gave no sign. I taxed him with this and he replied that he could not find running water when it was enclosed in a conduit. Miss A. was at Longford at the same time, and I asked her to try the rod, which I myself cut from a hedge. She had never made the attempt before. I placed her at some distance from the brick conduit and told her to go on till she came to it. I took care not to give any indication. Exactly at the right place the rod turned up. She then followed the hidden conduit; whenever she stepped off it the rod went down. Lady Radnor then tried her in the Castle itself. She went into the central hall, which had been the courtyard. In one corner the rod went up strongly, having been going up a little before. In my memory a pump had stood there; but no one in the house, except myself and my aunt, knew of the existence of this old well.

“RADNOR.”

VII. The following statement is from the Ranée of Sarawak :—

January, 1893.

“In September, 1892, my maid, who was not known to Miss A., complained of persistent pain in the neck and arm. She told me afterwards that she had been afraid of paralysis. I asked Miss A. to let ‘Semirus’ write what was the matter with her. The maid came into the room. No one said a word as to her symptoms, but Miss A.’s hand at once wrote in ‘Semirus’ handwriting: ‘It is not paralysis, as you fear; it is rheumatism; your bed ought to be moved from the window,’ or words to that effect. I went into the maid’s room, which it so happened that I had never seen, as it was in a house which I had only rented for a short time, and I found in

¹ Her words were: “Oh, there is my Bishop! only *his* hair was brown and in this picture it is grey.”

fact that the bed was exposed to a severe draught. It was placed against the window. I had it moved, and the rheumatic pain disappeared.

MARGARET BROOKE."

VIII. I give here an incident of which I was myself witness, and which seems to me typical of a class of communications of which I have already said something,—where information unknown to the automatist is given, on the *soi-disant* authority of some departed spirit; but yet this information, so far as true, is known to some person present, and when anything which goes beyond the knowledge of persons present is asked for, the answer goes off into mere guessing and vagueness. Note also the fact that these messages were given by a distinct rapping sound in the table. This phenomenon is often spoken of in spiritist journals as a very common one. For myself I may say that having sat at tables many hundred times, in readiness to welcome raps if they appeared, I have frequently heard raps in the presence of paid mediums, and I have frequently heard creaks of the table in the presence of my own friends; but only in the presence of some four or five non-professional and trustworthy persons have I heard unmistakable raps, answering questions, and producing upon my mind the conviction that no known agency was concerned in producing them.

On this occasion the messages given were private enough to need an alteration in the initials of the friends present. Besides Miss A., a sister, and myself, there sat at the table Lady B. and the Hon. C. D. A Christian name was clearly rapped out, which was recognised by Mr. C. D. as that of his mother, not consciously known to any of the rest of us. Since, however, the name was in the Peerage, it was of little evidential value. A message then came as to Mr. C. D.'s efforts on behalf of a friend, for whom he was then trying to get a post. "What kind of employment shall I get for him?" "Island." "What island?" "Jersey." "Can you mention anyone who will help in this?" "Lang" was rapped out, and then came many confused raps and the message ceased.

Now Mr. D. was in reality trying privately to get a post in Jersey for his friend,—about whom none of us knew anything. How easy, therefore, it would be to report this sitting as follows: "Mr. D.'s mother announced herself by raps, and gave advice on a private matter."

But now compare the classical case, if I may so term it, of the Rev. P. and Mrs. Newnham, and consider how these replies might be explained on the theory of mere thought-transference between living persons. In Mr. Newnham's case we found that the automatic writing got at the questioner's ideas gradually and imperfectly, and filled up gaps by random answers made to look as interesting as possible. So here, in my view, some intelligence not necessarily other than some part of Miss A.'s subliminal self readily discerns in Mr. D.'s mind an idea so firmly fixed as his mother's name, and takes that as an interesting source to which to ascribe the replies. It next gets easily at the idea of helping the friend; but the definite name *Jersey* is harder to come at, and is preceded by *island*, a reply which could hardly have been given save by someone groping for the clearer notion. Then when the name of some helpful resident in Jersey is asked for—Mr. D. himself now not knowing any such name—an attempt is made to rap out the name which is in most minds the first which the idea of Jersey would call

up. Senseless as this guess was, (for Mr. D. certainly did not expect Mrs. Langtry to find posts for his friends), it was quite analogous to the random, dreamlike associations and plays upon words which are characteristic of subliminal messages of all kinds.

The next question, again, received an answer which might have been credited to clairvoyance. Mr. C. D. handed Miss A. a ring (not that I see reason to suppose that the ring made any difference) and simply said, "Tell me about my friend now at a hotel in Paris, with whom this ring is connected." Immediately raps spelt out the sentence, "Case for operation." A few details of the disease were then given, which corresponded with what Mr. C. D. knew, and which, where they went beyond his knowledge, admitted of no proof.

I can hardly myself doubt that this knowledge also came from Mr. C. D.'s mind, and *not* (as is usually professed in such cases) from actual inspection of the patient.

It may, of course, be asked why experiments like this, which, even if they prove nothing more than thought-transference, do at least seem to prove *that* so definitely, are not constantly repeated. The answer is that there are very few persons with whom they *can* be repeated; and that Mr. C. D.'s personality was in this case probably as essential as Miss A.'s. Mr. D., though he cannot by himself obtain raps, has marked power of a psychical kind, and is in fact the gentleman to whom Miss A. has above alluded as having been demanded by her guides before she or her family knew anything of him beyond official mentions of his name in the papers. I can myself vouch for the recurring serawls, "Bring C. D."—"Bring C. D." which puzzled the A. family some six years ago, when they certainly were not aware of Mr. D.'s gift (then very slightly developed), and when it had not consciously occurred to myself that good might result from the collocation of the two sources of power.

IX. The next case which I shall give is a curious one, as involving (1) raps, (2) a crystal-vision, (3) an apparition seen by two persons, viz., Miss A. herself and Mr. Harry de Windt, well known as a traveller in Russia. Unfortunately no notes were taken, but I heard of the incident a few weeks afterwards from Lady Brooke, Mr. C. D., Mrs. A. and Miss A. (all present at the time), and a letter from Mr. de Windt confirms two of the main points.

In September, 1892, on the occasion of the first meeting of Mr. de Windt and Miss A., the latter wrote the word Doishowalinksy, which at first was thought to be a sentence, but turned out to be a name well known to Mr. de Windt.

On the same day a face appeared near Mr. C. D. which was clearly seen by Miss A. and Mr. de Windt, and recognised by the latter, as stated in a letter to me, dated October 5th, 1892: "I can only tell you that I distinctly saw the face of an exile I am acquainted with, one Dombrowski, who is (or was) located at Tomsk, in Western Siberia. A message was also sent me" [from a Russian source; but Mr. de Windt explains the inexpediency of printing further particulars of this].

Miss A., on being afterwards shown a photograph of Dombrowski (not, however, mixed with other photographs, as it should have been), recognised it,

but said that the face as seen by her looked older and more worn ; in which Mr. de Windt concurred. It is not known whether Dombrowski is dead or alive.

On the same day Miss A., looking in the crystal, saw a small man with bright red hair and red face, a big stick, a long petticoat, and a fur cap, walking in front of a little hut. Mr. de Windt recognised this figure as resembling a hill-man set to watch an isolated prisoner. These stunted hill-men dye their hair with red clay.

A few days later (September 15th, 1892) a message was given by raps to Lady Brooke (the Ranée) : " Tell your brother (Mr. de Windt) that Shiskine is the man to help him." Neither Miss A. nor Mr. de Windt had ever consciously heard of Shiskine, but in the *St. James's Gazette* of September 24th they observed that M. Shiskine had received a certain high appointment, which explained the message. His appointment had also been mentioned in the *Times* of August 31st. It is, of course, possible that subliminal memory may externalise itself by raps, as by other means.

X. Among the habitual "controls," "Lord Chancellor Hardwicke" is almost the only one of sufficient historical mark to admit of our testing the truth of his statements. He gave a list of the surnames of sixteen of his friends ; and Miss Porter has been good enough to identify with probability most of these. Most of the names (though not all) appear in Harris's *Life of Lord Hardwicke* ; but in several cases there are reasons, not apparent in the *Life*, which make it probable that there was more intimacy than the incidental mention in the *Life* would imply. The case resembles the biographies of musicians written automatically by Mr. Stainton Moses (see *Spirit Identity*), which I hope to discuss on some later opportunity. The tone of boisterous humour which runs through these messages is unlike Miss A., but it must be remembered that in the "objectivation of types" so often obtained by hypnotic suggestion, a part quite alien to the hypnotised subject's character is often surprisingly well maintained.

XI. I will close this series for the present with a case which unites all the perplexities of these inquiries in a singularly tangled form. According as stress is laid on one or other of its aspects it may be regarded as one of the weakest or as one of the strongest items of our present evidence. Against it are the broad facts that the central story, if central story there be, never got itself told at all ; that there were numerous inaccuracies in the fragmentary stories which *were* told ; and that these included an impossible incident (the experience of John Black, as I shall call him, in the hospital) which points to an intentional mystification.

In favour of the case is, first of all, the fact that the communications do not depend upon any one person. They are shared by Miss A. with four other members of her family, and with the gentleman here called Mr. B., who is known to me, and whom I regard as an excellent witness, although for official reasons, which seem to me adequate, he wishes his name to be concealed.

Then again, we have the several mutually corroborative *forms* in which the message was conveyed, raps—sounds, visions, and writing. And finally, besides the inaccurate or incredible statements, and closely mixed up with these, we have a considerable number of facts accurately given, and these

facts of the oddest character. The impression left upon those who took part in these sittings was that they had here a fragmentary message, confused by the very conditions of its transmission, and its confusion worse confounded by some perverse or hostile agency ; but, nevertheless, reflecting certain true facts, known to one or more minds altogether distinct from those of the group who received the communications.

The account here quoted was written partly by Mr. B., and partly by members of the A. family who were present.

Re JOHN [BLACK]—GERTRUDE TRYON.

On Sunday, December 15th, 1889, while in church at morning service, Miss A. and B. saw among other things a form in the pulpit, dressed in something dark. We had some writing and were told that if we had a sitting that evening the man would try and show himself and tell us what he wanted, and that he had appeared in church to attract our notice. [Mr. B. tells me that he has many times seen, as he believes, quite independently, the same phantasmal figures which Miss A. has at the same time seen.—F. W. H. M.]

At 6.30 p.m. we sat round a strong square table in a darkened room, and loud raps began almost at once. Very shortly Miss A. saw the figure of a man *lying* on an ordinary hospital stretcher, and what appeared to be his double *standing* beside it. B. at the same time saw the standing figure.

By loud raps we were told that his name was J. [Black].

Raps then continued : "Water-lane, Brixton."

Question : "What number?" Answer : "Kendal Villas," and then "2."

Miss A. now saw sort of magic lantern pictures at the end of the room, of a station, lights, trains, &c.

A low indistinct voice now began to speak, but we could not make out what it said.

The raps now continued, and in spite of great interruptions by the voice, we made out the following :—

"Once dead through concussion of spine. St. Bartholomew's."

During this time the figure kept making signs of approval when his raps were understood, and a very cold air blew at intervals over our hands.

At about this time we noticed another figure between Miss A. and B., evidently the one who was speaking so indistinctly that we could only make "Yes" or "No" at times of what he said.

Question : "What can we do for you?"

Answer : "Ask Gertrude for the —" (we fancied "will").

Q. : "Does Gertrude live at Kendal Villas?" A. : "No."

Q. : "Do you know where she lives?" A. : "Ask Dr. Fyfe to help."

Q. : "Can you give us Gertrude's address?" A. : "No."

Q. : "Can you give us Dr. Fyfe's address?" A. : "Montpellier-square."

Q. : "Can you tell us the number?" A. : "Yes" (we counted and they stopped us at 4, and again at 2), "42."

This conversation was rendered very difficult in places by the voice interrupting, especially at the number of Dr. Fyfe's house. After this the raps became so weak that it was suggested that the figure should make a sign at the right letter, and this was carried out. A little difficulty was experienced at first, but finally with some occasional raps the conversation recommenced.

Q. : "What was Gertrude's other name?"

The voice said "Tryon" and the hand waved approval.

Q. : "When did you die?"

A. : "January 13th" (we gathered). "It was I that forgot Gertrude when I had the accident. Pray find Gertrude and give her money to live on."

Q. : "Where did you see Gertrude last?" A. : "Richmond."

We had here to stop, as it was late. After the sitting, on looking in a Blue-book we found the name and address: "Andrew Fyfe, M.D., M.R.C.S., 42, Montpellier-square, S.W." [Dr. Fyfe is, of course, in no way connected with this inquiry, into which he enters only as responding with prompt courtesy to questions about a patient.]

At the same table, about 9 p.m. on December 18th, raps again began, but there seemed a great many different influences, all wishing to communicate. The same figure appeared, and after a few minutes was able to rap and sign to us, but throughout there was great difficulty.

J. [Black] said: "I want to tell you all, help me." We tried then to make out on what line of railway he was travelling but could only make out the following words:—

Q. : "What was the accident?"

A. : "Train—collision—Victoria—station near."

Q. : "Where were you coming from?" A. : "Richmond."

Q. : "Did Dr. Fyfe help you then?"

A. : "No—Symons—in accident too."

Q. : "What do you want us to do for Gertrude?"

A. : "I owe her money. You must tell Dr. Fyfe to tell you that address, he knows it. I owed her money, and ask if I left a letter about Gertrude."

Q. : "How much did you owe her?" and we thought the answer was £5. He then said, "Write to Kendal Villas."

Q. : "What is the name of the person who lives there now." A.: "[Black.]"

Q. : "What relation to you?"

A. : "Wife"—we suggested widow—"No, wife."

The voice then got stronger a great deal and distinctly said:—

"It is all quite right. Look for accident January 1st or December 31st.

During this sitting we had a paper and pencil on the table, hoping for some direct writing, and we heard them moved about several times. We asked if there was anything on the paper and the voice said, "Ernest has written." We then struck a light and found written on the paper "J. [B]—." The voice before we finished said, "I am George Smith, and am trying to help: thank you. Going to write."

The guides wrote through Miss A. that George Smith was not a bad spirit, though not very high; that he had known J. [Black] and was anxious to help him. They also said they fancied Gertrude Tryon was drowned, and that she went to see Dr. Fyfe, either in November or December, 1888, by J. [Black's] wish; that she did not pay him, but gave him her address.

Wishing to follow this out, a telegram was sent to the London police asking for news of J. [Black] and the following answer was received:—

"Brixton. Head Constable. *December 19th, 1889.*

"John [Black] has been stopping at 2, Kendal Villas, Water-lane.

Married Miss [W.], occupier's daughter, Sunday last. Expected home next Sunday. Present address unknown."

On December 20th a file of the *Times* was obtained and the following account of a railway accident on December 31st, 1888, was found in it:—

Copied from the *Times* of January 1st, 1889:— . . . "The worst case was that of a Mr. [Black] of Brixton, who received such serious injuries that the doctor ordered his immediate removal to a hospital. He was accordingly placed in a police ambulance, and this was put in the guard's van of a train bound for the City. Mr. [Black] was taken to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he now lies." . . . The paragraph stated that the collision was between a L.C. and D. train in Loughborough Junction, going to Victoria, and a L. and S.W. train from Richmond. A Dr. Simonds attended the injured.

A telegram was then sent to the house surgeon, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the following reply received:—

"[Black] left 11th January."

On the evening of December 21st we received the following communication, partly by raps and partly by voice, the voice being stronger than before:—

"The real J. [Black] is here; this is me." "On January 7th, I was compelled to leave the body of J. [Black]." "J. [Black], my body was entered into by another." "I now am bodiless, do you not understand?" "I and he are one." "Two in one body." "I married Gertrude Tryon." "Not the other." "Yes, yes, help me—help me to make you understand."

Q.: "Were you married in church to Gertrude Tryon?"

A.: "No I promised to marry her in January." "I will, I must get help." We had said: "How can you make us understand what it is you want?" "I was insensible for seven days, and when I came to myself I saw just the other in my body; I could not get back, so have no power to fulfil my promise."

Q.: "Can't you influence him (J. [Black]), or get back into his body?"

A.: "I can when he is terribly excited. I implore you to help me."

Q.: "Why are you so anxious about Gertrude?"

A.: "She was an orphan, I used to meet her in Richmond Park. I promised to meet her on New Year's Day."

Q.: "Was she a lady?"

A.: "No, she was a 'dancer' at Liverpool; a 'dancer' is a worker in the mills."

Q.: "Can you tell us the name of the mill?"

A.: "Darlings, I think, cannot be sure."

Q.: "What was her address in Richmond?"

A.: "I think that she had lodgings in Castle-street."

Q.: "What number?" A.: "17."

Q.: "What is it you want us to do for her?"

A.: "You must, when you find her, place her somewhere; she has no friends, and it is my fault."

On the evening of December 22nd, at a sitting, by raps we were told: "I must give an address for George Smith. Gertrude Tryon was at Bold-street, Liverpool."

Q. : "Can you give us the number?" A. : "No."

Q. : "Will you tell us more?" A. : "Public-house—barmaid."

A letter received on December 26th says:—

"The principal street for shops is called Bold-street."

"42, Montpellier-square, S.W., December 26th, 1889.

"DEAR SIR,—I remember the name Tryon, I fancy, but I cannot see it in our books. I will have another look, however, through the day-book for November and December, 1888, to-morrow, and let you know. There are several names of [Black] in the book. Can you tell me where he lived?"

"Believe me, yours very truly, ANDREW FYFE."

December 28th, 1889.—During the afternoon E. saw in the crystal a small room, with only two chairs in it and torn curtains. In it was a young woman, with a dark dress and dark hair, sitting with her back towards the seer. She was sitting on one chair with her feet on the other, in a very dejected attitude, and the following letters came "G. H. T. o [Black]."

After dinner that evening, among other things, a mist suddenly seemed to us to form, and in it Miss A. saw the form of a young woman, dripping with water, with her hair, which was long and black, hanging over one shoulder, and the whole circle was startled by the most distressing moans. The voice said then: "I am Gertrude Tryon, and I want to talk to you. I threw myself into the water." Q. : "Was it in Richmond Park?" A. : "About Richmond."

Q. : "Was it in the river?" A. : "Yes."

Q. : "Can you give us the date?" A. : "September 17th, 1889."

The figure which answered these questions and still had kept moving, then faded away.

December 29th, 1889.—At a sitting after tea, towards the end of the time, when we had had several other messages and a few words of direct writing, raps, and voices, the spirit who gives the name of George Smith came. He said: "J. [Black] will try and come but I will not let him; I will make a form." Then we saw a kind of indistinct mask or face on the table which G. S. was evidently trying to make.

Q. : "Was what Gertrude Tryon told us last night correct?"

A. : "Yes, she is near, I can ask her questions."

Q. : "Are you dead?" A. : "Yes."

Q. : "What were you?" A. : "Ostler, Richmond."

Q. : "Whereabouts in Richmond?" A. : "Castle Hotel."

Q. : "Do you know if there was any account of Gertrude Tryon's suicide?"

A. : "There was a notice in the *Star*, I think."

Q. : "Can you tell us what date?"

A. : "Not certainly, but I think September 19th."

Q. : "Is it the woman whose body was found in the Thames?"

Here the answers became rather involved and we could not make out if he was speaking of Gertrude Tryon or someone else.

A. : "I can tell you who made (did?) it; she threw herself in and Long Jack pulled her out. He took her to Bermondsey and from there to Chelsea; from there I cannot trace her, and that was early in September."

Q. : "Was she alive, or did he take her body?"

A. : “(Alive) first ; the 17th September was killed.”

Here we had to leave off.

We had a sitting on the 31st, and after other things by the crystal and raps we got this message : “ Will you be careful of what G. Smith tells you ? he is not the best of spirits, he is one who knows more of G. Tryon than anyone else ; it will not be any use for him to try to deceive you for you will find him out ; we are afraid that Long Jack is only an alias of G. Smith.”

On sending to Richmond to know if there is a Castle Hotel, we learn that there was one, but it has been pulled down.

On January 1st got another answer from Dr. Fyfe.

“ DEAR SIR,—I have looked carefully through our books for November and December, but I cannot see the name of Gertrude Tryon ; I remember the name Tryon, but a number of patients used to come to me whose names were not mentioned in the books afterwards. If you could give me any further particulars of her and [Black], I should be only too glad to try and trace them.

“ *December 30th, 1889.*

“ ANDREW FYFE.”

On January 3rd, when C. and Miss A. had gone up to bed, Miss A. had loud raps in her room, and going to C.’s room tried to write but could get nothing, so sat at a little table. This message was rapped out : “ Willow-walk, Bermondsey.”

Q. : “ Who are you ? ” A. : “ Gertrude Tryon.”

Q. : “ What do you want to say ? ” A. : “ Baker met——.”

Here the raps broke off and we could get no more.

On January 4th, we heard from Liverpool :—

“ SIR,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your inquiry of the 2nd, and to inform you that there is no hotel or public-house in Bold-street, and our directory gives no manufacturer or mill-owner of the name of Darling. By the enclosed circular you will see we are precluded from making any inquiry.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

“ G. WILLIAMS

“(Chief Superintendent).”

On January 5th were told by “ writing ” : “ You must remember that in all communications there are those who try and tell you exactly opposite from what they ought, to try to stop you from finding out the truth ; keep everything, it will do more good in proving that you get false and true. There are two sides to every question, but you need not think that because all is not to be found out directly there is not the whole truth at the bottom.”

On January 7th, after tea, B. and Miss A. took a small table, placing the crystal on it. First was seen in the crystal a cart with two men and a woman (G. T.) in it ; the man who was sitting between the driver and the woman was clean shaven and had a dark blue cap on. They seemed to be driving through a square and along a narrow street, into what we were told (by raps) was Willow-walk. The cart stopped next door to an arch ; G. T. went in through the door. By raps we then got, “ Baker is shortly out of prison.” Then again in the crystal, G. T. appeared to be sitting at the back of a large yard full of carts, as if she were hiding. The entrance seemed to be through the archway. Then was rapped out twice, “ Stores in

Willow-walk." Then two tin canisters appeared in the crystal, held in someone's hand, and the words "Baker stole" were rapped out. Then we asked some questions and were answered by raps :—

Q. : "Who is Baker?"

A. : "Baker was in prison for stealing; he knows about G. Tryon."

Q. : "How does that help us?"

A. : "Ask anyone who lives in Willow-walk if they know about Baker who was found stealing."

Q. : "How long ago?" A. : "Not sure—about four months perhaps."

Q. : "But still how will that help us?"

A. : "It gives you a clue, but be very careful if you talk to Baker; he will not let you know he knows, he will hide it."

Q. : "Where was Baker?" (or, where did he steal).

A. : "Van depository in Willow-walk."

The following is a description of Gertrude Tryon as she appeared in the crystal, also at the sitting :—Very nice looking, pale complexion, dark eyes, black hair brushed off the face; very straight features; rather long face with scar over right eye; plain gold rings in her ears; hands long and thin; probably left-handed; in the crystal was seen with black stuff dress, black buttons, and steel centres.

(While we were writing out this description directly after we had got it, there were loud *thuds* on the screen behind us, and a noise as if someone were talking far away, heard by all in the room; also loud knocks the other side of the room.)

We have found that there is a Willow-walk, Bermondsey, and also there is a Pickford's van depository in Willow-walk.

On writing to Richmond for the first three weeks' local papers in September, all were sent up to the 15th or 16th by Edward King. On writing again for the 17th and 18th, the dates required, the following answer came back from Edward King: "We regret we have no papers for the dates you refer to." We sent for the *Star* evening paper of these dates, and they were also out of print.

We learn on inquiry that there are two Bakers among a gang of burglars; one is caught and the other still at large.

On January 30th, a letter came from a friend who was making inquiries as follows :—

"A detective came here yesterday with information from Scotland Yard about Baker; he was, it appears, employed on the railway and was convicted not long since of stealing a can of milk, somewhere in Willow-walk, Bermondsey, and is still undergoing his months' L. H. L."

On February 15th, 1890, Miss A. and B. again obtained the following answers to questions, sitting at a small table alone, and the communications coming from George Smith :—

"That man that knows about Gertrude Tryon. I want to find one called Sayce, he was with Gertrude; find him; he was with her in Liverpool."

Q. : "Where is he to be found?"

A. : "He was last in Pentonville-street, N.W."

Q. : "What had he to do with Gertrude?"

A. : "He worked with her."

Q. : "Where?"

A. : "Bar in pastry-cook's shop in Bold-street, Liverpool."

Q. : "What is the name of the shop?" A. (after much trouble): "Howard."

About 3 a.m. on the night of the 15th February, 1890, Miss A. was awakened by rapping and shaking at the end of her bed on the wood. She asked who was there?

A. : "George Smith. I will tell truth; listen. Helped Gertrude Tryon, kill ehild."

Q. : "Where?" A. : "Richmond." Q. : "How?" A. : "Chloroform."

Q. : "You are telling stories." A. : "Truth, I will confess." Q. : "When?"

A. : "August." Q. : "How did they kill it?" A. : "Chloroform."

Q. : "Where did they get it?" A. : "Won't tell." Q. : "You must tell me." A. : "Don't know." Q. : "Unless you tell me where you got it I shall believe you are telling lies." A. : "Sayee got it." Q. : "Where did he get it?" A. : "Crane-court." Q. : "Where is that?" A. : "City."

Q. : "Where in the City?" A. : "Quick-street, no, Fleet-street."

Q. : "What was the name of the shop?" A. : "Can't tell." Q. : "You must." A. : "Well, shall go to the other, he will help me."

On February 16th, 1890, B. and Miss A. sat at a small table, and got the following by raps:—

Q. : "What are we to do about this case?"

A. : "You must try to find the body—read servicee."

Q. : "Was G. T. drowned?"

A. : "No, she was murdered."

Q. : "Tell us what to do to find her."

A. : "She never came from Bermondsey."

Q. : "Who murdered her?"

A. : "George Smith."

Q. : "Will you tell us how and where G. S. died?"

A. : "Yes, though I will not pretend to know the name of the vessel; he went to Liverpool,—to the docks, and got a place on board ship. I only know he was brought before the highest tribunal—God's."

Q. : "Can you tell us where G. T.'s body is?"

A. : "Willow-walk—in a shed—stable—near vans; Pickford's yards."

On March 14th, 1890 (Friday), Miss A. went with a friend to Willow-walk, Bermondsey. After walking nearly down the whole street without finding anything like what she had seen, she suddenly recognised the grocery stores she had seen in the crystal. She could not find the archway, but went straight into the yard where Pickford keeps his vans and packs; and after going some way she found the archway she had seen close by the loading-place, and recognised it as having seen it in the crystal.

On March 25th, B., Miss A., and A. W. sat at a small table, and got the following communications by raps:—

"E. (Emily?) Joyce must be found."

Q. : "Where does she live?"

A. : "She lived last in Wimpole-street as caretaker."

Q. : "What number?" A. : "39."

Q. : "Who was she caretaker to?"

A. : "Charwoman also at the church."

Q. : "Where is the church?" A. : "Raine-street."

(Here George Smith came and interrupted and had to be sent away.)

Q. : "Where is Raine-street?"

A. : "E.C. Chap. Little Bethel."

They could then get no more, so left off. Miss A. sat down to write out what had been given, and the raps continued on the writing table. "You will find E. Joyce by applying to rooms, Whitecross Mission, Upper Nine."

On sending for a P.O. Directory it was found that there is a mission room at 199, Upper Whitecross-street.

On March 31st, 1890, B. and Miss A. sat at a small table and got the following by raps :—

"From Gertrude Tryon. I must find rest. Murder it was; my body lies there—the river—and I was made to put the child's body in the yard; it is there now. I can never get help."

Q. : "Then it is the child's body that is in Pickford's yard? How did you die?"

A. : "I was murdered."

Q. : "Where is your body?"

A. : "They cut my body up, they put the pieces wi——"

Here it broke off and no more raps could be obtained.

A few particulars may be added to this jumble of facts incomprehensibly accurate and fictions absurdly palpable.

1. John [Black's] accident and illness.

We owe to the kindness of the Surgical Registrar of St. Bartholomew's the following copy of an entry in Case-book of patients under Mr. Morratt Baker, 1888 :—

"December 31st, 1888. 3856. John [Black], æt. 21, safe-maker. He was in train which collided with another on day of admission. Insensible for some time, but not when he came in. Came in suffering from shock and pains in the head."

Mr. Black had moved from the address which was correctly given by raps in the case above cited; but Dr. A. T. Myers, after some difficulty, succeeded in interviewing him at his new home on February 25th, 1893, and reports thus as to the effects of the accident.

"He looked about 25 or 26 years of age. The eyeballs were slightly prominent, the pupils regular, equal, rather smaller than normal. He said he had never quite got over the accident. Since then he had been somewhat an altered man. He had had to do lighter work than that of a safe-maker, which was his business at the time of the accident. He had headaches at times and his sight was not so clear as before the accident. He remembered very little of the accident, or of the days he spent in hospital. He said in reply to my questions that he did not suffer from walking or talking in his sleep. He was very little inclined to be communicative, and in fact, rather suspicious as to the reasons of my visit."

It thus appears that [Black's] case was somewhat more severe than the first account indicated, and that there was a period of unconsciousness.

2. Upper Whitecross-street. Mr. G. A. Smith reports (May 28th, 1890) :—
"I went to this street, which has recently been renumbered, and what was

199 is now 98 and 99. I find that up to April in this year a mission was carried on at 199, but after that month it moved to large premises built on purpose in Errol-street. The missionary in Errol-street assured me that no Mrs. Joyce had ever been connected with them in any way."

3. Crane-court. No chemist's shop in Crane-court, Fleet-street.

4. Raine-street. This street is now *E.C.*, but *E.* runs from Old Gravel-lane, Wapping. A church in Old Gravel-lane, a few yards before one gets to Raine-street.

It is not easy to frame a hypothesis which will account for such a case as this, with its odd fragments of knowledge or vision, and the dream-like vagueness and shadowiness of the story which connects them. It is like a collective dream,—for be it remembered that the perception here is shared by several persons,—working upon a foundation of facts, some of which may perhaps be referred to the latent memory of some of the persons concerned. At any rate the reader can hardly be too often reminded that this hypothesis of subliminal memory must be kept closely in view in considering all retrocognitive messages.

I proceed to quote a series of messages which afford an interesting field for the discussion of that hypothesis. The automatist, who must here be called Mrs. R., is a lady well known to me for some years, and to whom I was first introduced by Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood (the cousin and brother-in-law of Charles Darwin, and himself a well-known *savant*), who has here reported certain messages obtained in his presence, and partly through his co-operation. Mrs. R., and her sister Mrs. V., now deceased, were for many years among Mr. Wedgwood's most valued friends. There can be no more question in my mind as to Mrs. R.'s scrupulous good faith than as to that of Mr. Wedgwood himself in endeavouring to recall the utmost that they had ever known of the personages who professed to be writing through the help of the two human hands. The question is one of subliminal memory; and as to this it may be remarked that Mr. Wedgwood's reading was wide,—but that he never, so far as I know, showed any automatic gift, nor obtained writing except with one of these two ladies. On the other hand, Mrs. R.'s reading has not been wide in range; and both Mrs. R. and Mrs. V. had many psychical experiences,—most of them of a private nature,¹—in which Mr. Wedgwood was not concerned. The automatic impulse seems to have come from *them*; but it may be that Mr. Wedgwood's presence modified the character of the messages obtained. I give first a general account by Mr. Wedgwood of the mode of experiment.

My experience in planchette-writing has been mainly acquired in sitting with two sisters, whom I will call Mrs. R. and Mrs. V., of whom the younger, Mrs. V., has far the stronger influence in producing the writing.

¹ See, however, *S.P.R. Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 293, for two experiences of Mrs. V.'s.

With her the board in general begins to move much sooner and in a more vivacious way than with her elder sister. When the two sit together the board moves rapidly along, like a person writing as fast as he can drive, while with me and one of the sisters the action is often feeble and labouring. But neither of the sisters can obtain anything whatever when they sit by themselves. The board remains absolutely motionless under the hands of the solitary operator.

When trying for writing we sit opposite each other at a small table, I with my right hand, my partner with her left on the planchette, while the writing produced is upright to me, and upside down to my partner, from whom, however, the effective influence seems to proceed. The precise nature of that influence is not very easy to understand, and is, I think, very commonly misapprehended. Writing by planchette is often called "automatic," and the pencil is conceived as being worked by the muscular action of the sitters, under the guidance of a blind impulse, as little understood by them as the finished result is foreseen by a pair of birds instinctively engaged in the construction of their first nest. But this is directly opposed to the experience of myself and my partners. When I am sitting at planchette with one of them, I *know* that I am merely following the movement of the board with my hand, and not in any way guiding it, my only difficulty being to avoid interfering with it. It seems to me exactly as if my partner, in whom I have perfect confidence, was purposely moving the board and I allowing my hand to follow her action, interfering with it as little as possible. And she gives to me an exactly corresponding account of her own share in the operation. Thus we give to the outside world our united testimony of a fact which, as far as each of us is concerned, lies within our own direct knowledge, viz., that the writing traced out by the pencil is not produced by the muscular exertion of either of us.

We have, then, in planchette-writing, if our account is to be believed, the manifestation of an agency invisible to us, yet capable of moving the bodily pencil either in mere scribbling or in such a way as to fix an intelligent message on the paper.

The first case which I shall give is in the words of Mr. Wedgwood, in the *Journal* for December, 1889.

M. Aut. 673.

Whenever I have an opportunity, perhaps once or twice a year, I sit at planchette-writing with my friend, whom I will call Mrs. R., a most observant witness in whom I have entire confidence. We sit opposite each other at a small table, each resting the fingers of one hand lightly upon the board, and when the board begins to move, allow our hand to follow the movement freely without interfering with it in any way.

The following account of our last sitting, on June 26th, is from the journal of Mrs. R., written the same evening, transcribing the part of planchette from the actual writing, and filling in our share of the investigation from immediate memory.

Extract from journal of Wednesday, June 26th, 1889, and copy of planchette-writing with Mr. Wedgwood:—

"A spirit is here to-day who we think will be able to write through the medium. Hold very steady, and he will try first to draw."

We turned the page and a sketch was made, rudely enough of course, but with much apparent care.¹

“Very sorry can’t do better. Was meant for test. Must write for you instead.—J. G.”

We do not fully understand the first drawing, taking it for two arms and hands clasped, one coming down from above. Mr. Wedgwood asked the spirit of J. G. to try again, which he did.

Below the drawing he wrote: “Now look.” We did, and this time comprehended the arm and sword.

“Now I will write for you if you like.”

Mr. W. : “What did the drawing represent?”

“Something that was given me.”

I said: “Are you a man or a woman?”

“Man. John G.”

Mr. W. : “How was it given to you?”

“On paper and other things. . . . My head is bad from the old wound I got there when I try to write through mediums.”

Mr. W. : “We don’t know J. G. Have you anything to do with us?”

“No connection.”

Mr. W. said he knew a J. Giffard, and wondered if that was the name.

“Not Giffard. Gurwood.”

Mr. W. suggested that he had been killed in storming some fort.

“I killed myself on Christmas Day, years ago. I wish I had died fighting.”

“Were you a soldier?”

“I was in the army.”

“Can you say what rank?”

“No. . . . It was the pen did for me, and not the sword.”

The word *pen* was imperfectly written, and I thought it was meant for *fall*. I asked if this was right?

“No.”

Mr. W. : “Is the word *pen*?”

“Yes; pen did for me.”

We suggested that he was an author who had failed, or had been maligned.

“I did not fail. I was not slandered. Too much for me after . . . pen was too much for me after the wound.”

“Where were you wounded, and when did you die?”

“Peninsula to first question.”

We were not sure about the word *Peninsula*, and asked him to repeat.

“I was wounded in the head in Peninsula. It will be forty-four years next Christmas Day since I killed myself. Oh, my head. . . . I killed myself. John Gurwood.”

“Where did you die?”

¹ These sketches were sent with the account, but are too large to be reproduced here. For evidential purposes, Mr. Wedgwood’s sketch, made before he had ascertained what Colonel Gurwood’s crest was, and which is given below, is sufficient.—ED. *Journal*.

“I had my wound in 1810. I cannot tell you more about myself. The drawing was a test.”

We asked if the device was intended for his crest.

“I had it seal.”

“Had it anything to do with your wound?” (I cannot remember the exact form of this question.)

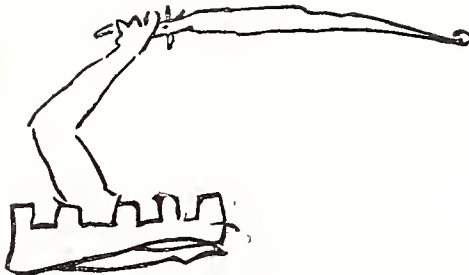
“It came from that and was given me. Power fails to explain. Remember my name. Stop now.”

The only person besides ourselves present at the sitting was Miss H., an aunt of Mrs. R.'s, and none of us knew anything of Colonel Gurwood beyond the fact of his having edited the despatches of the Duke of Wellington, not even that his name was John. It is possible that I might have heard of his suicide at the time that it occurred, without its making any impression on me, but I am sure I did not read such an obituary notice as would be published in the *Times*, and when my attention was directed to his editorial work 18 or 20 years afterwards I did not know whether he was alive or dead, and was entirely ignorant of his military career. I never read any history of the Peninsular War, and am perfectly certain that I never had an opportunity of seeing Gurwood's crest, or knowing anything about it.—H.W.

The following is the account Mr. Wedgwood wrote at the first séance at the time:—

June 26th, 1882.

Had a sitting at planchette with Mrs. R. this morning. Planchette said there was a spirit there who thought he could draw if we wished it. We said we should be glad if he would try. Accordingly P. made a rude attempt at a hand and arm proceeding from an embattled wall and holding a sword. A second attempt made the subject clearer. P. said it was meant for a test. The spirit signed it “J. G.,” no connection of any of ours, he said. We gradually elicited that his name was John Gurwood, who was wounded in the Peninsula—in 1810, and killed himself on Christmas Day, 1845. It was not the wound, but the pen that did it.



Something like that.

July 5th, 1889.

I made the foregoing memorandum the same day, having very little expectation that there would be any verification.

H. WEDGWOOD.

FURTHER EXTRACTS FROM MRS. R.'S JOURNAL.

Friday, September 27th.

“Mr. Wedgwood came, and we had two sittings in the afternoon and even.

ing. I think the same spirit wrote throughout, beginning without signature ; but when we asked the name, writing (after some struggle and illegibility) ‘John Gurwood.’

“The effort was at first incoherent, but developed into the following sentences :—

“ ‘Sword—when I broke in, on the table with plan of fortress—belonged to my prisoner ; I will tell you his name to-night. It was on the table when I broke in. He did not expect me ; I took him unawares. He was in his room, looking at a plan, and the sword was on the table. Will try and let you know how I took the sword to-night.’

“In the evening after dinner.

“ ‘I fought my way in. His name was Banier’ (three times repeated). ‘The sword was lying on the table by a written scheme of defence. Oh, my head. Banier had a plan written out for the defence of the fortress. It was lying on the table, and his sword was by it.’

“To a question :—

“ ‘Yes ; surprised him.’

“Mr. Wedgwood thinks the name of the Governor of the fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo was Banier ; but he says this would not be a test, as *he knew it*. He is going to see if he can find anything in Napier’s *Peninsular War* corroborative of what is said about the sword.

“ ‘Look. I have tried to tell you what you can verify.’ ”

Mr. Wedgwood reports his verification as follows :—

“When I came to verify the message of planchette I speedily found that Colonel Gurwood, the editor of the Duke’s despatches, led the forlorn hope at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, in 1812 [note error in date], ‘and received a wound in the skull from a musket ball which affected him for the remainder of his life.’—*Annual Register*, 1845. In recognition of the bravery shown on that occasion he received a grant of arms in 1812, registered in the College of Arms as having been passed ‘upon the narrative that he (Captain G.) had led the forlorn hope at Ciudad Rodrigo, and that, after the storming of the fortress, the Earl of Wellington presented him with the sword of the Governor, who had been taken prisoner by Captain Gurwood.’¹

“The services thus specified were symbolised in the crest, ‘Out of a mural coronet, a castle ruined in the centre, and therefrom an arm in armour embowed, holding a seimitar.’²

“It is plainly this crest that is aimed at by planchette in his very rude design, which represents the arm and sword as issuing from the mural coronet alone, omitting the ruined castle as too complex a subject for the powers of the designer. The drawing was given merely as a test, and if it pointed unmistakably to the Gurwood crest it would fulfil its purpose.

“In accordance with the assertion of planchette, Colonel Gurwood killed himself on Christmas Day, 1845, and the *Annual Register* of that year, after narrating the suicide, continues : ‘It is thought that this laborious undertaking (the editing the despatches) produced a relaxation of the nervous system and consequent depression of spirits. In a fit of despondency

¹ Information received from the College of Arms, July 15th, 1889.

² *The Book of Family Crests*, Washbourne, 1856.

the unfortunate gentleman terminated his life.' Compare planchette :
'—Pen was too much for me after the wound.' "

I continue the quotation from Mrs. R.'s journal :—

Mr. W. : "Can you tell me where else to look ?"

"I have no power to direct you. We have exhausted, but I wished to tell you about poor Quentain . . . to tell you a secret of poor Quintain's, which is on my mind. It might once have made a difference ; but not now."

We had a difficulty in reading the name. Mr. W. thought it Quinlon, and asked if this was right ?

"Not quite : a t. . . . Quentain. Not quite [right], but nearer : try again to-morrow."

Mr. W. : "Is power exhausted now, and shall we stop ?"

"Yes."

Saturday, September 28th.

Mr. Wedgwood and I sat again this morning. First came some preliminary scribbling and circling, and then the right spelling of the name at which John Gurwood was trying last night.

"Quentin. I knew him, and a secret of his that might have made a difference, but I was pledged."

Mr. W. : "Tell us what the secret was ?"

"I should like to try."

Mr. W. : "What difference would it have made to you ?"

"Might have done to him : on my mind."

Then followed a word here and there among much that was illegible. I copy what we succeeded in reading. "— in the army — scrape — the sake of another — very foolish, but nothing — wrong — for verdict — was unfortunately — what there was let me go on, I am trying — say that, but quite mistaken — case in all its — his commission — of second (company ?) private soldier going out gave to his Colonel very strong feeling about it all."

The above filled four pages. We pondered over it, but could not make out any more. When planchette was put back, the following was volunteered :—

"Tell James I remember him quite well. He will recollect about Quentin's trial."

Mr. Wedgwood's friend, Captain James, of course, was meant. Mr. W. said he would write and ask him ; but did the writer mean that Captain James knew the secret ?

"No one knew it." (Two lines illegible.) "James will tell you, I have not power. He was tried by court martial."

Mr. W. : "This Quentin was in the army then ?"

"Yes. —rest of them would have—but—I cannot write plainly in answer, though I try. I want^d to tell you about poor Quentin, but have not power without further practice. I knew a secret of his at the time of his scrape—conduct—offices—. The—court martial—I did not."

Mr. Wedgwood here suggested we should stop for a time, to see if rest would increase the power. We sat again for a few minutes before lunch, directly after which he left by train ; but the control was then different, and the few words written did not appear to have any special interest or meaning.

Mr. Wedgwood writes on October 31st, 1889 :—

I find that there was a famous court martial on Colonel Quentin in October, 1814, in consequence of a round robin signed by 24 of his officers. I had a vague recollection of the name of Colonel Q. as a friend of George IV., and something must have turned up about the court martial in the early twenties when the 10th Hussars became notorious, as I found I had heard of the round robin. The accusation, too, was of a want of proper directions to his subordinates in action, so no reticence of anybody could have made any difference, and he was himself the Colonel of the regiment.

With respect to the capture of Banier, the only chance of verification would be from the family, and Miss Gurwood has not answered my letter.

[Captain James writes to me from 10, Hereford-road, June 29th, 1891 :—
“About the year 1830 my regiment was quartered at Portsmouth, and Colonel Gurwood was then on the staff of the garrison there. The Colonel was an honorary member of our mess, and dined with us nearly every day. I remember I used to be very fond of sitting next to him, and conversing with him about the various events that occurred during the Peninsular War. Of course the Quentin trial must have taken place when I was a mere child, as I was born in 1804.”—F.W.H.M.]

Mr. Wedgwood gives in the *Journal* for November, 1890, a case of a somewhat similar character.

M. Aut. 676.

Extract from Mrs. R.'s Journal.

October 10th, at —, Mr. Wedgwood and I sitting. The board moved after a short pause and one preliminary circling.

“David—David—David—dead 143 years.”

The butler at this moment announced lunch, and Mr. Wedgwood said to the spirit, “Will you go on for us afterwards, as we must break off now?”

“I will try.”

During lunch Mr. Wedgwood was reckoning up the date indicated as 1747, and conjecturing that the control was perhaps David Hume, who he thought had died about then. On our beginning again to sit, the following was volunteered :—

“I am not Hume. I have come with [Mrs. V.]. I was attracted to her during her life in America. My work was in that land, and my earthly toil was cut short early, as hers has been. I died at thirty years old. I toiled five years, carrying forward the lamp of God's truth as I knew it.”

Mr. Wedgwood remarked that he must have been a missionary.

“Yes, in Susquehannah and other places.”

“Can you give any name besides David?”

“David Bra—David Bra—David Brain—David Braine—David Brain.”

Mr. W. : “Do you mean that your name is Braine?”

“Very nearly right.”

Mr. W. : “Try again.”

“David Braine. Not quite all the name ; right so far as it goes . . .
I was born in 1717.”

Mr. W. : “Were you a native of America?”

“(Illegible) My native land. The Indians knew many things. They heard me, and my work prospered. In some things they were wise.”

Mr. W. : "Are you an American?"

"America I hold to be my country as we consider things. I worked at ——" (sentence ends with a line of D.'s).

Here Mr. Wedgwood felt tired, and Miss Hughes proposed that she and I should go for a walk while he rested. When we came in Mr. Wedgwood said he thought it had come into his head who our control was. He had some recollection that in the 18th century a man named David Brainard was missionary to the North American Indians. We sat again, and the following was written :—

"I am glad you know me. I had not power to complete name or give more details. I knew that secret of the district. It was guarded by the Indians, and was made known to two independent circles. Neither of them succeeded, but the day will come that will uncover the gold."

It was suggested that this meant Heavenly truth.

"I spoke of earthly gold."

Mr. Wedgwood said the writing was so faint he thought power was failing.

"Yes, nearly gone. I wrote during my five years of work. It kept my heart alive."

Mr. Wedgwood writes :—

"I could not think at first where I had ever heard of Brainard, but I learn from my daughter in London that my sister-in-law, who lived with me 40 or 50 years ago, was a great admirer of Brainard, and seemed to have an account of his life, but I am quite certain that I never opened the book and knew nothing of the dates, which are all correct, as well as his having been a missionary to the Susquehannahs."

In another letter Mr. Wedgwood writes :—

"I see the name is Brainerd, not ard, as I had supposed, and this removes a difficulty in the writing. Planchette had written Braine, and said that was right as far as it went, which it would not have been if the name had been Brainard. My daughter has sent me extracts from his life, stating that he was born in 1718, and not 1717 as planchette wrote. But Mrs. R.'s *Biographical Dictionary* says that he died in 1747, aged 30."

[Mrs. R. writes to me that she had no knowledge whatever of David Brainerd before this incident.—F. W. H. M.]

Extract from *Biographical Dictionary* sent by Mr. Wedgwood :—

Brainerd, David. A celebrated American missionary, who signalled himself by his successful endeavours to convert the Indians on the Susquehanna, Delaware, etc. Died, aged 30, 1747. Mr. Wedgwood adds :—

It is perhaps noteworthy in connection with the last sentence of the planchette-writing that in the life of Brainerd by Jonathan Edwards extracts given from his journal show that he wrote a good deal, *e.g.*, "Feb. 3, 1744. Could not but write as well as meditate," &c. "Feb. 15, 1745. Was engaged in writing almost all the day." He invariably speaks of comfort in connection with writing.

Finally, a few months before Mr. Wedgwood's death, I received from him the following letter.

M. Aut. 67.

"94, Gower-street, W.C., March 26th, 1891.

"You would perhaps like to see the enclosed, which is our last planchette-

writing with Mrs. R., who came here for a couple of days. It is interesting to me on account of the pictures, which were done in such a very different way from that in which a person would have set about drawing them. I feel quite sure that Mrs. R. knew nothing of the distinctive crime of petty treason with its appropriate punishment of burning, so that the story could not have been suggested by anything in her mind, and I certainly had never heard of Alice Grimbold and her misfortunes. I am afraid there is no chance of verifying the story.

H. WEDGWOOD."

March 22.

The message begins with serawls, developing into a rude drawing of a woman in mediæval cap at the stake :—

A. G. 1605.

A. G. condemned March, 1605. Condemned to the fear and the fire. A. G. A. Grimbold. [For what crime?] Accomplice. [What crime?] Robbery and murder. [Accomplice with whom?] Harrison and Bradshaw. I was old Mrs. Clarke's servant. No; Harrison was my lover; the fire should have been for him. I never meant them to kill her. [Who was murdered?] Mrs. Clarke. She was tight-fisted and fond of money, but I did not mean her any harm. Harrison promised to marry me if I helped him to the money. Bradshaw was hung. [What became of Harrison?] He got off; he had powerful friends. Adam Bonus knew it. Harrison began it all. He came to the inn the November before, and I told him about the money. [Mrs. C. kept money in the house?] In a coffer in her bedroom. [Were you tried in London?] No; wait and I'll tell you. Leicester. I died a thousand times with the fear before it came to the fire. Which was the most real—the dreams or the end? It was long since; but there is a righteous Judge. I was afraid to agony, but I did not repent. I loved the evil and it elave to me. I repent now, and this is part of the work I am given to atone. Alice Grimbold servant at the inn. [Name of your judge?] I said have mercy, but they would not hear. No power for name, but I will write again to morrow.

March 23rd. (Another handwriting.) Before the Grimbold control there is a message to be given you from one risked, so to call him. I have now proved these things and they are true. Put aside shadows and see with open eyes as a true man, and you will do noble work. [Then in the former hand.] A. Grimbold, 1605. [Miss H. exclaimed, "Oh! not that woman! we want to know who sends the messages, and to whom."] [A. G.'s handwriting continues.] This is my allotment. Cannot write name of judge, but the inn was the Blue Boar. Crook-backed Richard once slept there. Ask me; I will tell what I can. [Name of your counsel?] No. Yes, it is easier to answer questions, but I will try. When they got in they bound me so that I might be found tied. They strangled Mistress Clarke in her bedroom. I doubt if they would have hurt her, but she woke. She had three chests, but in one there was only linen. Adam Bonus knew about it. They went to him. (Serawls.)

Mr. Wedgwood inserted inquiries in *Notes and Queries*, and in *Light*, and a correspondent directed him to the following passage from Thompson's *History of Leicester*.

EXTRACT FROM JAMES THOMPSON'S *History of Leicester*, pp. 327-330.

1ST. EDITION, 1849.

“An event occurred in the month of March, 1605, which has acquired more than ordinary importance: we refer to the murder of Mrs. Clarke, landlady of the Blue Boar Inn, by her servants. Its details are contained in the depositions taken before the magistrates at this time, and appear to have been these:—About six weeks after Michaelmas, in 1604, a man named Harrison, who had fled from Staffordshire in consequence of having done bodily injury to a person named Philip, came to Leicester; the Blue Boar being the first inn he approached, he resolved to lodge there, and slept there three nights. During his stay he ‘fell into speech with a maid in the house, in the way of marriage, whereupon she told him her mistress had great store of money in her house, and bade him come again some night, and bring a secret friend with him whom she might trust, and there would be means made to get some of the money.’ Accordingly, Harrison ‘went his way,’ and at Lichfield met with Adam Bonus, to whom he communicated the nefarious project, and Bonus further made one Edward Bradshaw acquainted therewith.

“Harrison and Bradshaw came to Leicester together on the 1st February, 1605, and that night lodged at John Webster’s house; on Saturday, 2nd February, they removed with their horses to the Blue Boar, where they slept; and on Sunday they remained together at the inn all day.

“In the evening, about 10 o’clock, one of the female servants (Alice Grimbold, a native of Peckleton) went with her companion with some provender for the horses, to the stable, whither they were followed by the men. Alice Grimbold then went to the well, to fetch some water for the horses, and, on returning to the stable with it, found her fellow-servant bound therein; when Harrison immediately laid hands on her, and secured her also. The men afterwards took some drink, and wanted the servants to partake of it, but they refused. They then unbound Grimbold (as she stated) and took her into the house with them, and obtained her mistress’s keys from her, Bradshaw having bound Mrs. Clarke while Harrison secured the servants in the stable. The latter in his examination confessed that he had done this, and added that the ‘big maid’ (meaning Grimbold) after she was unbound went with them, apparently on compulsion, into her mistress’s parlour, where they opened three coffers—one containing linen, the second being full of writings, and the third having six or seven bags of gold and silver therein. The robbers took most of the money (amounting, as was variously estimated by them, to not less than £250—more probably £500), but left some upon the bedstead for their female accomplice. Bradshaw then murdered Mrs. Clarke, fastened Grimbold in the chimney, where (she said) they laid her, ‘but easily.’ He and his accomplice next went to the stables, and brought out their horses, and lastly, having fastened the bags about the pommels of their saddles, they rode away. Grimbold would gladly (according to her own confession) have gone away with them, but they swore by ‘God’s wounds’ they would hang her, and themselves, too, if she attempted to do so. Harrison had previously given her a linen cloth, containing money and other things, promising to come for it in ten days, and take her away with him at the same time. Her legs

not being firmly bound, Grimbold released herself from her position, and went into the buttery to see how her mistress did, but could not get out again : so she lay there until the morning, when John Walter's man came into the house to light a candle, and completely unbound her. The deed was discovered the day after its execution ; for Bonus (who had refused to take a part in the robbery) being then in the town, was on Monday, February 4th, apprehended and examined before the justices and the coroners. He said he could not have revealed what he knew, had it not been that the murder had been committed ; and he affirmed that he had positively told Bradshaw, on the Sunday, he would take no part in the action. Harrison was examined on the 20th February before the magistrates. He denied having aided in the murder of Mrs. Clarke, and said she was living when he left the house. But for the maid, he asserted, he should not have known what money Mrs. Clarke had in her possession. He had had only about £17 as his share of the booty, which Sir Simon Weston had then in his custody, while the remainder was hidden in a bank in Pool Park, Warwickshire. Bradshaw was not examined until six days after Harrison. He confirmed his accomplice's account of the concealment of the money in Pool Park, Tamworth. It seems he had succeeded by means of his share of the plunder in obtaining bail, and his release from Stafford Gaol (where he and Harrison were at first confined) through the intervention of Lord Stafford, who also proceeded to London to procure his pardon. But the latter attempt was frustrated by the intercession of the Leicester magistrates with Sir John Popham, the Lord Chief Justice, on February 17th. They informed his lordship on that date of the circumstances of the case, and added that Bradshaw might be expected to go to Lord Stafford's lodgings in London. The murderer was consequently apprehended and brought to Leicester. The witnesses bound over to appear against the accused were Thomas Davy and Richard Huut, bakers ; Alexander Simpson and William Robinson, labourers. Harrison was specially examined relative to ten questions, by order of the judge, while he was in gaol and under sentence of death, on March 22nd, 1605. In reply, he stated that he knew not what was given to Lord Stafford, to Cotty, or the gaoler, to procure bail for Bradshaw, but it was reported in Stafford that Cotty had had £40 ; that one Reynish, and George Ewllins, servant to Lord Stafford, and Jane Holmes, wife to John Holmes, servant of Sir Walter Asten, Knight, did assure him (Harrison) that Cotty's wife said to Lord Stafford, 'Let Bradshaw be bailed, and let Harrison be hanged' ; that Mr. Humphrey Chatterton's wife, of Bowdsworth Park, interceded with Lord Stafford to procure bail for Bradshaw, and had money for her pains ; that John Bratt, who repaired to him at Stafford Gaol, went to see him from motives of friendship—for they had been fellow-servants with Sir John Bowes, Knight ; and that no persons had procured him instruments to enable him to break out of Stafford Gaol. The other questions related to matters which had been previously given in evidence, and were not of importance. The trial took place on March 25th, 1606 [1605 ?], probably in the present Town Hall—before Sir Peter Warburton, Knight, when Bradshaw was sentenced to be hanged, and Alice Grimbold to be burned."

From *Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, Vol. IV., August, 1857, it appears

that one source of this story is the commonplace book of Sir Roger Twisden, August, 1653. He had seen a Mrs. Cumber, who had herself seen Alice burnt, some 40 years before. He mentions a legend which had grown up by that time of the way in which Mrs. Clarke became possessed of the treasure for which she was murdered;—namely, that it had been found on the bedstead on which Richard III. slept before the battle of Bosworth, and which after his death was left at the Blue Boar. It will be observed that the automatic script does not adopt this legend, but states incidentally that Richard once slept there. On this point Mr. R. E. Smith, of 41, Princess-street, Leicester, writes to Mr. Wedgwood, as follows.—

“I give at foot a copy of the inscription you inquire about. It is on a mural tablet, adjacent to the Bow Bridge, and it was placed there some 30 or 35 years ago by the owner of the property.

“Tradition points to the locality as the spot where the remains of Richard III. were thrown after having been brought from the field of battle.

“However that may be, there can be no doubt that he slept at the ‘Blue Boar’ Inn, in the Southgate-street, the night before the battle. That was the house kept by Mrs. Clarke. It was pulled down about 50 years ago.”

Near this spot lie the remains of
Richard III.,
The last of the Plantagenets.
1485.

As to the possible knowledge possessed by either automatist of the above story, Mr. Wedgwood writes, May 19th, 1891:—

94, Gower-street, *May 16th*, 1891.

Mrs. R. says: “One or two points remain unconfirmed, such as the way in which Mrs. Clarke was put to death (A. G. says she was strangled), also there having been a local tradition that ‘Crook-backed Richard’ slept at the Blue Boar; but I suppose Mr. Smith could not help us to any further verification? I am rather impressed by the fact that A. G. communicated with us in March (the 22nd and 23rd), so near the anniversary of her trial and condemnation, and probably also that of her awful death. I wonder whether the fact of my always having had an intense horror and dread of a death by burning, and of this manner of execution, could supply any link for the control?” Mrs. R. proceeds: “The effect of the influence on me was strong and peculiar. I should recognise its return even apart from anything written. . . . I have never been in Leicester or the neighbourhood in my life, nor have I ever seen a copy of Thompson’s History. I did not know of the existence of the book till mentioned by Mr. Smith, and I have never consciously been under a roof with it in my life, except, as you suggest, at the British Museum, and my last visit *there* was at 12 years old! I have no friends or acquaintances living in Leicester.”—Yours very truly,

H. WEDGWOOD.

As regards himself, he writes, May 21st, 1891: “I am quite certain that I never saw Thompson’s *History of Leicester*, nor ever heard anything about the incident.” Mrs. R. also in a letter to me, May 20th, 1891, repeats the statements above quoted from her by Mr.

Wedgwood and adds: "I cannot now remember any communication through our circle for which so early a date was given as that of Alice Grimbold."

A story like this of Alice Grimbold's may probably enough be quoted in some books more easily accessible than the *History of Leicester*. We have made some search without finding it thus quoted, but should be glad to hear if it is found in any common work.

I have quoted these three cases in succession, so that the reader may see the kind of growing difficulty which the theory of forgotten memories here involves. It will be seen that with each automatist of good faith the question may with patience be capable of definite solution. Were Mrs. R. willing and able—which at present she is not—to find some other partner with whom she can write, now that Mr. Wedgwood and her sister have been removed by death, and to record a long series of communications, we might gradually obtain a conviction that the matters therein narrated either could or could not all of them have been previously seen and forgotten. Similar records kept by many other automatists might help to some general conclusion as to the source from which these retrocognitive facts come, if in any cases forgotten memory fails to explain them. One of the most important data for such a decision consists in the account,—absolutely trustworthy, as I believe,—given by Mr. Stainton Moses in *Spirit Identity*, (and soon, we hope, to be reproduced in these *Proceedings*), of a series of messages from musical composers, giving the principal dates of their respective lives, as they may be found in any Biographical Dictionary, with hardly anything more. Now were such messages offered to us as coming through an alleged automatist not of known probity or who could bring no proof of other messages *not* capable of being got up beforehand, we should naturally set them aside. But with Mr. Moses, as with Mrs. R. above,—and in a still higher degree,—there was so considerable an independent history of provably supernormal phenomena that we are bound to consider these musical biographies in their place as a part of that series. Their peculiar nature excited the surprise of Mr. Moses and his friends, who were informed by the "guides" that these were in fact messages from the spirits in question, but that these spirits had refreshed their memory of their earth-lives by consulting printed sources of information. It is obvious that this is to drop the supposed proof of identity altogether. If any given spirit can consult his own printed life, so also presumably can other spirits; and so perhaps can the still incarnated spirit of the automatist himself. This was of course felt by Mr. Moses, who told me that subjectively also the feeling which accompanied these biographical writings was very different from that which came when, as he held, some spirit was entering with him into real and direct communication.

The truest analogy to messages like these from a remote past lies, as it seems to me, in the crystal-visions of scenes in a remote past, of which examples were given in my chapter on "Sensory Automatism." We are face to face with the problem of Retrocognition, closer akin perhaps to the still stranger problem of Precognition than to the question of personal intercourse with recently departed friends on which we are now dwelling. That vaster question of a Universal Memory, a Cosmorama of things past, present, and to come, must be left for later discussion.

Before leaving this series of cases I think it only fair to print a *fourth* experiment with the same operators, but apparently involving a "physical" or "telekinetic phenomenon," as well as either clairvoyance or spirit agency. Mr. Wedgwood is again the narrator. The account was printed in the *Journal* for February, 1890.

M. Cl. Aut. 674.

On the 4th December last I had a sitting with Mrs. R. and her sister, which afforded evidence not less decisive of the intervention of an intelligence cognisant of matters of which we had no intimation.

Not long after my arrival on a visit to Mrs. R., mention was made of a mysterious breakage of a thick washhand-basin which had taken place on the previous Sunday, closely resembling other breakages which had occurred in the house from time to time in a like unaccountable manner. On one occasion a water bottle was *seen* to explode on the dressing-table when no one was near it. On the Sunday in question Mr. R. and his sister-in-law, Mrs. V., were in the breakfast-room directly under Mrs. R.'s bedroom, Mrs. R. with the children in the drawing-room, and the servants at supper in the kitchen, when Mr. R. and Mrs. V. were startled by a loud crash in the room above them. Mrs. V. immediately ran in to her sister in the drawing-room and they went together upstairs to see what had happened. They found the thick washhand-basin in fragments on the floor; the larger pieces in front of the washstand, but quantities of smaller fragments scattered over the floor to a distance (as I estimated) of five or six feet, in a way that could not possibly have been produced by a mere fall on the carpeted floor: the basin must have been dashed down with great violence.

While talking of these matters I sat down to planchette with my hostess and her sister, and Mr. R. coming into the room and hearing what we were talking about, said that some half an hour ago he had heard a noise in the breakfast-room for which he could not account in any way. It sounded like the lid of the metal coal-box slamming down, but the box had been already closed, and, besides, the noise seemed to come from the other side of the room. Soon afterwards he said that his presence always seemed to interfere with planchette-writing, and he left the room. Mrs. R. and I had begun sitting, but planchette suggested a change, and Mrs. V. and I had our hands on the board.

Planchette: "If Mr. Wedgwood will ask I will try to answer."

I asked what was the noise Mr. R. had just heard.

Planchette: "Noise from upstairs made by spirits with material object."

“ Was it in the room above ? ”

Planchette : “ Ycs. ”

“ What was it ? ”

Planchette : “ Mrs. R. will find out. ”

Mrs. R. accordingly went upstairs to look, and while she was away something was said as to the probability of my witnessing some similar display.

Planchette : “ Not yet—you see the better class of spirits war against the smashing fraternity. ”

Mrs. R. could find nothing out of order, and returned saying she had looked everywhere.

Planchette : “ No, you did not. ”

Mrs. R. : “ Whereabouts am I to look, for I can see nothing ? ”

Planchette : “ Wash—(an illegible scribble)—that side of the room. ”

We asked, “ Were you trying to write washstand ? ”

Planchette : “ Yes. ”

Mrs. R. went up again, and, meeting with no better success, came down for more specific instructions where to look.

Planchette : “ Slop-jar ” (written very large).

Mrs. R., laughing, said she hoped that was not smashed, and went up for the third time. She found the slop-jar in its usual place by the washstand, and when she came to look closely into it, found the water-glass lying broken all to bits in the bottom. She had not removed it from its usual place on the top of the earafe since morning, from whence it had apparently been lifted off and dropped into the empty slop-jar from a height sufficient to cause the crash heard in the room below.

Mrs. R. brought us down the jar to show how completely the glass was smashed.

We then asked, “ Was this done by the same spirit who broke the basin ? ”

Planchette : “ The same adverse influence ; not the same spirit, but influence. ”

Mrs. R. confirms and slightly corrects this account in a letter to Mr. Wedgwood dated April 16th, [1890]:—“ I have referred to my journal of December 4th, 1889, and it confirms our clear recollection that the crash of the glass dropped into the slop-jar was heard by my husband sitting below in the breakfast-room *just before* he came in to join our planchette séance, and while [Mrs. V.] and I were both with you in the drawing-room. On the previous Sunday, December 1st, we had had a breakage in the same room, which was also referred to in the planchette writing. My sister and husband were both in the breakfast-room and they both heard a noise like an explosion in the room above, and running up immediately to see what had happened, found my thick earthenware washing-basin broken to fragments and scattered all over the floor. I was in the drawing-room with the three children at the time this happened. ”

D.—I by no means wish to assume any clear line of demarcation between messages referable to some intelligence unknown and messages referable to the special intelligence which claims to send them. In our present state of knowledge such a dividing line can merely subserve our own convenience of study. By beginning my next class at this

point I would indicate that the six cases which follow involve messages avowedly coming from persons more recently departed, and into which something more of definite personality seems to enter. One element of this kind is *handwriting*; and in the next two cases it will be seen that resemblance of handwriting is one of the evidential points alleged. Now proof of identity from resemblance of handwriting may conceivably be very strong. But in estimating it we must bear two points in mind. The first is that, (like the resemblances of so-called "spirit-photographs" to deceased friends), it is often very loosely asserted. One needs, if not an expert's opinion, at least a careful personal scrutiny of the three scripts,—the automatist's voluntary and his automatic script, and the decedent's script—before one can feel sure that the resemblance is in more than some general scrawliness. This refers to the cases where the automatist has provably never seen the decedent's handwriting. Where he *has* seen that handwriting, we have to remember (in the second place) that a hypnotised subject can frequently imitate any known handwriting far more closely than in his waking state; and that consequently we are bound to credit the subliminal self with a mimetic faculty which may come out in these messages without any supraliminal guidance whatever on the automatist's part.

The case now to be quoted contains several points of interest besides the alleged resemblance of handwriting. It shows once more, for instance, the great similarity of ways in which this writing takes its rise with automatists all over the world, and the recurrence of the same puzzles with observers of many different types.

PSYCHIC EXPERIENCES.

M. Aut. 68.

By Sara A. Underwood.—Introductory Remarks by B. F. Underwood.
(*Arena*, August, 1891.)

"The statements in this paper as to what was written in my presence purporting to be communications from 'spirits,' and as to the circumstances under which it was written, are scrupulously correct. The 'communications,' it is certain, are from an intelligent source. Mrs. Underwood is the person by whose hand they are put in form. That she is not labouring under a mistake in thinking that she is unconscious of the thought expressed until she has read the writing,—if, indeed, such a mistake in a sane mind is possible,—I am certain. Sometimes, owing to the illegibility of the writing, she has to study out sentences. The writing varies in style, not only on different evenings, but on the same evening; it is apparently the writing of not fewer than twenty persons, and generally bearing no resemblance whatever, so far as I can judge, to Mrs. Underwood's handwriting, which is remarkably uniform. The communications are unlike in the degrees of intelligence, in the quality of thought, and in the disposition which they show. Detailed statements of facts unknown to either of us, but which, weeks afterwards, were learned to be correct, have been written, and

repeated again and again, when disbelieved and contradicted by us. All the writing has been done in my presence, but most of it while I have been busily occupied with work which demanded my undivided attention. The views expressed are often different from my own, and quite as frequently, perhaps, opposed to Mrs. Underwood's views."

Mrs. Underwood writes as follows:—"The *modus operandi* is the simplest possible. As I remembered that Mr. Underwood was rather averse to the planchette experiments of former years, thinking them unwholesome and deteriorating in their tendency, I at first said nothing to him of my new psychical experiments, though these were made oftenest in his presence in the evening when we both sat at one writing table, near each other, busied with our individual literary work. As I experimented in his absence as well as in his presence, I soon found that I got the most coherent writings when he was present. Indeed I could get nothing coherent, and very frequently nothing at all, when he was away, but when he was present the communications began to grow strangely interesting, and as he was called upon repeatedly, I felt obliged to invite his attention, when the most surprising answers were given, which roused his curiosity and interest. It has been explained that his presence is necessary for me to obtain writing, as 'blended power is best.' Two or three times, at the suggestion of this intelligence, we have asked two of our intimate literary friends—non-Spiritualists—to be present, but each time with comparative failure; afterwards we were informed that the cause of failure was the introduction of persons unused to the conditions, who broke up the harmonious relations necessary to communication; in time they could be of help.

"It would take a volume to present all the interesting statements as to an advanced stage of existence, only hidden from us because of the inadequacy of our sense perceptions, and by the conditions imposed upon us at this stage of our progress, which have been given from this source. Explanations have been made why communication through the agency of certain persons, though not through all, is possible. The conditions, it is alleged, are not entirely dependent upon the superior intelligence or morality of the persons with whom the intelligences can become *en rapport*. These invisibles declare that they are as seriously and anxiously experimenting on their side to discover modes of untrammelled communication with us, as we on our side ought to be, if what they write be true, and if such a thing is possible. 'Spirits' they persistently insist upon being called. In this paper I can give only a statement of some things which do not seem explicable on the hypothesis of mind-reading, thought-transference, hypnotism, or subconsciousness. In all these experiments I have been in a perfectly normal state. The only physical indication of any outside influence is an occasional slight thrill as of an electric current from my shoulder to the hand which holds the waiting pen. Step by step I have been taught a series of signals to aid me in correctly reading the communications. I have no power to summon at will any individual I wish. I have repeatedly, but in vain, tried to get messages from some near and dear friends. It has been explained that on their side, as on ours, certain 'conditions' must exist in order to get in 'control.' When 'eh?' is written I know that the operator at the other end of the line is ready to communicate. When in the middle of a sentence or a word

'gone' or 'change' is written, I understand that the connection is broken, and I must not expect the completion of that message. When a line like this—is drawn, it is a sign that that sentence is completed or the communication ended. So with other things. Rhymes are often unexpectedly written, especially if the 'control' professes to be a poet, and they are dashed off so rapidly that I do not understand their import until the close when I can read them over. Impromptu rhyming is a feat utterly impossible to either Mr. Underwood or myself. Names persistently recur which are unknown to us. Many different handwritings appear, some of them far superior to my own. When I first began to get communications I destroyed, in a day or two after they were written, the slips of paper containing the writing, but as the developments became more interesting, Mr. Underwood suggested that they be preserved for reference. I acted on this suggestion, and thus in the instances of facts given outside our own knowledge, I am enabled to give the exact wording of each communication. Our questions were asked *viva voce*, and as they were often suggested by what had been previously written, I either at the time or soon afterwards wrote them just above the reply. I am not, therefore, trusting at all to memory in the statements I shall make.

"A gentleman of this city (whom I will call John Smith, but whose real name was a more uncommon one) with whom Mr. Underwood had been acquainted many years, but of whose family relations he knew little, died here more than a year ago. Mr. Underwood had met him but once in the year previous to his death, he having been away on account of failing health, staying, we understood, with a daughter recently married, whose home was in Florida. The first name of this married daughter, or of any of Mr. Smith's daughters except one, was unknown to Mr. Underwood. I had met one of his daughters whose name I knew to be Jennie. I also knew that there was another named Violet. I was not sure, however, whether this was the name of the married one, or of another unmarried, but had the impression that Violet was unmarried. One evening, while waiting for automatic writing with no thought of Mr. Smith in my mind, and Mr. Underwood sitting near me at the table with his thoughts concentrated on an article he was preparing, this was written: 'John Smith will now enter into conversation with B. F. Underwood.' I read this to Mr. Underwood, who laid aside his pen, and in order to test the matter, asked if Mr. Smith remembered the last time they met, soon after his return from the South, and a short time previous to his death. There was some delay in the answer, but soon reply came, 'On Madison-street.' 'Whereabouts on Madison?' was asked. 'Near Washington.' 'At what hour?' 'About 10 a.m., raining.' As it was rarely that Mr. Underwood was in that part of the city at so early an hour, and especially on a rainy day, I doubted the correctness of this reply, but Mr. Underwood recalled to my mind the unusual circumstance which made it necessary for him to be in that vicinity on the day and at the hour named, on which he and Mr. Smith, he distinctly remembered, last met. Only a few words passed between them on account of the rain. After this, writing, purporting to be from Mr. Smith, came frequently. Very soon something was written which induced Mr. Underwood half sportively to inquire whether there was anything which troubled Mr. Smith, anything which he

wished he had done but had omitted, before his death. The answer came, 'One thing—change deeds on Violet's account. None of my wife's are at my daughter's disposal. All in her own disposal.' Mr. Underwood asked if it was meant that he had not left his property—for he was a man of some wealth—as he now wished he had. 'You are right,' was written, 'want all my girls to share alike.' 'Which daughter do you refer to?' was asked. 'Went away from her in Florida—Violet,' was the answer. I remarked, 'Why, I thought Violet was one of the unmarried girls, but it must be that that is the name of the married daughter.' Then Mr. Underwood was strongly urged to call on Mr. Smith's married son, James, with whom Mr. Underwood had a slight acquaintance, and tell him of this communication. 'Clearly state my desire that my daughter Violet share equally with her sisters.' Of course this was utterly out of the question. At that time we had no intention of informing any one of our psychic experience, and if we had, Mr. James Smith would have thought us insane or impertinent to come to him with so ridiculous a story, the truth of which we ourselves strongly doubted. Pages were, however, written concerning the matter in so earnest and pleading a manner that I came to feel conscience-stricken at refusing to do what was asked, and to shrink from seeing Mr. Smith's name appear. Once was written, 'Say to James that in my new position, and with my new views of life, I feel that I did wrong to treat his sister Violet as I did. She was not to blame for following out her own convictions, when I had inculcated independent thought and action for all.' This and other sentences of the kind seemed to convey the idea that Violet had in some way incurred his displeasure by doing according to her own will in opposition to his. This was puzzling to us, as we knew that in her marriage, at least, the daughter we thought to be Violet had followed her father's wishes.

"A few weeks later, however, came an unlooked-for verification of Mr. Smith's messages. In a conversation between Mr. Underwood and a business friend of Mr. Smith, who was well acquainted with all his affairs, regret was expressed that so wealthy a man had left so little for a certain purpose. Mr. Underwood then inquired as to what disposition had been made of his property, and was told that he had left it mainly to his wife and children—so much to this one, and that. 'But Violet,' continued Mr. Underwood's informant, 'was left only a small amount, as Mr. Smith was angry because she married against his wishes.' 'Why,' remarked Mr. Underwood, 'I understood that he approved of the match, and the fact that he accompanied herself and husband to Florida, and remained with them some time, would seem to indicate that.' 'Oh, you are thinking of Lucy, the eldest girl; her marriage was all right, but Violet, one of the younger daughters, going to Florida with her [Lucy's] husband, fell in love with a young man of whom her father did not approve, so she made a run-away marriage, and on account of his displeasure, Mr. Smith left her only a small sum.' The intelligence writing was aware of facts unknown to either Mr. Underwood or myself, and no other persons were in the room when these communications were given."

In *The Arena* for June, 1892, Mr. Underwood continues:—

"My presence has been and is now one of the conditions of Mrs. Underwood's getting connected and coherent writing. Only a few words and a

sentence or two have been written occasionally in my absence. Once when I was absent from home the peculiar sensation which had always been felt in Mrs. Underwood's right hand before the writing began, was felt in the left hand, with which a name was written with letters reversed, and she could read it only when impressed to do so. She held it before the mirror. It was the name of a person two hundred miles distant, who was still alive, but, as was subsequently learned, in an unconscious state at the time, and very near death, which occurred two or three days afterwards.

“The word ‘death’ is never used except with ‘so-called’ before it, or ‘which is a new birth,’ or some other explanatory or qualifying expression. The writing purports to be from extra-mediumistic and extra-mundane sources—from invisible human beings who once inhabited this earth. The writing always, whether purporting to be from a person of high or low degree, claims that the controlling intelligence is a spirit—a discarnate human being. Any intimation that the communicating intelligence may be the medium's subconscious ego, a fraction of which only rises to the level of conscious knowledge, is met with responses to the effect that it is strange anybody can believe such a vagary. One claim, to which there has never been exception in any writing purporting to be a message, is that a ‘spirit,’ a discarnate human being, moves the hand that holds the pen. Generally names and dates are not given; and when they are, they are as liable to be wrong as correct. In answer to questions as to the reason of this, it has been said substantially that memories and reminiscences are only gathered up as the departed are able to come in contact with persons and objects of earth. Strange as it may seem, I get tired and nervous when this writing is prolonged; it exhausts me much more than it does Mrs. Underwood, on whom it never leaves any depressing influence.

“The intelligence which seems to be extraneous, which invariably claims to be a departed spirit, now one, now another, is sometimes inferior intellectually to the medium; at other times, in certain lines of thought, in the use of words, and in the statement of facts, the intelligence that directs the pen evinces larger knowledge than Mrs. Underwood consciously possesses. The spelling is sometimes different from her own, and the style is often stilted, and even grandiose, while her style is simple and natural. In some cases the writing relates to what is entirely unknown to the writer,—to her ordinary consciousness,—though in some of these cases I can conceive it as possible, and deem it probable, that the writing relates to what has been noted or learned by the passive consciousness, and is evoked therefrom even though there is no recognition of its having been included in the person's experience. But in other cases the writing has contained evidence of knowledge that Mrs. Underwood never could have obtained in any known way. She gave one or two instances in the *August Arena*. I will relate another of her experiences which, in my opinion, proves that there are supernatural methods of obtaining knowledge.

“One morning, a message purporting to be from a young man recently deceased was received. Neither Mrs. Underwood nor I had ever seen his handwriting. We knew his name only as William S. The message was signed ‘Z. W. S.’ At the time, I remarked that I did not believe there was any Z in his name, and in this opinion Mrs. Underwood concurred. A

few days afterwards we met the father and the mother of the young man, who were so impressed with the resemblance between the handwriting and that of their son that they wished to take the writing with them. There was a Z in the name, but it was the initial of his second name, and not of the first, as it was written. In the presence of the young man's mother, Mrs. Underwood's hand was moved to write, and the lady asked if her father would give a test by writing his name. The first name, Solomon, was written slowly; and after a pause, the surname was written very quickly. Mrs. Underwood did not know and never had known the name, which was written correctly; and Mr. S., who is a lawyer and a man of critical and discriminating mind, and his wife both declared that the signature closely resembled that of the old gentleman. Some days ago I wrote to Mr. S., asking him whether, after further reflection, he could suggest a possible explanation of what Mrs. Underwood wrote without recourse to any occult theory. He replied and referred to the message purporting to be from his son, thus: 'I have compared it with signatures of our boy. As I told you in Chicago at the time, the writing bears a *very* strong resemblance to his writing. Mrs. Underwood did not, in my opinion, either consciously or unconsciously, have any knowledge of Will's full name. The writing, while quite similar to Will's, is very different from Mrs. Underwood's. My wife's father's name had not been mentioned at all. Never had been in Mrs. Underwood's presence. I don't think she had ever met a member of Mrs. S.'s family by that name, yet she certainly wrote the name of Mrs. S.'s father, Solomon M., very plainly, when asked to write the name of the person who had just written that he had something to say. This writing was also *very, very* similar to the handwriting of the old gentleman.'

'Fully aware that incidents long forgotten may be recalled, that possibly no lapse of memory is irrevocable, and that under certain conditions from the submerged self may be sent up memories which cannot be distinguished from newly acquired knowledge, still, I am confident that Mrs. Underwood's hand has written names and statements of facts not only once, but several times, which were not and never had been any part of her conscious knowledge.'

I proceed to a case whose interest for my readers is much impaired by my obligation to conceal the identity of the persons concerned. The two surviving witnesses are known to me, and are persons of position and intelligence. The third *dramatis persona*, who departed this life a few years since, was also known to me; and I am acquainted with the joint work which was for many years carried on by the deceased and a survivor, and which was of a kind which may be conceived as still interesting a departed spirit. I give to these three persons the names, in all respects fictitious, of Mrs. Laurence, Mrs. Plowden, and Mrs. Seddon, and I alter the Christian name quoted and the initial letter of Mrs. Seddon's home. The rest of the account is not altered except by abridgment.

Mrs. Laurence, whose account must first be given, had been interested in the work done by Mrs. Plowden and Mrs. Seddon, had

interchanged a few letters with both, and had seen Mrs. Seddon on a few occasions. Some months after Mrs. Plowden's death (but in no apparent connection with that event) Mrs. Laurence began to experience certain automatic impulses, which were subjectively felt as proceeding from a deceased relative.

Late one Tuesday evening [date given] the impulse to some form of such communication came on with unusual force.

M. Aut. 69.

"Feeling very doubtful how to act, yet dimly conscious that I was being drawn into something unusual, and unknown to me, I seated myself at a little table.

"Soon I began to feel my thoughts drawn out strongly towards Mrs. Plowden. Next there reached me an impulsion to get writing materials. I now began to realise that I was *not alone*, and that my services were required for some purpose, which revealed itself when, on taking up a pen, I immediately felt a strange thrill flow through my right arm, which then ceased to be under my full control. Such an experience was entirely new to me, and with amazement I watched the pen write rapidly. Several pages were written in this manner. It seemed to me as if several influences had gathered around me, and were endeavouring to aid in the furtherance of a design much desired by someone whom they accompanied and to serve whom they thus sought to employ me. I quickly became convinced that the guiding mind was Mrs. Plowden's; the reason why I felt so positively assured of her presence is that I seemed to *see* (with an inner vision) the feelings which were prompting her, and her mental vibrations seemed to mingle with mine, making me share her emotion, even while I did not understand its cause. So deeply did her earnestness of desire and effort affect me that the tears ran down my cheeks as I felt her striving to greet and instruct the friend, Mrs. Seddon, to whom this communication was being poured forth.

"The variety of influences, my inexperience in such conditions, and the strangeness of the scene in which I found myself so unexpectedly participating, all combined, I fear, to prevent me from acting as a very manageable medium to write through; consequently the letter was written in a large scrambling handwriting, neither mine nor Mrs. Plowden's, though I felt and interiorly saw that she tried to reproduce her own handwriting; and it seemed to me that she was perplexed by the difficulty she discovered in using her instrument (my hand), which, owing to my inexperience and because it had never before been borrowed in this way, did not yield itself sufficiently passively, and thus failed to reproduce the mechanical yet *individual* movements of another hand.

"I was so absorbed by the pathos and strangeness of this effort made by one 'beyond the veil' to communicate with the friend and co-worker who had shared her aspirations and life mission on earth, that I paid small heed to the contents of the letter; which, moreover, referred to matters of which I was entirely ignorant. All that I understood about it was that it was a message to Mrs. Seddon. The letter ended with the words, written with extraordinary intensity and underlined several times:—

" 'Ruth! Does not my voice reach you?'

“I was rather puzzled at this name (Ruth) employed by Mrs. Plowden, till the recollection flashed into my mind that Mrs. Plowden was accustomed to address Mrs. Seddon by it, [in consequence of certain private circumstances]. It is impossible for me to describe adequately in words the intense earnestness with which the above appeal and question were made. It was an exceeding bitter cry, as though the speaker-writer could not comprehend what barrier could prevent her voice from being heard. And, looking back to that memorable evening, I can distinctly remember how there appeared before my mental vision the picture of a grassy spot, shaded by trees, close to a river. I did not understand the meaning of this till afterwards, when Mrs. Seddon explained the reason why Mrs. Plowden had thus exclaimed and written: ‘Does not my voice reach you?’

“The letter was duly dispatched. I did not even glance at its contents, feeling that the letter did not belong to me in any way. The sentences I have quoted were impressed on my consciousness, and have remained in my memory, because of the great earnestness which prompted them, causing me to feel and hear the sentiments they expressed. A day or two after this first letter was written I again felt myself impelled to get writing materials, and once more my hand was used in the same (to me) extraordinary way.

“This time the conditions and mental atmosphere were calmer, and I was not conscious of such a mingling of influences as on the previous occasion. I was also reassured by receiving a strengthened impression of Mrs. Plowden’s actual presence, and of her urgent desire to discharge what she evidently regarded as a duty, viz., the expression of her wishes respecting work left undone by her.

“This second letter contained a message to Mrs. Seddon bidding her to use as preface to a book by Mrs. Plowden, which Mrs. Seddon was editing, a paper which Mrs. Plowden had written some time previously. Mrs. Plowden endeavoured to explain that Mrs. Seddon would find the manuscript which Mrs. Plowden wished her thus to use ‘in the window-seat of the school-room at K.’

“On this second occasion Mrs. Plowden used my hand to write a note to Mrs. Seddon, and one to a relative.

“This time also I felt how strenuously she endeavoured to produce her own handwriting; perhaps because she thought that thus her wishes would receive more attention; perhaps simply because there is something so characteristic and involuntary about one’s handwriting.

“When these letters were being written I felt my hand grasped by some soft intangible substance; sometimes in forming the words the unseen hand seemed to become tremulous, as if the writing was only executed by an effort of will of one to whom a return to any material conditions was painful and difficult.

“I watched the words trace themselves on paper and again seemed to see them arising in the unseen writer’s mind. I longed to help, but did not realise that probably complete passivity on my part would have been the most helpful course to follow; on this point the intimation reached me another time: ‘Try to stop thinking and I will try to speak.’ The writing

of these letters resembled Mrs. Plowden's. The envelopes were addressed in a writing exactly like Mrs. Plowden's own hand, I was afterwards told. I distinctly remember that while the addresses were being written the hand which was resting on mine and writing with it pressed with increased firmness and resolution, as if the writer were determined that no mistake should be made in the names and addresses of the persons for whom the communications were intended.

“The envelope containing the note to the relative bore the name in full.

“The letter to Mrs. Seddon bore her London address ; where, however, she was not, as she was then at K. (These details were explained to me afterwards.)

“Owing to a delay in posting the letter to the relative, the two letters reached K. at the same time, as Mrs. Seddon's was forwarded to her from London. After a day or two I heard from Mrs. Seddon that all the contents of the letters apparently written by Mrs. Plowden in the way just described, were correct in every respect, excepting that the room called in the letter the ‘school-room’ was usually called the ‘study.’

“I tried throughout to pay as little attention as possible to the contents of the letters, because they were not intended for me and were only brought thus under my notice from stress of circumstances.”

This account is corroborated by Mrs. Seddon, the recipient of the two aforesaid letters. Mrs. Seddon's account begins by stating that she had been vainly endeavouring to enter into communion with the spirit of her departed friend by sitting in the churchyard where that friend's body was buried. On the Tuesday aforesaid she visited that spot for the last time, and retired in despair of obtaining any increased sense of nearness by that means. “My last attempt was made on Tuesday [same date as above], and I made no mention to anybody of any attempts or of my wish.” On this same evening, as we have seen, the impulse as from Mrs. Seddon came to Mrs. Laurence at a distance ; and this coincidence was heightened by the fact that the scene flashed upon Mrs. Laurence's mind corresponded (so far as such scenes can be expressed in definite words) with the actual look of the churchyard—the general aspect of which had, however, been described by Mrs. Seddon to Mrs. Laurence shortly before. I continue in Mrs. Seddon's words :—

“The letter which I received on Saturday was written on Wednesday, and in it she stated that late on the previous night—the night of the day on which I had abandoned my attempts at the grave—she had been influenced by someone whom she recognised as Mrs. Plowden, and who had caused her to write to me the letter now enclosed.

“The message thus dictated contained warm assurances of Mrs. Plowden's continued regard for me and interest in our work, and concluded with the exclamation, emphatically underlined and written with great energy : ‘Ruth, does not my voice reach you ?’ the effect being as if she was then actually calling to me just as I had desired her to call, and as I had felt that she was calling though the sounds failed to reach me.

“On the following day, Sunday, I received from Mrs. Laurence, also forwarded from London under cover, another letter purporting to be dictated by Mrs. Plowden. The object of this letter was to charge me to use for the book I had just edited a preface which she herself had written, instead of one of my own composition; and a copy of which I should find in a certain place in the room which had been her study. The particulars given were correct, with the exception that the word ‘school-room’ was used for ‘study.’ As it happened, I had already made use of the preface in question, having set aside one that I had commenced writing, under a strong impression that in so doing I was acting as she would have preferred had she been consulted. The book, moreover, had actually been published, so that the instruction now received came too late to be observed. From which it was clear that her knowledge of my doings was not fully up-to-date.

“The letters thus dictated showed a gradual and increasing assimilation of the medium’s handwriting to that of Mrs. Plowden. But the envelope containing the last one was addressed in a hand which was not merely *like* Mrs. Plowden’s, but *was* hers, and was written with great freedom, clearness, and firmness, and as if dashed off at speed, only with a somewhat coarser pen than she was wont to use, the strokes being thicker as through the effort of using another’s hand, and all the characteristics were hers and not in the least the medium’s.¹ It was accompanied by a letter from Mrs. Laurence, describing the sensation in her hand when writing as that of being controlled by some pervading substance which, while strong and firm, was soft and impalpable. This was a description which tallied exactly with that which other mediums had described to me, and which I myself had experienced on the single occasion when it had been considered desirable to give me a practical example of the method of ‘automatic writing,’ though in my case my own consciousness was not set aside, the words being presented to my mind when being written.”

Mrs. Seddon proceeds to describe the disquieting effect upon the relative to whom the second letter was addressed of the close resemblance to the handwriting of the deceased. The subject being distasteful to this relative, no corroboration can be sought in that quarter. In a subsequent letter Mrs. Seddon says: “The full description, written through the medium, of the place of the MSS. in question is ‘the drawer at the left-hand side of the window-seat where I once put them long ago.’ This was a receptacle which stood by Mrs. Plowden’s accustomed seat in her study, and in which I had found the preface referred to. The study may have been called the schoolroom [at a previous period]. My own impression is that intending to say ‘study,’ the controlling influence succeeded only in impressing a corresponding word on the medium, and was content with it as understanding what room was meant. . . . No reference to or mention of a window-seat

¹ I have seen the envelope and compared the handwritings. I think the statement in the text too strong; but there is much resemblance;—and undoubtedly Mrs. Laurence’s envelope bears the impress of speed and confidence.—F.W.H.M.

had occurred anywhere until the phrase was used in Mrs. Laurence's message."

I hold it as certain that Mrs. Laurence had never visited K., nor had she ever heard of the window-seat and the drawer. Of this, I repeat, she has completely satisfied me; nor indeed would it have been in any way likely that she should have known of these details. She had not known that Mrs. Seddon had hesitated between two prefaces, and although she knew that the book was out, she had not specially noticed the preface, and cannot now recollect whether she had or had not read it. The degree both of knowledge and of ignorance shown in the automatic message is therefore noteworthy. There was knowledge of a very specific place—left-hand drawer of a *window-seat*. Against this must be set the minor mistake of school-room for study, but here I think that Mrs. Seddon's explanation is in accordance with analogy. On the other hand, we have ignorance of a fact fully known to Mrs. Plowden, and partially known to Mrs. Laurence, namely, that the book had already appeared with the desired preface. The message, therefore, is not exactly like the product of either living mind, and does somewhat resemble that which might be sent by someone remembering past facts, imperfectly acquainted with recent facts, and feeling a strong personal interest in the matter.

An interesting corroboration is furnished to this case by a previous experience of Miss A.'s, quite unknown to Mrs. Laurence, who is not acquainted with the A. family. I copy the following passage from the original notes taken by Mrs. A. at the time of the incident,—shortly after Mrs. Plowden's death. ["We knew," writes Mrs. A., "that Mrs. Plowden was dead; but did not personally then know Mrs. Seddon; and there had not been any special conversation respecting Mrs. Plowden."] One of Miss A.'s accustomed "guides," giving the name of "E. Swedenborg," wrote: "I want, through you, to fulfil a promise which I have given to one very dear to me; one who drew me to her through her kindly and unselfish influences; one whom I helped to the best of my ability while the beautiful spirit was yet chained to earth. I speak of her whom I knew best as 'Naomi,' but whom you would only recognise under the name of 'Mrs. Plowden.' . . . I would for her sake have those to know from whom she has parted in bodily form that she is but removed to a higher sphere of action, there to await those who worked with her on earth."

The evidential point here is the name which I have given as "Naomi,"—the correlative to the "Ruth" which appears in Mrs. Laurence's letter. The A. family, who alone were present when the above writing was given, all of them feel sure that they had never heard that this name was ever given to Mrs. Plowden.

“As far as I can see by my notes,” continues Mrs. A., “we did not meet Mrs. Seddon till [some months later]. Like many other messages, we did not like to send it to the person it concerned; but it was given to her at last by a mutual friend, and she came to see us.” There was then much writing, which Mrs. Seddon considers as so specially appropriate in content as much to strengthen the proof of identity. She also states that “Swedenborg” had influenced Mrs. Plowden in life in a similar manner—“a fact of which no one knew but ourselves.” On the degree of proof which such coincidences of *thought* can afford, I may have to speak in a later paper. The point to which I here call attention is the appearance of the two private names through two automatists entirely independent of each other. In one case the private name was unknown to the automatist, in the other case the name had been heard, but another fact, unknown to the automatist, was given in the same connection.

I will now place together four cases where a leading point of interest is the writing of words which the automatist could not have written by conscious effort. In one case an unlettered man wrote Greek; in one a girl ignorant of Kaffir wrote Kaffir; and in the two other cases a young child who had not learnt to write, wrote, we are told, legible and significant words.

In the first case of this group the phenomena were various, but consisted mainly of automatic writing and speech. Some of the writings evinced a knowledge greater than the automatist possessed. Especially, two lines from Homer were correctly written in response to a request for some Greek, although the writer was certainly quite ignorant even of the Greek alphabet. Some indications of identity were also given.

Certain physical phenomena (the most important of which occurred in my informant's absence) were interpolated as it were at random among the intellectual phenomena, and carried with them no clear indication of their source; except that they occurred only in the presence of the sitter, here styled Mr. Andrew.

For my introduction to Mr. O. (as I shall call him), the narrator of these incidents, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Andrew Lang. I first heard Mr. O.'s narrative from himself by word of mouth on November 20th, 1889, while the events were still fresh in his memory. I regard him as an excellent witness. The delay in producing the evidence has been partly caused by Mr. O.'s persistent but unavailing efforts to induce the survivors among his fellow-sitters to add their testimony to his own. I have reason to believe that their refusal is in no way due to any disagreement with Mr. O.'s account, but mainly to scruples of a quasi-religious nature. Such scruples have repeatedly balked our inquiries; but I hope that they may gradually die out

among our informants, as the innocence and the importance of experiments of this kind come to be better understood. In Mr. O.'s own case there are, I think, amply sufficient reasons why his anonymity should be preserved. His brother—in deference to whose serious wish during dangerous illness the sittings were undertaken—is now dead.

I will add that the intimacy among the members of the circle was such that I cannot doubt that Mr. O. heard, without delay, from his brother and others, of the physical phenomena which had occurred during his own absence from the circle. Mr. O. writes in 1890 :—

S. 11.—In the winter of '88-9 I began, along with a few intimate friends, to investigate the phenomena commonly called Spiritualistic. None of the company was at all anxious for any specific communication from another sphere, but partly for the gratification of an invalid brother, and partly for the sake of satisfying ourselves as to the possibility of some things we had read, we attempted a sitting. The results far exceeded our expectation. We were favoured with phenomena somewhat startling to novices in the art—phenomena styled in Scotland *uncanny*—but their interesting nature soon overcame our natural diffidence, and before the end of the winter we were on quite familiar terms with our unsubstantial visitants.

As a rule the circle consisted of two of my brothers, two personal friends, and myself, though occasionally we admitted other members of the family, and once or twice an acquaintance. We were not Spiritualists, nor had we any desire to be known as such : all we did was done solely by way of experiment and amusement. The opportunity was the best possible : we had all our sittings in our own home, the circle was confined to personal friends in whom we had full confidence, so that there was neither motive nor opportunity for deception. We usually met twice a week when my invalid brother was able for company, but during the winter months relapses of his illness caused interruptions ; and indeed, I often thought the excitement of our sittings did not affect him beneficially.

Our sittings were all in the dark. Our medium was, in most cases, Mr. Andrew, though we had also a less efficient medium in the case of Mr. S—. The performances of the latter were mostly of a somnambulistic kind, and do not call for special notice.

With Andrew, however, phenomena assumed quite another aspect. He would play charming music on the violin, or produce beautiful pencil sketches of city and rural scenes. Sometimes the *locus* of these scenes was named, oftener not, but they were invariably unknown to any member of the company.

For a time I failed to see anything *very* unaccountable in Andrew's trance productions. I knew him to be an accomplished violinist and a fairly good sketcher, and I naturally put everything down to an unconscious exercise of his own skill. One little thing did perplex me, namely, the very different styles of handwriting he seemed to accomplish with equal facility.

I mentioned an invalid brother. He suffered from a heart affection known as presystolic murmur. At one sitting we consulted a medical man, who called himself Dr. Snobinski of Russia. This gentleman not only prescribed for my brother, but also furnished us with a diagram of the human heart, and put a special mark to indicate the valve diseased in my brother's

ease. How this diagram was accurately drawn by a person ignorant of human physiology, and how the diseased valve was shown and explained by one ignorant of pathology, was more than I could account for.

On another occasion another doctor, calling himself Arnold, confirmed the diagnosis of Dr. Snobinski, and rated my brother for having neglected to follow the regimen recommended by the famous Russian. On this occasion, during examination of the chest, when the patient chanced to laugh, the doctor [in the person of Mr. Andrew] suddenly gave him a mild box on the ear with his open palm. This I understood was to rebuke his laughter, which, as is well known, is a dangerous luxury to one suffering from valvular disease.

At times we were entertained by a negro, who gave us no little fun. His effort to speak English was most amusing, and presented just those difficulties which perplex the negro in this more matter-of-fact sphere.

These phenomena had led me to perplexing thoughts, and, though unable to explain them on purely psychological grounds, I was slow to admit that the medium was not also the cause of the effects he produced. I had so far accounted for the music and the sketches; the varieties of handwriting were a little puzzling, the diagram and the prescription a little more so, but I was still inclined to suspend judgment till I should acquire more facts. With a view to this, I one evening interrogated: "Where are you?" Answer: "In the sphere next the earth." "Could you tell anything of the future?" Answer: "We are as ignorant of the future as you are." This I thought was at least honest, and very probable, but too general to be of service to me in arriving at any decision. I resolved to put what seemed to me a searching test. None of the others knew Latin or Greek, so I asked an answer in Latin. This was readily given, but so badly spelt that I failed to fully translate it. Not yet satisfied, I asked any quotation from a Greek author—so that by comparison with the original, identity or variation might be satisfactorily apparent. This resulted in a quotation from the *Odyssey*, Bk. XI., lines 57-8:—

Ἐλπῆνορ, πῶς ἦλθεσ ὑπὸ ξόφον ἡερόεντα;
ἔφθης περὶς ἑὼν ἢ ἐγὼ σὺν νηϊ μελαίνῃ.

These lines were beautifully written in cursive characters, and minute even to the accents. As a student I had read *Odyssey* XI., but could not have given the lines from memory, or written them out with correct accents. On comparing the lines with the Greek text I found them to be without flaw. My puzzle was now twofold: (1) That I was not able to read the Latin proved that what was given was not anything I had previously been revolving in my own mind, but had come from an independent intelligence; (2) The medium was not acquainted with either Latin or Greek—did not know one from the other. Clearly I must now quit the hypothesis that the medium was the author of his own message, as not adequate to account for all the facts.

The Greek and the Latin [Mr. O. adds in a later letter] were both obtained at the same sitting. I asked for the Greek because the Latin was so badly written I could not fully make it out. The medium that evening was *Andrew*, who, I am fully convinced, could not possibly have any knowledge that Greek would be asked for—and even if he had known, he could

not have given it, since he did not know the Greek when it was given. The controlling spirit was unknown to any of the company. In reply to my questions he described himself as a youth of nineteen, according to *their* reckoning, but was only twelve years of age when he died. When I asked how he was occupied, he told us he was still at school. This information led me to ask for the Latin, and subsequently for the Greek.

Still more inexplicable was the evidential sign given to a doubting acquaintance. This gentleman requested permission to be present at one of the sittings, but his general behaviour there indicated that he regarded a sitting as a kind of farce. He brought with him another gentleman of equally sceptical temper. The first remark from the medium that evening was: "There are strangers present to-night." This remark seemed to our friend so commonplace that he requested evidence of the presence of a spirit. On being asked what evidence he would like, he jokingly said, "Bring a candle!"—an idea probably suggested by sitting in the dark. The wish had scarcely been expressed when a candle was placed on the table before him, with the request that he should immediately quit the company. The candle was found to be warm, a circumstance explained by the fact that it had been used in the next room only a few minutes before. My brother immediately went to the next room, and asked for a candle. The good lady was much surprised to find that while the candlestick was still standing where she had placed it shortly before, the candle itself was gone. My brother then showed her the candle which he held in his hand, and this she identified as the one she had used a few minutes before—indeed there could not be two opinions, as there was only one candle in the house. This was regarded by the circle as the most wonderful result yet obtained. Here was proof amounting to a demonstration that a material object had been passed through matter; the candle had been brought from one room to another, though both doors (there were two doors in the room in which the sittings were held) were locked before the sitting was commenced.

This candle incident I give on the testimony of the others, as I myself was not present that evening, a circumstance which I afterwards regretted. Personally I have not seen a case of matter through matter.

During that winter we obtained many interesting phenomena. The spirits (?) would strike any note we asked on a violin or harmonium which stood by. The notes requested would sound forth distinctly, though no visible hand was near; and this was done both in the dark and in the light, though more often in the dark.

One evening a visitant addressed one of my brothers as an old school-fellow, and in proof of his identity he reminded my brother of a poem they had once learnt together as boys, namely, one by "Surfaceman" (Alexander Anderson), entitled "*The blood on the wheel.*" My brother perfectly recollected the exercise, and had no doubt as to the identity of the speaker. The wonderful thing here was that the medium had become acquainted with my brother later in life, and had no knowledge of his schooldays.

Of the scientific value of these results I was not aware till I had the pleasure of meeting yourself, and if we had met some months earlier I should certainly have preserved the legible results of our sittings. They were destroyed in ignorance of their scientific worth, and chiefly because associated

with a departed brother whose early death we still lament. Though our sittings are long past their results still dwell with me in all but their first freshness. Circumstances conspired to break up our little company. Of our circle of five two have since married, one has left the district, and another has departed this life. The death of our most spirited member was the end of our meetings.

On the "telekinetic phenomena" involved in this case I must not here dwell. The case of Mr. Stainton Moses, with which I hope to deal later, will afford a better opportunity for discussing the relations between automatism and telekinesis.

The next case came to Dr. Hodgson from a group of persons who may not be very critical, but who are plainly sincere. The phenomenon alleged, however surprising, involves but a simple act of observation and should have been easy to note and remember.

M. Aut. 70.

Flushing, July 19th, 1890.

MR. RICHARD HODGSON.

"DEAR SIR,—It affords me pleasure to respond to your inquiry concerning the item of *spirit writing* through the hand of a little child just four years of age who had no knowledge of its letters, unaided and untaught.

"My wife had a niece who passed to spirit-life twenty years ago, who was in life strongly attached to her, and whenever we come in contact with a mediumistic person she invariably makes her presence known to us. My daughter, fifteen years of age, and another young lady of the same age, opened a school for small children in a little room used for a Sunday-school by the Baptist society, where the event took place. It was approaching Easter, and to add to the coming exercises, the little girl was especially invited to join them in rehearsing their pieces, as most all the pupils were members of the Mission Sunday-school. The first morning of her attendance a slate and pencil were given her to keep her quiet; she scribbled awhile, when it was noticed that she had written very distinctly the name Emma. As it was known that the child had never been inside of a school before, and that she knew no single letter of the alphabet, it was a great surprise. The slate belonged to some of the pupils, hence was not preserved by the young ladies. I regretted the loss of such a rare test of spirit control, and urged them should such a thing ever occur again to preserve it. The child attended the day following, and instead of slate a leaf from a tablet and lead pencil were given her. After she had amused herself awhile she returned the paper, and it was seen that a number of attempts to write the name Emma had been made. As she handed in the paper she said, 'Nozer,' and another sheet was given, with an improvement; the third was given, when upon either side was written with bold running hand, 'your aunt Emma,' quite as large and perfect as the above.

"True, she was aunt to the little one whose little hand she was holding. The pressure upon the paper of the first two sheets was uneven and it requires close attention to follow some portions of the first attempt, but in

the last she seems to have overcome all difficulties and accomplished her purpose of giving us a fact of spirit control.

“Little Etta has passed on to the higher life within a year of this event.

“It is fair to say her parents were not Spiritualists. They took the child and gave her paper and pencil, but failed to get satisfactory results.

“That little circle of innocent children singing their songs had created an atmosphere of harmony favourable for that sensitive little child to receive the impress or control of a decarnate spirit. Those familiar with phenomena of this kind will readily appreciate the difference in conditions.—Yours truly,
A. E. HEMPSTEAD.”

“This is to certify that we were present and witnessed the writing of little Etta, as described in the foregoing statement, and know that neither Etta, nor any other pupil present at the time, could have written the messages of their own abilities.

(Signed) LAURA HEMPSTEAD.
L. A. K.”

“I am the mother of little Etta, and know she had not been taught the alphabet, or how to hold her pencil.

(Signed) MRS. B. W. TERRY.”

Newtown, N. Y., *October 16th*, 1890.

In another letter Mr. Hempstead adds:—“In reply to your last inquiry I will say Etta’s message was written just before Easter.

“The messages we still have, although somewhat difficult to read, as they were in pencil, and the uneven pressure upon the paper requires close attention. We did not ink it over, as we wished to preserve its purity. Remember she held the pencil between the middle fingers of her left hand, as she was not taught the art of holding her pencil. I have written in ink upon their margins in the order that she wrote them.

“Will gladly loan them to you, trusting they will be duly returned.”

Newtown, *November 19th*, 1890.

MR. HODGSON.

“DEAR SIR,—By a strange grouping of circumstances your letter, little Etta’s mother, the young lady who witnessed the writing, all came into our home here in Newtown together, bringing the mail with them, as if unconsciously directed, so I am prepared to return your paper promptly. They all read it and without hesitation gave their signatures. In the case of Miss K., she said she would rather not have her name mentioned publicly on account of her connection with the church, &c., which you may readily understand.

“The mother explained that the child was left-handed, and L. did not remember about the manner in which she (Etta) held the pencil. But my daughter is positive, and one not likely to forget so novel a feature. Hoping the above will suffice, I remain, very truly yours for humanity,

“A. E. HEMPSTEAD.”

Mr. Hodgson adds:—

October 30th, 1890.

“Mr. Hempstead has kindly sent me the writings by the little girl Etta for my inspection. There are three small sheets of paper with several attempts at writing on both sides of each sheet. There are indications of ‘Aunt’

and 'Emma' on the first and second sheets; Emma being written tolerably well on the second sheet.

"The enclosed tracing is of the last attempt."

[An account (seen by me and concordant with the above) had been sent by Mr. Hempstead to the *Banner of Light* immediately after the incident, and was printed May 4th, 1889. I have seen the tracing of the last written phrase, "your aunt Emma." It is a free scrawl, resembling the planchette-writing of an adult rather than the first effort of a child.—F. W. H. M.]

I know not in what light I should have regarded my next case had I seen it only in a book bearing the somewhat alarming title of *The Holy Truth*, (Arthur Hallah, 1876). But just as my last-cited narrative is not necessarily proved to be fictitious by having once appeared in that not over-trustworthy periodical, *The Banner of Light*, so also the aggressiveness of religious conviction with which Mr. Hugh Junor Browne's experiences have inspired him does not prevent his being, as I have heard from the Hon. Sir W. G. Windeyer, Judge of Supreme Court, Sydney, and have found on personal acquaintance, a man of high standing as to both character and practical capacity. He is a prosperous man of business at Melbourne, and the elder of the two daughters with whose automatism we have to deal is married to one of the foremost men of the Colony of Victoria. I regard him, therefore, as a witness whose strong opinions, indeed, might help a fraudulent medium to deceive him, but who is fully to be trusted as regards easily observed events occurring in his own family circle. I discussed this case with him and Mrs. Browne on October 3rd, 1891. Mrs. Browne seemed to me a good witness, and corroborated the facts so far as immediately known to her, giving me a written confirmation of the writing of the young child, who was present at our interview, as a young lady of about twenty. Miss Browne cannot remember the incident in her fifth year, but told me that she had sometimes written automatically since that date;—her arm used to feel numb while doing so.

M. Aut. 71.

"In this [automatic writing] we were unsuccessful, until it came to the turn of my eldest daughter, a girl of eleven years of age, to take the pencil in hand. Immediately on her doing so her hand was influenced to write, causing her to be considerably alarmed. She called out, 'Oh, mamma! I am so frightened, my hand is moving.' We all pacified her as much as possible, and on taking up the paper we found her hand had written on it quite legibly, though in rather tremulous characters, quite different from her ordinary writing, the following sentence: 'Helen, Grace, Browne, I am come to see you. Your beloved aunt. You will,' &c., &c. The remainder of the writing was too faint to decipher. The name written above is that of my second daughter, between five and six years of age, who is called after two of her aunts, my sisters; one of whom, the wife of an officer in the

Indian army, passed away many years ago, having died on her passage home from India, and whose spirit we afterwards ascertained influenced the girl's hand to write this message to her little niece and namesake. We had a number of communications through the same source that evening from different spirit-friends, and since that time, except on two occasions, when she said she felt no influence (a reason for which afterwards was given) whenever my eldest girl sits down for the purpose of communicating with our spirit-friends, her hand is almost immediately influenced to write. Her hand has written as many as forty pages of large notepaper within half-an-hour, which in her ordinary handwriting would take her several hours to copy.

“My daughter is quite unaware of what she is writing and describes the sensation of the influence as though electricity were running down her arm from the shoulder. This is what is termed mechanical writing mediumship. She often writes far beyond her own powers of comprehension on subjects of which she has not the least conception, spelling words correctly which she does not understand, and of which, when read over, she inquires the meaning—such words as clairvoyantly, physically, &c. At other times she spells small words incorrectly which in her ordinary writing she would spell correctly. She has written in French, of which language she knows but the rudiments; she has written in Chinese characters, and also in the Kaffir language, of neither of which does she understand a word. She has written in blank verse, which, though it would not stand the scrutiny of a critic, is decidedly beyond her powers in this line, she being more of a romp than a student.

“My daughter has frequently been influenced to write messages to strangers from their spirit-friends, giving them particulars about things of which she could not possibly know anything, and signing correctly the names of their spirit-friends in spirit-life of whom she had never before heard. Her mother and I have thought of a question, to put to one of our spirit-friends when she was not present, and calling her into the room have given her a pencil and paper, and she has written a correct reply to the question mentally asked, and signed the name of the spirit-friend of whom we thought. She can write either looking away from or on to the paper. A difference can be seen in the writing from each of our spirit-friends. If I see even the word ‘yes’ written through her, I can generally tell what spirit is influencing the medium's hand. I have seen her write the letters upside down, backwards, left-handed, and in various ways quite impossible for the child to do herself, and sometimes so fast you can hardly see her hand join the letters, and at other times slow; sometimes in a very small hand, at others in bold text-writing.

“On one occasion it was written through my daughter's hand that I was to take a bottle of a specific I have for rheumatism to a Mr. Reed, directing me to inquire at a shop in the next street to where he used to live and I would be directed to where he then resided. I had formerly given a man of this name some of this mixture, which had relieved him of the pain, but had not seen or heard of him for months, and I was not aware that he had removed from where he then lived. On calling at his former residence I found he had removed, and on calling as instructed at the shop indicated I

was told where Reed then lived. I found him confined to his bed, suffering acutely from rheumatism, and gave him the specific.

“I may mention another incident which occurred. One day when out walking with my wife I met a black man whom I had never seen before, but whom I recognised as a Kaffir from large holes made in his ears peculiar to that race. I accosted him in his native tongue, at which he seemed rather surprised, and I gave him my address, telling him to call on me. This he did just as we were sitting down to investigate this subject. I told the servant to show him into the room, and on asking him if any of his spirit-friends were present, my daughter’s hand wrote out several Kaffir names, which on my reading out to him he recognised, and which evidently caused him great astonishment. On asking if they had any message for him, a sentence was written in the Kaffir language, some of the words of which were beyond my comprehension. On my reading the message out to the Kaffir he understood every word of it except one. This I pronounced in various ways to try to make him comprehend, but all to no purpose, when my daughter’s hand was influenced to write ‘Click with the mouth.’ This reminded me of a peculiar click which frequently accompanies the sounding of the letter ‘T’ in the Kaffir language, and on my pronouncing this word he understood the meaning of it at once. I may state my daughter does not know a word of Kaffir, having been born several years after I was last in that country. I inquired who influenced her hand to write, as the art of writing is generally unknown to Kaffirs, and was informed my old friend H. S., whose native name was ‘Nonquambeen,’ had written the message at the request of the Kaffir’s spirit-friends. I may add H. S. was a well-educated man, whose memory I hold in regard, and who when in this life could talk the Kaffir language fairly, having been an old settler in Natal. I explained to my Kaffir visitor that the Insleseea, or souls of his friends, were present, at which he seemed rather terrified. I assured him there were numbers of my spirit-friends present also, and that my children frequently described both the spirits of my friends and of some of his countrymen who were in my employ, and others whom I knew many years ago. This only seemed to increase his fear. I think I have referred to Chinese having been written through my daughter’s hand imperfectly, and on my remarking that I did not think it was like the Chinese characters, I was informed by one of my Anglican spirit-friends that it was the first time the Chinese spirit had influenced a medium to write, and that he would improve by practice. On showing it to a Chinese (there were thirteen or fourteen pages of it) he could not make out many of the characters, but here and there he said, ‘That means sound,’ ‘That means twenty,’ and so on, and remarked, ‘This like little China boy’s writing, not know write good.’

“One day, while receiving communications through my daughter’s hand, I observed written, ‘Put down that balloon.’ I remarked to my wife, ‘What on earth have they to do with balloons in spirit-life?’ She smiled, and told me that our daughter had in her left hand one of those pink india-rubber toy balloons, which she, childlike, had been trying to inflate with her breath whilst her right hand was writing the communications. I was sitting on the medium’s right-hand side, and was so interested in the communications as written that I had not taken notice what she was doing with her left hand,

on which side my wife sat. At another time, in reply to a query by me on some deep theological matter, through my daughter's hand it was written, 'How can you expect an answer to such a question through a child's organisation?' I have several reams of paper filled with communications received through my daughter's hand." (*The Holy Truth*, pp. 63-71.)

The incident of the child's writing is given in the same book (p. 71), being then of quite recent date. I will, however, give here the account, of course much later, but concordant, and in some points fuller, which was given to me at the interview above mentioned.

M. Aut. 72.

"When our daughter Nelly was nearly five years old, she had not learned a single letter of her alphabet. She had certainly received no instruction whatever. One day her elder sister was writing automatically. To please the child, we put a pencil in her hand. Presently we observed that she had written some words, and on looking we saw that the words were 'I am a mesmeric medium.' [Words 'I am a' not present in earlier account.] She had been under our eyes all the time. The words were written in a small angular lady's handwriting. I then asked my elder daughter's 'guide,' the late Dr. Godfrey Howitt, to explain this. Instead of the accustomed writing, a message came in the writing of my elder sister, the late Mrs. Colonel Kelso, to the effect: [here I give the correct wording as in earlier record] 'She will be very mediumistic, but is too young to be influenced; do not let her sit until she is older, or you will injure her health.' We did not let her write automatically for some years afterwards; then she did write for some little time, and then the power left her.

"HUGH JUNOR BROWNE.

"October 3rd, 1891."

"ELIZABETH BROWNE.

I must here close for the present my budget of evidence. In spite of repeated limitations of the subject proposed for this paper, I have been unable within my limits to deal adequately with any one group of motor messages. Of the class last touched upon, indeed,—alleged communications from the departed,—I have already in other papers published several examples. Some of those have pointed, as some of these fresh narratives do also point, towards a direct transmission from a personality still vividly concerned with the loves and deeds of earth. Other cases, especially in this present group, suggest something of less personal intercourse, as though the communion were rather of man's own incarnate spirit with some vaster knowledge existing somewhere beyond his earthly ken.

But indeed the question, "Can I communicate with a departed soul?" can seem simple only in so far as it is imperfectly understood. At each end of that desired communication lies a group of problems which only darken beneath our steadier gaze. Suppose that an inhabitant of some other world were to ask me, "Can you communicate with other men, and if so, with which men?" what should my answer be? Can

I claim to communicate with Homer,—whose very personality is remote and uncertain,—in a truer sense than I communicate with a living clown? Must I not needs begin any intelligible reply by explaining the bodily senses which I possess, and the forces of nature which are to some extent at my disposal, and the power afforded by printed books of holding converse with the past, or even of affecting minds akin to mine in the near future? Is it not the answering thought, the common emotion, which is the true companionship, whether words and glances have passed between the two organisms or no?

And if there be such difficulties in defining communication between two personalities which still employ methods material, familiar, and measurable, what will be the case when one of those interlocutors is already “beyond our bounds of time and place,” and operates by unknown forces from a centre inconceivable by men?

For what indeed is to be our conception of identity prolonged beyond the tomb? In earth-life the actual body, in itself but a subordinate element in our thought of our friend, did yet by its physical continuity override as a symbol of identity all lapses of memory, all changes of the character within. Yet it was memory and character—the stored impressions upon which he reacted, and his specific mode of reaction—which made our veritable friend. How much of memory, how much of character must he preserve for our recognition? We do not ask that he or we should remember always, or should remember all. It would suffice us if, as Plato has it, the potential memory of an endless Past, lost for awhile in each dreamlike incarnation, should revive in intercurrent spaces of absolute Being. But what if some vaster memory should comprehend our friend’s and ours, and should speak for him with complete retrospection, and should know us better than we know? Again, must his faults, his limitations, persist if we are to love him still? Or may memory be expanded into omniscience and character elevated into divinity, if only the imagined Friend can still be touched with the feeling of our infirmities?

Nothing, surely, need be lost even if some part of what might seem immediate converse with a soul known and dear should prove rather to be a faint, a confused, a grotesque intimation that somewhat within us also is an integral element in the Source and Sum of Things. No communion of finite with finite soul can be like the communion of finite soul with Infinite;—“the flight of the One to the One.” No other knowledge can be like the knowledge that not far from every one of us is that indwelling and limitless Spirit which—as one of these strangely-written messages themselves has phrased it—“is at once thine innermost Self and thine ever unattainable Desire.”

II.

THE DEFENCE OF THE THEOSOPHISTS.

BY RICHARD HODGSON, LL.D.

I cannot, I fear, anticipate that the paper which follows will prove of thrilling interest to many of my readers ; nor can I even claim that it has been rendered necessary by any evidence of doubt or hesitation among members of the S.P.R. as to the validity of the verdict which was pronounced against Madame Blavatsky and her accomplices in Part IX., Vol. III., of these *Proceedings*. Yet, if only for the sake of historical completeness, it seems worth while to set forth in a short article the absolute futility, in my judgment, of the appeals against that verdict which have been thus far made. With the death of Madame Blavatsky the whole discussion has lost much of its interest, but what I have now to say may still be taken as tending in a certain sense to the glorification of that lost leader, as showing how judicious was the boldness with which she speculated on human gullibility ;—how sage was her conviction that with the *populus qui vult decipi* no such trifles as facts or figures will long be allowed to stand in the way.

In the expiring number (March, 1891) of the monthly magazine *Time*, Mrs. Annie Besant made an attack upon my Report on Phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society published in Vol. III. of our *Proceedings*. Were I satisfied that the reader of Mrs. Besant's article would consult my original Report for the purpose of seeing how far her statements were justified, I would leave the question as it stands. This, however, is hardly to be expected, and it seems to me desirable that I should myself, as briefly as possible, point out the chief mistakes made by Mrs. Besant, referring my readers for additional details to the specific passages concerned in my original Report.

Further, Mr. Sinnett, in the *Review of Reviews* for June, 1891, has repeated some statements which he had previously made as to the method of my investigations,—and to which I replied at the time in the *Journal S.P.R.* for November, 1885. My reply notwithstanding, which concerns matters of fact easily verifiable by any intelligent person, Mr. Sinnett has chosen to repeat these statements on more than one occasion, without making any reference whatever to my reply, and

as our *Journal* is not readily accessible to the public I shall repeat my reply here.

I shall also take this opportunity to notice some other statements made by Mr. Sinnett in 1886, not long after the publication of my original Report (December, 1885), and which I thought at that time scarcely needed any fresh consideration. I refer to the pamphlet entitled *The "Occult World Phenomena,"* and the *Society for Psychical Research*, and the volume entitled *Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky*.

I shall first ask the reader's attention to some general charges made originally by Mr. Sinnett,—and partly repeated since by Mrs. Besant,—to which I replied some years ago in the *Journal S.P.R.*

Mrs. Besant speaks of my "English ignorance of Hindu thought" and "English contempt for Hindu veracity," and regards the Hindu race apparently as one "that to guard its holy things from the insolent foreigner will deny point-blank a belief that will be frankly acknowledged among sympathisers." Mr. Sinnett makes a similar suggestion in his pamphlet on *The "Occult World Phenomena,"* &c. (pp. 5-7); and he has made other charges, which he repeats, in the *Review of Reviews*, p. 556. Referring to my investigations he says: "That gentleman never sought her [Madame Blavatsky's] explanations of the circumstances he thought suspicious, never showed her the originals of the letters on which the whole accusation turned, and disguised his unfavourable conclusions while staying as a guest at the Theosophical headquarters." Now I cannot suppose that Mr. Sinnett did not see my reply to some of these suggestions which he circulated among the members of the S.P.R. in the form of a letter dated October 12th, 1885, addressed to the editor of *Light*; and his repetition of these charges—ignoring both my own reply made at the time and some statements made still earlier by Professor Sidgwick—indicates that his excess of zeal on behalf of Madame Blavatsky is leading him into actions which to the "Western" mind, "unfamiliar with India and Indian ways," seem somewhat questionable.¹ I am under the impression—subject to Mr. Sinnett's correction if I am wrong—that

¹ Mr. F. W. H. Myers, in a letter to the *Review of Reviews* for July, 1891, called attention to another statement by Mr. Sinnett which "suggested an inference at variance with fact." Mr. Myers wrote in reply: "'At first,' says Mr. Sinnett, 'the leaders of the S.P.R. undoubtedly accepted Mr. Hodgson's views.' If it is intended to suggest that the members of the Committee who inquired into those alleged marvels have since that date in any way modified their condemnatory judgment, that suggestion is absolutely without foundation. I have not, indeed, encountered any member of our Society who, having studied the evidence contained in Part IX. of our *Proceedings* (published by Trübner in 1885, and to be had of any bookseller), has found his judgment in any degree affected by any of the so-called replies, or protestations of innocence, which have as yet been given to the public."

some leading Theosophists, on seeing the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters,¹ took refuge in the explanation (broached by one of the "Mahatmas"?) that they were forgeries perpetrated by Black Magicians, and I suppose that Mr. Sinnett was anxious to obtain an expression of Madame Blavatsky's opinion, *from some occult point of view*, upon the authorship of the letters. Otherwise it is difficult to see what light she could possibly throw on the subject by inspection of the originals. From the Theosophists' point of view Madame Blavatsky was not an expert in handwriting; from the point of view of the Editor of the *Madras Christian College Magazine*, in whose possession the letters were, she was an unscrupulous intriguer who would not hesitate to use any opportunity that she might get of tampering with the letters in question. Had the letters been in my own exclusive possession, I should have felt compelled to exercise great care to prevent Madame Blavatsky's obtaining any such opportunity. But the letters were not mine, and I had no permission to show them to Madame Blavatsky even had she asked me to do so, as she did not; doubtless because she was well aware that I had no such control over them. All this and more I sufficiently indicated in my letter to the *Journal S.P.R.*, November, 1885,—which, as I have said above, I cannot suppose that Mr. Sinnett has not seen.

The following is an extract from my letter:—

In the first place I had no authority to show these letters to Madame Blavatsky, and Madame Blavatsky well knew that I had none. She frequently asked me whether I had seen the letters myself, and she knew that a considerable time had elapsed before I had an opportunity of doing so, in consequence of the absence from Madras of the Editor of the *Christian College Magazine*; and when I was first enabled to inspect them, I spoke to her of certain restrictions which were placed—I think quite rightly—upon my use of them. Several of them I had in my own possession for a day or two only, for my own examination. The remaining ones I examined in the house of a gentleman in whose custody they were at the time, and two groups of them were eventually entrusted to me for the specific purpose of being sent to England for the judgment of the best caligraphic experts obtainable here (a fact of which I did not think it necessary to inform Madame Blavatsky), under the particular condition that they should be returned as soon as possible; and they were actually sent back to India before my arrival in England. Those which I had in my own possession for a short time I was requested not to take on my own responsibility to the headquarters of the Theosophical Society, the Editor of the *Christian*

¹ It will be remembered that these were the documents adduced in support of their charge of fraud against Madame Blavatsky by M. and Madame Coulomb, who had been attached to the Theosophical Society for several years in positions of trust. M. and Madame Coulomb alleged—correctly, as investigation showed,—that these documents were written by Madame Blavatsky and afforded clear proof of trickery on her part. I have quoted from some of them in my Report, pp. 211-219.

College Magazine being naturally apprehensive that Madame Blavatsky might seize an opportunity of tampering with them.¹ In the second place, Madame Blavatsky had explicitly pronounced certain portions of them to be forgeries, when they were first published, and I should be surprised to learn that she had ever expressed any wish to see the originals while I was at Madras. Had she done so, I have no doubt that some arrangement would have been made according to which she would have had the liberty of inspecting them in the presence of witnesses. That I do not say this unadvisedly is sufficiently shown by the fact that some of the disputed letters were taken to the headquarters of the Society and shown to Theosophists, in September, 1884, in consequence of a request by Major-General Morgan to see the letter in which he was concerned. The Editor of the *Christian College Magazine* writes in the number for April, 1885:—

“We took with us to headquarters four of the disputed letters, and freely allowed all present to examine them. In return we asked to be permitted to see some of Madame Blavatsky’s recent letters to Dr. Hartmann, Damodar, or anyone at headquarters. This request was complied with only to the extent of showing us *a portion* of a letter written from Paris. NO THEOSOPHIST HAS EVER ASKED TO SEE ANY OTHER LETTER, or his request would have been, under proper precautions, at once complied with.”

I have no doubt that what the editor of the magazine quoted says is true, and that Madame Blavatsky never requested permission to see the letters. In the face of these explanations of mine, but without making any reference to them, Mr. Sinnett repeats the statement that I never showed Madame Blavatsky the originals of the letters in dispute,—a statement quite true in itself, but introduced by Mr. Sinnett in a way distinctly and apparently intentionally calculated to mislead the reader concerning the actual circumstances.

In what way my alleged ignorance of the natives operated I am somewhat at a loss to conceive, and I may here quote another passage from my letter (*Journal S.P.R.*, November, 1885) in reply to Mr. Sinnett:—

He speaks of my “unfamiliarity with India and Indian ways” as having led me “into many serious mistakes.” Of course I do not claim the familiarity with India which Mr. Sinnett possesses, but I do not see how this fact can affect my investigation in the way Mr. Sinnett seems to suppose. He *may*, indeed, mean that I ought not to have been surprised to find that certain *chelas* told me deliberate falsehoods, and that had I been more familiar with Indian ways I should have known that such falsehoods were the natural outcome of “Oceultism.” This I am not concerned to dispute; but if he means that my unfamiliarity with India and Indian ways rendered me incapable of taking down evidence correctly, of comparing documents and drawing reasonable inferences, of examining envelopes which had been surreptitiously opened, of carefully exploring the interstices of ceilings and other localities where marvellous phenomena were alleged to

¹ I was allowed only a similar degree of liberty with certain documents which I obtained from Theosophists.

have occurred, I must simply join issue with him. It was, at any rate, not unfamiliarity with Indian ways that led the Parsee gentleman, Mr. K. M. Seervai, formerly Vice-President of the Theosophical Society at Bombay, to give up all connection with the Society, or that led Mr. S. K. Chatterjee, formerly President of the Lahore Branch, to declare that the Society was "a huge imposture," or that led Mr. A. O. Hume, long before the exposures of the Coulombs, to the opinion that some of the *chelas* were morally untrustworthy—that the Shrine was a "conjurer's box"—and that many other of Madame Blavatsky's phenomena were fraudulently produced, or that led Pundit Dayanund Saraswati, the President of the Arya Somaj of India, to inform the public, in 1882, that "neither Colonel Olcott nor Madame Blavatsky knows anything of Yog Vidya (occult science) as practised by the Yogis of old," and that "for them to say that they perform their phenomena without apparatus, without any secret pre-arrangement, and solely through the forces existing in nature (electricity), and by what they call their 'will-power,' is to tell a lie."

The other general statements which I have quoted from Mr. Sinnett are also misrepresentations, and further show his ignorance of the state of affairs at Adyar. When Madame Blavatsky was likely to have anything to say of any importance whatever, I questioned her on the matter. Her replies consisted chiefly in the trumping up of *ex post facto* documents, in deliberate falsehoods, and the suborning of false testimony. For references to Madame Blavatsky's statements see my Report, pp. 211, 221 *note*, 292 *note*, 318-321, 324, 331, 335-6, 346.

Mr. Sinnett speaks of my disguising my "unfavourable conclusions while staying as a guest at the Theosophical headquarters." In the first place I had no "conclusions" at the time referred to. I reached Madras on December 18th, 1884, went to stay at the Theosophical Headquarters on December 25th, and left on January 3rd, though of course I made frequent calls there afterwards until the end of my stay in India, March 26th, 1885. As an instance of the way in which the expression of my unfavourable conclusions was met as regards one special part of my investigation, I may refer to a case given in my Report, pp. 335-6. I had pointed out that there was no satisfactory evidence that anyone had examined the west side of the wall immediately behind the Shrine. (The Shrine was a cupboard placed in the so-called Occult Room, which adjoined Madame Blavatsky's bedroom. It was fixed against the party-wall between the two rooms. Letters and other objects were alleged to have appeared in it by other than ordinary means. The evidence adduced in my Report went to show that they were put there surreptitiously through a sliding panel at the back, to which there was access through Madame Blavatsky's bedroom.) This was early in February. The result was an *ex post facto* Mahatma letter foisted upon Colonel Olcott by Madame Blavatsky, who by means of it succeeded in engendering a pseudo-

memory in Colonel Olcott's mind that he had incidentally made such examinations himself. I assumed Colonel Olcott's innocence in the matter; the reader of my Report may remember that I quoted Madame Blavatsky as calling Colonel Olcott a "psychologised baby" (Report, p. 311). In the second place, when I did reach my final conclusions, I communicated them at Adyar with some interesting results, of which Mr. Sinnett is manifestly ignorant. On February 23rd I left Madras for Bombay. There I obtained much important evidence by my own inquiries, and made the personal acquaintance of Mr. A. O. Hume, who gave me much assistance then and afterwards. On March 11th I returned to Madras, whither Mr. Hume had preceded me. In the course of the next few days I discussed the results of my investigations with the leading Theosophists at Adyar. It was on the evening of March 13th, at a conference between Dr. Hartmann, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper-Oakley, Mr. Hume and myself, that Dr. Hartmann finally confessed that "nobody was allowed to touch that d—— Shrine," and he then related the incident described on p. 224 of my Report, concerning the discovery of the sliding panel of the Shrine and the subsequent destruction of the Shrine itself. I had learned from Mr. A. D. Ezekiel, in Bombay, that he had discovered independently that there had once been a hole in the wall behind the Shrine, but that it had been carefully blocked up. Dr. Hartmann then admitted that traces of this hole had been discovered previously, but the discovery was kept a secret. On the following morning Mr. Hume drew up some statements to form proposed resolutions for an informal meeting to be held in the evening by himself, the Oakleys, Hartmann, Ragoonath Row, Subba Row, and P. Sreenevas Row. These were to the effect that most of the phenomena in connection with the Theosophical Society were fraudulent, as appears from such of the Coulombs' statements as have been verified, and the independent investigations by myself, that the Society be reconstituted, that Madame Blavatsky, Olcott, Damodar, Babajee and Bhavani Shankar should resign their connection with it, that the disputed letters are genuine, and that Hartmann's pamphlet¹ as well as the Defence pamphlet² should be withdrawn, as being founded

¹ *Report of Observations made during a nine months' stay at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar (Madras), India*, by F. Hartmann, M.D., F.T.S.

² Other curious incidents in connection with this pamphlet were known to some of the Theosophists at the Adyar headquarters as well as to myself. The "Defence Pamphlet" was compiled chiefly by Dr. Hartmann, and is that quoted from by Mrs. Besant, who refers to it as "'Report of the Result of an Investigation,' by a Committee of the Council of the Theosophical Society, Madras, 1885." It is also quoted from by Mr. Sinnett in *The "Occult World Phenomena," and the Society for Psychical Research*. This "Defence Pamphlet" was issued in March, 1885. Its full title is: *Report of the Result of an Investigation into the charges against Madame Blavatsky, brought by the Missionaries of the Scottish Free Church at*

on an imperfect knowledge of the circumstances. These resolutions, as I was informed by Mr. Hume, were not carried, the Oakleys and Dr. Hartmann being unwilling to go so far as to condemn the phenomena as fraudulent. It was decided, however, that the pamphlets should be withdrawn. The circulation of these pamphlets was therefore stopped, and early in April the following announcement appeared in the *Madras Mail* :—

“THE THEOSOPHISTS.—Colonel Olcott writes on behalf of the General Council of the Theosophist Society to say that ‘as a number of copies of a pamphlet entitled *Report of the Result of the Investigations into the Charges brought against Madame Blavatsky* have been circulated, it is my duty to state that the issue has not been ordered by the General Council, nor authorised by the Committee.’”

It is from this pamphlet, officially disowned by the Theosophical Society, that Mr. Sinnett and Mrs. Besant, as we shall see later, quote accounts of examinations of the Shrine. But what I desire the reader at present to note is that the pamphlet was thus officially disowned *in consequence of my communicating to the leading Theosophists at Adyar the results of my investigations*. Madame Blavatsky’s attitude to myself, as expressed at the time, was as characteristic as her subsequent vituperation. With her keen insight into human nature, she was well aware that whatever prepossessions I had at the outset of my investigation were distinctly in her favour, and in the last interview which I had with herself and Colonel Olcott, she declared that the Brotherhood was unwilling that the world should at this time believe in their existence, that I had in fact been practically guided by the Brothers themselves, that she knew I had done the most possible for her sake, that there was no alternative but for me to reach the conclusion which I had reached, that it was partly the result of her own bad Karma, that she deserved the fate which had overtaken her, but that some day in the far distant future I might come to believe that after all she was innocent. With me personally, face to face, she was courageous unto the last.

I pass on to consider the article by Mrs. Besant. She alleges that my “prejudice” made me “welcome every unproven suspicion or charge made by known enemies of the Theosophical Society, and ignore all evidence tendered by friends.” As to the “prejudice,” it was

Madras, and examined by a Committee appointed for that purpose by the General Council of the Theosophical Society. The full title of the other pamphlet, referred to above as “Hartmann’s pamphlet,” is: *Report of Observations made during a nine months’ stay at the headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar (Madras), India, by F. Hartmann, M.D., F.T.S. (an American Buddhist).* The first edition was issued in September, 1884, and marked “[*Private and Confidential*]”; the second edition was published apparently in October, 1884.

known to my personal friends and also I believe to some of the leading Theosophists at the time in London, that whatever "prejudice" I may have had was certainly not *against* the genuineness of the phenomena connected with Madame Blavatsky (Report, p. 208). I was, as a matter of fact, prepossessed in her favour. Mrs. Besant states that I ignored "all evidence tendered by friends," yet she claims to have read my Report "carefully." If so, she should recall that apart from the question of handwriting the great bulk of the evidence offered in my Report was furnished by Theosophists themselves (*e.g.*, Report, Appendix IV.), while the remaining part of the evidence consisted almost exclusively of information verifiable by any person, such as my own descriptions of specific places like the rooms and grounds of Crow's Nest Bungalow, or of the Adyar Headquarters, or the items in account books of well-known shops in Madras, or the facts about certain letters and documents (see Report, Appendices V., XIV., and XV.). I do not suppose that Mrs. Besant has any deliberate intention of misrepresenting the nature of the evidence furnished in my Report, though the reader who goes to that Report to see whose statements are regarded as evidence will naturally be surprised at the absurdity of her assertion.

Mrs. Besant then passes from the general charge of prejudice to a more specific one of dishonesty, alleging as follows:—

There is one crucial instance of Mr. Hodgson's lack of honesty; he publishes a "Plan of Occult Room, with Shrine and Surroundings (from measurements taken by R. Hodgson, assisted by the statements of Theosophic witnesses)." On p. 220 Mr. Hodgson says that "the accompanying rough sketch made from measurements of my own shows the positions." As a matter of fact, the place when Mr. Hodgson saw it had been so altered that "measurements" were impossible; the holes he shows in the plan did not exist when he saw the rooms; but it will be better for me to let the author of the plan speak for himself, only saying that he is Mr. William Judge, a New York lawyer of standing and repute, with a character to lose, and that Mr. Judge went from New York to Adyar with authority from Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott, to look into the conduct of the Coulombs and the management of the place, and arrived the day after the Coulombs had been dismissed. He says: "I made a plan of how it had been left by Coulomb, and that plan it is that Hodgson pirated in his report, and desires people to think his, and to be that which he made on the spot, while looking at that which he thus pretends to have drawn. He never could have seen it as Coulomb had left it." I venture to suggest that the pirating of another person's plan, with "measurements" of things that no longer existed when Mr. Hodgson visited Adyar, is not consistent with good faith.—*Time*, pp. 195-6.

I repeat: "Plan of Occult Room with Shrine and Surroundings (from measurements taken by R. Hodgson, assisted by the statements

of Theosophic witnesses).” I also repeat the other passage which Mrs. Besant quotes, but I repeat this with the context :—

One large upper room of the main bungalow was used by Madame Blavatsky (see Plan). The Occult Room was built later, against the west side of Madame Blavatsky’s room. The north window on this side was removed, and a layer of bricks and plaster covered the aperture on the side of the Occult Room—a recess about 15in. deep being left on the east side. The south window was transformed into a doorway leading from Madame Blavatsky’s room into the Occult Room. Madame Blavatsky’s large room was divided into two by curtains and a screen ; that adjoining the Occult Room being used by Madame Blavatsky as her bedroom, and at the end of 1883 as her dining-room also. The accompanying rough sketch made from measurements of my own shows the positions, the Occult Room being about 2ft. lower than Madame Blavatsky’s room. The general entrance to the Occult Room was through Madame Blavatsky’s sitting-room (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Part IX., p. 220).

Now the reader will observe that in the title of my Plan I have described myself as *assisted by the statements of Theosophic witnesses*. It is clear from my Report for what particulars I had to depend on the statements of Theosophists. The important points concerned the size and position of the Shrine, the position of the hole in the wall immediately behind the Shrine, and the position of the sideboard. I questioned Theosophists at Adyar for their estimates on these points, and formed judgment accordingly. (See my Report, pp. 224-6, and Appendix IV.) Further, for all that I know to the contrary, Mrs. Besant may confirm my own measurements now on all the other points of any importance by a visit to Adyar. The walls and doors and windows, &c., may still be in existence ; so also may the recess in the party-wall between the Occult Room and that formerly used by Madame Blavatsky as a bedroom. The sideboard may still be where I saw it last, in the “New Room,”— and the bricked frame that once served to hide the recess may yet be lying in the dust-heap of the compound.

I shall now quote passages from my Report to show that there were certain measurements which I distinctly and expressly pointed out I was unable to make ; and others which I distinctly and expressly pointed out that I was able to make. Mrs. Besant quotes from p. 220. She does not quote, however, what I say on that page about the Shrine’s disappearance before my arrival at Adyar, nor does she quote the following statement :—

Moreover, the Occult Room, when I first received permission to inspect it, had been considerably altered ; its walls were covered with fresh plaster, and I was informed by Mr. Damodar that all traces of the alleged “machinations” of the Coulobms in connection with the Shrine had been obliterated. This was not true, for the bricked frame and the aperture into the recess still existed (see p. 228). However, under the circumstances

it was impossible for me to test the accuracy of much of the description given by Theosophists of the Occult Room and the Shrine at the time of the "exposure" by the Coulobms. But by analysing and comparing the evidence given by various witnesses, I was able to put together the following history of the Shrine and its surroundings.¹

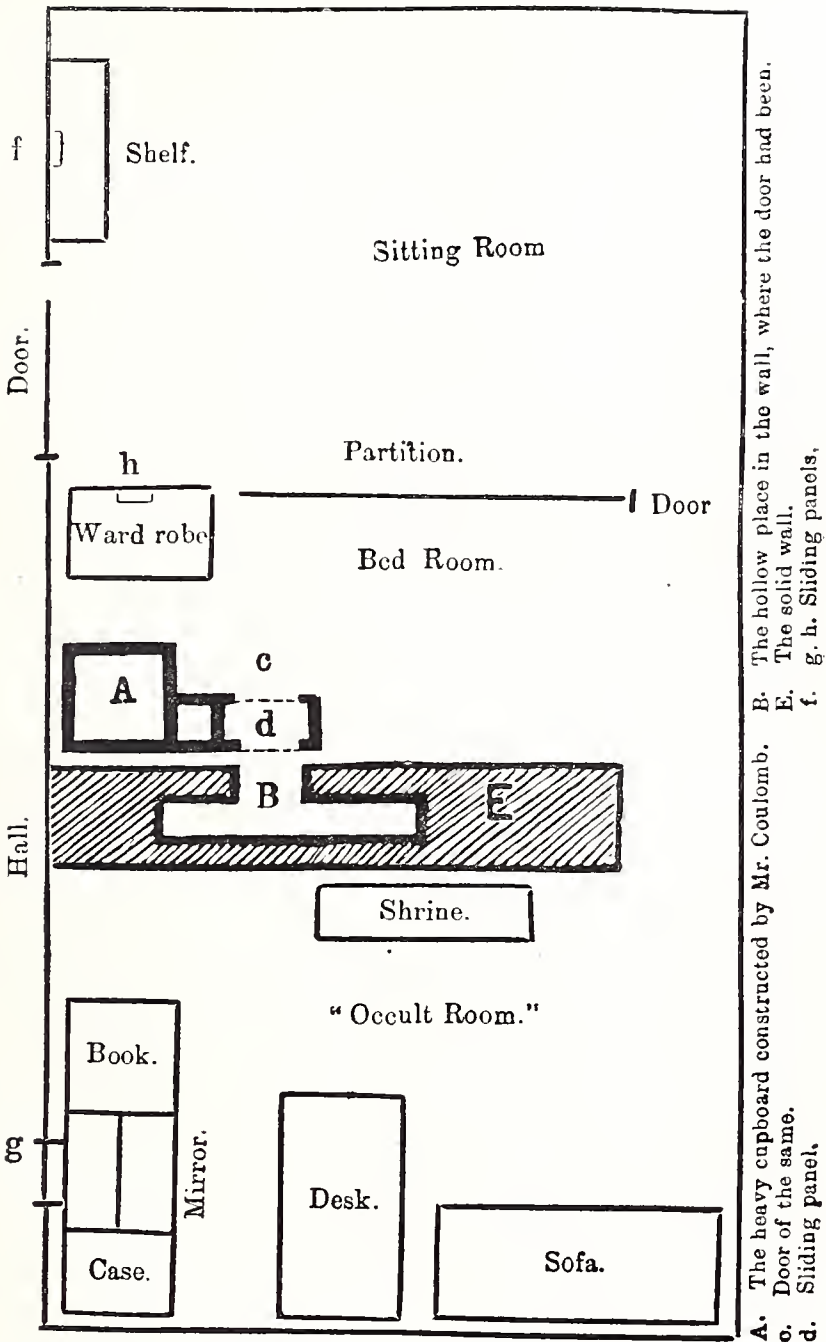
Again, on pp. 228, 229 I wrote:—

Dr. Hartmann in his pamphlet gave the dimensions of the aperture as 27in. high by 14in. wide, and these dimensions are as nearly as possible correct. This I was subsequently able to ascertain for myself, as the frame had been stowed away in the compound, and was shown to me by another Theosophist. The recess was alleged by Dr. Hartmann to be about 12in. deep, and about 5ft. high; the depth given is about correct, but the height was more nearly 8ft.—as I found by measurement.

I have thus explicitly pointed out in my Report that there were certain measurements which I was unable to make, and certain others, especially concerning the size of the recess and the aperture to it, which, notwithstanding the alterations in connection with the Occult Room, I was able to make and did make, and references to these points are given on the very page from which Mrs. Besant draws her quotation, which she separates from the context, and so makes it convey—I do not say intentionally—a false impression. She then goes on to misrepresent me as claiming to have made measurements which I have thus explicitly pointed out in my Report I was unable to make. And she asserts that she has read my Report "carefully."

But this is far from being the whole of Mrs. Besant's misrepresentation. She asserts that the Plan which I made was made by a "Mr. William Judge." Now, the only plans, except my own, of Occult Room and Surroundings, that I ever heard of, were (1) an incomplete plan of *the walls only*—made by M. Coulomb after his departure from the Theosophical Headquarters, and (2) the plan which was published in the pamphlet by Dr. Hartmann entitled *Report of Observations made during a nine months' stay at the Headquarters of the Theosophical Society at Adyar (Madras), India.* Both of these plans, as I found by my own measurements, were inaccurate. The one published by Dr. Hartmann, indeed, was absurdly inaccurate. Perhaps this was the one made by Mr. Judge. Dr. Hartmann's pamphlet was both prepared and issued during Mr. Judge's stay at Adyar. I reproduce this plan here so that the reader may compare it with mine (*Proceedings*, Part IX.).

¹ For the evidence on which this account is based see Appendix IV.



I do not, of course, know whether Mr. Judge ever made any *other* plan at all. I see at present no sufficient reason for supposing that he did. But if he did make any other plan, and if it agrees with mine, I venture to congratulate Mr. Judge that he was so close in his judgment about the recess, to which on his own showing he had no access except

by the aperture in the bricked frame, and which I was able to measure easily as the bricked frame was removed during my stay at Madras. I also venture to congratulate myself that his measurements of the size and position of the Shrine are found to justify my estimate formed from the various statements of the Theosophic witnesses. Mr. Judge had opportunity enough for the measurement of the Shrine. I take the following passage from my Report, p. 224 :—

The ultimate fate of the Shrine, according to a statement made by Dr. Hartmann to Mr. and Mrs. Cooper-Oakley, Mr. Hume, and myself, was as follows. After the expulsion of the Coulombs, Mr. Judge, an American Theosophist, then residing at the headquarters of the Society, was desirous of examining the Shrine. Mr. Damodar, who possessed the keys of the Occult Room, avoided this examination several times on one pretext or another ; but, eventually, a party of Theosophists proceeded to the inspection of the Shrine. The Shrine was removed from the wall and its doors were opened. Mr. T. Vigiarahava Charloo (commonly called Ananda), a Theosophist residing in an official position at the headquarters, struck the back of the Shrine with his hand, exclaiming, “ You see, the back is quite solid,” when, to the surprise of most of those who were present, the middle panel of the Shrine flew up. It seemed undesirable to some of the witnesses of this phenomenon that the discovery should be made public, and they resolved accordingly to destroy the Shrine. To do this they considered that the Shrine must be surreptitiously removed, but such removal was inconvenient from the Occult Room. The Shrine was therefore first removed openly to Mr. Damodar’s room, and, on the following night, was thence removed secretly by three Theosophists, concealed in the compound, afterwards broken up, and the fragments burned piecemeal during the following week.

In a written account furnished to me by Dr. Hartmann, given in full on p. 225 of my Report, allusion is also made to these incidents¹ :—

It was found that the back of the Shrine could be removed, and on moistening the wall behind the Shrine with a wet cloth, it was found that an aperture had existed, which had been plastered up. . . . It seemed to me that if at that inopportune moment this *new discovery*, to which I then alluded in the papers (see *Madras Mail*), would have been made public, it would have had a bad effect on the public mind. . . . A gentleman who was present, and who shared my opinions, was of the opinion that the *Shrine*

¹ The defence originally offered by the Theosophists was that M. Coulomb had made the trick apparatus after Madame Blavatsky’s departure from Adyar, but had not had time to complete his tricks, and as one of the proofs of this they pointed out that there was no hole in the wall immediately behind the Shrine. When it was afterwards discovered that not only did the Shrine have a sliding panel in the back, but that a hole had once existed in the wall, thus completing the required communication between the Shrine and Madame Blavatsky’s bedroom, it became obvious that the defence originally put forward was very unsatisfactory ; so unsatisfactory indeed that Mr. Judge and Dr. Hartmann, to “ save the situation,” suppressed the discoveries and destroyed the Shrine. (See Report, pp. 340-1.)

had been too much desecrated to be of any more use, and he burned the Shrine in my presence.

This gentleman, according to Dr. Hartmann's statement to us, was *Mr. Judge*.

Nor was this the only instance in which Mr. Judge was willing to act for the purpose of "saving the situation." One of the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents refers to an attempt to deceive Mr. Jacob Sassoon by a spurious marvel, viz., a telegram supposed to be sent by a *Ramalinga Deb*. The telegram was sent by Madame Coulomb according to instructions from Madame Blavatsky (Report, pp. 211, 217-8, 318-321), and it was clear that Ramalinga Deb was a fictitious personage. Madame Blavatsky's letter to Madame Coulomb arranging for this marvel was published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for September, 1884. I take the following passage from a later article in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for April, 1885 :—

Mr. W. Q. Judge wrote the following letter on the subject to some of the leading Indian newspapers :—

"In this matter which has now spread all over India very much has been made of the sending a telegram to Madame Blavatsky signed 'Ramalinga Deb,' which was done, the *Christian College Magazine* says, by order of Madame Blavatsky in order to commit a fraud.

We wish the public and all our friends to know that this telegram incident is perfectly clear to us. We know Mr. Ramalinga Deb very well. We also know how Mrs. Coulomb obtained possession of the receipt and of a copy of the telegram.

But as this is an important point in the case we must refuse, at this moment, to inform our enemies what the evidence and explanation are.

At the proper time and *before the proper tribunal* we will produce both Mr. Deb and the explanation, when Mrs. Coulomb will have an opportunity of confronting the substance of that shadow which is called by her in the *Christian College Magazine* 'Ramalinga Deb.'

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM Q. JUDGE, F.T.S.,
Barrister-at-Law."

What, we would ask, has become of the substance of Mr. Ramalinga Deb now? Or what, indeed, of the substance of Mr. Judge himself? That gentleman has, we believe, preferred a trip to America to the more hazardous enterprise of producing "Mr. Deb and the explanation."

I cannot profess myself to attribute any importance to Mr. Judge's testimony. If he acted as the representative of Madame Blavatsky in these cases, to "save the situation" at Adyar, he may have acted in other cases also to "prolong the situation," and I may here remark that it would be very easy for Madame Blavatsky in a short time to produce a number of persons who could master the characteristics of the K. H. writing sufficiently to deceive the elect like Mrs. Besant,

and that when Mrs. Besant speaks of having received K. H. letters after Madame Blavatsky's death, we need to know the precise circumstances according to the accounts of cautious witnesses before we can regard her statement as worthy of serious consideration. But not even Mrs. Besant has offered more than a general statement which seems to represent her mere opinion.

We may now consider some other statements which Mrs. Besant quotes from this same Mr. Judge about the aperture made into the recess.

Mr. Judge—who saw the hole—describes it as “a rough, unfinished hole in the wall, opening into the space left when the old door had been bricked up. . . . This hole began at the floor, and extended up about 22 inches. From each edge projected pieces of lath, some three inches, others five inches long, so that the opening was thus further curtailed. . . . The plaster was newly broken off, the ends of the laths presented the appearance of freshly broken wood, and the wall-paper had been freshly torn off.” These facts were seen and signed to by over 30 gentlemen, sent for by Mr. Judge as witnesses. Mr. Judge further tells us that, at his request, Mr. Damodar tried to get into the recess through the hole, but could not; Mr. Judge himself tried and failed, as did a “thin coolie”; finally, “a small boy about ten years of age” squeezed in, but found that he could not stand upright, for there were large pieces of hard mortar projecting from the sides. Mr. Judge then sent for a man, who “in my presence bricked up the aperture, replastered it, and then repapered the whole space.” What, then, becomes of Mr. Hodgson's “measurements” and his statement that the space was sufficient for a person to stand in? (*Time*, pp. 199-200.)

With these statements of Mr. Judge we may compare the statements of two other prominent Theosophists, as examples of conflicting testimonies. Dr. Hartmann writes in the pamphlet already referred to (*Report of Observations, &c.*, p. 39):—

The wall behind the “shrine” in the “occult” room was found to be partly hollow, forming a space of about 5 feet high and 3½ feet wide, with a depth of twelve inches between the walls, and with an aperture of about 14 inches wide, by 27 inches high, sufficiently large for a little boy (who was not afraid of suffocation) to crawl in, and opening into the bedroom next to the “occult” room. This aperture was hidden by a heavy piece of furniture resembling a cupboard or clothes press, and it could be entered through the same by opening the door of the cupboard and removing a sliding panel (*d*) at the back.

And Damodar, in his first reply to Dr. Hartmann's circular of inquiry, wrote as follows (*Report*, p. 336):—

As regards the hole [through the sideboard into the recess] . . . in the presence of Dr. Hartmann and Mr. Lane-Fox, I attempted to enter it. All who know me or have seen me are aware how thin and lean I am; and although I was almost half naked at the time, I could enter the “hole” with

difficulty. And when once inside I could only stand abreast without being able to move, either way, an inch, or to lift up my hand.

I pointed out in my Report (pp. 228-9) that the dimensions of the aperture as given by Dr. Hartmann were "as nearly as possible correct. This I was subsequently able to ascertain for myself as the frame had been stowed away in the compound, and was shown to me by another Theosophist." This was the bricked frame which filled the front of the recess, and through which the aperture had been made.

The recess was alleged by Dr. Hartmann to be about 12in. deep and about 5ft. high; the depth given is about correct, but the height was more nearly 8ft.—as I found by measurement. I have myself entered a space through a hole the dimensions of both of which were at least an inch less than the dimensions given by Dr. Hartmann. The hole I made for the purpose measured less than 13in. by 26in., and the space into which it led, and in which I stood upright, was less than 11in. in depth. In this space I could with ease lift my hand, manipulate objects, and utilise the position generally in the way demanded for the production of the Shrine phenomena.

Another Theosophist assured me that "he regarded the aperture and the recess as quite large enough to be used by a person of ordinary size for the production of the Shrine phenomena." This gentleman was Mr. A. D. Ezekiel, of Poona, the same discerning witness who discovered that a hole had once existed in the wall immediately behind the Shrine, but had afterwards been blocked up (Report, pp. 224-5), and who also detected in the ceiling the "screw-rings"¹ which had been used in the production of a spurious letter-phenomenon intended for his benefit (Report, p. 249).

When, therefore, I stated in my Report that the space in question was sufficient for a person to stand in, I did so while giving my readers full information as to how I was able to make the measurements, and I quoted the measurements given by Dr. Hartmann, differing with him only as to the height of the recess, which he gave as 5ft.² and which I found to be nearly 8ft. Dr. Hartmann assuredly cannot be accused of having at that time any prejudice against Madame Blavatsky. He was, on the contrary, one of her warmest partisans; he

¹ Mr. Ezekiel informed me that he was at Adyar some time after the "exposure" by the Coulombs, and Mr. Judge challenged him to point out the contrivances mentioned above. Mr. Ezekiel looked up at the ceiling and found that they had disappeared, but he pointed out to Mr. Judge the marks of the fresh paint which showed where they had been. Mr. Judge said nothing.

² This, I think, was not an intentional misrepresentation by Dr. Hartmann. He evidently estimated the height of the recess when the only access to it was through the aperture 14×27 in., and he may have taken a statement by Damodar as to its height, Damodar, according to his own written statement, having entered it in the presence of Dr. Hartmann. Later on, long after Dr. Hartmann's pamphlet was published, and while I was at Madras, the bricked frame was removed, so that I was able to measure both the bricked frame and the recess.

had been nine months at Adyar when he published his pamphlet ; and three months and a half—ample time for his measurements—had elapsed since the departure of the Coulombs. What then, will the reader think of Mrs. Besant's charge against me on the strength of a written statement made by Mr. Judge to herself apparently some years later ? Those of my readers who have followed my accounts, in other articles, of the unreliability of human testimony, may perhaps be willing to let Mr. Judge's statements pass as a case of ordinary lapse of memory. But Mrs. Besant, claiming to have read my Report "carefully," and with the evidence in that Report presumably before her concerning Dr. Hartmann's statements as published in his pamphlet—which surely Mrs. Besant ought to have also studied carefully,—makes no reference whatever either to the detailed circumstances of my measurements, or the explicit declarations of Dr. Hartmann, who wrote in defence of Madame Blavatsky.

I shall now proceed to deal with Mrs. Besant's other (doubtless unintentional) misrepresentations. In dealing with the question of structures for trickery in connection with the Shrine, she makes it appear that I have adduced the statements of the Coulombs as evidence. "All this Mr. Hodgson learned from the veracious M. Coulomb, and nobody else." A reference to my Report will show how far this is from being true. My consideration of the Shrine and surroundings will be found chiefly on pp. 220-231 and pp. 325-341. On pp. 220-1 I give the early history of the Occult Room and Shrine, which depends, as I expressly pointed out, on the statements of Theosophic witnesses. On pp. 221-2 I give the statements of M. Coulomb in a single separate paragraph by themselves, and point out that his "statement as to the half panel cannot of course be verified, and must be taken for what it is worth. What evidence there is in support of his other statements will be seen from the remainder of my narrative, derived from other sources." I then proceed with the later history of the Shrine, up to M. Coulomb's delivery of the keys and the investigation of the various contrivances for trickery. I stated clearly the view put forward in defence of Madame Blavatsky :—

The Theosophists contended that the structures for trickery revealed by the Coulombs, who had had exclusive charge of Madame Blavatsky's rooms during her absence, had been made after she had left ; that they had never been and could not be used in the production of phenomena ; that the hollow space and aperture leading to it were too small to be utilised in any connection with the Shrine, and moreover that M. Coulomb's work was interrupted before he had time to make a hole through the wall between the hollow space and the Shrine itself.

I then discuss, *entirely apart from any statements whatever made by*

the Coulombs, the evidence given on these points by Theosophists, and I quote all the important part of this evidence in detail in Appendix IV., giving much fuller and more numerous citations than Mrs. Besant herself has given, and quoting also the replies of many of the witnesses to my own personal inquiries made on the spot. In drawing my conclusions I did not depend on a single statement made by the Coulombs, as the reader may easily see for himself. My conclusions were (Report, p. 226):—

(1) That the position selected for the Shrine was peculiarly convenient for obtaining secret access to it from the back ; and that none of the changes from time to time made in Madame Blavatsky's bedroom behind the Shrine, though made with the ostensible object of removing all suspicion of trickery, tended to diminish this convenience ; (2) that there undoubtedly were all the necessary apertures for access to the Shrine from the back, at some period before the Coulombs left ; (3) that there is no trustworthy evidence whatever to show that this access did not exist during the whole time from the moment the Shrine was put up till Madame Blavatsky left for Europe, in February, 1884, except during the alterations connected with putting up the bricked frame, when Mrs. Morgan saw the whole wall papered over ; and there is no evidence of the occurrence of any Shrine phenomena during those alterations.

These results—altogether apart from the Blavatsky-Coulomb correspondence—would prevent the whole mass of testimony to Shrine-marvels from having any scientific value ; taken along with this correspondence, they can, I think, leave no doubt in the mind of any impartial reader as to the mode of production of these marvels.

Yet Mrs. Besant has thought proper to represent me in her article as both depending on the evidence of the Coulombs, and as producing no other evidence. I do not attribute any intentional insincerity to Mrs. Besant. I regard this and other examples of her misrepresentation of my Report as springing from a strong emotional bias in the light of which her intellectual faculty at least has become obscured. The fact is that Mrs. Besant is woefully ignorant of the whole matter that concerns the trick structures at Adyar. She seems to have adopted without any question the crude and hasty view which the Theosophists at Adyar first put forward in explanation of the origin of those structures, and to have paid no attention whatever to the evidence that has been produced against that view. Her method of meeting the evidence offered in my Report on this point seems to be to take no notice of it, although it is the evidence of Theosophic witnesses anxious to defend Madame Blavatsky. And she quotes inaccurate statements about examinations of the Shrine from *a pamphlet disowned by the Council of the Theosophical Society and expressly declared to be untrustworthy by the compiler of the pamphlet, Dr. Hartmann himself.*

We now come to what Mrs. Besant has to say concerning the genuineness of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters. She wishes her reader to think lightly of the opinion of Messrs. Netherclift and Sims, chiefly because these gentlemen formed a certain opinion in the first instance concerning some other writing and then, when additional documents were submitted to them, formed a different opinion. I shall have more to say on this point presently. Meanwhile the fact remains that in the opinion of the best experts obtainable, the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents were undoubtedly written by Madame Blavatsky, and I know of no *expert in handwriting* who has examined the letters who has expressed any different opinion.

I notice that Mrs. Besant has made no allusion to the circumstantial evidence adduced in my Report which corroborates the judgment of the experts in handwriting. She uses an argument, however, which may appear to have some validity to those persons who are unacquainted with the old relations between Madame Blavatsky and Madame Coulomb. It is absurd to suppose, she says, that Madame Blavatsky "would be such a fool as to place herself at the mercy of a woman of the type of Madame Coulomb." But the case is very different when we remember that as far back as 1872, at Cairo, Madame Blavatsky had been associated with Madame Coulomb in producing bogus "spiritistic" phenomena, and that the latter already was possessed of some important "secrets" of Madame Blavatsky's life. Madame Blavatsky, before the incriminating letters in question were written, was already in Madame Coulomb's power. (Report, pp. 314-5.) Mrs. Besant quotes Mr. Hume as having put this view well, viz., that Madame Blavatsky was "far too shrewd a woman to have ever written to any one anything that could convict her of fraud." She does not, however, refer to the fact that Mr. Hume *changed his opinion*. I quote what I said on this point in my Report (p. 274):—

When the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters were first published, Mr. Hume expressed his opinion publicly that Madame Blavatsky was too clever to have thus committed herself; latterly, however, and partly in consequence of the evidence I was able to lay before him, he came to the conviction that the letters in question were actually written by Madame Blavatsky. Further, he had never placed the slightest credence in the Shrine-phenomena, which he had always supposed to be fraudulent.

Mrs. Besant says: "It has always been a mystery to me how anyone could read these letters, and believe them to have been written by Madame Blavatsky." This I suppose is largely a matter of personal opinion. To myself the mystery is how Mrs. Besant can believe them to have been written by anybody else. And that Madame Blavatsky herself saw the difficulty in foisting them on any other person is

sufficiently indicated by the fact that she admitted nearly all the non-incriminating portions of the letters to be in substance genuine.

The next main point that Mrs. Besant deals with is the authorship of the Koot Hoomi documents, which I have given reasons for thinking were written chiefly by Madame Blavatsky, in some cases by Damodar. Mrs. Besant's belief that many Mahatma letters have been received under circumstances which precluded their having been written by Madame Blavatsky or a confederate, has obviously no more evidential value than Dr. Hartmann's general statement, which she quotes, that he received such letters at Headquarters when Madame Blavatsky was not living there. The only specific cases to which Mrs. Besant refers are mentioned, among others, in my Report (pp. 215, 248, *et seq.*, 373-377). Mrs. Besant seems to take it for granted that because Madame Blavatsky did not know Sanscrit, Mahrathi, &c., the Mahatma letters in those languages must be supernormal; as if it were not superlatively easy for Madame Blavatsky to obtain such letters through one of her confederates. I have mentioned in my Report that Mahrathi was Damodar's vernacular. It was much easier indeed for Madame Blavatsky to provide a Mahatma letter in one of the Indian languages than to either read or provide one in Hebrew or in Arabic. And we find accordingly that when Mr. A. D. Ezekiel, Theosophist of Poona, prepared a question in the Arabic language and in Hebrew characters, and submitted it to the Mahatma, he received a reply that showed complete ignorance of his question. His question concerned the interpretation of a specific portion of the Kabbala, and not the slightest reference was made to this in the reply which he received.

An analysis of the circumstances of the appearance of all the Koot Hoomi writings of any importance that came before us previous to the publication of my Report, showed that so far as time, place, &c., were concerned, they might have been written either by Madame Blavatsky or Damodar. It was therefore desirable to ascertain what grounds there were, as a question of handwriting, composition, &c., for supposing that the K. H. documents were actually the work of Madame Blavatsky and Damodar,—and primarily of course of Madame Blavatsky. The question is considered in detail on pp. 276-311 of my Report, and my conclusions were confirmed and strengthened by the examination made by Mrs. Sidgwick (Report, pp. 378-380). Messrs. Netherclift and Sims also reached the same conclusions eventually, but thought differently on their first examination. Mrs. Besant makes much of this change of opinion on the part of these experts, and adduces on the other side the testimony of "Herr Ernst Schütze, the Court expert in caligraphy at Berlin." Now the circumstances of Herr Ernst Schütze's judgment happen to be given by Mr. Sinnett in the

volume entitled *Incidents in the Life of Madame Blavatsky* (Appendix, pp. 323-4). The documents submitted to Herr Schütze for comparison were a K. H. letter of September, 1884, and a Madame Blavatsky letter received *October, 1885*. He replied that they were not by the same hand. Later on, another K. H. letter, we are not informed of what date, was sent to Herr Schütze, and he was asked whether he would "adhere to his opinion." He did so adhere. Now I venture to find fault with the circumstances of this judgment, as described by Mr. Sinnett. In the first place the writing supplied to the expert, supplied, I presume, as the *undoubted ordinary writing of Madame Blavatsky*, was written a year after the publication of the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters in the *Madras Christian College Magazine*. Mr. J. D. B. Gribble had also published a pamphlet at Madras in 1884 concerning the characteristics of the handwriting of these letters, and had pointed out many of the peculiarities of Madame Blavatsky's ordinary handwriting. Further, at the meetings of our Society, in May and June, 1885, I had myself described some of the peculiar formations of Madame Blavatsky's handwriting especially in connection with the K. H. documents. One would suppose, even apart from these circumstances, that a letter offered to an expert as a specimen of Madame Blavatsky's undoubted ordinary handwriting with which to compare some disputed document, should at least have been written *before* the publication of the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents. Obviously the standard of her undoubted writing must not be such a standard as Madame Blavatsky herself would *ex post facto* provide. That she wished myself to use such a standard plainly appears in my Report (p. 281):—

Soon after my arrival at Adyar [in the latter part of December, 1884], I asked for a specimen of Madame Blavatsky's undoubted handwriting,—for the purpose of comparison with the disputed documents. Mr. Damodar avoided giving me any before Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott reached headquarters, and after I had had some conversation with them on the subject, Colonel Olcott said that Madame Blavatsky would write me a letter at once, if I wished, which I could use as a test document. I replied that it would be desirable for me to have some manuscript that was written before the appearance of the *Christian College Magazine* in September, whereupon Colonel Olcott said abruptly that he could take no action as to giving me any handwriting of Madame Blavatsky's until their own Committee had met, and that Madame Blavatsky was in the hands of the Theosophical Society.

Madame Blavatsky, finding that I would not use as my standard a letter professedly written by her for that purpose, nevertheless hoped, as I believe, that I might take as a standard some document of hers ostensibly written for another purpose. She therefore wrote out certain statements concerning Madame Coulomb's charges. These writings, as I have shown in pp. 290-1 of my Report, show a sudden

change as regards one of the most important characteristics of her ordinary writing of several years previous, besides other minor alterations, and they would therefore have proved an untrustworthy standard. The device, therefore, which we might suppose that a person charged with forgery would adopt, if opportunity were given, was actually adopted by Madame Blavatsky in my own case, and she may well have resorted to a similar device in her letters generally.

Not only is this flaw manifest in the data submitted to Herr Schütze. The documents that caused Messrs. Netherclift and Sims to abandon their first opinion concerning the authorship of the K. H. documents were a series obtained from Mr. Sinnett, "eight specimens of the K. H. writing, which represented, some of them at least, consecutive periods of time, beginning with the earliest letter received by Mr. Sinnett." Whether this was known to Mr. Gebhard or not when he invited the judgment of the German expert on a K. H. letter of September, 1884, and a Madame Blavatsky letter received October, 1885, written a year after she knew that she was suspected of writing the K. H. letters as well as the Blavatsky-Coulomb letters—I do not know. One thing surely is very clear, viz., that the German expert was far from having as complete a set of data as those finally submitted to the English experts,—a very strange neglect, if anything more than a mere contrary opinion was wanted. Were I now submitting the case for judgment, I should provide the expert with letters written by Madame Blavatsky some time previous to the appearance of the first K. H. letter,—with letters written about that time, shortly afterwards, and after the public exposure. I should for comparison with these submit the earliest K. H. documents, and later K. H. specimens in chronological series; and then put the inquiry as to whether these "might not perhaps be really by the same hand" as the undoubted Madame Blavatsky letters.

I notice what Mrs. Besant has to say about the "fragmentary script" which I quoted in my Report in connection with my remarks as to the possible political significance of Madame Blavatsky's career. She asserts that it is a "discarded scrap of a translation, by Madame Blavatsky, of a Russian work, translated for and published in the *Pioneer*, ordered and paid for by its editor, and to be read there by anyone who cares to do so." I am aware that Madame Blavatsky said something of this sort, and I gave her, in my Report, p. 317, the credit of this explanation, which Mrs. Besant produces years later as though it were a new or a well-established thing. In Mr. Sinnett's pamphlet, *The "Occult World Phenomena,"* &c., Madame Blavatsky said that it was "*a fragment of an old translation I made for the Pioneer from some Russian travels in Central Asia*" (pp. 51-2); Mr. Sinnett speaks

of it as "evidently a discarded fragment" or "rejected page" from that translation, or possibly a slip that might have happened to fall "from some other Russian translations which Madame Blavatsky . . . once made for the Indian Foreign Office." I only refer to this "script" at all here because it seems to afford an illustration of Mrs. Besant's method of examination of much of the evidence before her. Madame Blavatsky says it is so, and it is so. From Mr. Sinnett's remarks (*loc. cit.*, pp. 10-11) it is clear that he is putting forward what appears to him to be an adequate explanation for the existence of the "script." But Mrs. Besant speaks as confidently as if she had in her hand the copy of the *Pioneer* containing the passage. Let the reader not forget, however, that the scrap is spoken of as *discarded*. It is pertinent, therefore, to ask Mrs. Besant what evidence there is for her assertion beyond the fact that Madame Blavatsky said and Mr. Sinnett thinks it.

I shall now consider very briefly the reply which Mr. Sinnett made in his pamphlet entitled *The "Occult World Phenomena" and the Society for Psychical Research*.

The first case dealt with (Report, pp. 256-7) hinges on the time at Madame Blavatsky's disposal for surreptitiously opening a letter. In his account in *The Occult World* Mr. Sinnett wrote that she had not been away to her own room *thirty seconds*, that she had not been out of his sight otherwise *except for a minute or two in his wife's room*, and that she spoke for a few minutes in the adjoining room to his wife. In his statement before the Committee he said: "She was out of my sight but for an instant of time when she cried out, 'Oh, he has taken it from me now.' I will undertake to say that she was not out of my sight for ten seconds. Having uttered that exclamation, she returned to the drawing-room, and we then proceeded together to my office at the back of my house. I went on with what I was doing, and she simply lay on the sofa in my full view." I said, "After this I cannot feel certain that Madame Blavatsky may not have been absent in her own room considerably more than 30 seconds, nor do I feel certain that Madame Blavatsky may not have retired to some other room [connected, say, with Mrs. Sinnett's room] during the interval of 'a few minutes' which Mr. Sinnett assigns to her conversation with Mrs. Sinnett in the adjoining room." Mr. Sinnett does not tell us how long after the event his account in *The Occult World* was written, and in giving his account to the Committee he had manifestly completely forgotten the absence of Madame Blavatsky in his wife's room. Readers of my accounts in the *Proceedings* of the lapses of memory to which human testimony is liable will not think my conjecture unreasonable that Madame Blavatsky may have had a longer time at her disposal than Mr. Sinnett afterwards estimated. And Mr. Sinnett fails apparently

to see that the important point of the incident *turns on a question of seconds*.¹

Where it is a question whether, for a task that might be accomplished in 30 seconds, *ten* seconds elapsed or *thirty*, and when the recorder in one account estimates thirty and in another ten, the discrepancy is certainly noteworthy. I have not, however, dwelt upon this point at any length in my Report, nor did I specially impeach Mr. Sinnett's care in the rest of his narrative on account of this incident. Yet Mr. Sinnett frequently bespeaks the sympathy of his readers on the ground that I make him out as an inaccurate observer because of this discrepancy of seconds (although, be it observed, the importance of the incident turns upon how many *seconds* were at Madame Blavatsky's disposal). He writes: "Mr. Hodgson actually goes on in his Report to argue that I must be an inaccurate and untrustworthy narrator because of this discrepancy of my evidence about the ten and the thirty seconds" (p. 16). He speaks of my "contention" as "the foundation of the major part of Mr. Hodgson's subsequent theorising about my book" (p. 17); "that impeachment continues to underlie all the groundless pretences which Mr. Hodgson makes throughout this Report in regard to having shaken the value of my testimony" (p. 21); "it is only by beginning with criticisms so absurd that it is difficult to understand how he can have vanquished the sense of shame he must have felt in first endeavouring to work with them—those concerning the ten and thirty seconds—that he was able to inaugurate the system on which he has striven to damage the credit of my story. That system has been to level an undue reproach at me, and to keep referring to me as a man who has incurred that reproach" (pp. 42-3). After all this the reader will be surprised to learn that beyond my first reference to the incident on p. 257 of my Report, I have made no reference whatever to the discrepancy in question. Not only have I made no *specific* reference to the discrepancy, but where in the course of my criticisms I have made any *general* reference to Mr. Sinnett's want of care, it is obvious from the context that I had other cases in mind, and not this particular instance.

The next case is that of a fall of a letter in a room at Crow's Nest Bungalow. I supposed that this letter came through one of the cracks in the ceiling from a garret above, the only entrance to the garret being a trap-door in Madame Blavatsky's bedroom. There were large interstices in the ceiling when I examined the place myself. I said it was to be "inferred from Mr. Sinnett's accounts that he made no examination whatever of the ceiling either from the room below or

¹ The envelope which I described myself in my Report as having manipulated in one minute I opened without any special appliances. I opened it shortly after it was closed before the gum was dry.

from the garret above." To this Mr. Sinnett practically makes no reply, though he still thinks that the phenomenon was genuine. "Mr. Sinnett thinks that, and I think differently,"—to change the words of Mr. Sinnett's remarks—but "there is no particle of evidence to support Mr. Sinnett's belief, beyond the fact that Madame Blavatsky suggested it."

The third case,—writing in a "sealed envelope,"—Mr. Sinnett, when deposing before the Committee, regarded as "quite complete." He now regards it as "relatively trivial," and makes no reply to my statements about the ease of opening the envelope and abstracting the contents. Mr. Sinnett implies much in other places about the light which he could have thrown on the subjects mentioned in my Report if he had only been consulted. This was one of the instances where he was consulted—the result being to show at once that Mr. Sinnett's account of the security of the letter-fastening was absurd, and that there was no evidence at all for the genuineness of the phenomenon (Report, pp. 258-9).

In the fourth case, the alleged instantaneous transportation of a piece of plaster *plaque*, the only reply which Mr. Sinnett makes depends on a misrepresentation of my explanations. He regards me as supposing that the fragment found by him at Allahabad was a piece broken off by itself by Madame Blavatsky, and he says that the nature of the fracture forbids this supposition. If the reader will refer to my Report (p. 260) he will see that I do not suppose this. I suppose the mould to have been broken into several pieces, and that one of those pieces was conveyed by ordinary means to Allahabad. I have expressly avoided the supposition that Mr. Sinnett attributes to me. Thus it appears that Mr. Sinnett makes no real reply to my statements about this incident. Further, he makes no reply to my statements about the alleged Mahatma letters connected therewith, and I refer the reader specially to my detailed comments on this point in the footnote on pp. 260-1 of my Report.

For Mr. Sinnett's remarks about the "raps" and "astral bells" I simply refer to my Report, pp. 262-3.

Mr. Sinnett passes over my criticism of the incident of the "pink note in the tree."

In dealing with the incidents of the Simla picnic, and taking Colonel Olcott's account as distinguished from Mr. Sinnett's, I pointed out that there was no special difficulty in supposing that the cup and saucer and diploma had been prepared beforehand, and that the bottle of water might also have been provided with the assistance of Babula. Mr. Sinnett seems to think that after all that I have said in other places about the unreliability of Colonel Olcott's testimony, it is rather absurd for me in this case to take Colonel Olcott's account rather than

his own. Now I cannot say positively that *ceteris paribus* I should always prefer Colonel Olcott's account of an incident to Mr. Sinnett's, but in the present case Colonel Olcott's account was written apparently on the day after the event, and he had also noted various circumstances in his diary. When Mr. Sinnett wrote his account does not appear. Presumably, however, it was much later. But, aside from all this, given two accounts by different persons who are both enthusiastic followers of and believers in the "occult" phenomena of Madame Blavatsky, it is obvious that we must not choose the account which renders the phenomenon more difficult of explanation by ordinary means. Further still, it is plain from even so much of Colonel Olcott's account as Mr. Sinnett is now willing to admit as being "broadly speaking right," that Mr. Sinnett omitted from his narrative certain important facts about Madame Blavatsky's direction of the party. Yet Mr. Sinnett not improbably had these facts in his mind when he italicised the word "exact" in *The Occult World*, p. 49: "The *exact* spot on which the ladies' jumpans were deposited was chosen by myself in concert with the gentleman referred to above as X——." There is therefore still more reason for accepting Colonel Olcott's account in preference to Mr. Sinnett's. And I remind the reader once more that of the seven principals at the picnic, Mr. and Mrs. Sinnett and Colonel Olcott were the only ones who came away believing. Judge M., Major Henderson, and Mrs. R——d looked upon the alleged phenomena as fraudulent. The "cup and saucer" incident depended upon the appearance of a seventh person who was supposed to have been unexpected. The seventh person was Judge M. Did Mr. Sinnett ever ask him whether Madame Blavatsky had not specially invited him to come?

Mr. Sinnett makes no reply whatever to my statements concerning the "brooch" incident (Report, pp. 267-8), no reply whatever to my statements concerning the cigarette phenomena (Report, pp. 268-9).

His reply to my statements concerning the "pillow incident" I am content to leave for comparison with my explanation of it (Report, p. 270), together with my comments on the incident of the "pink note in the tree" (Report, pp. 263-5). I observe that Mr. Sinnett makes no allusion to the corroboration of my view which is afforded by the Koot Hoomi note incidents which formed part of the day's events.

The next case is the Jhelum telegram incident; concerning which Mr. Sinnett remarks: "Mr. Hodgson has not much to say that is very crushing about the Jhelum incident itself, except to suggest that Madame Blavatsky may have read my letter and 'have telegraphed the right reply to a confederate' at Jhelum." If the reader will refer to my Report, pp. 272-273, he will see that what I suggest as the probable explanation, in the paragraph beginning on p. 272 and ending on p. 273, is

very different, and that Mr. Sinnett makes no reply whatever to the statements there made.

In dealing with the last incident under discussion, that of the "profile portrait," Mr. Sinnett takes occasion to "conjecture" (possibly for the purpose of suggesting to his readers that my "conjectures" may be as worthless as this one of his) that the "blue shading drawings" shown to me as specimens of Madame Blavatsky's handiwork, were shown to me "as *occult precipitations* of hers, though he now calmly suppresses this." To this I have simply to say that they were shown to me as specimens of her ordinary handiwork, and not as "*occult precipitations*." Whether they have ever been shown to other persons as "occult precipitations" I do not know. I spoke of the "exiguity of Mr. Sinnett's account" of the production of the profile portrait to which he refers. Mr. Sinnett apparently takes offence at the word "exiguity", as though it were unjustly applied. He thinks that there is "nothing to allege or urge against the story," and that "there is no getting out of the conclusion that on this occasion an occult phenomenon was wrought." Now it seemed to me so obvious that the difficulty lay not in getting out of but in getting into such a conclusion, that I did not consider the incident in detail. I will now do so. Mr. Sinnett's account in his pamphlet (p. 38) is: "The paper was seen to be blank before breakfast, left in a book on the table in sight of us all while we had that meal, and found to bear a portrait when we went to look at it immediately afterwards." The account I shall consider is not this but that given much earlier,—though we are not told how soon after the incident the account was written—in *The Occult World*, pp. 137-8:—

Now in aspiring to have a portrait of Koot Hoomi, of course I was wishing for a precipitated picture, and it would seem that just before a recent visit that Madame Blavatsky paid to Allahabad, something must have been said to her about a possibility that this wish of mine might be gratified. For the day she came she asked me to give her a piece of thick white paper and mark it. This she would leave in her serap-book, and there was reason to hope that a certain highly advanced *chela*, or pupil, of Koot Hoomi's, not a full adept himself as yet, but far on the road to that condition, would do what was necessary to produce the portrait.

Nothing happened that day nor that night. The serap-book remained lying on a table in the drawing-room, and was occasionally inspected. The following morning it was looked into by my wife, and my sheet of paper was found to be still blank. Still the serap-book lay in full view on the drawing-room table. At half-past eleven we went to breakfast; the dining-room, as is often the case in Indian bungalows, only being separated from the drawing-room by an archway and curtains, which were drawn aside. While we were at breakfast, Madame Blavatsky suddenly showed by the signs with which all who know her are familiar, that one of her occult friends was near. It was the *chela* to whom I have above referred. She got up, thinking she

might be required to go to her room ; but the astral visitor, she said, waved her back, and she returned to the table. After breakfast we looked into the scrap-book, and on my marked sheet of paper, which had been seen blank by my wife an hour or two before, was a precipitated profile portrait. The face itself was left white, with only a few touches within the limits of the space it occupied ; but the rest of the paper all round it was covered with cloudy blue shading. Slight as the method was by which the result was produced, the outline of the face was perfectly well-defined, and its expression as vividly rendered as would have been possible with a finished picture.

The interval between Mrs. Sinnett's looking at the blank paper and the discovery of the portrait is described vaguely as "an hour or two." We may therefore assume that the interval may have been at least two hours. Now Mr. Sinnett says nothing about any person's keeping a continuous watch during that whole time over the scrap-book containing the "blank piece of paper." It is a fair inference from his account that such a continuous watch was not even attempted, much less successfully carried out. Referring to the day and night previous he writes : "The scrap-book remained lying on a table in the drawing-room, and was occasionally inspected." For all that appears in Mr. Sinnett's account, Madame Blavatsky might have had ample opportunity between the time of Mrs. Sinnett's inspection and the "discovery" of the portrait to produce the drawing by ordinary means on the very sheet of paper that Mrs. Sinnett previously saw blank,—not to speak of the possibility of substituting another similarly marked sheet with the drawing on it, or of re-substituting the originally marked sheet (with drawing) for an imitation sheet temporarily taking the place of the first in the scrap-book. The scrap-book, moreover, belonged to Madame Blavatsky. I repeat, then, that Mr. Sinnett's account is "exiguous." We need to be assured that the scrap-book was under continuous observation by trustworthy persons during the whole time that elapsed between Mrs. Sinnett's inspection of the blank paper and the discovery of the portrait. As to the method of and the persons concerned in such continuous observation, their positions, the position of Madame Blavatsky, details of the examinations before and after of the scrap-book and the blank paper, possibilities of imitation of mark on paper, of substitution, &c.—all such considerations meet with no mention in Mr. Sinnett's account.

Mr. Sinnett claims in his pamphlet (p. 42) to have shown that "there is no force whatever in the objections which Mr. Hodgson brings against any one of the long series of experiences related in my book." To my objections to some of these experiences, Mr. Sinnett, as we have seen, makes *no reply whatever*. Whether his remarks in connection with the other experiences show that there is no force in my objections to accepting them as "occult phenomena" may now be left to the reader's determination. Mr. Sinnett's faith in Madame

Blavatsky I do not have any expectation of disturbing. The question is whether the alleged phenomena can be accounted for by ordinary means, whether the possibilities of trickery have been excluded. Mr. Sinnett himself declared (*The Occult World*, p. 35) that it was

“impossible to proceed by any other but scientific modes of investigation. In any experiments I have tried I have always been careful to exclude, not merely the probability, but the possibility of trickery: and where it has been impossible to secure the proper conditions, I have not allowed the results of the experiments to enter into the sum total of my conclusions.”

What I have said in my Report (p. 273) I venture to repeat here:—

On the whole, then, I think I am justified in saying that the phenomena relied upon by Mr. Sinnett in *The Occult World* can be accounted for much more satisfactorily than can the performances of any ordinary professional conjurer by the uninitiated observer, however acute; that the additional details which I have been enabled to furnish in connection with some of the incidents Mr. Sinnett has recorded, clearly show that he has not been in the habit of exercising due caution for the exclusion of trickery; and that he has not proceeded in accordance with those “scientific modes of investigation” which he explicitly declares (*Occult World*, p. 35) he regarded as necessary for the task he attempted.

I pass on to deal with certain statements made by Mr. Sinnett in the *Review of Reviews* for June, 1891. He writes on p. 550, referring to my Report: “Bit by bit the famous Report has been torn to pieces by competent critics, till hardly a rag of it remains;” and on p. 556: “The few people who had been intimate with Madame Blavatsky all through the period of the transactions referred to, showed by degrees, in various pamphlets and articles, how worthless Mr. Hodgson’s conclusions were, how fatally he had been hoodwinked by the enemies of the Theosophical movement at Madras, and how narrow-minded and unjust his methods of inquiry had been.”

The best way to meet this statement is to consider it with reference to the summary of my Report.¹

In the first place, a large number of letters produced by M. and Madame Coulomb, formerly Librarian and Assistant Corresponding Secretary respectively of the Theosophical Society, were, in the opinion of the best experts in handwriting, written by Madame Blavatsky. These letters, which extend over the years 1880-1883 inclusive, and some of which were published in the *Madras Christian College Magazine* for September, 1884, prove that Madame Blavatsky has been engaged in the production of a varied and long-continued series of fraudulent phenomena, in which she has been assisted by the Coulombs. The circumstantial evidence which I was able to obtain concern-

¹ The reader’s attention may also be directed again to the conspicuous cases of fraud mentioned by our Committee, which did not come within the limits of my own investigations in India. I refer to the “Kiddle incident,” and the attempt to deceive Mr. C. C. Massey by a bogus marvel. See *Proceedings*, Vol. III., pp. 206-7, 397-400.

ing the incidents referred to in these letters, corroborates the judgment of the experts in handwriting.

In the second place, apart altogether from either these letters or the statements of the Coulombs, who themselves allege that they were confederates of Madame Blavatsky, it appears from my own inquiries concerning the existence and the powers of the supposed *Adepts* or *Mahatmas*, and the marvellous phenomena alleged to have occurred in connection with the Theosophical Society,

1. That the primary witnesses to the existence of a Brotherhood with occult powers,—viz., Madame Blavatsky, Mr. Damodar K. Mavalankar, Mr. Bhavani Shankar, and Mr. Babajee D. Nath,—have in other matters deliberately made statements which they must have known to be false, and that therefore their assertions cannot establish the existence of the Brotherhood in question.
2. That the comparison of handwritings further tends to show that Koot Hoomi Lal Sing and Mahatma Morya are fictitious personages, and that most of the documents purporting to have emanated from these “personages,” and especially from “K. H.” (Koot Hoomi Lal Sing), are in the disguised handwriting of Madame Blavatsky herself, who originated the style of the K. H. handwriting; and that some of the K. H. writing is the handiwork of Mr. Damodar in imitation of the writing developed by Madame Blavatsky.
3. That in no single phenomenon which came within the scope of my investigation in India, was the evidence such as would entitle it to be regarded as genuine, the witnesses for the most part being exceedingly inaccurate in observation or memory, and having neglected to exercise due care for the exclusion of fraud; while in the case of some of the witnesses there has been much conscious exaggeration and culpable misstatement.
4. That not only was the evidence insufficient to establish the genuineness of the alleged marvels, but that evidence furnished partly by my own inspection, and partly by a large number of witnesses, most of them Theosophists, concerning the structure, position, and environment of the Shrine, concerning “Mahatma” communications received independently of the Shrine, and concerning various other incidents, including many of the phenomena mentioned in *The Occult World*, besides the numerous additional suspicious circumstances which I have noted in the course of dealing in detail with the cases considered, renders the conclusion unavoidable that the phenomena in question were actually due to fraudulent arrangement.

As regards the first main point I am not aware that any testimony worth consideration has been brought forward to show that the Blavatsky-Coulomb documents were not written by Madame Blavatsky, (or that they were written by the Coulombs or by Black Magicians), or to offset the circumstantial evidence which I adduced in confirmation of the opinion of experts in handwriting.

As regards the next series of points, I am not aware of any attempt to prove

- (1) that the statements of Madame Blavatsky, Damodar, Bhavani Shankar, and Babajee are to be regarded as trustworthy ;
- (3) that the evidence for any of the phenomena which I investigated in India is such as would entitle it to be regarded as genuine (unless Mr. Sinnett's pamphlet is regarded as an attempt to prove the genuineness of some of the experiences related in *The Occult World*. See below).

Attempts have been made to deal with (2) and partially with (4).

- (2) is met by pointing to the fallibility of experts and to the opinion of Herr Schütze. I have already shown that the opinion of Herr Schütze was founded upon inadequate data, and I may now add that, so far as I am aware, no attempt has been made to show how the various similarities between Madame Blavatsky's writing and the series of K. H. documents—together with other related points which I have enumerated—can be accounted for on any other supposition than that Madame Blavatsky's hand wrote them.

With reference to the K. H. writings ascribed to the handiwork of Madame Blavatsky there are two points to be observed :—

- (a) That they were produced under circumstances which did not preclude Madame Blavatsky's actually having written them ;
- (b) that the similarities which I have pointed out between those K. H. writings and Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, and the gradual elimination of Blavatskian forms in the course of development of the K. H. writings, and the changes in Madame Blavatsky's ordinary writing, afford abundant proof that Madame Blavatsky actually did write them.

No attempt has been made to deal with either of these points in detail. Similar statements apply to the K. H. writings attributed to Damodar.

Concerning (4) Mr. Sinnett has offered a reply (considered above, pp. 150-6) to my examination of his accounts of phenomena mentioned in *The Occult World*, and he quotes old testimony concerning the Shrine which throws no new light whatever on the subject, and nearly all of which is given in my own Report, together with much more of a similar character, and from superior witnesses. I am not aware that any attempt has been made to deal with the other incidents which come under the head of (4), such as Damodar's alleged "astral" journeys, the alleged appearances of Mahatmas, either in their ordinary or in their "astral" bodies, Mr. Hume's evidence, numerous alleged precipitated writings, including Mr. G.'s letter and Professor Smith's letter, and other instances.

So far, then, as I am aware, much the larger part of my Report has not been even touched by any person, while such attempts at replies as have been made, both by their ignorance of the actual circumstances and by the temper of mind displayed in the language used by the writers, strengthen my previously expressed opinion that "not only was the evidence insufficient to establish the genuineness of the alleged marvels," but that the evidence obtained in many of the cases rendered "the conclusion unavoidable that the phenomena in question were actually due to fraudulent arrangement."

In a final word I must remind my readers that I have been dealing in this paper, as I have dealt throughout, with the phenomena alleged by Madame Blavatsky in support of the tenets which she preached, and not with those tenets themselves. Of those streams of super-human knowledge I will only say that I prefer to tap them at least one stage nearer to their fountain-heads.¹ I lay claim to no vast erudition. But the sources which were good enough for Madame Blavatsky are good enough for me; and so long as Bohn's Classical Library and Trübner's Oriental Library are within reach of a modest purse I shall prefer to draw on those useful repertories for my ideas of Platonic and Buddhistic thought;—even though I should thus be obliged to receive those ideas in a bald, old-fashioned shape;—unspiced with fraudulent marvels, and uncorroborated by the forged correspondence of fictitious Teachers of Truth.

¹ Mr. W. E. Coleman, of San Francisco, Cal., has pointed out voluminous plagiarisms and contradictions in Madame Blavatsky's writings. I may refer especially to his articles in the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* (Chicago, Ill.), for August 10th-September 7th, 1889; in *The Golden Way* (San Francisco) for April-October, 1891; and in *The Carrier Dove* (San Francisco) for March, 1891-February, 1893 (and succeeding numbers to be published).

III.

MIND-CURE, FAITH-CURE, AND THE MIRACLES OF
LOURDES. ¹

By A. T. MYERS, M.D., F.R.C.P., AND F. W. H. MYERS.

Nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi; nam posse mederi
Picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.

—*Tibullus.*

The present paper is an attempt,—avowedly of an imperfect and provisional kind,—to answer certain questions which have been frequently and reasonably proposed to various writers in these *Proceedings*. “Your Society,” it has been said to us in effect by various American correspondents, “professes its readiness to discuss all such psychical phenomena as are supported by first-hand modern evidence, although they may lie outside the pale of recognised science. You talked much of hypnotism, even while hypnotism was still scouted and ignored. But you yourselves persistently ignore an experimental movement of an analogous kind which claims thousands of adherents, and hundreds of inexplicable cures of disease. This movement takes two forms.

¹ Among the works consulted for the purpose of this paper we may cite the following.

I.—*On Mind-cure and Faith-cure.*

- Buckley, J. M. Faith-healing, Christian Science and Kindred Phenomena. London, 1892.
 Carter, R. Kelso. Faith-cure. *Century*, March, 1887.
 Charcot, J. M. The Faith-cure. *New Review*, January, 1893.
 Corning, J. L. The Limitations of the Influence of the Mind on the Body. *New York Medical Journal*, 1889.
 Eddy, Mary B. G. Science and Health. Sixtieth edition, revised, 1891.
 Evans, W. F. The Mental Cure, 1869. Mental Medicine, 1872. Divine Law of Cure, 1884.
 Finlay, Mary. The Mind-cure. *New York Medical Record*, November 5th, 1887.
 Lord, Frances. Christian Science and Healing. London, 1888.
 Morselli. L'Influenza del Morale sul Fisico. *Rivista Sper. di Freniatria*, 1886.
 A. T. Schofield, M.D. Faith-healing. London, 1892.

II.—*The Miracles of Lourdes.*

- Annales de Lourdes, Vols. XXIII., XXIV., XXV.
 Boissarie, Dr. Lourdes, 1891.
 Buchanan, Professor George, in *Lancet*, June 20th, 1885.
 Clarke, Richard F., S. J. Lourdes and its Miracles. London, 1888.
 Lasserre, Henri. Les Episodes Miraculeux de Lourdes, 1883.
 Mackey, E. Miracles and Modern Science. Reprinted from *Dublin Review*, October, 1880.

We shall be glad to hear of other works on these subjects. Many pamphlets on Mind-cure, &c., known to us by their titles, are not procurable in England.

*Mind-cure*¹ denies that matter exists, or that evil exists, and heals the patient by inspiring him with the conviction that he is a pure spirit, unassailable by disease or pain. The *Faith-cure* teaches that pain and disease, although really existing, can be dispelled by an act of faith in the Divine power. Established science meets this movement with precisely that ‘contempt prior to examination’ which your Society has in so many similar instances replaced by an examination which has not led to contempt.”

A second appeal of similar tenor reaches us from a quite different quarter. A distinguished English Catholic, Father Clarke, S.J., whose advocacy of the Lourdes miracles² is well known, calls our attention to the evidence for these extraordinary cures, and assures us of the welcome which any serious inquirer will find at Lourdes itself. This appeal also commands our attention. Unable at the present moment to find a competent physician disposed to give the time necessary for adequate inquiry on the spot, we feel bound at least to place before our readers some preliminary statement which may interest others in the problem of this great pilgrimage;—unrivalled as it is in modern days, and supported by many volumes of evidence as to sudden cures, some of which are stated to transcend all human possibility.

The competence of the present writers to pronounce a valid opinion on either of these main problems is greatly impaired by the fact that we have not been able to study on the spot and at first hand either the American mind-healing or the cures which take place at Lourdes. On the other hand, we both of us bring to the task one obvious pre-requisite of any fruitful discussion;—namely, a considerable familiarity with hypnotic therapeutics, and with other forms of self-suggestion. One of us possesses the equally indispensable qualification of conversance, during a good many years, with the diagnosis and registration of disease and cure as practised in modern hospitals of repute. The special qualification (if such it can be called) of the other writer lies in the fact that, having already avowed his belief in the reality of some manifestations of discarnate souls, he is one of the very few non-Catholics who cannot be challenged *in limine* by believers in manifestations of the Virgin Mary at Lourdes as entering upon the inquiry with a mind already fixed in negation.

In conformity with the usual rule in these *Proceedings*, the main

¹ We have adopted the more reasonable name for this system, and advise its adherents to drop the title of “Christian Science,” which has naturally incurred both Christian and scientific disapproval.

² The word “miracle” is not of our choosing, and seems to be used at present in a somewhat arbitrary way. It is not commonly applied to supernormal phenomena believed to occur in the presence of “mediums,” or in an apparently spontaneous fashion; but only to such phenomena when regarded as supporting some religious creed.

part of our task will consist in examining, not the theories which are proposed to us, but the actual first-hand evidence offered in their support. But since we have to deal with several discrepant theories, each of them supported by alleged facts of the same general kind, we must needs consider first of all to what extent we can treat these various theories and facts all together;—what is their respective position in some more general survey of human beliefs in the matter of disease and cure.

Disease is a matter first for diagnosis, then for therapeutic. We have first to find out what is wrong, and then to find out how to set it right. Now diagnosis may be objective or subjective, and therapeutic may be physiological or psychical. In primitive times these aspects were confused vaguely together. Disease was diagnosed partly by objective symptoms,—as when a white nose indicated frost-bite;—but mainly by subjective notions,—as when the patient said that he felt something inside him, and the medicine-man told him it was a devil. So also therapeutic was always partly physiological;—since the most superstitious Samoyede would rub his neighbour's frost-bitten nose with snow in preference to uttering incantations. But it was mainly psychical, consisting of such charms, ceremonies, invocations, as tradition assigned for the cure of a disease which tradition had already diagnosed after its own fashion.

Now the aim of Science, from Hippocrates onwards, has been to make diagnosis as far as possible objective, and therapeutic as far as possible physiological. In examining a patient in a modern hospital, we rely much on observable and measurable facts; less on the patient's own statements of what he feels; least of all on his theories as to how he came to feel it. In doctoring him, we rely much on definite operations and on those few drugs part of whose action on the human organism we can in some sense prove and show; little on the patient's own prayers for recovery;—least of all, perhaps, on the encouraging words which, in common humanity, we ourselves throw in.

But this objective mode of regarding disease and cure, however dominant at Guy's or St. Bartholomew's, has not yet spread itself over the mass of mankind. Diagnosis continues to be largely subjective;—the patient deeming himself a better judge of what is the matter with him than anyone else can be, and the physician mistaking functional for organic maladies, and hysterical disability for anatomical lesion. And the whole practice of therapeutic continues to show traces of pre-scientific beliefs;—ideas which assume new forms in each generation, but which carry us back to each in turn of the stages of thought which we associate with the slow development of civilised man.

1. *Fetichism*, or the primitive belief that certain objects, inanimate and inert, could cure disease by application to the body, shows itself,

slightly disguised, in such phenomena as the wide sale of Harness' Electropathic Belts. The practical inertness of these appliances has now been proved in a court of law; nor was any valid evidence ever offered for their alleged power. *Assertion* was enough;—assertion adapted to that belief in the mysterious potency of electricity which is the modern counterpart of ancient beliefs in the mysterious potency of talisman or totem. Yet how many sufferers have traced their cures to what is,—to use gentle terms,—a purely commercial product!

2. *Polytheism.* The transition from fetichistic to polytheistic conceptions of cure is, of course, a gradual one. It may be said to begin when curative properties are ascribed to objects not arbitrarily, nor on account of the *look* of the objects themselves, but on account of their having been blessed or handled by some divine or semi-divine personage, or having formed part of his body or surroundings during some incarnation. Thus Lourdes water, bottled and exported, is still held to possess curative virtue on account of the Virgin's original blessing bestowed upon the Lourdes spring. But generally the influence of the divine or divinised being is more directly exercised, as in oracles, dreams, invisible touches, or actual *theophanies*, or appearances of the gods to the adoring patient. It will be seen as we proceed how amply the tradition of Lourdes has incorporated these ancient aids to faith.

3. *Monotheism.* Theological distinctions between polytheism and monotheism lie, of course, outside our present purpose. Practices originally polytheistic may continue (as in fact at Lourdes) under a religion which looks up to one Supreme God. Our point here is that when subordinate divinities, saints, or spirits are wholly excluded, *prayer* may still be regarded as potent to effect cures; and signs of answer to prayer may still be sought. Here come in many Protestant forms of belief (the Peculiar People, &c.) which the modern Faith-healing does but present in a concentrated form.

4. *Metaphysics.* Once more, when there is no longer a belief in a personal Deity or in a direct answer to prayer, there may still be ways of regarding the Universe which seem to confer upon man some mode of issue from bodily pain. Oriental ideas of the unreality of matter (*Maya*); Stoical ideas of the Sage's command over external circumstances; mystical ideas of the painless ecstasy into which the purified spirit can enter at will;—all these conceptions have the advantage of being independent of dogmatic systems; with the accompanying disadvantage of being difficult for ordinary minds to grasp. Mind-healing is a modern name for this ancient and lofty protest against the tyranny of the flesh.

We have roughly arranged these forms of psycho-therapeutic in the order of their historical evolution in the mind of man. But it

does not follow that all these notions together, or any one of them, must necessarily be the mere figment of the uncivilised brain. On the contrary, it is evident, it is certain, that there is truth in them somewhere. Cures are and always have been effected by other than demonstrably physiological means. It is the business of science not to ignore such cures, but to discover how they are in fact obtained.

And here, broadly speaking, there are two alternative possibilities. Either all these quasi-psychical cures can be referred to physiological means which have escaped detection, or they cannot be so referred, and there is a psychological basis which must be inquired into in other ways. The former of these alternatives is what science should naturally desire. Just as endemic maladies once ascribed to the wrath of heaven are now discerned to be due to microbes, so also we might conceivably discover that the cures ascribed, say, to the touch of saintly personages were due, not to their saintliness or their dogmatic views, but to some physical effluence communicable from one organism to another. If this were so it would be a physiological effect, and the purely physiological explanation of psychological marvels would have made an enormous stride. It is strange to remember that this thesis was actually advanced by Mesmer, whose system of emanations from living organisms, metals, magnets, crystals, was thus an early attempt at extending physiological and physical laws over a region till then abandoned to miracle. His theories, however, were neither proposed nor received in a scientific spirit; and it was easy to show that many of the phenomena could not plausibly be explained by such effluences as he assumed to be acting. Different portions of his general theory (metallæsthesia, influence of magnets, passes, &c.,) are now believed, in altered forms, by different schools of thought; but with these modes of sensitivity we have at present no concern. So far as they exist, they are physiological; and our present object is to disengage the psychological element in therapeutic, with the view of deciding whether any of the modern theories set before us for discussion has a predominant or specific value of its own.

We may, then, take it as admitted that the first of the two alternative possibilities of which we spoke above,—the possibility of explaining the whole of psycho-therapeutics by purely physiological means,—is not yet an accomplished fact. Where Mesmer's loose generalities failed, the less grotesque but not more demonstrable hypotheses of modern physiologists have failed also. We need not here attempt to prove this in detail. It is enough to say that the now accepted formula for all these quasi-psychical cures, as we have termed them, is simply the word *suggestion*. Now if, as is now commonly held, we have not here to do with any real effluence proceeding from one organism to another, this suggestion from others, being nothing more than verbal, is

virtually resolved into self-suggestion ; and in fact we see that *self-suggestion*—itself no more than a formula—is gradually supplanting all other formulæ in psycho-therapeutics. That is to say, the second of the two alternative possibilities at present holds the field. We are forced to recognise in these cures a true psychological problem. There is action, as we say, “of the mind upon the body,” which may be exerted in many modes, and from many causes, all equally beyond our ken.

This, then, is in one sense a favourable moment for the supporters, whether of mind-cure or miracle, to press their claim. They find the medical world,—especially on the Continent,—prepared carefully to consider well-attested accounts of cures such as in earlier generations would have been contemptuously dismissed without inquiry. But, on the other hand, those who wish to prove some specific and peculiar efficacy in any one mode of psycho-therapeutics must be prepared to show that its effects,—its clearly traceable and well-attested effects,—go beyond any recorded effects of self-suggestion ;—that the cures cannot be paralleled by cures occurring without metaphysical meditations, or prayers, or the intervention of the Virgin Mary.

We shall have, in fact, to deal with alleged miracles of healing in the same way as we have already dealt in these *Proceedings* with the alleged miracles of a physical or “telekinetic” type. Those “mediumistic” marvels, evidentially considered, have fallen naturally into three classes. A first and largest class we have rejected *in limine* for lack of first-hand, contemporaneous, exact attestation. A second large class we have discussed minutely, and have shown that they could be paralleled by phenomena due to ordinary causes (including fraud),—or at least that they could be so nearly thus paralleled that the margin of difference was not greater than ordinary human inaccuracy or prepossession might easily cover. A third small class are not obviously liable to these fatal objections. Some of Mr. Crookes’, Lord Crawford’s, Lord Dunraven’s observations are very well attested, and have not yet been plausibly paralleled by any familiar phenomena, or explained by any known laws. These experiences still stand too much alone to command general scientific assent. But should similar phenomena be more widely observed in the future, the existence of these records will strongly confirm the fresh observations. Meanwhile we must, of course, be on the look out for any hitherto undetected explanation which may bring these marvels into line with the rest of our knowledge.

Cases which would fall within the first two of these classes we shall doubtless find in the collection of evidence as to supernormal healings which we have now to examine,—as in all collections of miscellaneous evidence to extraordinary facts. The important question is whether any, and, if so, what proportion of cases will survive this

sifting process and appear in our *third* class, as marvels as yet unparalleled and unexplained, and which, if sufficiently repeated, may compel our assent to their specific supernormal or miraculous claims.

First, then, let us consider what is the kind of medical evidence, which the reports submitted to us *ought* to possess, and some fragment of which they must needs possess, if they are to claim any sort of consideration.

A good history of any medical case should consist of first-hand detailed, expert evidence, supported by objective, and as far as possible by automatic records. Let us consider the terms of this definition in order.

First-hand.—Strictly speaking, the evidence should come at first-hand both from the physician and from the patient. In disputed cases (as where the physician is charged with incompetence) this double testimony may be essential. But in cases where (as in those which we have here to consider) the patient agrees with the physician, and the several physicians (if there be several) agree among themselves, we may accept the physician's report of the patient's statement, which the physician, of course, is bound to record as carefully as the objective features of the case.

Detailed.—The physician when writing his account should endeavour to supply expert readers with the materials for forming a judgment of their own. Thus he is bound to give us not only a description of the case as he sees it, but also a *history* in which the patient's own statements are confirmed or otherwise by such other testimony as can be procured. In many cases the history, including heredity and early environment, is the most instructive part of the whole record.

Expert.—This is plainly a question of degree. But we must insist on having a *physician's* account; since experience, not only in hospitals but in private practice, has abundantly shown how defective and untrustworthy an account of disease may be given by a layman,—himself perhaps more intelligent than his physician, but unfamiliar with those detailed and elaborate rules which enable even the dullest inheritor of the great mass of clinical science and tradition to describe the complex, confused phenomena of bodily disease in such a way that other experts shall understand him. Be it noted, however, that the great goddess Hysteria can sometimes deceive Æsculapius, and that in such a contest of wits the expertry is not always on the side of the profession.

Supported by objective records.—All things in this world are fallible, but men are more fallible than thermometers. The patient's curve of temperature is often more instructive than anything which either he or his doctor can tell us. In all scientific observation, indeed, it is an object to have as many facts as possible recorded by instruments which need only to be read off, or stamped upon impersonal

transcripts which can be studied at leisure. And the progress of medicine has consisted largely in the accumulation of registers of this type ;—numerical records of pulse, respiration, temperature ; localised records of results of auscultation and percussion, of muscular strength and electrical condition ; chemical analysis of excreta ; micro-photographs of bacterial or cellular contents of sputa ; measured results of examination in the waking state and also under anæsthetics, so as to eliminate conscious or unconscious muscular contraction.

We enumerate forms of evidence every one of which would have been of important service in many of the cases with which we have to deal. To what extent they have been actually offered to our scrutiny we shall see as we proceed. Only let our readers at once understand that if no definite evidence whatever of these kinds be supplied, and if we are also ignorant as to the degree of professional skill and knowledge possessed by the reporting physician, our own judgement on the case can hardly go beyond conjecture.

Judging by the antecedent history of the various modes of psychical healing now proposed to us,—by their position in the scheme of psycho-therapeutics set forth above,—it is for *mind-healing* that we should at first sight be disposed to predict the most lasting success. For here (as already pointed out) we have the most abstract form of self-suggestion,—the form least involved with dogma liable to attack or disproof. We are all agreed that, whatever sense we attach to matter and mind, what we call mind does in some way affect what we call matter, and there is nothing absurd in trying to make our mind affect the matter of our own bodies as strongly as it can.

Nothing absurd, we say, in this effort itself. We do not say that some of its preachers have not done their best to make it so. The sixtieth edition of *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, by Mary Baker G. Eddy, President of Massachusetts Metaphysical College, lies before us. It begins with the following words : “ In the year 1866 I discovered the Science of Metaphysical Healing, and named it Christian Science. God had been graciously fitting me, during many years, for the reception of a final revelation of the absolute Principle of ‘ Scientific Mind-healing.’ ” We did not close the book after this passage, and were rewarded by finding (p. 441) a demonstration,—whose naïveté is only one step from the sublime,—of the essential necessity of our somewhat toilsome perusal : “ A Christian Scientist requires my work on Science and Health for his text book, and so do all his students and patients. Why ? *First* : Because it is the voice of Truth to this age, and contains the whole of Christian Science, or the science of healing through Mind. *Second* : ” —but the first reason really seems enough by itself.

Now, a style of this sort in a popular manual by no means proves

that self-suggestion may not be successfully practised by many readers on the lines there laid down. On the contrary, these gentle indications of personal merit, like the chariots and trumpets of the itinerant quack, may actually predispose some minds to the belief desired. But it shows us nevertheless that the buyers of the sixty editions are not likely to have much sympathy with science of a more humble and ordinary type, or to have taken the pains to record very accurately the cures attained by such a "high priori road."

We know, however, by correspondence that much disinterested zeal for others' welfare,—as well as much of eager personal hope,—is being thrown into the effort to live up to the belief that Matter and Evil are non-existent, and that Spirit and Good are all in all. We regret the more that the actual evidence which we can obtain of the good results reached by this ardent abstraction of thought should be as yet so extremely scanty. There must be more behind;—and we earnestly hope that those who have it in their power to send us such evidence may recognise that while we join with them in deprecating the follies which have sprung up around their line of effort, our attitude towards that effort itself is one of cordial interest and sympathy.

An American friend in whom we have entire confidence has favoured us with a paper, written in 1892, containing accounts, (which do not pretend to medical accuracy), of a series of singular cures experienced by himself and his immediate group.

M. 73.

CASE I.—The writer says of himself that he "is occupied in active life, has a strong aversion to modern 'Spiritualism,' possesses little medical knowledge, and can only be considered an average observer deeply interested in psychical phenomena. He has never undertaken cures by faith or expectant attention save in his own case and that of his children." "In 1888," he continues, "I almost totally lost the sight of my left eye through a contraction of the iris, and was told by the celebrated specialist, Mr. Critchett, that it could only be restored by an operation. This I declined, and for four years was almost blind in that eye. Last week I suddenly found that sight was restored to the extent which had been promised as the result of an operation."¹

CASE II.—"In the year 1867, my daughter, then three years old, was suffering from a painful illness, and in reply to my inquiries, the doctor twice told me that he had given up every hope of saving her life. By a sudden impulse I then fixed my mind in certain expectancy that she would recover, and caused her to be wrapped in wet sheets. She at once rallied, and soon was well. . . . About 1871 my son, a lad of fifteen, was very ill with uncontrollable vomiting. The eminent physician who attended him thought it necessary to pay six professional visits the day before his recovery, and

¹ It would seem likely that this was due to an accidental and unexpected rupture of a previous adhesion of the iris.

seemed to have little hope of his life. In the evening the boy assured me that at five o'clock in the morning he would be well. In the night he talked incoherently of a favourite spring near by. At five in the morning the servant, by his orders, brought the water from that spring. The boy heard with joy the clicking of the ice which had been put into it, waked up fully, and drank the whole of two glasses, was well at once and permanently.

CASE III.—“One of my neighbours, after lying on her back for thirty years, under the care of my own medical attendant, from unceasing nausea, called in a new physician. He gave her some homœopathic powders and assured her that she would be sick no longer. She at once arose and resumed her active out-door occupations after this long interval.

CASE IV.—“About 1880, my daughter of fifteen had her foot run over by a heavy sledge.

“In the course of the treatment by a specialist he one day put her painful foot into a fresh splint and said she could not give up her crutches for nine or ten months. Driving from the physician's house her mother recollected to have heard of a woman physician who had cured many sprains, and at once took her daughter to her office. A few passes were made over it, and the girl danced around the floor perfectly well, nor was there any relapse. To rest even slightly on that foot till that minute had been unbearable agony. It was not till long afterwards that we became aware that the doctor was a ‘Spiritualist,’ performing cures by the mediumship of the stereotyped ‘Big Indian.’ Of the doctor's personal goodness and sincerity, however, there could be no possible question. Soon afterwards, a nephew, then about eleven years of age, now my guest, had strained his ankle at play and continued to use it till at length he was laid up. The foot became greatly swelled and so sensitive that any stepping on the floor around him caused him increased agony of pain. Remembering the healing of his cousin, his parents sent for the same woman physician. The lad was greatly afraid of her, had not the least hope of being cured, and yet after about ten minutes of manipulation the foot was absolutely free from pain and he was walking round the room, the only remainder being a temporary slight sense of weakness. There was no relapse.

CASE V.—“My younger brother's wife had a disease of the circulation called the ‘milk leg,’ by which she was laid up, unable to stand or to move the leg for about a year. One day her physician had made a fresh special examination and stated that there was no hope of her walking for another year. Under a strong impulse of despair succeeded by one of hope, she said, ‘I will trust God and walk.’ She rose up, dressed for the first time for twelve months, and has in the six years since had no relapse. Her physician said that he knew no precedent for or clue to her recovery.

CASE VI.—“A well-known lady of very remarkable scientific attainments tells me that she had from childhood a malposition of the ribs which distorted her figure. A new physician who supposed himself, in addition to his large practice of medicine, to be scripturally authorised at times to act on the injunctions of the Epistle of James, one day prayed for her and anointed her with oil. Soon after getting into her carriage, she heard a sound which she supposed to be of the bones of her thorax moving, and soon found that her ribs had taken their normal position. The change was so marked that

her dresses had to be modified to her greatly altered shape. I should hesitate to tell this but for my long and intimate acquaintance with the lady, and a close friendship, extending over twenty years, with the physician.

CASE VII.—“My little daughter, at the age of seven, was suffering from chronic indigestion which caused her much pain. She had been under the treatment of a physician for several months and he gave no hopes of an early recovery. The faith-healing doctor above referred to happened at the time to be visiting at my house, and it was suggested that he should anoint the child and pray with her. The matter was explained to her and she said she did not know whether she would like to have it done or not, and that she would think about it. This she did for a day and then came in a great hurry, saying, ‘I’m ready now, and he must do it at once.’ The usual ceremony was gone through and the child was at once cured. Afterwards, when I was proposing to make a present in gratitude for cure, the child said earnestly, ‘Papa, you ought to give me half of that, for if it had not been for my faith the doctor could not have cured me at all.’

“I have myself known of most successful faith-healing among the Mormons at Salt Lake, the result being freely acknowledged by the surrounding ‘Gentiles.’ One man who had lost a leg had heard so much of this that he crossed the ocean and went to Brigham Young to get it renewed. The old fox-like prophet, whom I knew, said, ‘It would be easy for me to give you another leg, but I must explain to you the consequences. If I give you another leg you will have two legs till you die, which will be a great convenience, but in the resurrection not only will the leg you lost rise and be united to your body, but also the one I now give you; thus you will be encumbered with three legs for ever. It is for you to decide whether you will take the inconvenience of one leg now or three legs through eternity.’ The man chose the present inconvenience, but I hold that the prophet’s ingenuity was in excess of his power.¹

CASE VIII.—“My family physician habitually cures ulcers on ignorant persons by laying his hand on them and assuring the patient that they will be healed. To the inquiry, ‘Then why do not you do it for me?’ he candidly replies, ‘Oh, it don’t work with educated people.’

“His son at twelve years of age broke both bones of his arm below the elbow, which were set by an uncle. Two days afterwards the boy came to his father and asked him to take the arm out of the splints. The father explained the certain results, but the lad said, ‘You taught me to ask Jesus for what I wanted and to be sure that I would get it, and I have asked Him.’ The child was so persistent that at length the father directed the uncle to remove the splints. The arm was fit for use! The uncle nearly fainted with astonishment. Told to me at the time, all the parties my trusted friends, I am compelled to believe in the fact.”

It must be added, however, that this case² was thoroughly investigated

¹This reminds us of a story of Ælian’s (*Hist. An.*, ix. 33), where the Epidaurian priests of Æsculapius have rashly cut off a woman’s head, as a sanative operation, and are unable to restore it. Fortunately in that case Æsculapius himself visited his temple, and set right the little mistake.

²The latter part of this account is as given by Dr. J. M. Buckley in his book *Faith-healing, Christian Science, and Kindred Phenomena*, p. 54.

by Dr. James Henry Lloyd, of the University of Pennsylvania, and in the *Philadelphia Medical Record* for March 27th, 1886, Dr. Lloyd published a letter from the *very child*, who has become a physician.

“DEAR SIR,—The case you cite, when robbed of all its sensational surroundings, is as follows. The child is a spoiled youngster who would have his own way, and when he had a *green-stick* fracture of the forearm, after having had it bandaged for several days, concluded he would much prefer going without a splint. To please the spoiled child the splint was removed and the arm carefully adjusted in a sling. As a matter of course the bone soon united, as is customary in children, and being only partially broken, of course all the sooner. This is the miracle. Some nurse, or crank, or religious enthusiast, ignorant of matters physiological or histological, evidently started the story, and unfortunately my name—for I am the party—is being circulated in circles of faith-curites, and is given the sort of notoriety I do not crave.—Very respectfully yours, CARL H. REED.”

“We have here, in fact,” adds Dr. Buckley, “the testimony of the patient himself that his cure was not at all extraordinary, and not dependent upon faith, but on the readiness of young bone to heal.”

A second somewhat similar series of cures is sent to us by an American lady of good standing, who has kindly made considerable, though unsuccessful, efforts to get for us the sort of corroboration desired. The change of physical condition in these cases seems indubitable, but the *rationale* of these changes may be interpreted in very various ways.

M. 74.

CASE IX.—The first is a case in which the improvement in a malformation of the foot and leg is accredited to “Christian Science.” The story is told by the patient himself, Mr. T. (name given), solicitor, of Los Angeles, California. “I was born September, 1858. At my birth my right foot was deformed, being turned upon one side, and in after life my right leg did not grow equally with the left leg, so that at the time when Christian Science was introduced to me (June, 1889) my right leg was about two inches shorter than my left leg, so that I had to wear a thick cork sole upon my right shoe. While in Washington in January, 1891, I made the acquaintance of Miss Virginia Johnson, and also of Mr. and Mrs. Packard, all of whom were pupils of Mrs. Eddy. When about to leave Washington and return West, Miss Johnson encouraged me to go to Concord and call upon Mrs. Eddy. I did not feel it would look well for me to do so wearing the unsightly shoe which seemed to be necessary. On the Tuesday before my departure from Washington my measure was taken by Simpson the tailor (of 9th and G streets, N.Y.) for a pair of trousers, which were ready for me on Thursday following. The right trousers leg was too short and it was found necessary to let down the hem, so I did not get the trousers until Friday, when the hem had been let down and the legs appeared to be all right. I wore the trousers Saturday. The next morning, Sunday, January 25th, while lying in bed and wondering how I could manage to call upon Mrs. Eddy and make a presentable appearance, I chanced to stretch out my legs and was surprised to find that they were nearly the same length. I dressed, borrowed a cast-

off shoe and wore it upon my right foot that day. The next morning I found the right leg of my trousers again too short, and as soon as the stores were open I bought a new pair of shoes and a pair of ready-made trousers, the same being the first pair of trousers with the legs the same length I had worn since a boy. These trousers fit me without any alterations, but I had to have a new leg put in the other trousers before I could wear them. I have worn straight shoes of the ordinary ready-made kind ever since, while before I required for my right foot a special shoe which cost me 10dol. This demonstration occurred without any treatment, and I have never received treatment for my deformity except a short time by a so-called Christian Scientist . . . but I discovered that the so-called treatment which was being given was of no benefit, but rather otherwise, and I discontinued it. Miss Johnson informed me that she simply put it out of her thought, and declared harmony the first time she met me. I consider that to have been the most effective treatment that could have been given. My foot does not yet appear to be straight, and I have never made any effort to have it straightened. I had studied Christian Science for a year and a-half before the above demonstration came."

In evidence of the accuracy of his account of the above demonstration, Mr. T. sends the corroborative testimony of Lieutenant F. H. Crosby, dated November 15th, 1892. "I certify that I am personally acquainted with Mr. J. R. T., of Los Angeles, Cal.; that I saw him very frequently about the time his leg was lengthened; that I walked with him considerable distances; that he spent Friday evening at my house wearing at that time the thick cork sole—at least 1½ in. thick; that he expressed then and at other times a firm conviction that his deformity would be at some time overcome through the truths of Christian Science; that he spent the following Monday evening at my house wearing an ordinary pair of shoes of equal thickness of sole; that I walked at least half a mile with him that evening; that I looked for signs in his walking that would indicate inequalities in the length of his legs; that he walked erect and with no sign of pain or inconvenience; and that, although I have no means of proving it, I believe—I am as sure as I can be of another man's acts—that he used no other means to bring about the lengthening of his leg than the methods of Christian Science.—F. H. CROSBY, Lieut., U. S. Navy."

We asked for some details of this rapid change and lengthening of the limb. Was there any full description of the limb, its bones, joints and muscles, before the lengthening? was there any elongation of the long bones of the limb, the femur, tibia, or fibula, such as could be shown by the comparison of measurements made between different parts in the same bone before and after the lengthening? was there any curvature which by being straightened could have made the bone longer? was there any evidence of chronic muscular spasm before the lengthening, of tension or adhesion of the tendons, or muscles, or fasciæ, or slight chronic displacement of the bones at the joints, the hip, the knee, or the ankle? for a change in these conditions might constitute or contribute to the lengthening. To these inquiries Mr. T. wrote a reply to our informant saying that the shortness of his right leg "was by reason that it did not grow equally with the left leg, so that it was about two inches shorter than my left leg." "I will further state," he continues, "that

the above statement as to the cause for my short leg included all the causes which I then or now believe could be assigned by the medical profession. The statement appears to me to exclude the hypotheses that the lengthening occurred by reason of relaxation of 'chronic muscular spasm, of tension or adhesion of the tendons, muscles or fasciæ, or slight chronic displacement of the bones at hip, knee, or ankle.' In order that the statement may be understood by the dullest one who may chance to read this, I will say that none of the above quoted conditions were present in my case. I cannot say whether there was a growth of the bones or not, and I know of no way in which such a question could be determined. To-day the bones appear to be the same length as those of the other leg ; but as to having an 'M.D.' to perform any measurements to satisfy his unbelief in the power of mind to shape its own conditions of expression, I must respectfully decline. The proofs of Divine Science can never be discerned through material means and measures. 'A wicked and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and no sign shall be given except the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of Man be three days and nights in the heart of the earth.' The only satisfactory sign the human thought can get is to do as Jonah did, *i.e.*, come out of his belief of life, substance and intelligence in matter. If Mr. Myers and those with whom he is associated will open their minds to the truth that there is no life, substance or intelligence in matter, that the Son of Man is not in the heart of the earth ; that is, to-day, if they will come out of their material beliefs, they will learn more in one day than they can otherwise learn in an age. They with their belief of mind within a skull, of themselves within a material body, fulfil the type of Jonah within the body of the whale. When they appeal to Omnipotent Mind to release them and deliver them from this false environment, they, like their prototype, will find themselves placed on firm ground. . . . If I were to destroy every scrap of evidence that I had ever had the deformity I have spoken of, it would relieve me of much that is not desirable. I knew when the Society was discussing it, and was almost unable to put on my shoe by reason of the swelling induced in that member when it was being mentally discussed in London. I am fearless, though, and know that such seeming power for evil is a myth."

Mr. T.'s perceptions are indeed abnormally acute if he painfully felt our Society "mentally discussing" his case at a time when that discussion was confined to the *forum conscientiæ* of a single member. Mr. T. compares our difficulties to those of Jonah when swallowed by the whale ; but at this moment we feel more disposed to sympathise with the difficulties of the whale when swallowing Jonah.

In the other cases received from the lady above mentioned there is no marked repugnance or contempt for medical testimony, but this is, nevertheless, conspicuously absent, and she holds out little hope of being able to get it. A fair instance of the kind of case offered is the following :—

M. 75.

CASE X.—“ Eliza H. slipped in the dark and was thrown against the stone wall at the foot of the stairs. By this accident, six ribs were dislocated, the bones of my right wrist were all displaced, and my hand pronounced useless henceforth ; my skull was crushed, my stomach was injured, and all my other internal organs displaced ; my spine, too, was seriously affected. I was attended by the most prominent physicians. After four years of intense suffering, chills and fever set in for nine months. On this account it was thought necessary to send me out West. I went to the country to gain strength and returned to the city in the autumn, expecting to be operated upon in the hospital where I was a patient, but Professor Fellowes and Dr. Ludlam stated in lectures to their classes that it would be impossible, as my body was a complete wreck. Also, as all the inward organs were displaced, it was thought I could not rally from the effects of chloroform. Seven years of intense suffering were passed in a pilgrimage from hospital to hospital. I was entirely helpless and pronounced incurable, when a friend opened my eyes to the truth. From that hour I abandoned all medicine and trusted God. I began to mend, slowly but surely, and as a result of mental treatment only, followed by earnest study, I am now in vigorous health, able to accomplish any work, such as running a sewing machine for hours at a time, walking great distances, going up and down stairs with perfect ease and pleasure, &c., and find my happiness in imparting to others what I have received and am continually receiving.”

All that we can be sure of from this report as it stands is that there was relief from pain. But for any real estimate of the powers of “ mind-cure ” it is essential that we should learn the details of the displacement “ of all the inward organs ” and their re-adjustment ;—points certainly sufficiently difficult to tax to the utmost the skill of the most expert observers. Why, after all these years of hospitals, is there not a single word from any physician ? Have “ Professor Fellowes and Dr. Ludlam ” any remark to make ? We cannot but remember the case of Maria Jolly, advertised in every newspaper in the days of our youth, where “ thirty years of indescribable agony ” were cured at once by the use of “ Revalenta Arabica,” which turned out to be the flour of lentils.

When we turn from faith-healing in America to faith-healing in England we find an equal lack of satisfactory evidence. “ We could continue,” says Dr. Schofield (*Faith-healing*, p. 50), “ to give pages of most interesting unproved or unprovable cases, but enough has been narrated to show that, in England at any rate, we have found it impossible directly to verify a single organic case.” Dr. Schofield has taken much trouble in the matter ; and additional weight is given to his negative conclusion by the fact that he writes from a decidedly Christian standpoint, and that his book is published by the Religious Tract Society. Assuredly rational religion has little to gain from such doctrines as Dr. Schofield quotes : “ ‘ I hold,’ says one writer, ‘ that all who come to God for healing, and accept it by faith in His appointed

way, *are healed*,—no matter what may be the evidence of their senses to the contrary.’ . . . A friend of mine, a Christian doctor, found a woman, from whom he had to remove a cancer, actually protesting at the time that she was [already] healed. . . . ‘I know,’ says one, ‘many people who have been cured for three or four years, but who still wait its manifestation!’”

The fact that in our discussion of mind-healing we are reduced to quoting cases like those given above indicates, of course, that no real evidence for the alleged cures has fallen under our ken. We believe, however, from private statements that at any rate marked alleviations of pain and discomfort have often followed upon self-suggestion of this concentrated kind; and we here appeal to all persons seriously interested in the matter to send us evidence somewhat more nearly approaching the type which we have above laid down. We on our part are prepared to believe, not indeed all that mind-healers have *asserted*, but a good deal more than they have as yet made any attempt to *prove*. We make this appeal with considerable hope, in spite of the probability that some prominent persons in the Faith-healing camp will be little disposed to listen to us. The founder of the “University of the Science of Spirit”—who argues that ordinary science is grossly at fault because, while asserting that mercury cures, it refuses the obvious deduction, “Then the more mercury you take the better,”—will be unaffected by any views so old-fashioned as those which we can offer. The keepers of “faith-houses,” whose motto is “The Lord hath need of the money,” will discover that the Lord hath need of the money still. The Brother who announces in the “Crown of Glory” that he “has given up rum, wine, tobacco, and everything but Jesus,” will be content to call our attention to his approaching voyage to preach salvation (by Faith-healing) on the West Coast of Africa, whither he will set forth “as soon as the Lord has sent the balance of the fare.”¹

The existence of a crew of this kind is an inevitable, although, it may be hoped, a transitory result of any widespread popular attempt at cure by suggestion and self-suggestion. Inasmuch as it seems to matter little from whom the suggestion comes, so long as that suggestion is sufficiently vigorous to get itself accepted, the charlatan has some excuse for thinking that this is just the field for charlatans, and that patients may as well believe in *him* as in Bernheim or Delbœuf. As time goes on it may perhaps be found that the lectures of Mind-healers (300 dollars for a three weeks’ course) and the prayers of Faith-healers (tariff not stated) are alike needless, and that the sufferer himself, by the mere strong exercise of his own volition, can at least control or alleviate many nervous ills.

Two warnings only we feel bound to give. May not the solemn

¹ See Buckley’s *Faith-healing*, p. 56, &c.

invocations of the Faith-healer—his assurances in the most sacred names, and with the most awful adjurations, that the disease will disappear at a given moment, be altogether omitted? These assumptions of direct personal approach to the Deity are merely blasphemous; and when the solemn covenant fails the ignorant sufferer is apt to sink into the same bitter unbelief which makes the savage beat his idol when he is cheated of the promised rain. And it is our duty also to warn all patients most seriously, when trying any “suggestive” or “psycho-therapeutical” treatment, not to neglect any means whatever of ordinary and orthodox cure.

Alitur vitium, vivitque tégendo,
Dum medicas adhibere manus ad volnera pastor
Abnegat, aut meliora deos sedet omina poscens.¹

We must now proceed to the second part of our task,—the examination of the so-called Miracles of Lourdes. And here we pass at once from the atmosphere of the future into the atmosphere of the past; from crude attempts to popularise modern scientific conceptions to a method of psycho-therapeutic, which, however essentially the same *au fond* as the modern developments, relies for its efficacy upon beliefs and practices which have come down to us through many transformations from a remote past. Deferring for the time, however, any notice of the parallels thus suggested, let us begin by examining the three essential factors of the Lourdes story. In a few words, that story is as follows. The Virgin Mary appeared to Bernadette, and in direct consequence of that apparition miraculous cures are performed in and near the same grotto where the divine figure was seen.

Plainly we have three points to look into. (1.) What is the evidence that the apparition was really seen, or, if seen, was more than a purely subjective hallucination? (2.) What is the evidence which connects the apparition with the cures? (3.) What evidence is there of cures so far surpassing the known effects of suggestion and self-suggestion as to demand a special or a miraculous explanation? On each of these points there is a good deal to say.

(1.) The apparition. “On a great tablet of marble,” says Dr. Boissarie, “magnificently framed, fastened into the rock near the grotto,” the following inscription is to be read:—

¹ Virgil, *Georg.* III., 454. These words—too often justified in faith-healing practice—may be rendered as follows:—

Thus grows and grows the hurt which none can heal,
While the false leech denies the saving steel;
He with hands clasped invokes a favouring day;
And dies the victim, and the gods delay.

Dates of the Eighteen apparitions
and words of the Blessed Virgin
in the year of grace 1858.

In the hollow of the rock where her statue is now seen
the Blessed Virgin appeared to Bernadette Soubirous
Eighteen times.

The 11th and the 14th of February ;
Each day, with two exceptions, from February 18th till March 4th,
March 25th, April 7th, July 16th.

The Blessed Virgin said to the child on February 18th,
“ Will you do me the favour (me faire la grâce) of coming here daily
for a fortnight ?

I do not promise to make you happy
In this world, but in the next ;

I want many people to come (qu’il vienne du monde).”

The Virgin said to her during the fortnight :

“ You will pray for sinners ; you will kiss the earth for sinners.

Penitence ! penitence ! penitence !

Go and tell the priests to cause a chapel to be built ;

I want people to come thither in procession.

Go and drink of the fountain and wash yourself in it.

Go and eat of that grass which is there (de cette herbe qui est là).”

On March 25th the Virgin said :

“ I AM THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION.”

This, then, is the official account of the vision. We will simplify our discussion by waiving all question as to its good faith or accuracy, and accepting it as an exact account of what Bernadette believed that she heard and saw. How, then, should we classify such a narrative, if sent to us in the ordinary course of our collection of evidence ?

Undoubtedly we should regard it as a purely subjective experience. It does not answer any of the tests which we habitually impose on a hallucination which claims to be *veridical*. The figure was seen by one person only. The apparition did not coincide with any objective event. It did not even—though to this point we must presently return—contain any prediction whose fulfilment could be a retrospective proof of the reality of the message. And—worst of all from an evidential point of view,—the figure seen was one which, by the admission, we believe, of the Catholic clergy themselves, has been often reported as seen, mainly by young girls, under circumstances where no objective value whatever could be attributed to the apparition.

It so happens that on this last and very important point we can adduce a significant series of facts. In *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VII., p. 100, may be found a description, written for the S.P.R., by M. Marillier from observation on the spot, of a series of apparitions of the Virgin near Pontinet in the Dordogne. There the Virgin was

seen many times by many persons, generally through a special hole in a wall, but sometimes on the open heath. We entirely concurred, however, with M. Marillier in ranking all these visions as purely subjective. We considered that the expectation and excitement caused by Marie Magontier's account of her first vision—itsself probably a real, but entirely subjective experience,—might well have predisposed her neighbours to similar hallucinations. The case was like that of a haunted room, where one person has seen a figure, and then others, informed of this apparition, have seen, or fancied that they saw, something like that figure again. And the Bishop of Perigueux must obviously have shared this view, for he discouraged the visions at Pontinet and nothing has come of them.

It is not easy to explain why this long series of mutually corroborative visions should be thus tacitly dropped, while the similar visions of a single uncorroborated child should receive so much attention. Dr. Boissarie makes two points based on the apparition itself; namely, the beauty of the figure and the loftiness of the message. "We shall be able," he says, p. 31, "to arrive at a scientific demonstration of the supernatural by placing side by side, on the one hand, the faculties of this ignorant child; on the other hand, the vision of this ideal Virgin, a creation of an unknown type, which the genius of the greatest artists had never conceived, and has had difficulty in reproducing. The name of this Virgin, the words which she uttered,—all is out of proportion to the percipient's intelligence. Remembering the formal principle, admitted by all authorities, 'A hallucination is never more than a reminiscence of a sensation already perceived,' it is evident that the intelligence and the memory of Bernadette could never have received the image or heard the echo of what she saw and heard at the grotto."

How, it may be asked, do we know of the extraordinary beauty of the form which Bernadette perceived? We know this, it appears, (p.70) from the statement of the sculptor Fabisch, who made a statue of the Virgin which Bernadette regarded as a faithful copy of what she had seen. Of the pose and expression which he had thus faithfully reproduced, Fabisch informs us that "he has seen nothing to equal them in suavity and rapture in the *chefs d'œuvre* of the greatest masters,—of Perugino or Raphael." It was fortunate that the task was committed to an artist so fully equal to the occasion; and the less favourable impression made upon one of ourselves by the sight of the statue in the grotto should not, perhaps, be placed in opposition to this decisive judgment of the sculptor himself.

As regards the loftiness of the message we have less definite guidance. Dr. Boissarie does not tell us whether it is the divine command to kiss the earth for sinners, or the divine command to eat

grass, which is manifestly beyond the intelligence of a simple child. He dwells only upon the phrase "I am the Immaculate Conception"; and we may indeed admit that this particular mode of reproducing the probably often-heard statement that the Virgin was conceived without sin does indicate a mind which is either *supra* or *infra grammaticam*.

We have quoted this passage at length mainly as indicating what it is that Dr. Boissarie is willing to call a *démonstration scientifique du surnaturel*. And since this physician is sometimes referred to as though his judgments carried much weight, we may mention here that the most definite knowledge which we have been able to gain about him is that he "has been mixed up for several years (*mêlé depuis plusieurs années*, p. 147) with the religious and scientific movements of his time." This fact about himself,—the only one which he vouchsafes us,—is also that which the study of his volume would have enabled us to divine with the most confident assurance.

If, however, we must admit that the story of the apparition is not one which could have found a place as evidential in these *Proceedings*, the same thing cannot be said of another incident, much less noticed, but in itself far more surprising, in the recorded life of Bernadette. This incident was observed and described by Dr. Dozous,—the physician to whose advocacy the credence bestowed on Bernadette, and the consequent fame of Lourdes, seem to have been in the first instance mainly due. Dr. Boissarie quotes from Dr. Dozous' account, but without giving any reference, nor even the name of the work where the citation occurs. We repeat the story, therefore, as Dr. Boissarie gives it (p. 49).

"The girl, upon her knees, held in one hand a lighted taper, which rested upon the ground. During her ecstasy she put her hands together, and her fingers were loosely crossed above the flame, which they enveloped in the cavity between the two hands (*dans l'espace de voûte qui les séparait*). The taper burnt; the flame showed its point between the fingers and was blown about at the time by a rather strong current of air. But the flame did not seem to produce any alteration in the skin which it touched."

"Astonished," says Dr. Dozous, "at this strange fact, I did not allow anyone to put a stop to it, and taking out my watch I could observe it perfectly for a quarter of an hour. Her prayer ended, Bernadette rose, and prepared to leave the grotto. I kept her back for a moment and asked her to show me her hand, which I examined with the greatest care. I could not find the slightest trace of a burn anywhere. I then tried to place the flame of the taper beneath her hand without her observing it; but she drew her hand quickly back, exclaiming 'You burn me!'"

"This fact," continues Dr. Boissarie, "has often been imperfectly

interpreted. It includes two elements quite distinct from each other, the insensibility, and the absence of actual burning. Bernadette in her ecstasy might have lost the sensation of pain; . . . but actual combustion, actual destruction of tissues by heat takes place under all circumstances and inevitably, irrespective of pain or absence of pain." This is quite true; nor would any kind of preservative application have sufficed to prevent the fingers from being charred under the conditions described.

We have here, then, a most important statement, vouched for by Dr. Dozous, one of the most essential witnesses in all this case, and (according to him) confirmed by all the persons present, who "saw the flame mount along the interlaced fingers, and but for Dozous' intervention would have taken the taper from the child's hands."

It seems to us that a physician's observation so easy, so prolonged, and by the observer's account so corroborated both by his own immediate experiment and by the agreement of all bystanders, cannot be set down to mere mal-observation. It must either be true or else wilfully false. If wilfully false it brings down with it, one may say, the whole legend of Bernadette, of which this is by far the most remarkable and apparently the best-attested incident. If on the other hand, Dr. Dozous' story be true, what are we to hold that it proves? What parallel cases have we with which to compare it? The obvious answer is that we have a series of similar occurrences reported in the case of D. D. Home. Home's phenomena of resistance to fire are in fact both in themselves more striking and better attested, since we have such names as those of Mr. Crookes, Lord Crawford, Lord Dunraven, with other observers of known position and probity, to set against the little-known Dr. Dozous, and the still less known peasants who witnessed the "miracle of the taper" at Lourdes.

This parallel, however, striking as it is, does not carry us much further towards the solution of the Lourdes problem. For in the first place D. D. Home's phenomena, in spite of their attestation, have not gained general scientific acceptance; and in the second place, those who do believe in them are undecided as to the power—whether resident in Home himself or in unknown spirits—to which these striking effects are to be attributed. The "miracle of the taper," therefore, if truly reported, may show that Bernadette was a "medium," but cannot fairly be used to prove the action of the Virgin Mary. Still less safe would it be to appeal to the ecstasies themselves as proving the divine character of their inspiring cause. Here again Mr. Daniel Home also had his ecstasies,—controlled by "guides," who were quite as sensitive to human incredulity as better-authorised saints might have been. "Little faith!" they would exclaim,—"little faith! Will you not trust in Dan?"

And this brings us to the second point marked out for our discussion. What connection is to be discerned between the visions of Bernadette and the cures subsequently occurring at Lourdes?

In the first place it may be observed that the original words of the message make no mention whatever of physical healing. On the contrary, the Virgin expressly states that the happiness which she promises is to be enjoyed in the next world and not in this. What she apparently aims at in this world is worship for herself: "I want people to come," "I want people to come in procession." There was also, indeed, a direction to wash in the stream, and to drink of it. Whether this stream meant the visible Gave, or its visible tributary,—both within a few yards of the spot—or the spring just below the surface which Bernadette is said to have scraped clear with her hands¹—it seems to have referred to a stream sufficiently established to have already grass growing on its banks, which Bernadette (presumably with other believers) was commanded to eat. Whether Bernadette, or anyone else, did eat it is not quite clear. And *why* they were to eat it, *why* they were to wash in the stream, is still more mysterious. It may have been for the same reason that they were to kiss the ground, as an act of abasement or penitence for sin. But we need hardly perhaps further analyse the somewhat incoherent message which has since been made to mean so much more than its actual words will carry.

A quarryman of the name of Bourriette, however, (Boissarie, p. 99) conceived the idea that the water of the spring in the grotto might with advantage be applied to his eyes, injured by an explosion. The alleged good effects of the water, in this and other cases among the neighbouring peasantry, started the long series of cures with which we shall presently have to deal.

The connection between these cures and the Virgin Mary lies in almost all cases in the subjective conviction of the sufferer that he will be cured at Lourdes and that the Virgin's aid will do it. Sometimes, no doubt, his conviction may be reinforced by a *dream*, as when Mustapha, a Mussulman in Constantinople, dreamt that a lady in white told him that she was the Virgin adored by the Georgian Fathers in that city; in whose chapel, in fact, water from Lourdes is distributed gratis. Mustapha's right eye, which he had *complètement perdu*—"lost altogether,"—was *radicalement guéri*—"completely cured" (we are told), when he awoke, and Dr. Boissarie concludes (p. 237) that "Our Lady of Lourdes seems to have commenced the religious reformation of the East." Of such dreams and like phenomena we shall have something to say further on.

¹ It would be interesting to compare this alleged miraculous discovery of a spring with the exploits of "dowsers" or "water-finders"; but we have not seen any account definite enough to serve as a basis for discussion.

For the present our point is that we have not in analogous cases considered that subjective evidence of this kind, even when backed up by definite assertions of identity and continuous action on the part of some unseen agent, did really constitute a proof that that agent was at work. We have regarded it as still possible, and even probable, that the effects were produced by self-suggestion, and that the alleged Spirit or Guardian was no more than a form in which the self-suggestion clothed itself.

A remarkable case, recently received, may here be quoted to illustrate both the degree of insistent assertion and apparently of active supernormal influence which may sometimes point to the intervention of some given spiritual agency,—and at the same time the degree of doubt and reserve with which it seems needful to meet assertion and evidence of that particular kind.

The writer of the following narrative is a physician occupying an important scientific post on the Continent of Europe. He is known to us by correspondence and through a common friend,—himself a *savant* of European reputation,—who has talked the case over with Dr. X. and his wife, and has read the statement which we now translate and abbreviate. We are bound to conceal Dr. X.'s identity, and even his country; nor is this unreasonable, since the *bizarrierie* of the incidents to be recorded would be felt as greatly out of place in his actual scientific surroundings. The Dr. Z. who here appears in the somewhat dubious character of a mesmerising spirit, was also, as it happens, a *savant* of European repute, and a personal friend of Dr. X.'s.

M. 76.

ACCOUNT OF PHENOMENA OBSERVED WITH MME. X.

CASE XI.—Mme. X. is a lady healthy in body and mind, well-balanced, of sound judgment, strong common-sense, and a calm and firm character; she is charitable without excess; is not susceptible to flattery, nor given to enthusiasm; she detests falsehood and duplicity and abhors injustice. She has never had any one of those serious maladies, such as meningitis, typhoid fever, &c., which are apt to leave traces on the nervous system. Nor has she suffered from any nervous complaint. She is the very opposite of what would be termed a nervous or hysterical subject. She is sensibly affected by accounts of human woes, especially among children; but such sensibility by no means explains the accesses of violent laughter which I have remarked in her since the commencement of the series of events to be now related. These accesses, which have nothing in common with the hysterical crises which they superficially resemble, are always caused by some extraordinary communication emanating from an occult intelligence.

In September, 1890, while we were staying in the country, Mme. X. sprained her right foot on a very dark night. A fortnight after our return to M——the foot was almost well; but shortly afterwards I fell ill, and Mme. X. underwent much fatigue in nursing me. The injured foot then became

inflamed and painful; and the left foot also became painful. For all that winter Mme. X. was obliged to lie up, the foot being kept from all movement by plaster or silicate dressings. This treatment was ultimately abandoned; the foot was simply bound up and crutches used. There was inflammation of the tissues of several of the joints of the right foot, and we were seriously alarmed.

At this point certain friends talked to Mme. X. about the alleged facts of Spiritism, of which until that date she had had a very vague notion. They praised the beneficent intervention of spirits in disease; but had much difficulty in inducing her to admit the mere possibility of facts of this nature. I can affirm, therefore, that it was only with great difficulty that these friends succeeded in vanquishing Mme. X.'s scepticism—which was moreover supported by my own objections to Spiritism—and at last persuaded her to submit herself to the action of the invisibles. The spirit-guide of a group of which one of our friends was a member advised the intervention of the (spirit)-doctor Z. A day was arranged when Dr. Z. was to visit Mme. X., and she was informed of the date. Owing to other preoccupations we completely forgot this *rendezvous*. On the day named—it was in April, 1891—Dr. Z. announced himself by raps in the table. Only then did we recollect the *rendezvous* agreed upon. I asked Dr. Z. his opinion on the nature of the injury to Mme. X.'s foot. By tilts of the table, through Mme. X.'s mediumship, he gave the word “tuberculosis.” He meant that there was tuberculosis of the joints, and of this there had been some indications. Had Mme. X. been predisposed to tubercle I doubt not that this would have supervened. Personally, I much feared this complication, and Dr. Z.'s answer (as I at once thought) might well be the mere reflection of my fears. It left me no more anxious than before. We now know that there was in fact no tuberculosis. In any case, Dr. Z. ordered a merely soothing remedy, a sulphur ointment. Some days later, at our request, Dr. Z. reappeared and promised to undertake the cure of Mme. X.'s feet; warning us, however, that there would never be a “*restitutio ad integrum*,” but that the patient would be unequal to long walks, and would suffer more or less from her feet in damp weather—which has proved to be the case.

I come now to the phenomena, mainly subjective, which Mme. X.'s case began to present. On August 17th, 1891, the patient felt for the first time a unique sensation, accompanied by formication and sense of weight in the lower limbs, especially in the feet. This sensation gradually spread over the rest of the body, and when it reached the arms, the hands and forearms began to rotate. These phenomena recurred after dinner every evening, as soon as the patient was quiet in her armchair. At this point the X. family went into the country to R—, and at that place the manifestations took place twice daily for some 15 or 20 minutes. Usually the patient placed her two hands on a table. The feeling of “magnetisation” then began in the feet, which began to rotate, and the upper parts of the body gradually shared in the same movement. At a certain point, the hands automatically detached themselves from the table by small, gradual shocks, and at the same time the arms assumed a tetanic rigidity somewhat resembling catalepsy. On one occasion when these sensations had been strongly marked, and the patient had felt the whole of the upper part of her body stiffened,

she went to bed and saw in the dark an intense light which lasted for several minutes and then gradually disappeared.

Three weeks after the family's return to M—— the phenomena changed in character, and gained in interest. The patient had begun to be able to walk without much difficulty ; but all forced and voluntary movement of the foot was still painful, although when the movement was initiated by the occult agency no pain whatever was felt. One evening, after the usual séanee, the patient felt her head move against her will. An intelligent intercourse was thus set up between the patient and the unseen agent or agents. The head nodded once for "Yes," twice for "No," three times for a strong affirmation. These movements were sometimes sudden and violent enough to cause something like pain. Words and phrases could, of course, be spelt out in this way. This form of correspondence has never wholly ceased ; although the intensity of the phenomenon has now much diminished. The occult agent now impresses one or other of Mme. X.'s hands with movements which trace in the air the form of letters of the alphabet ;—a plan which works well and quickly.

Mme. X. is also a writing medium ; and this power first showed itself in a strange way during the stay in the country of which I have already spoken. She was writing a letter one day, with no thought of these unseen agencies, when suddenly she felt her hand checked. Warned by a special sensation, she still held the pen. Her hand placed itself on a sheet of paper and began rapidly to write alarming predictions. The writings retained this tone only for a few hours ; and soon the communications became trivial in character, and, save in some exceptional instances, have since remained so.

Another phenomenon followed shortly afterwards. One day Mme. X. felt herself lifted with force from her armchair and compelled to stand upright. Her feet and her whole body then executed a systematic calisthenic exercise, in which all the movements were regulated and made rhythmic with finished art. This was renewed on following days, and towards the end of each performance,—sometimes of an hour's or two hours' duration—the movements acquired extreme energy. Mme. X. has never had the smallest notion of chamber-gymnastics, Swedish or otherwise, and these movements would have been very painful and fatiguing had she attempted them of her own will. Yet at the end of each performance she was neither fatigued nor out of breath. All was going well, and Dr. Z. had announced that henceforth his attentions would not be needed, when next day a singular accident threw everything back. Mme. X. had mounted with great precaution upon a low chair with four legs and a large base of support to take an object from a wardrobe. Just as she was about to descend, the chair was violently snatched from under her feet and pushed to a distance. Mme. X. fell on the diseased foot, and the cure had to begin again. [In a subsequent letter Dr. X. explains that by Mme. X.'s account this movement was distinctly due to an *invisible force* ; no natural slipping of the chair.]

Mme. X. was accustomed to bandage her own foot every morning. One day she was astonished to feel her hands seized and guided by an occult force. From that day onwards the bandaging was done according to all the rules of the art, and with a perfection which would have done credit to the most skilful surgeon of either hemisphere. Although very adroit with her

hands, Mme. X. had never had occasion to practise nursing or to study minor surgery, yet the bandages thus *automatically* applied were irreproachable, and were admired by everyone. When Mme. X. wished to renew the bandages, she placed the strips all rolled up upon a table within reach of her hand, and her hand then automatically took the bandage which best suited the occult operation.

Mme. X. is accustomed to arrange her own hair. One morning she said laughingly, "I wish that a Court hairdresser would do my hair for me; my arms are tired." At once she felt her hands acting automatically, and with no fatigue for her arms, which seemed to be held up; and the result was a complicated *coiffure*, which in no way resembled her usual simple mode of arrangement.

The oddest of all these automatic phenomena consisted in extremely graceful gestures which Mme. X. was caused to execute with her arms,—gestures as though of evocation or adoration of some imaginary divinity, or gestures of benediction. When the occult agent placed her before the portrait of her son whom she lost five years ago the scene became really affecting,—and moved Mme. X. herself to tears. The few persons who witnessed this spectacle are agreed that it was worthy of the powers of the greatest actress. Of such a gift Mme. X. has nothing; her nature is simple and frank, but cold rather than demonstrative.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1889 Mme. X. once saw the "Javanese dance," consisting of rhythmic motions of the body with contortions of the arms. The occult agents caused her to repeat this dance several times with perfect execution.

[Disliking these phenomena,] Mme. X. has tried very hard to free herself from this control, and has to a great extent succeeded, by the use of cold water, by strongly resisting all communications, and by "passes of disengagement" executed by a hypnotiser. [This has reduced the phenomena almost entirely to automatic writing, which, though vague or fantastic when dealing with ordinary topics, is precise and intelligent on medical questions.]

Thus far the phenomena recorded have been purely subjective; in those which follow there is something objective also. When one has the honour to be treated by a physician of Dr. Z.'s celebrity (!) ordinary kindness bids one sometimes think of benefiting one's neighbour. One of the officials of my department had suffered for many years from pleurodynia, which occasionally laid him up altogether, and also from frequent attacks of sick headache. Dr. Z. was consulted and prescribed an internal treatment which, to my great surprise, consisted mainly of "dosimetric granules"; [which this great official surgeon had not in his lifetime employed]. He also caused Mme. X. to perform "passes of disengagement" for ten or fifteen minutes at a time. It was noticeable that while these passes were made with extreme violence, Mme. X.'s hands were arrested at the distance of a millimetre at most from the patient's face, without ever touching him in the least. Mme. X. could never of herself have given to her movements such a degree of precision. For two years now the patient has felt no more of his pleurodynia, and his *migraine* is, if not altogether cured, at least greatly reduced.

One day—I suppose by way of a joke,—Dr. Z., after one of these séances, pursued the patient with his influence as he walked home, and

made him execute with his hands various gestures and contortions which drew the attention of passers-by.

Another time, our servant A., whose husband was ill in hospital, came crying to Mme. X. and told her that she had lost all hope of ever seeing him cured, &c. Mme. X. asked Dr. Z. to take him in hand. He promised to do so, and said that he would make him feel his presence. Next morning A. went to the hospital and found her husband in despair. "Look here," he said, "besides what I had already, I am falling into a nervous malady. I have been shaken about all night,—my arms and legs have executed movements which I could not control." A. began to laugh, and told her husband that Dr. Z. had taken him in hand, and that he would soon get well. The patient is going about as usual to-day, and is as well as an incurable pulmonary affection allows him to be.

Under other circumstances I have myself consulted Dr. Z. as to patients under my professional care. On each occasion he has given a precise diagnosis and has indicated a treatment, consisting mainly of dosimetric granules, sometimes associated with other treatment. These facts have been repeated many times, and I owe great gratitude to Dr. Z. for the advice which he has given me. His prescriptions were always rational; and when I showed fears as to certain doses which appeared to me too large, he took pains to reassure me, but stuck to his prescriptions. I have never had to repent having followed the advice of my eminent colleague in the other world; and I am bound to state distinctly that every time that a medical question has been submitted to him the replies and advice of Dr. Z. have been of an astonishing clearness and precision. I cannot say the same of communications obtained on other subjects, in which he seemed to take a malicious pleasure in leading us wrong. He—or someone else—has often announced to us, with minute and intimate detail, the deaths of persons known to us; who were found on inquiry to be alive and well. Lastly, I give a detail which tends to prove the reality of this occult magnetisation. Mme. X. has often seen two luminous rays projected upon her feet during the séances of which I have spoken above. The rays were invisible in full light, and in complete darkness, but were seen in partial obscurity and resembled rays of the sun passing through small openings into a dark room. If this was a hallucination, it was shared on two occasions by the hypnotiser of whom I have already spoken. I myself never saw the rays, which may be compared with those said to have been seen by somnambulists and other sensitives as emanating under certain circumstances from the human frame.

In reply to inquiries Dr. X. adds the following remarks.

It is not impossible that Mme. X. should have at some time heard myself or others pronounce the names of the medicaments prescribed. But when she gave me an exact diagnosis, and formulated in detail a rational treatment, I am sure that this did not come from her own mind. She has never studied any branch of medicine—neither the therapeutic art itself, nor the minor art of composing formulæ. Nor could I have been acting suggestively, since my own ideas were often quite different from those which the occult agent dictated;—unless indeed my unconscious self acted upon Mme. X.'s consciousness,—which seems to me a somewhat too elaborate view.

The dosimetric granules are a convenient mode of administering alkaloids, glycosides, and other toxic principles, and I have often been alarmed at the doses which Dr. Z. prescribed. I confess that I was astonished to find that an occult agent who thus claimed to be a bygone Professor should have selected a form of medication on which the Faculty look with no approving eye.

As to Mme. X.'s foot, I have a *firm conviction* that it was healed by the rhythmical movements imposed, and by the "magnetisation" of the occult agent.

You ask me whether I consider these agents as belonging to the human type. Provisionally, Yes ;—unless we admit that there exists, superposed upon our world, another world of beings distinct from humanity, but knowing it and studying it as we study the other regions of nature, and assuming for the sake of amusement or for some other motive the *rôle* of our departed friends.

Dr. X. concludes with warnings against the dangers of such influence or possession ; dangers which he thinks that Mme. X. avoided by her calmness of temperament and resolute maintenance of self-control.

The *savant* already mentioned as introducing us to this case sends us (May, 1893) the following corroborative statement. He is, it may be observed, himself a physician.

"I have frequently seen Mme. X. For the last year or two she has had no more phenomena ; but about two years ago she presented some curious symptoms. In the first place, when she conversed with the late Dr. Z., her so-called magnetiser, his replies were made by movements of her head. She would seat herself in an armchair, and according as Dr. Z. wished to say yes or no there were either two or three backward movements of her head. Her head threw itself backwards with force, and gave a vigorous blow to the chair-back. This movement was sometimes so violent that the shock was painful, so that Mme. X. cried out at the sharpness of the blows. Long sentences could thus be given, for when the alphabet was spelt out there were movements and blows given with the head, just as in ordinary Spiritistic conversations there are tilts of the table. Often, also, while one was talking with Mme. X., there were movements of her head, indicating that the so-called Dr. Z. was taking part in the discussion, and approving or disapproving such and such a phrase. More rarely, Mme. X. would unconsciously articulate a few words with her lips, and these words were professedly dictated by Dr. Z. As to the other phenomena, I have twice been present at the ample, semi-ecstatic movements of salutation and prayer which Mme. X. made against her will. It was a curious scene ; for Mme. X. preserved her consciousness all the time and continued to talk to us while executing this strange and complicated mimicry. It is to be observed that Mme. X. is a person of calm nature, and rather apathetic than nervous. She has strong common-sense, is healthy, and reasonable in character. It seems that she never had any previous hallucination. She is an excellent mother of a family, and deservedly enjoys general confidence and esteem."

Dr. X. has sent us two of the prescriptions written by Mme. X.'s hand. We have compared them with British Pharmacopœal prescriptions, by the aid of Burggræve's *Guide de Médecine Dosimétrique* (Paris, 1872). Both prescriptions are in fair accord with English practice ; the doses of arsenic in the one case, of strychnia in the other, being rather stronger than usually given. Each prescription contains several ingredients, in what seems reasonable proportion.

Finally, we learn that Dr. Z. in life was gay and fond of practical jokes.

This curious narrative, which we cannot here criticise in all its details, forms an instructive preparation for our study of the cures at Lourdes. It reminds us, in the first place, that supernormal *cures* do not form a unique or sacred group of phenomena, needing the assumption of some specially lofty origin. However effected, they will fall within some class already often discussed. If effected by some agency within the patient himself, they are a form of *self-suggestion*. If effected by some extraneous agency, they may depend upon some influence from living or departed persons, and so come under the *mesmeric* category ; or they may depend upon actual *movements* of ponderable objects (as where a needle issues rapidly from the hand, in one of the Lourdes cases), and will thus fall under the head of so-called spiritualistic or *telekinetic* phenomena. In Dr. X.'s case both mesmeric and telekinetic phenomena are alleged ; and also that apparent communication of medical knowledge from an unknown source which has been elsewhere noted in automatic messages, and which, though not in itself an act of healing, may lead to a cure. But there is nothing particularly elevated or saintly about these acts of medical help and advice,—any more than there is anything specially saintly about medical advisers while still in the flesh. Rather, the departed Dr. Z.'s skilful good-nature is accompanied with a tendency to caprice and mystification, which may be very human, but is certainly not even semi-divine. Again, this story, as we have said, illustrates the extreme difficulty of establishing a connection between any given unembodied agents and any given cure. In this case there is strong and repeated assertion on the agent's part ; and there is also a kind of *à priori* probability that such help as this should come from a great surgeon, who is also an old friend. Take, for instance, the skilful bandaging ; that is just what Dr. Z. could have done ; he asserts that he is doing it ; nor can any other more likely source of the skill be suggested. And yet to Dr. X. himself, to us, and we imagine to most of our readers, these assertions of Dr. Z.'s identity carry no conviction. He was never willing to give any test involving knowledge of his past life ; and the writings which he claimed to give were on all save medical subjects dreamlike and delusive. If the prescriptions really came from an un-

embodied intelligence we cannot be any more sure that that intelligence was Dr. Z. than we can be sure that the author of similar prescriptions given through Miss A., and described elsewhere in this Part, was "Semirus, an ancient Egyptian."

And if, on the other hand, the phenomena were all in some way a product of the subliminal selves of Dr. and Mme. X., we still can find ready analogies for their ascription to the discarnate friend. When a hypnotiser has been in the habit of sending a patient to sleep (take for instance Dr. Gibert and Mme. B.) he can give her, say, a photograph of himself, or a box of lozenges, and tell her that when she looks at the photograph, or takes a lozenge, she will go to sleep as if he were there to hypnotise her. The effect will in fact follow;—and the symbolic act will sometimes be accompanied on the patient's part (through strong association of ideas) by an impression of the hypnotiser's presence in the room,—or even by an actual hallucinatory picture of him. Yet only self-suggestion, in this supposed case, is now at work; since at that moment the hypnotist is not thinking of the patient at all. Similarly, Mme. X.'s mind might associate the deceased friend with the act of healing, and might originate a sort of hallucination of his presence which might express itself in the automatic script.

But if even in Dr. X.'s narrative the connection of the cures with the alleged author is thus problematical, how much more is this the case with the Lourdes cures, in almost all of which the patient's subjective feelings—his prayers and piety,—are all the evidence forthcoming to the Virgin's intervention! Almost the only connection of the Virgin with the cures which can pretend to an objective character is the so-called prediction or promise contained in the words spoken to Bernadette. But we have already seen that these words, naturally construed, contain no promise of cures, and no prediction whatever, unless an expression of a *wish* that people should come in procession is a prediction that they will obey what they take to be a divine message. As to the idea of medical aid, it seems almost expressly excluded by the words "I do not promise to make you happy in this world, but in the next." And yet the supposed utterance of these vague words by that figure, which of all figures is admitted to be the one most frequently seen in purely subjective hallucinations, is assumed as explaining a series of cures which, to whatever cause they may be due, at least offer no more *intrinsic* evidence of the action of the Virgin Mary than certain other cures, to which we shall presently allude, offered of the action of Æsculapius.

Judging, we repeat, by the canons of evidence generally used in these *Proceedings*, we can neither say that there is any sort of proof that Bernadette's vision was *veridical* (truth-telling as opposed to merely subjective), or that the cures which have undoubtedly since

occurred at Lourdes bear any relation to that vision beyond what the minds of the patients have chosen to assume as existing. The proof of divine intervention must therefore rest upon the cures themselves ; and these, of course, may prove so striking as to lead us to feel that, in the absence of all ordinary explanations, we are bound to give weight to those stranger causes which patients and physicians here combine to invoke.

The medical evidence for the miracles at Lourdes has been from time to time published in the 25 vols. of the *Annales de Lourdes* since 1868, but it is only in the more recent years that its apologists have claimed high accuracy of observation,¹ and in such a wide field it is to the last three or four years that our attention had best be given. In 1891 Dr. Boissarie published his volume already cited, entitled *Lourdes*, which claims to be an exact medical summary of the evidence for the miraculous cases made by an expert after long personal examination and complete access to all the sources of information. This work has been accepted by the lay supporters of the school as their technical book of reference.² From it, therefore, we also shall take our medical descriptions.

M. 77.

CASE XII.—The cure of Mlle. Blondel³ is one that deserves notice. She was a lady whose history is traced far back and who had been the patient of many doctors. She was born in 1839; and in 1863 and the winters of several successive years had suffered from severe sore-throats (“laryngo-trachéite”) which had been treated at Amélie, Caunterets, and Mont-Dore. In 1873 (æt. 34) “a rheumatic attack,” we are told, “affected her spinal cord and produced a paralysis of her lower limbs.” Treatment by electricity, blistering, hydrotherapeutics and various other methods was tried during the next five years, but without improvement. In 1879 she first visited Lourdes, and was twice bathed in the sacred bath (*piscine*), but even that was useless. The muscles of the legs were atrophied, flaccid and powerless, the skin sallow and ill-nourished. For three years treatment was abandoned as hopeless ; but in 1882 she was brought again to Lourdes as a paralytic who could only be treated by miracle ; and this time the result of her first bath is claimed to have been miraculous. “In a few moments she felt cured. Without the least hesitation she could get out of the bath, stand on her feet, sit down or walk about, and full powers of sensation had returned to all parts.” “All the doctors,” continues Dr. Boissarie, “who had had the treatment of Mlle. Blondel gave a confident opinion that this was a supernatural cure.” Whether among this company of doctors are included Dr. Maurice Raynaud and Professor Charcot, whom she consulted in Paris, we are not told. At any rate, a more observant doctor at Lourdes, Dr. de St. Maclou, seems to have

¹ Boissarie, *Lourdes*, p. 238. “Depuis 1884 les guérisons sont étudiées avec un soin plus grand, si c'est possible ; avec une sévérité qui pourra défier toute critique.”

² *Lourdes*, p. 239.

³ *Annales de Lourdes*, XXIV., p. 235.

had his doubts ; but the cure appeared a very good instance of the supernatural to the rest, though not a word is said about the permanence of the recovery, or the alteration in nutrition, reflex action, or electrical conditions of the muscles, as to which we might have expected to have heard something. Granted indeed the clinical facts of her ability and disability to walk, and loss and recovery of sensation, there seems to us no evidence for the supernatural. It is what we should expect to find in any case of hysterical paraplegia terminated by strong emotion.

As a parallel cure which makes no claim to be supernatural we may cite in detail a case published by a distinguished Professor of surgery in Glasgow, Mr. Charles Buchanan (which we are glad to notice has also caught Father Clarke's eye). Mr. Buchanan visited Lourdes in the autumn of 1883 and was much interested in the undoubted benefit that some of the pilgrims received.

M. 78.

CASE XIII.—“With regard,” he writes,¹ “to persons who have been lame and decrepit and known as such to their friends, the fact of their leaving their crutches and walking away without help does seem astonishing and miraculous, and it is cases such as these which make the greatest impression.” “I believe that the simple visit to the grotto by persons who believe in it, and the whole surroundings of the place, might have such an effect on the mind that a sudden change in the nerve-condition might result in immediate improvement in cases where there is no real change of structure but where the malady is a functional imitation of organic disease. Such cases are familiar to all medical men and are the most intractable they have to deal with, the disorder being in the imagination and not in the part. . . . It is rather a remarkable coincidence that on October 2nd, 1883, within three weeks of my visit to Lourdes, I received a letter from Mrs. F., reminding me that some years before I had performed in her case a cure, instantaneous, and to all appearance miraculous, and which she properly attributed to undoubting faith in my word. It is a very good illustration of the kind of case to which I have been alluding and of the power of mind over mind, and of the effect of imagination in simulating real disease. Mr. F. called on me in October, 1875, and requested me to visit his wife, who had been confined to bed for many months with a painful affection of the spine. When I went into the house I found Mrs. F., a woman of about thirty-one years of age, lying in bed on her left side and her knees crouched up, that being the position that afforded most relief. She was thin and weak-looking, with a countenance indicative of great suffering. I was informed that for many months she had been in the same condition. She was unable to move her limbs, any attempt being attended with pain, and practically she was paralytic. She was not able to alter her position in bed without help, and this always gave so much trouble that she would have remained constantly in the same position if the attendants had not insisted on moving her to allow of the bedclothes being changed and arranged. She had altogether lost appetite and had become

¹ *Lancet*, June 20th, 1885, p. 1117.

dreadfully emaciated, and only took what was almost forced on her by her husband and friends. She had given up all hope of recovery, but had expressed a strong desire to be visited by me in consequence of something she had heard from her husband connected with a health lecture he had been present at many years before. When I entered her bedroom something in the way she earnestly looked at me suggested the idea that I might have some influence over her, supposing it to be a case of hysterical spine simulating real spinal irritation and sympathetic paralysis. The story I got was not that of real disease of spine or cord or limbs, and I at once resolved to act on the supposition that it was subjective or functional and not dependent on actual molecular change or disintegration. I went to her bedside and said suddenly: 'I cannot do you any good unless you allow me to examine your back.' In an instant she moved slightly round, and I examined her spine, running my finger over it at first lightly, then very firmly, without her wincing at all. I then said: 'Get out of bed at once.' She declared she could not move. I said, 'You can move quite well; come out of bed,' and gave her my hand, when, to the surprise of her husband and sister, who looked perfectly thunderstruck, she came out of bed with almost no help at all and stood alone. I said, 'Walk across the floor, now'; without demur, she walked without assistance, saying, 'I can walk quite well; I knew you would cure me; my pains are gone.' She then went into bed with very little assistance, lay on her back and declared she was perfectly comfortable. She was given a glass of milk, which she took with relish, and I left the house having performed a cure which to the bystanders looked nothing short of a miracle. For many years I heard nothing of Mrs. F., when on October 2nd, 1883, I got the letter referred to, and shortly after the patient herself called at my house. In February, 1885, she again called on me. She is at present in fair health, not robust, but cheerful and contented. She says she never altogether regained her full strength; but as an evidence that she is not feeble or unable for a good deal of exertion I may state that she now lives about five miles from my house, and she made her way alone, partly by omnibus, partly by tramway and the rest on foot."

The extent to which such hysterical imitations of disease, such pseudo-maladies, may be pushed without any conscious bad faith on the part of the patient is very difficult to define. The diagnosis is perplexing, and we do not wish to accuse any of these Lourdes patients of bad faith. We are glad indeed to quote a recent case, too recent to be included in Dr. Boissarie's book, which is described in very glowing terms by the *curé* of the district as a miracle which had produced a profound impression in the neighbourhood of the patient.¹

M. 79.

CASE XIV.—Mme. Antoinette Toussaint was a lady æt. 22, who on July 14th, 1890, felt some sudden pain in her left calf and thought she must have sprained it, for it swelled a good deal. Various surgeons tried various remedies for nearly a year, but without any success, and the sprained leg grew gradually

¹ *Annales*, XXIV., 246-250.

more and more powerless and its muscles wasted, and were drawn up by a slight contracture. Her religious friends said that a healing in the bath at Lourdes was the only chance for her. For three months her thoughts were set on this, and at last on August 26th, 1891, more than thirteen months after the accident, she reached the grotto and after a night of pain and a morning of solemn ceremony was introduced to the bath, and in leaving "the miraculous water" felt her pain and trouble all gone and her leg quite straight and well again. There was a little pain next day, it is true, but that was cured by another bath and she went home rejoicing with her "legs as strong as iron" and all the wasting and contracture gone. She was cured undoubtedly,—there was no question of that;—but we are glad to observe that the editors of the *Annales* for January, 1892,¹ in which the *cure's* account is printed, have shown a spirit of honest criticism by adding a note to the effect that they consider this a case of "traumatic hysteria," as they phrase it; and that though they would not deny the sudden growth of the wasted muscles, yet they had not sufficient observations to prove it.

To come to the majority of cases, in which the accurate proof of many facts in detail by first-class evidence at the time is a most essential point, we may quote the case of a soldier—François Vion-Dury, who is said to have been cured of blindness. In this instance the late official doctor of the Lourdes water, Dr. de St. Maclou, who in several cases has shown more caution and appreciation of the value of evidence than his *confrères*, is very distinct in his avowal that this is undoubtedly a miracle. "*Nous sommes vraiment en présence d'un miracle.*"²

M. 80.

CASE XV.—The man had entered the infantry ranks of the French army in 1881, when he was 21, without any exception being taken to his eyesight, and the next year (November, 1882) he was employed to help in putting out a fire at Monceau-les-Mines. His eyesight was damaged, presumably by the flames, "so that at the end of three months," he tells us, "I could not see at all." Treatment was tried at the hospital at Dijon, and there, the patient tells us, the doctor told him he had "detachment of the retina in both eyes." That is a pathological condition which, so far as we know, invariably causes, so long as it is maintained, loss of sight over that part of the visual field which is affected, but which is by no means always incurable by nature or by surgical art. We have no further account of his eyesight or of the pathological condition of his eyes until nearly 18 months later (September 16th, 1884), when Dr. Dor, of Lyons, gave him a certificate saying that he suffered from detachment of the retina in both eyes, and, "although the retina," to quote Dr. Dor's words, "of the left eye was now re-attached," yet the left eye could not distinguish light from darkness; and the right eye could only see sufficiently to count the fingers when they were held up before it at the distance of about a foot. About 18 months later (January, 1886) some further treatment was tried by M. Dufour at Lausanne, which the patient

¹ *Annales*, XXIV., p. 250.

² *Annales de Lourdes*, XXIV., p. 30.

tells us had no result. In what condition M. Dufour found the eye or what he did to it is not mentioned. After another four years and a half he betook himself to a convent and made a novena which ended on Friday, August 1st, 1890. On the following day, Saturday, August 2nd, he went to confession, and in the evening one of the convent sisters brought him a bottle of the Holy Water of Lourdes. He touched his eyes with it, and tells us that he felt it sting him as if it had been ammonia,—and all at once, he goes on, as quick as lightning, his sight came back to him, and he could see a little. He made another novena, and every day the sight of his left eye grew better, and at the end of the nine days he could see perfectly. About nine months later a high ecclesiastical dignitary, the Abbé Sonthonnax, bears witness to his capacity to use his eyes in doing some manual work.

Now what does the evidence amount to here for a recovery which the wisest and the most prudent of the judges of the medical phenomena at Lourdes, the late Dr. de St. Maclou, does not hesitate to call a most undoubted miracle? One medical certificate, given six years before the miracle, of a condition which all ophthalmic authorities admit is sometimes curable by nature, and whose exact observation is difficult even to the most highly skilled oculist,—and not a single further word of expert testimony, either to the state during the intervening 6 years, to the miracle itself, or to the results of the miracle! The patient tells his own story of his feelings and we have the letter of the Abbé, who tells Dr. de St. Maclou that the man could see to use his hands nine months after the miracle. But the true question at issue is not whether he could see, or thought he could see, much better at one time than another;—there is no reason to dispute that, nor would it in itself be miraculous;—but whether we can be perfectly sure that he had a pathological condition called “detachment of the retina,” which is by no means very easy to observe, even for expert ophthalmological observers, and which follows many different courses towards getting better or getting worse;¹ and whether we can be perfectly sure that he lost that pathological condition under such *absolutely unprecedented and unique* circumstances as to justify us in calling the change a miracle. In weighing such a point we are bound to remember that we have no direct evidence that any retinal detachment existed for six years before its alleged disappearance; nor any medical evidence that it did then disappear.

The group of cases on which the medical authorities of Lourdes seem to have laid more weight of late years than formerly as examples of supernatural healing is that of ulcers and sores, both superficial and

¹ Dr. de St. Maclou, in relating this case (*Annales de Lourdes*, XXIV., pp 23-30), quotes the opinion of a high English authority, Mr. Soelberg Wells, late Professor of Ophthalmology at King's College, London, that this pathological condition of detachment of the retina, if there is not early treatment, frequently leads to complete loss of sight (*A Treatise on Diseases of the Eye*, p. 381); but it is worth notice that a few pages later in his book (p. 399), Mr. Soelberg Wells mentions that “a case of reattachment with restored sight is described by von Græfe and by Dr. Berlin (*Klin. Monatsblätter*, 1863, p. 49), and Mr. Bowman has also mentioned a case to me in which he has observed the total spontaneous disappearance of a considerable detachment. Other cases have been related by Liebreich, Galezowski, Steffan, &c.”

deep, as these afford evidence to the eye easy to appreciate when a firm scar can be shown in place of the open wound. Some such cases are mentioned by Dr. Boissarie in the *Annales de Lourdes*, as occurring in the National Pilgrimage to Lourdes in the summer of 1891, after the publication of his book. We shall say a few words later on as to the rationale of such cures, but will first quote an illustrative case.

M. 81.

CASE XVI.—Amélie Chagnon¹ was a girl of 17, who was reported by her doctor to have suffered for about a year from a white swelling of one knee and more or less disease of a bone of the left foot (second metatarsal) from which there was a discharge by a sinus nearly a third of an inch deep. She was not in good general health and any attempt at a surgical operation for her cure was put off. She went to Lourdes August 19th, 1891, was bathed on August 21st, and went back to her convent. On August 30th the doctor makes a report that he finds the knee no longer painful and less swollen, and a healthy scar over the instep where there had been at one time a running sore. About the same time another girl, Clémentine Trouvé,² came from a distance with a similar disease of one of the bones of her ankle, which had lasted nearly three years, and had not improved under surgical treatment. She came to Lourdes for cure. Her foot was enveloped in bandages when she went into the bath, as Amélie Chagnon's had been also. She left the bandages in the water; and it was there, in the bath, "*in a few seconds*," Dr. Boissarie assures us,³ "that an instantaneous and perfect scar was formed, at 3 p.m., August 22nd, 1891." She went home, and eight days later, on September 1st, 1891, her doctor at Lusignan gave her a certificate that a scar and a considerable amount of flattening of the sole of her foot was all that was left of her old disease. He certainly seems to have felt no doubt of the soundness of the scar, for to her *curé* he writes: "Que ce soit le bon Dieu ou le diable qui a guéri cette enfant, ça m'est égal; mais la vérité est qu'elle est guérie." But we should have liked to have known more of the details. What was the exact state of the bone and of the sore under the bandages when the girls put their feet into the bath? Whose eyes were fixed upon the sore during those few seconds when the miraculous cure was begun and ended? Was the change too rapid for any human eye to tell whether it healed from below or from above? We find no answer to such questions, and fear that a great opportunity has been missed. If we are called upon to admire an instantaneous cure, we ought surely to have observations written and witnessed at the actual time of the change. On the other hand, we can feel some sympathy with Dr. Boissarie when he explains to us how really impossible it is for a small group of half-a-dozen doctors, with a crowd of lookers-on, some sceptical, others ignorant, to get an accurate history, a precise record in writing of the present condition and of every change in and out of the bath of every patient, when they have some hundreds a day on their hands in time of pilgrimage.

¹ *Annales*, XXIV., 159-163.

² *Annales*, XXIV., 163-166.

³ C'est là qu'en quelques secondes une cicatrisation instantanée et complète s'était opérée.—*Annales*, XXIV., 165.

Side by side with this last case we will place an experiment in suggestion equally surprising in its way with Clémentine Trouvé's experience.

M. 82.

CASE XVII.—Dr. Gibert, the well-known physician of Havre, desiring recently¹ to test the efficacy of suggestion in the waking state to influence some pathological processes, took a boy of thirteen who had been brought to consult him for the warts which covered the backs of both his hands. These were so thickly clustered that there was hardly any clear skin to be seen between them, and the boy could not bend his fingers enough to hold a pen or even a knife and fork for his meals. M. Pierre Janet and some of the doctors of Havre were gathered together to observe M. Gibert's treatment and its results. He took the boy's hands into his own, looked at them closely, and then gazed steadily in his face and asked him in a loud clear tone, "Are you wishing to be cured?" and as the boy answered at first half-heartedly, he repeated his question several times till he got a reply with more decision. "Yes, sir, I am wishing." "Mind what I say, then," said M. Gibert. "I am going to wash you with blue water; but if the warts are not gone in a week I shall wash you with yellow water. Here! Charles! bring me the blue water." Then he sponged his hands with some water with a little blue colouring matter in it and dried them carefully. When they met again on that day week the warts were all gone except two or three. M. Gibert took him by the hands as before and gave him a sound scolding for not having got rid of every one of them. Then he sponged his hands with yellow tinted water without any drug in it, which the boy fancied had something burning about it; and a few days later the last traces of the warts were gone and the skin was completely healthy. This bold experiment illustrates the effect that the mind when duly stimulated may in some cases have upon morbid conditions of the body which medical and surgical science is puzzled how to relieve; for warts, though they sometimes grow slowly smaller and smaller and finally after much more than a week disappear "by nature," as we phrase it in our ignorance, yet are very intractable indeed to any medical or surgical treatment.

One might, moreover, have expected that warts, which involve only the epidermis, would be specially rebellious to suggestions which affect directly, as we must suppose, only the nervous system. To make a wart drop off is almost like making a nail turn brittle. Yet from the days of Lord Bacon downwards the warts themselves drop off at the word of the charmer, while the *fact* of their dropping off, as that philosopher puts it, "doth yet stick by us."

One further specimen of a cure of a very striking class may be here given.

Congenital deaf-mutism may be due to causes of very various curability, but it is naturally one of the most conspicuous and distressing of all bodily defects.

M. 83.

CASE XVIII.—Dr. Boissarie gives us (p. 173) a short history of the

¹ *Revue Scientifique*, February 4th, 1893, d. 187.

partial cure of Aurélie Bruneau, who after being educated as a deaf-mute, (though we have no medical account of the extent of her infirmity), partially recovered hearing after dropping Lourdes water for three days into her ears. Dr. de la Mardelle thus reports: "She hears blows struck on the outside of a door, or notes of a piano in the next room; and not only does she hear but she pronounces some words, and it is because she hears that she speaks. From this fact we are obliged to conclude that this cure, obtained outside ordinary processes, and without the help of any treatment, seems invested with a supernatural character."

It does not appear to us, as it does to Dr. Boissarie, that this case presents "all the guarantees which the severest criticism could desire." Is the perception of vibrations from blows on a door or from the playing of a piano a proof of restored hearing? Is it miraculous that a deaf-mute should have been taught to speak "a few words," when she has been brought up till twenty in an "institution de sourdes-muettes."?

Let us place beside this cure another somewhat similar, though more striking, cure of deafness, whose supposed author was, we are told, addressed in consequence "in language of worship, and exalted to the height of a supernatural being."

The narrative was first published in D. D. Home's *Incidents in my Life*, but is reprinted with further names, and with the letters of Mme. de Cardonne, by Mme. Home in *D. D. Home, his Life and Mission*, p. 80.¹

M. 84.

CASE XIX.—"On March 19th, 1857," says Mr. Home, whose account we slightly abridge, "when I was residing at 13, Rue des Champs Elysées, I received a letter from a stranger to me, Mme. A. de Cardonne, of 233, Rue St. Dominique, St. Germain, stating that she had had a dream, in which she had seen her own mother and mine, and that the latter had told her to seek me at once, in order that her son, who had been deaf four years from the effect of typhoid fever, might be cured. This was so strongly impressed upon her mind that she wrote to me to say that she would call upon me with her son the following morning at ten.

"Accordingly, the next morning she presented herself with her son at my

¹ As regards the genuineness of Mme. de Cardonne's letters, and the general truthfulness of the account, as representing the facts as conceived by those who were parties to them, we may refer our readers to the *S.P.R. Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 101. "Madame Home has been good enough to meet one of us (Mr. F. W. H. Myers) in Paris, and has there allowed him freely to examine the collection of autograph MSS. on which the book is founded. He thus went through the letters of more than a hundred correspondents, and he compared these letters, in important cases textually, in other cases in a more general manner, with the printed excerpts or translations in Mme. Home's volume. The conclusion is that the letters given in the volume may be confidently accepted as genuine. In many cases the handwriting of the correspondents was already known to Mr. Myers; in many others there were postmarks, official stamps, crests, monograms, &c., on the letters which indicated their date or source; and in no case was there any circumstance of suspicion." Mme. de Cardonne's letters were among those thus examined; see list in *Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 117.

rooms, there being present Princess de Beauveau and Miss Ellice, who were with me previous to my leaving Paris that very day. I had uniformly refused such visits, but on this occasion I had been so much preoccupied that I had not been able to acknowledge her letter. It was an embarrassing meeting for both of us : the mother yearning for her son's recovery, and I not knowing how I was to be instrumental in healing this long total deafness, the more so that operations had been performed on the boy, as I afterwards found, by eminent surgeons in Paris, who had said that it was impossible he should ever be restored to hearing. During the mother's recital, describing the various surgical operations to which he had been subjected, my sympathies were deeply moved, and I had unwittingly thrown my left arm about the boy and drawn him toward me, so that the boy's head rested upon my shoulder. Whilst in this position, and as Mme. de Cardonne was telling some of the most painful particulars, I passed my hand caressingly over the boy's head, upon which he, partly lifting his head, suddenly exclaimed in a voice trembling with emotion, 'Maman, je t'entends !' (Mamma, I hear you !) The mother fixed on him a look of astonishment, and said 'Emile !' and he at once replied 'Quoi ?' She then, seeing that the child had heard her question, fainted with emotion. . . . The boy was able to resume his studies and has continued to hear perfectly up to the present time."

"It was characteristic of Home (continues Mme. Home) that as soon as Mme. Cardonne had left him he quietly finished his preparations, and started for America, without troubling himself in the least to make public the particulars of this wonderful cure, or to obtain the attestations of the mother and the witnesses. It was not till his return from America with his sister that Mme. de Cardonne could write to him the grateful letter [May 30th, 1857] from which I extract the following passages : . . . 'Messenger of Divine Providence ! bless you, for you have wrought a miracle for my son !' Mme. de C. writes again June 17th, 1857 : 'My son, who never ceases to bless you, begs me every day to take him to see you. He is so happy to have recovered his hearing that he cannot rest till he expresses to you his gratitude.'"

Thus far we have been mainly engaged in pointing out the imperfections of the Lourdes evidence to cures, and the parallels to those cures which have been recorded among quite other surroundings. We have a few remarks to add on the uncertainty and difficulty of even the best medical diagnosis and prognosis in many cases where popular opinion regards the malady as something unmistakable, whose future course can be clearly foreseen. To illustrate this point we take five maladies, whose cure is treated in the *Annales de Lourdes* as obviously beyond the powers of suggestion. These are :—

Phthisis,
Atrophy,
Organic Paralysis,
Ulcers,
Cancers.

Let us say a few words on each of these heads in turn.

Phthisis may be a disease which our art cannot cure, but it is by no means a disease which cannot cure itself. "Complete arrest of the disease," (say Drs. J. K. Fowler and E. Clifford Beale, in the *Dictionary of Practical Medicine*), "is occasionally observed under the most unfavourable circumstances; such cases falsifying every rule of prognosis." And Professor Jaccoud (one of the best French authorities) insists in his book on the Curability of Phthisis, that the tubercular growth in the lung occasionally dries up, becoming caseous, chalky or fibrous, and so remaining for 20 years with no perceptible symptoms, though still plainly visible on *post-mortem* examination. And apart from these rare *lifelong* cures, temporary *remissions* of the disease occur frequently, and with such surprising suddenness of improvement that patients constantly think that there is a complete cure when there is *not*, and physicians not seldom, after many years' observation, conclude that either there never was tubercle, or that the lung now contains nothing but healed scars of the old disease. A *post-mortem* examination is often the only way of discovering whether there really has been phthisis or no. Thus the best judges are often left in doubt; and the mistakes of the less experienced are innumerable. Such being the facts, we cannot attach importance to such a cure, for instance, as that of Sister Julienne (Boissarie, 30, 326), where, in the first place, we have no proof of the existence of tubercle before the cure,¹ and in the second place no proof of the permanence of the cure. The disease may have been a chronic nervous cough, with bronchitis and dyspepsia.

Atrophy.—The rapid disappearance of *atrophy*, claimed in some of these cases, is now recognised as a possible result of nervous stimulus. The statements from Lourdes are not definite enough on this point. Weights, measurements, records of pressure exercised on dynamometer, are conspicuously absent.

Organic Paralysis.—Next as to paralysis depending not on mere hysterical disability, but on actual cerebral and spinal injury. We shall quote a typical recent cure from Lourdes, regarded as miraculous by the patient's medical adviser,² and shall then give our reasons for considering that there may have been, in fact, no organic injury still persisting at the time when the cure began.

M. 85.

CASE XX.—Mme. Fouré had led a healthy life on a farm near Dieppe until

¹ The phrase "crachats caractéristiques" (p. 325) is an insufficient and second-hand statement. "Creusée par les tubercules" (same page) is thus an unproved assumption; and since Koch has shown that tubercle is an essentially parasitic disease, we cannot be satisfied without some real demonstration of the presence of the parasite or bacillus.

² Dr. C. Hélot, *Annales de Lourdes*, XXIII., pp. 161-170, 194-208, and 217-220.

at the age of 55, on May 16th, 1886, she had an apoplectic attack, which left her with a "crossed hemiplegia,"—that is to say, some paralysis of the left side of her face, and also of her right leg and arm. There was gradual recovery; and after twelve weeks she could walk with a stick only. There was no aphasia, but an indistinctness of speech, which got well before she visited Lourdes. As is usual in such cases the arm recovered more slowly than the leg. It continued very weak, the fingers and elbow in a state of semi-flexion and of more or less complete anæsthesia. *Rigidity*, a more serious symptom in such cases, seems to have been absent. But it is hard to realise the state of the arm, since we are told later on that although it had not changed its condition she could not move it half an inch,¹ and also²—which seems absolutely inconsistent—that even before the leg recovered she used the right as well as the left arm to lift the leg. After the first three months progress was slow. Dr. Hélot first saw her sixteen months after the onset of the paralysis. He tells us little of her state except that her speech improved and that she could stand on her right leg alone for a few seconds, and walk haltingly. He gives no account of reflexes, electrical condition, nutrition, or tone of muscles, or of regions of cutaneous anæsthesia; nor does he seem to have attempted any treatment, whether by medicine, massage, or electricity. In September, 1888, the patient, who was now much depressed in mind, visited Lourdes with her son, the Abbé Fouré, but with no medical man in attendance. Three baths in the sacred spring failed to do good; and on leaving Lourdes she insisted, just before telling her beads, that more grace must be shown her next year. As she told the beads she noticed more power in her right hand and in her right leg also. She tried more movement with the right leg and found that it succeeded,—and then with the right arm and that succeeded also. She was delighted and cried out loudly, "Cured! cured! Do you see I am cured!" She seemed to the Abbé to have lost both her anæsthesia and her paralysis; and three days later, when Dr. Hélot saw her again, she seemed to him certainly to have lost the anæsthesia of the right arm and only to limp a little from habit, as convicts do who have worn a chain on one side for a long time. Within a fortnight she could walk easily some eight or ten miles, and her power has been maintained afterwards for the two years following; for she was carefully re-examined by Dr. Hélot on August 11th, 1890. Such a case is interesting, but the evidence is too incomplete for any clear medical diagnosis. The description of the patient before going to Lourdes is inadequate; the account of the phenomena at Lourdes is unfortunately second-hand and not by expert witnesses, and deals with such phenomena as need the most highly trained observers for their complete description.

Now we suggest that although there was here almost certainly some organic paralysis to begin with, yet the history of the case, so far as given, is consistent with the supposition that this true paralysis gradually disappeared, leaving behind it a functional paralysis, induced (as we are forced vaguely to say) by the altered habits of the organism, but not necessarily presenting any obviously hysterical symptoms.

¹ p. 163.² p. 167.

Such a paralysis might rapidly disappear under emotional stimulus. In support of this view we cite the following sentences from a recent work of authority, namely, *Various Forms of Hysterical or Functional Paralysis*, by Professor Bastian, F.R.S. (London, 1893). On p. 122, Professor Bastian says: "It has, of course, long been known that organic disease of the nervous system often co-exists with hysterical symptoms; but I have only lately realised the extent to which actual functional paralysis and paralysis of organic origin may co-exist so as greatly to lessen the apparent gravity of the cases, or *vice versa*." . . . And p. 124, "The ultimate establishment of a cure may be considered the rule in cases of functional paralysis. . . . In some cases, both of spasm and palsy, a cure may be brought about comparatively speedily and often abruptly." Also p. 1.: "Hysteria is, after all, only one of the general conditions under the influence of which paralyses of a purely functional type may develop themselves. Because a case belongs to the latter category, therefore, we must not on this account look upon it as necessarily hysterical in its origin. But this is what is only too frequently done."

Ulcers.—And just as it is to this very recent work of Dr. Bastian's that we must appeal for the truest view yet attainable of the extent to which so-called hysterical or functional conditions—conditions, that is to say, not involving nervous lesions which our present microscopes can discern—are effective in inducing paralysis; so also is it to an equally recent utterance of Dr. Charcot that we must appeal for the truest view yet attainable of the extent to which similar hysterical or functional conditions are effective in inducing actual (neurotic) tumours,¹ (which must not be confounded with "phantom tumours"), actual suppurating ulcers and cutaneous gangrene. In a paper in the *New Review* for January, 1893, Professor Charcot analyses at length a case of this kind whose cure was imputed to miracle; not at Lourdes, but in 1731, and by virtue of the touch of a shift which had touched the tomb of the Deacon Pâris, and of some earth from the neighbourhood of that tomb. After describing the details of a really terrible disease, which had lasted for fifteen years, Dr. Charcot gives the rationale of the cure as follows:—

"The œdema which was due to vaso-motor trouble disappeared almost instantaneously. The breast regained its normal size. There is nothing astonishing in this, since we know with what rapidity troubles of the circulation may appear and disappear. When the œdema disappeared, the local conditions affecting the nutrition of the tissues were favourably modified; the wound on the breast was

¹ See Dr. Fowler on *Neurotic Tumours of the Breast*, a paper read before the New York Neurological Society, January 7th, 1890. *New York Medical Record*, February 19th, 1890.

permitted to heal by virtue of physiological laws as well known as those which had previously operated to produce the gangrene."

The doctrine which Professor Charcot thus formulates is no mere isolated opinion. It belongs to a general view which has of late years been rapidly gaining ground as to the *trophic* function of certain nerves, and the rapid changes in nutrition which vaso-motor nervous disturbance can induce.

It is strange to reflect that all these phenomena are, so to say, lineal descendants of the stigmata of St. Francis. Ill-attested though that famous case may be, it can now no longer be classed as in itself improbable. If it be true, it will not be the only instance in which the *Acta Sanctorum* have pointed us to facts of deep import to science,—which facts, nevertheless, have had to overcome the strongest scientific prepossession. The danger of any prepossession, however natural, can hardly be better illustrated than by the position of those who still endeavour to deny all save the most superficial effects of hypnotic suggestion. Such reasoners, when confronted with the phenomena which we are studying in this paper, are obliged either to meet a growing mass of testimony with blank incredulity, or to yield to the miraculous pretensions with which that testimony is accompanied. Their disbelief in stigmata, for instance, although that disbelief be maintained in the interest of "natural causes" as opposed to "supernatural seemings," cuts from beneath their feet the actual and only answer to some of these *reverse* processes at Lourdes,—these abolitions by mental impression of physical disturbances just such as (in our view) mental impressions can themselves create. For the open-minded inquirer, on the other hand, these wonders begin to shape themselves into something like law. To one *axioma medium*, at any rate, we seem now to see our way. *Whatever suggestion can cause, hysteria can cause; and whatever suggestion or hysteria can cause, suggestion can cure.*

Cancer.—But now for our last disease, which neither suggestion nor any form of medical treatment has yet dominated. The *Annales de Lourdes* contain several cases of the miraculous cure of *cancer*. It would be of little use to cite these cases in detail. The objector will of course maintain that they were not *true* cancer; the apologist will ask what, then, is the definition of *true* cancer, unless it be "cancer that does not get well"? It will be more to our present purpose to quote in brief an account—at least equally well-attested,—of the cure of cancer by mesmeric passes. The account is from Dr. Elliotson, who, be it remembered, was one of the ablest and most experienced physicians of his generation.

M. 86.

CASE XXI.—"On the 6th of March, 1843, a very respectable person,

aged 42, fair, and with the *sallow* complexion of cancer, called to solicit my advice respecting a disease of her right breast. I found an *intensely hard* tumour in the centre of the breast, circumscribed, moveable, and apparently about five or six inches in circumference; that part was *drawn in* and *puckered*, as though a string attached behind the skin at one point had pulled the surface inwards; and upon it, to the outer side of the nipple, was a dry, rough, warty-looking substance, of a dirty brown and greenish colour. She complained of great tenderness in the tumour and the *arm-pit* when I applied my fingers, and said that she had *sharp stabbing pains* through the tumour during the day, and was continually awakened by them at night. . . . I at once saw that it was a decided cancer in the stage termed scirrhus. . . . Her father's mother had died of a "bleeding cancer" of the breast. . . . I proposed mesmerism to her; my purpose was to render her insensible to the pain of the surgical removal of the breast, seeing no other chance for her; and this, indeed, was a poor chance, for cancer invariably returns." Four other physicians and Mr. Samuel Cooper, Professor of Surgery at University College, London, concurred in pronouncing it cancer. The history of the case is one of gradual improvement under mesmerism, with some relapses, apparently coinciding with intermissions of mesmeric treatment. The patient was extremely susceptible and exhibited remarkable phenomena of many kinds.

In 1846 all pain ceased. In 1848 Dr. Elliotson reports:—

"The cancerous mass is now completely dissipated; the breast is perfectly flat: and all the skin rather thicker and firmer than before the disease existed. Not the smallest lump is to be found: nor is there the slightest tenderness of the bosom or the armpit." "The diseased mass was dissipated and absorbed, and painlessly and imperceptibly."¹

Of this case we will only say that it seems to us impossible to accept any one of the Lourdes cures of cancer and at the same time to reject Dr. Elliotson's. What the disease was in either case, or how it was dispelled, we do not know. We quote Dr. Elliotson's narrative merely as one more non-miraculous parallel to an alleged miraculous cure.

And here our detailed discussion of the Lourdes miracles must close. From among a great mass of striking, but ill-reported, cures, we have selected some of the most striking, which were at the same time among the best attested, and we have shown that cures greatly resembling these have been attained under circumstances where no claim to miracle has been advanced. We have also pointed out some of the points in which the Lourdes evidence must be greatly improved if it is to be the basis of any serious conclusions for the scientific world. More than this we cannot do. We have left many striking cures untouched, and although we could find parallels for some of these, we could not for all. It would, indeed,

¹ Cure of a true Cancer of the Female Breast with Mesmerism, by Dr. Elliotson. *Zoist*, Vol. VI., pp. 213-237.

have been surprising if we *could*; if with our own imperfect knowledge, applied to these imperfect records, we had been able to show convincingly what happened in each special case. Moreover, among the vast number of patients treated at Lourdes, there are likely, by the mere law of chances, to have been some better subjects for suggestion than have elsewhere been found, and consequently some cures which have not as yet been equalled elsewhere. For a fair comparison it would be needful to take some other group of patients, bearing a known proportion to the Lourdes patients, and to compare the proportion of alleged cures in each group,—a test at present impossible to apply.

If, then, we are asked for a provisional judgment on these various groups of facts, as thus far recorded, we may give it in three clauses, as follows:—

1. No one of the special forms of psycho-therapeutic which we were asked to examine has yet produced evidence definite enough to satisfy reasonable men of any *miraculous* agency, however surprising the cure may sound.

2. Many forms of psycho-therapeutics produce, by obscure but natural agencies, for which at present we have no better terms than suggestion and self-suggestion, effects to which no definite limit can as yet be assigned.

3. Thus far Lourdes offers the best list of cures; but this superiority is not more than can be explained by the greater number of patients treated there than elsewhere, and their greater confidence in the treatment. There is no real evidence, either that the apparition of the Virgin was itself more than a subjective hallucination, or that it has any more than a merely subjective connection with the cures.

With a few words on each of these clauses we must conclude our paper.

1. There need be no real difficulty in greatly improving the kind of evidence now offered, if there is any real cure to report. The Faith-healers, as is plain, both from our own citations and from Dr. Schofield's book, are the worst offenders in this respect, showing too often a positive unwillingness to submit their alleged cures to even the friendliest medical scrutiny. At Lourdes much has been done to improve the earlier vagueness of record; and it is still more satisfactory to observe that the present physicians (in spite of protestations which sometimes read absurdly enough¹) do sometimes recognise that a

¹ Boissarie, p. 238: "Since 1884 the cures have been studied with, if possible, even greater care,—with a severity which can defy all criticism. The physician deputed to the care of the patients analyses and tests all the facts which present themselves. He brings to this great inquiry a method and a system which may

great chance of evidence has been missed through their insufficiency. "Of course," says Dr. Boissarie,¹ "if we had known beforehand that Clémentine Trouvé was going to be cured at 3 p.m. on August 22nd, 1891, we should have got together fifteen or twenty doctors on the morning of that day, and taken them to see her; and we should have made an examination and probed the sore, and written down all that we observed. But as it was, we had no time to do it. For such treatment we should want as many doctors as we have patients."

Not quite as many doctors as patients,—but no doubt a larger proportion of staff to cases than is usual in a hospital when the exact state of a patient before and after a particular moment is less often a matter of importance. If, moreover, as we gather from Father Clarke, only about two per cent. of the Lourdes cures are ultimately classed as miraculous, much time would necessarily be consumed in noting facts to which little subsequent interest would attach. But what of that? and what medical discoveries have ever been made without some such lavish and ungrudging expenditure of time and pains? Such investigation at Lourdes is in the last resort a mere question of money. Large sums have been spent for emotional purposes—in churches or processions—and have, no doubt, achieved emotional ends. If scientific ends are to be achieved also, the number of physicians at Lourdes will have to bear a somewhat higher proportion to the number of priests.

We must repeat that it is no imaginary, no impossible standard of evidence which we have been throughout upholding. In the Transactions of the Clinical Society of London (to take London alone),—in the Reports of the leading hospitals,—nay, in the principal newspapers which treat of medicine,—the reader may find hundreds of cases whose evidence reaches the level on which we insist. One case from the first-named source we will briefly cite, as illustrating two points which have a direct bearing on our present discussion.² The first point is the degree of care and accuracy needed to determine with absolute conclusiveness even one single and simple fact of clinical observation. The second point is the strangeness of the fact itself—a strangeness which, in an *entourage* that way disposed, might well have been held to reach the level of a *miracle*.

Our readers are doubtless aware that since the general introduction of the clinical thermometer some forty years ago the temperature of patients in grave, or often in slight maladies, is habitually taken by

serve as a model to all those who may wish to follow in his steps." Read in connection with the picked accounts given by Dr. Boissarie himself, such phrases as these do certainly remind us that their author has been *mêlé depuis plusieurs années au mouvement religieux de son temps*.

¹ *Annales de Lourdes*, XXIV., p. 128.

² Clinical Society's *Transactions*, 1875, p. 98.

its aid. Many thousands of these simple observations are made daily in the United Kingdom alone. Among the millions of observations which have thus far been recorded a remarkable uniformity prevails. The temperature of ordinary health is from 98 deg. to 99 deg. Fahrenheit, and each additional degree implies a perceptible increment of febrile disturbance. A temperature of 106 deg. is a most serious symptom; and perhaps not one person per million per annum reaches 110 deg. Not one person in a generation, so far as we know, reaches 115 deg.; and no one in any country had ever been known to reach 120 deg. Each day—each hour—during which temperatures above 106 deg. are maintained adds to the gravity of the prognostic.

Yet, such being the facts, Mr. J. W. Teale, of Scarborough, on February 26th, 1875, presented a report to the Clinical Society of London, of a lady under his care, who, after a fall from her horse, had maintained for seven consecutive weeks a temperature never found less than 108deg., and who on four several days had shown a temperature of 122deg. In spite of this unheard-of condition of things, he reported further that his patient had recovered. After this it seemed natural to ask this medical Munchausen whether he had ever personally observed a case like that of St. Denys, who walked about with his head under his arm.¹ But gibes were silenced when Mr. Teale produced his proofs. Seven thermometers had been used for the observation. Three of these were made specially for the occasion. Four were sent to be tested at Kew, and found correct within a tenth of a degree. Each thermometer was inspected by two or three trustworthy witnesses before and after each observation, and the results were at once recorded in writing. No hot water bottles were allowed in the room. The temperature was taken in two, and sometimes in three parts of the body simultaneously. Each thermometer, after having been shaken down to normal, was changed in position, and readings again compared, to eliminate any local accident or fraud. Finally, these elaborate observations were continued daily for nearly ten weeks. And thus, “in spite of the widespread consternation at such a revolution of [previous] notions, yet it was impossible to question the accuracy of the record.”²

Here then, is a fact. And if it was worth while to take this trouble in order to prove the truth of this isolated clinical observation, which at present we can neither understand nor make use of, what trouble ought we not to take if we had any chance of proving that a direct divine intervention has remedied even the least of human ills?

2. The second clause of our conclusion, which pointed out that no single scheme of psychical healing could at present establish a

¹ *British Medical Journal*, 1875, Vol. I., p. 347.

² *Lancet*, 1875, Vol. I., p. 340.

pre-eminent claim to success, simply because there was so much of undefined prospect of this kind in so many directions, is naturally intended to stimulate, and not to check, further effort along each path which has thus far led to success. For the hope is that that second, or psychological, element in all therapeutics, which has thus far been left to chance and wonder, while the physiological element has fallen under settled law, may itself also be gradually recognised as an orderly part of Nature, presenting definite and partially soluble problems of its own. *Nascitur ars secunda medendi.* Or let us say, in purely physiological language, that we seem on the eve of one more forward step along a road which medicine has long been pursuing. Our process has as a rule been from local to general treatment; from the *application* or *affusion* of external remedies on the diseased part to the *ingestion* of remedies through the stomach, and then on to the *injection* or *infusion* of remedies through the blood. We now propose to heal the patient's tissues not through the stomach, nor through the blood, but through the brain; to utilise the controlling and innervating, as we have utilised the diffusive and the peptic power. Affusion, ingestion, infusion, suggestion. At each step we touch the ill more intimately; we call more directly upon the patient's own inward forces to effect the needed change.

3. The third clause of our judgment explained the superiority of results at Lourdes over results at other faith-healing centres, by the superior numbers and faith of the pilgrims resorting thither. But how is that superior faith itself to be explained? Why should the Lourdes grotto prove a more potent rallying point than the "Metaphysical College of Massachusetts"?—"Wandering between two worlds"—thus has a poet described the present attitude of the spirit of man;—

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born.

The words spoken of human faith in its wider bearings are eminently true of the special form of faith necessary for psychotherapeutics. We have discovered that faith will heal; our difficulty is to find something in which to have faith. For the patient must in some way picture to himself the agency which is to effect his cure. He once pictured to himself the mesmeric effluence, and whether that effluence were there or no, the cure often came. He has now been taught to distrust mesmeric effluence, and nothing has been given to him in which to believe in its stead. He is ready to pin his faith upon great hypnotising physicians. But he finds these very physicians disclaiming special powers, maintaining that hypnotic sleep is ordinary sleep, and that "there is nothing in hypnotism but the name." If indeed, they succeed in hypnotising him, their negative theories do not,

perhaps, check the result. But in his habitual waking state he is now simply advised to practise self-suggestion, and for the ordinary patient this is not enough. Charlatans step in and occupy the empty field. Wild theories, as we have seen, are invented. The new faith is powerless to be born.

And in the meantime that faith which the poet counted as *dead*,—which science is apt to pass by unheeding,—is living and efficacious still. It is not really with Roman Catholic doctrines alone that we have to do at Lourdes. That great Church under whose wing these pilgrims are sheltered still represents the hopes, the fears, the creeds of a thousand generations of rude and ancient men. Lying for centuries beneath her deeps, those primitive symbols have “suffered a sea-change Into something rich and strange”;—but each element of the mystery of Lourdes—dark grotto and sacred spring, *neuvaine* and dream and apparition—carries us back to primitive memories and a simple and pagan Past. Here is once more the *στόμα γῆς*,—the earth-mouth of the old Chthonian worship, with its hidden fountain where Earth the *πρωτόμαντις* herself uttered her healing oracles, or poured her virtue through divinities of later birth;—as at Acharaca through the *Κόρη*,—the Virgin of the underworld. Around that grotto, too, the votaries gathered in their *πανήγυρις*,—a gathering half fair, half pilgrimage,—and sought in thousands the god-sent life-renewing power. And in later days, when the Heroes—the Saints of Hellenic faith,—began to be more widely worshipped, the Asklēpeia of Epidaurus, of Cos, of Pergamus, give us examples of the impassioned expectation, the critical moment, the sudden cure. There, too, on every side were the public thanksgivings, the votive offerings;—and sometimes after the solemn “incubation,” (represented now by the *neuvaine* of prayer), the rare “theophany,” like the Lourdes apparition, would add its consecrating assurance to the healing shrine. At Rome itself there was an Asklēpeion which augurs consulted without a smile. There, too, as the *ex voto* tablets still tell us,¹ “the blind Gaius touched the altar, and then his eyes, and *saw*, and gave thanks before all men”; and the plithisical Lucius “took ashes from the altar, and mixed them with wine, and laid them on his side, and was healed of that disease, and the multitude rejoiced with him.”

All these things the newer Rome has received and transfigured; and with them much of emotion which the world cannot lightly lose;—the succouring comradeship of deified natures,—Hēraklēs, Trophonius, Asklēpius, Amphiaraus,—the sense of the nearness, the benignity, of heroic and enfranchised souls. We seem to see the great Church, like Nile after the rout of Actium, “spreading broad her breast, and with

¹ Inscr. ap. Bouché-Leclercq, Hist. Div. III., p. 298.

her whole robe summoning the conquered into her sea-blue bosom and her shadowy stream."

Pudentemque sinus et tota veste vocantem
Cœruleum in gremium latebrosaue flumina victos.

But dare we press the parallel further, and say that in Science we have an Actian Apollo, armed not only with darts that pierce through error but with rays that illumine things to come? Can any new faith, as absolute, as reverent as the old, guide, like the old, its votaries to healing of body as well as soul?

Absolute as the old the new faith might perhaps become if psychological therapeutics should win their assured place by the side of physiological; if it should be recognised that here, too, our appeal is made to no chance caprice or uncertain favour, but to inflexible and eternal Law. Then, perhaps, the most scientific man would be the most confident, and it would be the sign of wisdom to seek self-healing with the directness of a child. Or is it possible that something beyond mere logical conviction may be needed for the profounder cure; that the self-healing must needs be felt to depend ultimately on something behind and above the Self? It may be that the inmost effort must still be a religious one, and that to change man deeply it needs a touch upon that mainspring deep in man. What, then, for such a purpose, must the religion of science mean? It must mean at least the ancient acceptance of the Universe as good, the ancient sense of the individual effort as co-operant with a vaster Power. If science can regain this sense for man she may do with him what she will. For she will have united with the wonder-solving analysis the wonder-working faith, and with the wisdom of the children of this world the wisdom of the children of light.

SUPPLEMENT.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Der Rapport in der Hypnose. Untersuchungen über den Thierischen Magnetismus. Von DR. MED. ALBERT MOLL, in Berlin. A. Abel, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 242.

Dr. Moll promised us in his well-known work on Hypnotism a special study of the phenomena of rapport, and he has given us an exceedingly solid and valuable piece of work. He records an elaborate series of experiments, often most ingenious, carried out by himself with the aid of several friends, amongst whom Dr. Max Dessoir and Herr Colonie-Director Sellin were his most constant colleagues.

Dr. Moll directs his inquiry to the problem of the nature of the influence exercised by the hypnotiser. The original mesmerists held that this took place through the medium of some special force effluent from the body of the agent, and directed to that of the patient by the mesmeric passes by which sleep was at first always induced.

Under the surprise produced by discoveries in electricity and magnetism, which happened to coincide in time with the first appearance of Mesmer, this fluid received the name of Animal Magnetism, though it does not seem that any serious attempt was ever made to prove its relation to the magnetism of the physical laboratory. Dr. Moll then sets himself to test this theory; in other words, to find out whether the hypnotic influence is physical or psychical. The stress which advocates of animal magnetism have laid on the phenomena of rapport, as proof of a peculiar connexion between agent and patient not explicable by mere suggestion, shows that it is here that the theory can be most successfully approached.

Rapport itself, however, on the most superficial inquiry, turns out to be by no means easy of clear conception. Like all else in the domain of hypnotism, it is a most Protean phenomenon, irregular alike in its appearance and in its symptoms. That it is frequently found in a most marked form is known to every one who has seen the commonest experiments; the hypnotised person is often, to all appearance, absolutely irresponsive to any stimulus, however violent, applied by any other than the original hypnotiser. But in many other cases there is no sign of such rapport; the person hypnotised may be perfectly suggestible by anyone, and will answer anyone as well as the operator. Between these two states there are an infinite number forming a gradual transition. But for practical purposes Dr. Moll divides rapport into two divisions: that where the subject does not ignore other persons, though *motor* suggestions are accepted from the hypnotiser only; and that where others are in no way recognised. The latter he speaks of as "isolated rapport."

But his experiments show that even in this deeper stage the rapport is not really isolated; though no reaction to any ordinary stimulus is to be

seen, yet he proves in the most conclusive manner that the subject is really sensitive to the words and actions of others than the hypnotiser. To begin with, he finds that rapport can be transferred without any suggestion on the part of the hypnotiser, even in the apparently deepest stage; not indeed universally, for no general rules as to the behaviour of the hypnotised can be laid down, but in a large number of cases. Transference can be obtained by repeated verbal suggestion from a third party, even if for a considerable time it seems to be ignored; but a better method is continued tactile stimulus, especially such as is provided by mesmeric passes. The transference can take place even while the hypnotiser engages the subject in continuous conversation, but then it is much slower than if the third person is left to engage his attention undisturbed.

It is not, however, to be concluded that there is, as the "mesmerists" would have us believe, any special virtue in these passes. A whole series of experiments was directed to this point. Perhaps the most decisive were those in which two persons hypnotised the subject simultaneously, one by verbal suggestion, after the Nancy method, the other by passes. In these cases it was impossible to say beforehand which of the two operators would obtain the rapport. Sometimes both did so, sometimes it was produced by the passes, sometimes by the simple suggestion. It may be remarked in passing that neither Dr. Moll, nor I believe the French hypnotists, seem to have come across the disagreeable phenomena which we have been accustomed to associate with "cross mesmerism," though they do not hesitate to place a subject under the influence of two operators in immediate succession, or even, as here, at the same time.

Generally speaking, rapport is to a great extent a matter of hypnotic education. It is comparatively rare at a first sitting and increases afterwards. Transference of rapport is most easily obtained by those who have frequently hypnotised the subject previously. But it often appears in an apparently arbitrary manner. For instance, Dessoir is mesmerising the subject while Moll is holding his hand in order to feel the pulse. When sleep has been produced, it is found that Moll and not Dessoir has the rapport. Experiment 63 is an interesting one. "X is put to sleep by Dessoir with mesmeric passes. Moll can get rapport by laying his hands for some time on X's head; so can others, who are present, by means of pressure on his forehead, temples, or other parts of his body. X is now awakened and again sent to sleep by Dessoir, after the following experiment has been agreed on in another room. Dessoir and Moll stand together behind X, who, as appears on questioning, is in rapport with Dessoir alone. Dessoir lays his hands on X's head and at the same time Moll asks him how he feels. The question is immediately answered, though Moll has not touched X and had no rapport with him before." Evidently X believed that Moll's hand was on his head. So again in 65. "X had on previous occasions been hypnotised by Moll for the sake of some electrical experiments in which he had to hold a large electrode. X is on this occasion in rapport with Dessoir alone, who has hypnotised him. Moll gives him the electrode to hold, though without any current passing through it. He immediately comes into rapport with Moll, though he does not lose that which he previously had with Dessoir." Here rapport is the result of association of ideas. Then

in 68. "While Dessoir is standing in front of X, apparently with the intention of mesmerising him, X's eyes are bandaged. Sellin then silently takes Dessoir's place, and makes the passes till X is asleep. It is then found that Dessoir and not Sellin is in rapport with X." This is clearly mistaken self-suggestion.

These experiments, and many others like them, all point convincingly to the conclusion that rapport is not a physical but a psychical phenomenon; that it is produced not by any action of an effluence from the operator, magnetic or otherwise, but by the action of the subject's own mind, obedient to suggestions whether received externally or spontaneously generated. It is natural to conclude that rapport is no more than a concentration of attention on the operator, an exaggerated case of the state of mind which in its different degrees we know in ordinary life as reverie, abstraction, "absence of mind," and so on. This supposition is raised almost to a certainty by a further series of most important experiments, which prove that even in a state of what seems to be completely isolated rapport the subject is still accessible to stimuli coming from other sources. These stimuli are received and noted by the "subconsciousness" which persists in the hypnotic as well as in the waking state; and by means of various artifices Dr. Moll has succeeded in demonstrating the fact. Perhaps the most striking instance is that given in Experiment 100. "Y is hypnotised and only answers the hypnotiser Dessoir. Moll can obtain no reply. Moll now gives the command, several times repeated: 'Y, in two minutes you will rise from your chair; an irresistible force will oblige you to go to the door and knock at it; you will then return to your place and go to sleep again.' The command is executed. While Y is still talking to Dessoir he rises and does what he was told after about two minutes. When Dessoir asks what he has just done, he replies that he has got up from his chair. He can give no satisfactory answer to the question why he did so. Y still gives no reply to Moll's questions; he is evidently in isolated rapport with Dessoir."

The analogy in this case to what is so often observed in the post-hypnotic execution of commands is pointed out by Moll, and must indeed strike every student. But it seems to show something more than Moll indicates; namely, that there is not a duplication but a triplication of personality to be observed. In the ordinary rapport of hypnosis the self which is subconscious to the normal self receives and carries out the command. Here it is a self which is subconscious to this subconscious self again. It is in fact analogous to the deeper stratum which was demonstrated by Gurney in his well-known experiments on the trains of memory in different hypnotic states. In this connexion it is well to mention Experiment 164. Here the subject is consecutively hypnotised and awoke by four experimenters, each of whom suggests to him a different scene. Subsequently it appears that, when hypnotised by them again, he remembers only the scene which was suggested to him by the operator with whom he is at the time in rapport.

But it is by means of automatic writing that Moll has been able to test most conclusively this subconscious, or rather sub-subconscious state. It is only rarely that a suggestion given by a third party is carried out as in Experiment 100. But even when the subject shows no sign of recognising the suggestion it can often be proved by automatic writing that he was not

entirely unconscious of it. Experiment 141 will serve as an instance, the more instructively because the stimulus applied was not in the nature of an urgent command. X is in rapport with Dessoir. Moll takes from him a book which he is holding loosely in his hand and puts it behind a sofa in front of X. When Dessoir asks X about the book, he is astonished to miss it, and supposes that it must have fallen out of his hand, but can say no more. He searches for it without finding it; he cannot think where it is, though urged to do so by Dessoir. When told to write automatically where the book is he writes, while conversing with Dessoir, "Dr. Moll took the book from me, and put it behind the sofa." It would be interesting to repeat these experiments with crystal-seeing in place of automatic writing for the test.

The importance of the book for the study of hypnotism is obvious; it is most suggestive as well as cogent. For instance, it makes one think of a whole series of experiments which should throw light on negative hallucinations. In my own experience I have seen transference of rapport obtained with a few passes by a person whose presence the subject absolutely ignored in obedience to a negative suggestion.

Dr. Moll's last chapter is devoted to matters such as the "mesmerisation of objects." He tried to obtain mental suggestion; but his results here were entirely negative. It is, however, gratifying to find that he does not therefore conclude that the subject is unworthy of serious investigation. In the mesmerisation of objects he found that the subject could by tasting tell out of a number of glasses of water the one which had been "magnetised," with a success far beyond chance; but he gives good reason for supposing that this was really done through a hyperæsthetic recognition of a taste which had been imparted by the manipulations used. It seems indeed highly probable that the senses both of taste and smell can be by concentration of attention raised to a pitch of acuteness which requires very serious consideration in all inquiries such as these.

We have to thank not only Dr. Moll but his colleagues for a book remarkable for sobriety, acumen, and patient search for truth. The entire absence of sensationalism and it must be confessed the dryness of the style are likely to rob it of much of the attention which it deserves to receive; but they cannot detract from its value as a scientific investigation.

WALTER LEAF.

Psychologie der Suggestion. Von DR. PHIL. HANS SCHMIDKUNZ, Privatdocent der Philosophie an der Universität München. Mit Aertzlich-Psychologischen Ergänzungen von DR. FRANZ CARL GERSTER, Praktischer Arzt in München. Stuttgart: Enke, 1892, pp. xii., 424.

One is always reluctant to begin a review of an obviously serious and able book with a confession that one has been unable to understand it; but it is certain that, whether from my own inability to grasp so profound a subject as transcendental psychology, or possibly from some want of lucidity in the author's presentation of it, I have not succeeded in following his arguments well enough to form an approximately clear idea of his position as a whole. His main thesis, however, seems to be this. Modern psychology since

Berkeley has on the whole followed an entirely false track in regarding the Psyche as a *tabula rasa*, a purely receptive and passive organism, partly the product of heredity, but for the rest built up by the successive effects of sensations. It is on the contrary above all an assemblage of energies. All psychical phenomena are dynamic; sensations, ideas, judgments, will, are alike in the fact that they have the power of mutual interaction, by which they generate the infinite complex of the actual Psyche. Whether behind these phenomena there is "an X," a psychical energy in itself, is a further question, to which the author himself seems to have no hesitation in giving an affirmative answer. Association is no more than an expression of the influence which any psychical phenomenon has on any other phenomena nearly related to it.

The energy of psychical phenomena exhibits itself particularly in two ways, on which all suggestion ultimately depends: in the persistence of ideas and in the tendency of all ideas to external realisation of themselves. A further instance of this energy is to be found in the feelings of repulsion and attraction which the contents of ideas are able to cause us. These feelings are primary and not to be analysed. Psychical energies are like gunpowder, latent forces always ready to become active if a trigger is pulled. Suggestion is the pulling of the trigger.

The associative energy of ideas is continually tending to make groups. When any object of sensation affects the Psyche in such a way as to give such a temporary group disproportionate prominence, we have a suggestion. The object in question may be an idea within the Psyche itself; then we speak of self-suggestion. Or the idea may be aroused by an external inanimate object; in this case Schmidkunz calls it an object-suggestion. Or finally it may be an idea imparted by another mind; this is known as *Fremdsuggestion*. In all cases, as a corresponding idea must be called up in the Psyche itself in order to affect its state of aggregation or disaggregation, auto-suggestion is at least an intermediate step. Still, the question whether an individual is more accessible to internal or external suggestion is one which leads to a marked division of mankind. At the extremes of the two classes Gerster, Schmidkunz's colleague—to whom, be it said, the book owes a large number of pregnant and fertile thoughts—sets two opposed phases of hysteria. The one class, whom he calls "Hysteriker I.," are psychoneurotically affected, and exhibit rapid and intense corporeal reaction to external suggestion; such are Charcot's subjects. The other, "Hysteriker II.," are psychopathic, subject to their auto-suggestions, but possessing thereby an almost complete immunity against external suggestion, and therefore not to be hypnotised.

But, for reasons which I have already stated, I shall not attempt to give any more extended review of the system as a whole, and will confine myself to a few points which may have especial interest to readers of the *Proceedings*. They will probably be surprised to hear that Schmidkunz has little or nothing to say about the phenomena of automatism, and dismisses the subliminal self in a passing rejection of Max Dessoir's "Doppel-ich" as unsatisfactory. He would apparently explain, *e.g.*, automatic writing thus: The pencil placed in the hand acts as an "object-suggestion" which calls into being a certain train of associated ideas connected with writing, and having the innate

tendency to realise themselves. Their action being unchecked by the will, they form themselves into a group dissociated from the rest of the mental organism, and may so far be regarded as a temporary second self that they carry with them the related power of judgment, and thus are capable of showing a logical sequence of thought. But one would certainly have looked for a fuller discussion of these phenomena.

Thought-transference, on the other hand, he says, has been amply proved by our Society. He is only disposed to question whether it needs proof at all; whether on his dynamical theory it is not a matter of course, and its absence is not the abnormality which needs to be established. The view is not one which we in England are prepared to accept for working purposes; but the book contains a passage which is of such practical interest to us that I do not hesitate to translate it nearly in full. It is from a letter written to the author by Dr. Wetterstrand, of Stockholm, the eminent hypnotic practitioner.

“I have recently seen a striking instance of mental suggestion, and I no longer have any doubt in the existence of direct thought-transference from one human being to another. I have at the present moment under treatment a lady aged 33 who has slept for three weeks without intermission. By fixed thought I can send her to sleep from my house and wake her up again; I can make her execute a prescribed movement, and when I ask her why she did so, she always replies, ‘Because you will it.’ I have made her get up in a state of sleep from her own room and come to mine, and when asked ‘Why did you get up?’ she answered, ‘Because you will it.’ For me direct thought-transference is now a proved fact, which I have hitherto doubted, but now have seen. . . . If you know a good somnambule, let him sleep for a week on end, and thought-transference gradually develops. This continued sleep, which I have now tried four times, particularly in a case of morphinomania, which I have discussed in the *Revue de l’Hypnotisme* for Nov., 1890 (*Sur le Traitement de la Morphinomanie par l’Hypnotisme*), entails no danger. The patients eat and do everything as well in the sleeping as in the waking state, and in many complaints such prolonged sleep has an extraordinary effect in restoration to health. I have recently received a letter from my friend Dr. Liébeault, of Nancy, in which he says that he is in a position to prove, as he will do in the forthcoming second part of his work on Sleep and Analogous States, that there is a ‘force neurique d’hommes à hommes.’ How is this thought-transference to be explained?”

Dr. Wetterstrand’s experiment has obvious difficulties; will it not be possible to get over these and try it?

WALTER LEAF.

Per lo Spiritismo. 2a Edizione, Riveduta ed Ampliata. PROF. ANGELO BROFFERIO. Milano: D. Briola, 1893, pp. 364.

Eusapia Palladino, the peasant woman of Naples, is having a deep and growing influence on thought in the Italian peninsula. The extraordinary

manifestations which she produces as medium have been vouched for by numerous observers of the highest standing, among them by no less men than Lombroso and Schiaparelli, who, among other things, have seen a large article of furniture move through the room in full light without the contact of any human hand. Lombroso has avowed his full belief in the genuineness of the phenomena, and in the existence of an occult force which produces them. But he has not admitted the Spiritist hypothesis, and goes no farther than a psychic force exercised by the unconscious self of the medium.

Professor Brofferio, himself converted by what seems to have been a careful series of experiments made with Eusapia, accepts heartily the full theory of Spiritism and has joined issue with all its opponents. But, as he is convinced of the facts and therefore sure that they will in the end have to be admitted, it is chiefly with the interpretation of them that he deals. His book is in the main an attack upon the psychic force school, in which he recognises the most dangerous enemy of Spiritism. He has in fact written a popular counterpart to Aksakoff's *Animismus und Spiritismus* (see *Proceedings*, XVII., 665). In liveliness and to some extent in persuasiveness, he has the advantage of Aksakoff, in spite of a somewhat excessive tendency to repetition. He has, too, a good knowledge of the literature of the subject, though of course he cannot pretend to Aksakoff's exhaustive acquaintance with the evidence. And his obvious honesty and fairness are not one whit behind those of his Russian leader. But in thoroughness and logical consistency he stands rather below him than above. He has more of the clever advocate, and would doubtless have more chance of persuading a jury; but he has far less of the philosopher.

It is especially in his treatment of the unconscious self of the medium (*l'incosciente del medio*) that this weakness shows itself. The Italian phrase is neat and compact, but it has perhaps some tendency to mislead. In spite of the teaching of all recent inquiries, Brofferio still argues that the phenomena cannot be due to *l'incosciente del medio* because they contradict the conscious wishes and convictions of the medium, or involve the exercise of a reasoning power which may even transcend that of which the normal medium seems capable. Prof. Brofferio would have been less likely to fall into an error such as this if he had been in the habit of thinking not so much of an unconscious as of a subconscious or subliminal self. By post-hypnotic suggestion we have no difficulty in producing automatic writing precisely such as Brofferio would have to be the work of the dead; what reason is there to doubt that the same result may be obtained by the medium's own self-suggestion? Take, too, the case of *apports*, material objects brought into a closed room, or created in one, where they did not exist before. Brofferio says that such a fact implies the existence of a knowledge and an art; a knowledge whether of a fourth dimension of space, or of the constitution of the ether by which it can be formed into matter, or whatever theory we may prefer; and the art of making practical use of such knowledge. And, he says, it is extravagant to suppose that so exalted a skill can exist in the mind of the medium, entirely unknown to the normal consciousness. Surely all that we have learnt of automatism entitles us to say that such a supposition is by no means absurd. It at least claims to be left an open question. What man is there with so profound a knowledge of

physiology that he can tell exactly how a blister on the skin is produced? Yet we have learnt that the subconsciousness is able to produce it. It follows that in each of us there exists a knowledge of the processes of our own most subtle structure, and a power of commanding it, of which our normal state has not the least inkling. Assuming that, on the facts as stated, *some* intelligence has a similar power over the ether, or whatever it may be, why should not that intelligence exist within the brain of what we call the medium, equally unsuspected in its capacities and processes? Indeed, Brofferio's arguments would lead to the conclusion, at which he himself seems to hint, that all automatism of an intelligent nature is the work of the spirits of the dead; for it all comes from some intelligence of which we are not conscious except in its results. He is in fact far too prone to argue that the statement of the intelligence itself that it pertains to some dead person is to be taken as a presumption of its own truth; a line of reasoning in which I think few careful thinkers with the evidence before them will care to follow him. And even though these communications do generally announce themselves as coming from the dead, it must not be forgotten that they do not always do so; Professor Brofferio would do well to carefully study the evidence of Mrs. Newnham's planchette in *Proceedings*, VIII., 10. Their general agreement is perfectly intelligible as auto-suggestion arising from the common tendency to believe in the return of the departed.

But, though I cannot follow Brofferio in all his arguments, I willingly acknowledge that, unlike many Spiritists, he takes eminently rational ground. A controversy between him and Lombroso cannot fail to do much to attract general attention to the subject in Italy, whence we may hope for large contributions alike to the evidence and the theory of supernormal phenomena.

WALTER LEAF.

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- (1) *Expériences de Milan*; Notes de M. CHARLES RICHEL; (2) *Rapport de la Commission réunie à Milan pour l'Étude des Phénomènes Psychiques*. Both being Articles in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*. Troisième année. No. 1—Janvier-Février, 1893. Paris: Félix Alcan.

During last autumn a Committee, amongst whom were M. Schiaparelli, Director of the Astronomical Observatory at Milan, Professor Gerosa, Professor Brofferio, and M. Aksakoff, held a series of sittings at Milan with a "physical medium," Mme. Eusapia Palladino, of that town. Professor Lombroso and Professor C. Richet were present at some of the meetings, and a statement by the latter of his own observations is published together with the formal report of the Committee in the Jan.-Feb. number of the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*. The phenomena observed were of a kind familiar to all students of Spiritualistic literature: tilting and levitation of tables and other movements of furniture; alteration of the weight of the medium in the balance; raps; and the appearance and contact of hands in the dark, or in semi-obscurity. That the reports now under discussion deserve more respectful consideration than the innumerable accounts of similar manifestations which have appeared in overwhelming abundance

during the last 40 years, is due not so much to the fact (though that is entitled to some weight) that the medium has not been detected in fraud, as to the high scientific standing of the witnesses, and the obvious care and freedom from prepossession with which their observations have for the most part been made and recorded.

The most striking phenomena, and those which presented, apparently, the best opportunity for excluding fraud, since they took place in full light, were the levitation of the table, and the alteration of the medium's weight in the balance. The table was a common kitchen-table, with four legs, 3 ft. 8 in. long, by 2 ft. 4 in. wide, and weighing about 17 lb. Professor Richet, who has witnessed the levitation of the table on several occasions, describes it as follows: "Eusapia, seated at one end of the table, gave her right hand to one of the investigators, and her left hand to another. Usually in the experiments at which I assisted, M. Schiaparelli held her right hand, and I held her left. The other persons stood more or less aloof, so that the two table legs at the end farthest from Eusapia could be seen, and the two at her end of the table, and between which she had placed her legs, knees and feet, were visible all, or almost all, the time.

"After various movements, during which there were partial liftings, now of one foot, now of another, the table was suddenly lifted up, all four feet being raised slightly from the ground, from about 3 to 5 inches. But in several instances (when there was little or no light) it seemed to me that the table legs were lifted off the ground to a height of from 8 to 10 inches. This only lasted for a short time, difficult to estimate, but which I take to have been about one or two seconds. Nevertheless, on one occasion, at the second séance, the table appeared to me to be raised from the ground for about 3 seconds, with a sort of swaying, rocking motion in the air. The room was lighted during the experiments."

The light in some cases was sufficiently good to allow of photographs being taken. A copy of one photograph, appended to Professor Richet's article, shows the table suspended horizontally some inches above the floor, whilst Eusapia's hands were held, on the surface of the table, by Professors Richet and Lombroso respectively, the former having his other hand pressed on the medium's knees, and his left foot in contact with one of her feet. Two other members of the Committee were watching the proceedings at a little distance from the table.

In discussing the possible mechanical explanations of the movement, Professor Richet adduces strong arguments for concluding that it could not have been lifted by any mechanism, or by the knees or hands of the medium. There remains the hypothesis that the movement was effected by the feet—or one foot, placed under one of the legs, and aided by the pressure of the hands on the top of the table. That this is extremely improbable is shown by several considerations. One or other of the experimenters on several occasions held his hand on the medium's knees during the experiment, but no movement of them was observed; one foot of the sitter on either side was, as he in each case believed, in contact with one foot of the medium; and had Eusapia's foot been placed under a leg of the table, the table could only have been raised altogether from the floor by the exercise of considerable pressure above the table; and whilst no indication was observed of any

such pressure being exerted, the Committee add that they were unable to credit Eusapia with the possession of the muscular force required. On the other hand it is pointed out that the levitation of the table appears to have been generally preceded by a puffing out (*gonfler*) of Eusapia's dress until it touched and partially covered one foot of the table; and that when contact of the dress with the table was prevented the experiment failed. Further, the experiment also failed when Eusapia and the experimenters stood upright; and she refused to try the experiment sitting at one of the longer sides of the table, or with a pasteboard screen placed round her dress so as absolutely to cut off all possibility of contact with the table. Professor Richet, therefore, with characteristic scrupulousness sums up:—

“The hypothesis that Eusapia lifted the table with her feet is not absurd, and perhaps however improbable such an hypothesis may seem we should accept it sooner than the absurdity of a table lifted without mechanical force. Indeed, in no case have I seen the four feet of the table all raised from the ground, when both Eusapia's feet were so placed as to render deception impossible, or when the four feet of the table could be seen distinctly free from contact with Eusapia's feet.”

The Committee, it should be added, attempted to perform the feat of raising the table from the ground under the conditions imposed upon Eusapia, and failed to do so.

The experiment in which the weight of the medium in a balance presented unaccountable variations exhibits, unfortunately, precisely analogous defects. The weight on several occasions was observed *gradually* to increase or diminish—the variation in one instance being as much as 21 lb. on either side of the normal weight. One occasion is thus described by Professor Richet:—

“Eusapia, seated on a chair, was placed on the platform of a weighing machine and her feet were strongly bound together by a handkerchief. One of us, M. Finzi, was told off to read the weight. M. Schiaparelli and I employed ourselves in watching closely the balance and its surroundings, so as to be sure that Eusapia did not touch with hand or foot the ground or any object in the neighbourhood.

“Her weight with the chair being 58 kilogrammes (nearly 128 lb. or over 9 stone), we placed on the scale 500 grammes at a point where it would be equivalent to 50 kilogrammes, and then the rider was placed at the figure 8. Eusapia's weight was thus exactly balanced. Then, though Eusapia did not move her chair, we had, in order to maintain equilibrium, to shift the rider, first to 6, then to 4, then to 2, and finally to zero, and further, to obtain exact equilibrium it would have been necessary to take away a little of the weight of 500 grammes which represented 50 kilogrammes. It will be seen, therefore, that Eusapia diminished her weight in this experiment by at least 8 kilogrammes ($17\frac{1}{2}$ lb.). We are certain that she threw nothing away (if she had thrown anything away she would have had to recover it in order to restore her original weight), and equally certain that she derived no support from any neighbouring object. And finally, the movement was sufficiently slow—it occupied from 12 to 20 seconds—to make it impossible to attribute it to a jump or quick movement of any kind. Nevertheless, the observation did not appear to us conclusive. In brief, in the ordinary weighing machine, constructed on the principle of the steelyard, the weight varies (although it

is true within very narrow limits) with the position of the centre of gravity. By changing his position on the platform, especially when, as was the case here, the machine is not a very good one, the person who is being weighed can appreciably vary his weight.

“We devised accordingly a weighing machine of a different kind, in which the platform was suspended by the four corners. In this machine the weight would show no variation, whatever the position of the sitter on the platform. An automatic arrangement devised by M. Finzi registered the movements of the lever. In the fifth sitting we obtained a result which was certainly remarkable, seeing that it occurred under exceptionally good conditions. M. Schiaparelli and I were watching the machine both above and below, so as to be sure that Eusapia did not touch either the ground, or the support from which the platform was hung.

“Under these conditions, there was certainly a slight upward movement of the platform, but it was very trifling; and although the automatic register indicated a marked diminution in the weight, lasting for about 15 seconds, I cannot say for certain that this movement of the register did not occur at the moment when Eusapia, in order to gain more strength, asked one of the investigators to give her his hand, which she held for a short time before relinquishing.”

The Committee, however, point out that this experiment succeeded only when part of Eusapia's dress touched the floor, and that when precautions were taken to prevent this contact no appreciable effect was produced on the balance. On one occasion, indeed, when the balance was placed at a distance of more than 10 inches behind Eusapia, and her hands, feet, and knees were held, a rider, apparently in response to an energetic movement on the part of Eusapia, oscillated violently on the beam, as if some weight had been thrown into the scale. But this effect was never repeated. The observed alteration in the weight of the medium, was, of course, far too great to be accounted for by the mere contact of part of her dress with the floor; but so long as this and other sources of error cannot be eliminated, the evidence for some new physical force must, as Professor Richet points out, be considered incomplete.

Other phenomena—tilting of the table on two legs, lateral movements of the table when the hands of the medium were not in direct contact with it, movement of chairs, raps and noises of various kinds—occurred also in the light; but in no instance were the conditions more favourable or the evidence more complete than in the experiments above described.

Manifestations of various kinds occurred when the room was darkened or partially darkened, each person holding the hand of his neighbour, so as to form a chain. But here, again to quote Professor Richet:—

“During the experiments Eusapia generally has the right and the left hand held differently. On one side her whole hand is firmly held; on the other side, instead of having her hand held by the person next her, she merely places her hand on his, but touches his hand with all five fingers, so that he can feel quite distinctly whether it is the right or the left hand with which he is in contact.

“This is what follows: At the moment when the manifestations are about to begin, the hand which is not being held, but which is lightly placed on

the hand of the person on that side (for the sake of simplicity we will suppose that it is Eusapia's right hand, though it is in fact sometimes the right, sometimes the left), the right hand, then, becomes very unsteady, and begins to move about so rapidly that it is impossible to follow its movements ; it shifts about every moment, and for the mere fraction of a second it is not felt at all ; then it is felt again, and one could swear it is still the right hand."

Records of phenomena occurring under such conditions can hardly be thought to add much strength to the evidence already obtained, even though they included such feats as the lifting of Eusapia and her chair bodily on to the table ; the touching of those present with a hand which in some cases appeared larger than the hand of the medium ; the appearance of *two* hands against the faintly luminous background of the window ; the discovery of finger marks on paper previously prepared with lamp-black, though the hands of the medium at the end of the sitting were found to be perfectly clean ; and the removal of M. Schiaparelli's spectacles, performed in complete darkness, and with such care that he was unconscious of his loss until the operation was actually completed.

In a further set of experiments, however, it seems clear that the effects produced were beyond the unaided resources of the medium. A portion of the room was curtained off from the rest, and the medium placed in the aperture of the curtains, which were joined a little above her head. The space curtained off was left in absolute darkness, but the rest of the room was dimly lighted by a lantern with red glass sides, placed on the table round which sat the medium and the experimenters. On one occasion Professor Richet himself took up his station in the darkened part of the room, behind the curtains, his chair placed back to back with that on which Eusapia sat. The medium's hands were held on either side by M. Schiaparelli and M. Finzi, and the latter's stocking-clad foot was placed between the two booted feet of Eusapia. Under these circumstances M. Richet was touched three times on various parts of the body. Then, he writes,

"At one moment she became rigid and said, 'Hold me tight, hold me tight,' upon which M. Schiaparelli on one side and M. Finzi on the other held her with all their strength. M. Gerosa took notes. I said to M. Finzi: 'Are you holding her left hand?' He replied, 'Yes.' I then asked M. Schiaparelli, 'Are you holding her right hand?' He replied, 'Yes.' Then I again asked M. Finzi, 'Are you holding both her feet?' He replied, 'Yes.' Then on turning my head slightly to the left I saw something was preparing, by the fact that the curtain was bulging and seemed to be approaching Eusapia, as though to make the shadow deeper. Then I was touched on the right shoulder by a hand which seemed to me to be a right hand (supposing it belonged to the medium). Almost at the same instant, after Eusapia had asked me to put my head near hers, I was touched by two fingers, which pulled with some force, but without hurting me, the hair on the nape of my neck ; I was certain it was a hand which touched my shoulder and neck. At the same time M. Finzi was touched on the ear, on the forehead and on the temples by fingers which were behind the curtain, while the hand which touched me was free from the curtain. M. Finzi was touched three times. The other witnesses observed no abnormal movement on

Eusapia's part. I, who was behind her, felt nothing but a sort of general convulsion, and that at the moment when we were watching most attentively, and when M. Schiaparelli on one side and M. Finzi on the other held Eusapia's hands firmly, and could distinguish which hand they held, right or left. This experiment seemed thoroughly satisfactory, and I hardly see how one could take exception to it. M. Schiaparelli did not let go Eusapia's right hand; on the other side M. Finzi *could not* let go her left hand; for he had put his fingers in the copper wire which surrounded the fingers of Eusapia's left hand. Even supposing, what is difficult to suppose, that M. Schiaparelli had let go Eusapia's hand, it is almost impossible that that hand, even if free, could reach and touch M. Finzi, after passing behind the curtain—for I had my back almost touching Eusapia's, and the complicated movement which she would have had to make to carry her hand behind was rendered almost, or rather, quite impossible. On the other hand it seemed impossible for Eusapia to stretch out her hand in front, for the shadow was not deep enough to prevent those present from seeing this movement had it been attempted, and besides M. Finzi was touched on the face, through the thickness of the curtain. This is the experiment which seems to me to offer the strongest proof of the materialisation of a hand. For unless we suppose—which is of course admissible—a serious experimental error on the part of M. Schiaparelli, M. Finzi or myself, one cannot see how it was possible for Eusapia's hand to touch us under the conditions described."

On other occasions, with all the experimenters in front of the curtain, the medium being seated as before, in the opening of the curtains, and her hands and feet held, hands were felt by each person in turn through the opening of the curtains just above the medium's head, and afterwards a hand was *seen* by all simultaneously in the same place. Bluish lights were also seen in the same place, and a pencil was taken from the hand of one of the Committee, and afterwards thrown back through the opening. To quote the Committee's report :—

"It is impossible to count the number of times that that hand appeared and was touched by one of us; suffice it to say that doubt was no longer possible: it was indeed a living, human hand which we saw and touched, while at the same time the bust and arms of the medium remained visible and her hands were held by those on either side of her."

Finally, some wet clay which had been placed in the dark alcove was found at the termination of the sitting to bear the imprint of a hand.

The whole series of experiments, it should be noted, took place in the apartments of Dr. Finzi. The Committee do not apparently hold the question of a possible accomplice entering the room after the commencement of the sitting as worth considering, for they say nothing about the existence of a door in the darkened alcove, or the precautions taken to keep it closed. From Professor Richet, however, we learn that there was such a door, and that it was locked and sealed during the progress of the experiments. He adds: "It is absurd to suppose that another person could have come into the room, which is small, and was completely shut up. It was in M. Finzi's apartments, we were making no noise, we could light up the room instantly, indeed there was light enough, as it was, to see its general appearance, &c., &c."

It will be seen from this brief survey that the experiments presented many suspicious features. The results in every case can be paralleled more or less exactly by results produced through the agency of persons who have been detected in fraud. Moreover, there were many circumstances which either directly suggested fraud, or offered facilities for its intervention. Such are the darkness that was found essential for so many of the experiments; the movements of Eusapia's dress in the table and balance experiments; the twitchings and convulsive movements of her hands and her whole body; her groanings when exciting phenomena were taking place in the dark; her refusal on more than one occasion to accept conditions which would have rendered fraud more difficult, and the failure of the experiment when any such conditions were accepted and imposed. In Professor Richet's words: "The results degenerated as the conditions were made more stringent."

In short, seeing that Eusapia had practically an unlimited right of veto, direct or indirect, upon the conditions, it is not accurate to speak of the results recorded by the Committee as *experimental*. The Committee did not and could not experiment; they were permitted to observe certain phenomena produced in presence of the medium under conditions chosen by herself—conditions which the Committee and M. Richet (as they are themselves careful to point out) *were unable to vary in any material point*. That even so the effects produced were such as can only be ascribed to trickery by means of several violent and improbable hypotheses will readily be admitted. But in all cases, it will be observed, the question between fraud and a new physical force was only a quantitative one. It was a question in each case whether Eusapia was strong enough, or quick enough, or clever enough, to have produced the whole of the effect observed. In no case was an effect produced which was measurably and indisputably beyond the power of any human being in the circumstances described. That after saying so much, we should admit that the things done remain inexplicable is the strongest tribute that can be paid to the skill and patience of the investigators. For in this admission is implied that we have no ground here for assuming—what experience has shown that we are justified in assuming in most records of similar phenomena—serious errors of observation and description on the part of the investigators. Two precautions, indeed, it may be suggested, would not be superfluous on any future occasion: First, that the person of Eusapia should be searched immediately before each sitting; and second, that when the room is darkened the doors and windows should be guarded from the outside. If the same phenomena could be reproduced under these conditions, the difficulty of attributing the results to fraud would be greatly increased; if compliance with the conditions were refused, or if the phenomena ceased with their adoption, the argument for a new force would be correspondingly weakened.

The Committee, it should be added, express their conviction that the results obtained in the light, and many of those obtained in darkness, could not have been produced by trickery of any kind. M. Richet, who does not sign the Committee's report, states his own conclusions more cautiously as follows: "Absurd and unsatisfactory though they were, it seems to me very difficult to attribute the phenomena produced to deception, conscious or unconscious, or to a series of deceptions. Nevertheless conclusive and indis-

putable proof that there was no fraud on Eusapia's part, or illusion on our part, is wanting :—we must, therefore, renew our efforts to obtain such proof.”

F. PODMORE.

Spiritismo e Telepatia. Note critiche e osservazione del PROFESSORE AUGUSTO TAMBURINI, Rivista Sperimentale di Freniatria e di Medicina Legale. Vol. XVIII. Fasc. II. August, 1892.

Professor Tamburini, at the beginning of his interesting article, remarks upon the growing attention paid in Italy to the examination of those phenomena which may be described generally as Spiritualistic and Telepathic. Members of the Society for Psychical Research will welcome all accessions to the company of unprejudiced inquirers into these phenomena; more particularly when distinguished scientific attainments and high position in the medical profession give special weight to the opinions which those inquirers form. Professor Lombroso has long been known as a bold and ingenious pioneer in many branches of Psychical Research; and several other distinguished men of science in Italy have turned their energies in similar directions. Professor Tamburini is a noteworthy addition to the number.

But besides the special value which attaches to the attitude of men of scientific distinction, there are two general reasons why the extension of psychical inquiries in Italy seems to be of special importance. In the first place, there is some reason to think that, whether from national temperament, climate, or other cause, the Southern branches of the Latin race afford a specially good field for observation of psychical phenomena; and in the second place, religious orthodoxy and scientific orthodoxy are perhaps more intolerant in Italy than in most other European countries. For this reason more courage is required for embarking upon a course of inquiry which is obnoxious to the Church, and is regarded with some suspicion by men of the orthodox scientific school; and the difficulty to be overcome measures the strength of the interest felt by those who overcome it.

The object of Professor Tamburini's article is mainly to give information as to the present position of the inquiries into some of the less obscure psychical problems, in view of recent publications on the subject. Besides giving a general view of the questions of which he treats, he contributes two cases of telepathy which have come under his own notice. To these we shall return later, after giving some general account of the views expressed in the article.

The article is divided into two parts—the first dealing with Spiritualism, the second with Telepathy.

1. Spiritualism.

The writer attaches great importance to the close examination of the condition, mental and physical, of mediums. He calls attention to the conclusion of Janet that the mediums belong to the neuropathic class, and are generally characterised by hysteria, somnambulism, sensibility to hypnotism, or, in the most marked cases, hysteria combined with hemianæsthesia. Professor Tamburini regrets that more care has not been

given to observations upon these points ; and from the medical point of view no doubt such observations may be of the greatest value. The investigators of the phenomena produced cannot afford to neglect the study of any of the conditions under which they take place ; but at the same time a doubt may be permitted as to whether, with some investigators, pathological problems have not to some extent obscured the question which for the present is more important—namely, the question of what phenomena are produced.

With regard to the phenomena, Professor Tamburini deals first with Table Tilting and Automatic Writing. He accepts the verdict of all competent observers that imposture is inadmissible as a general explanation, and endorses the view that the muscular action which causes the movements of the table or the pencil is produced by the subliminal consciousness. The subdivision of personality, and the intelligent action of the subliminal consciousness are fully accepted by the writer. He explains the definite and varying characters of the supposed authors of the messages as the result of self-suggestion. As by hypnotic or post-hypnotic suggestion a subject may be made to think he is Napoleon or a chimney-sweep, so by self-suggestion the subliminal consciousness may be made to think that it is X or Y, and to tilt or rap messages in the character of X or Y.

Professor Tamburini, as we have said, is mainly interested in the modifications of normal mental action in connection with which spirit rapping and automatic writing are produced, and does not discuss the content of the messages so given. This is the point of the investigation which has had the greatest interest for most English investigators. The question which they ask is whether the messages are such as to show knowledge on the part of the medium which could not have been acquired by the ordinary channels of communication ; and further, if it can be established that such information has reached the medium by means not hitherto recognised as normal, viz., without the intervention of the senses, is there any evidence that in any cases it is derived from intelligences other than embodied human intelligences ? Upon the first of these questions Professor Tamburini touches to a certain extent, in the later part of the article, which deals with telepathy ; but he does not extend his open-mindedness so far as to admit the possibility of the Spiritualistic hypothesis. He commends openness of mind for the reception of all evidence, and quotes with approval Professor Lodge's statement that "it is no proof of wisdom to refuse to examine certain phenomena because we think it certain that they are impossible, as if our knowledge of the universe were already complete." He maintains the attitude of mind so indicated with the greatest consistency and frankness—but only up to a certain point. He has nothing but contempt for those who accept a Spiritualistic explanation of the phenomena in question—not because he considers such an explanation disproved, but because he thinks it so impossible and retrograde as not to require consideration.

With regard to "Physical Phenomena" his attitude is somewhat more cautious than that of Professor Lombroso. He does not consider that the evidence obtained by Crookes, or by the Neapolitan experiments with Eusapia Palladino as medium—experiments in which he himself took a part—gives conclusive proof of the production or transmission of force in modes

other than those known to science. At the same time he fully admits that there is strong evidence pointing in this direction ; and is prepared to grant the possibility, or even the probability, of Lombroso's view that cerebral movements may be transmitted by means of the "ether" to surrounding objects, and act upon them as force, without the intervention of muscular action.

2. Telepathy.

The second part of the article deals with Telepathy. Professor Tamburini's verdict with regard to *experimental* telepathy is "not proven." He then turns to that part of the evidence which depends upon observation, not experiment ; and, after paying tribute to the care, perseverance, and scientific rigour with which the telepathic cases of *Phantasms of the Living* have been collected and investigated, he proceeds to classify and analyse them, and finally to give his conclusion as to the inferences to be drawn from this mass of evidence. There are three possible explanations, he says, of the large number of well-attested instances of coincidental hallucinations. (1) They may be fortuitous coincidences ; (2) they may be illusions of memory, by which, after the event is known, the subject believes himself to have had impressions which he did not really have ; or (3) they may be really telepathic. With regard to (1) he does not follow the authors of *Phantasms of the Living* into their calculations of probability, but he concludes, on general grounds, that fortuitous coincidence is extremely improbable. With regard to (2) he justly points out that this does not apply to the considerable number of cases in which there is evidence that the impression was recorded by the percipient, or communicated to others before the coincident event was known. There remains, therefore, only the third alternative ; but upon this Professor Tamburini's final conclusion is cautious. He considers that "all the facts collected, however conscientiously weighed and checked, cannot be held sufficient at present to constitute a scientific and unshaken proof of telepathic phenomena. They seem only so far serious and worthy of consideration as to propound a problem, to the solution of which further research and observation can alone contribute."¹

It is of great interest to know the deliberate judgment of a highly competent person upon the evidence collected thus far. Some members of the Society for Psychical Research will no doubt think that Professor Tamburini inclines too much to the side of caution ; but this, if a fault, is a fault on the right side. And the result may at least be welcomed—that Professor Tamburini has himself set about the collection of further evidence, and

¹ Professor Tamburini suggests that "telæsthetic" would be a more appropriate word than "telepathic," on the ground that thought-transference is compatible with perfect health, and that "telepathic" suggests that the percipient's condition is "pathological," or in other words unhealthy. Without discussing the correctness of this limited use of the word pathological, we may reply that *telepathy* was not intended to convey, and need not convey, any suggestion of morbidity. It means no more than "action at a distance," or more strictly, "the being acted upon at a distance." It is to be preferred to "telæsthesia" as the more general word ; for it includes purely mental impressions as well as sensory impressions ; while "telæsthesia" would properly exclude the former, which, as Professor Tamburini recognises, constitute an important class.

invites others to do so also. Two cases are presented in the article under review; and in the succeeding number of the *Rivista di Freniatria* (Vol. XIX., Fasc. I.) Dr. Giacchi communicates three cases and Dr. Bracaloni another.

The two cases which Professor Tamburini gives are as follows :--

1. Virginia Guicciardi, wife of the head doctor of the Lunatic Asylum at Reggio, had a veridical dream on the night of April 25th-26th, 1892. The dream was told to her husband in the morning, before the event to which it related was known. The story is best told in the words of the percipient and her husband. It is not stated when these accounts were written, but as the number of the periodical in which they appear was published in August, 1892, it cannot have been long after the event.

Professor Tamburini states that the Signora Guicciardi is cultivated and studious, a writer of distinction, of quick and impressionable temperament, but not generally subject to terrifying dreams. She has never had any other remarkable experiences of a telepathic character; but she has often observed herself thinking of a person, or having his image present in her mind, shortly before his unexpected arrival.

Account by the Signora Guicciardi.

“On the evening of April 25th last I went to sleep quietly, without thinking of my sick friend [Signorina G., of Modena]. About halfway through the night I woke up with a start, thinking I heard my name called. Before I had become quite clearly conscious I got out of bed, and, as though afraid of an unknown danger, I ran into the next room, where my husband was sleeping. When he had assured me that neither he nor anyone else could have called me, I immediately went back to bed, was quite calm, and soon went to sleep again. Later, I had the dream, in which I saw my friend on the point of death,—a dream which was extremely clear in detail, and which produced so strong an impression on me as to engrave itself indelibly on my memory. When I woke up it might be half-past six or seven in the morning—judging by the light which penetrated the closed windows, for I did not look at the clock. I remained for a time in an uncomfortable, half-awake condition, and fixed my mind upon the scenes of my sad dream. I seemed to see my young friend stretched out upon her bed, having on her face the terrible expression of the death-struggle. Her sisters were standing round her, and I looked at her from a little way off. Suddenly I could not bear the sight of her eyes, of which the white alone was visible, and I retired to the window, and leant my forehead against the panes. Then I heard them say in low voices, ‘She is going; she is dying now.’ Meanwhile my heart beat as though it would break.

“In the morning, when I told my husband these experiences, I was more impressed by the terror I had felt than by the belief that the dream might prove true. In fact, the news conveyed by the telegram which my husband gave me after I had told him about the dream was unexpected.

“That same day at Modena I received from the family the curious and sad intelligence which is connected with my dream.

“VIRGINIA GUICCIARDI.”

Account by Dr. Guicciardi.

“On the morning of April 26th last I went into my wife’s bedroom about eight, and found her awake and rather disturbed in mind. She immediately began to tell me the dream which she had had about two hours before (with all the particulars, as I remember precisely, which are related above). While she was speaking the maid came in, and, turning to me, said, ‘C.’ (a man who works for the asylum) ‘is below, and wishes to speak to you.’ I replied that I would come down directly, and went on listening to the story, which my wife, who was still vividly impressed, resumed as soon as the maid had gone away. I laughed a little, and when she had finished advised her not to think of it. We talked a little of other things, and then I left her.

“On the ground floor I found C., who gave me a telegram, which the telegraphist of the asylum had given to him, with directions to deliver it into my hands alone. Before that he had not told the maid, or anyone else in my house, that he was the bearer of a private telegram. The day before—and I remember this very well—there had been no talk in the family about the lady who was ill. We were certainly far from imagining that her end would be so sudden; for the day before that we had received a postcard from the sister of the sick lady, telling us that there was a comparative but distinct improvement in her condition.

“DOTT. GIUSEPPE GUICCIARDI.”

The story was told to Professor Tamburini on the very morning on which the events took place, both by Dr. Guicciardi and by his wife, before the latter went to Modena to see the family of Signorina G. She went to Modena the same day, and learnt that the death had taken place unexpectedly, about six o’clock in the morning; that in the course of the night the Signorina G. had begged her sisters, who were nursing her, to write to her friend to come “if she wished to see her again”; and further, that shortly before her death she had named Dr. Guicciardi, and said that she thought she saw him behind a screen which was in the room.

It will be noted that in this case the dream was told to one person before the fact of the death was known to the dreamer, and that it was, further, told to Professor Tamburini before the details of the death and the fact that the dying person’s thoughts had been directed to Dr. Guicciardi and his wife in the course of the night were known.

The evidence, however, might have been made more complete in some particulars. It would be desirable to have a statement from the sisters of Signorina G. It would be interesting to know how far the details given by Signora Guicciardi as to the appearance, &c., of the dying person seen in her dream corresponded with reality. The statements given should bear dates.

2. Niece Rossi, a lunatic in the asylum at Reggio, died on May 21st, 1892, at 11 a.m. She had been in the asylum since December 20th, 1890, and had previously been from time to time in another asylum. No inquiries about her had been received from her family for more than a year, but on the morning of May 23rd a postcard arrived from Mantua, from her husband, Giovanni Berni, dated May 22nd, and asking for information as to his wife’s condition. On inquiry through a doctor at Mantua, it appeared that on the

day before writing, *i.e.*, on the day of his wife's death, he had felt "uneasy, as though some misfortune were going to befall him," and that it was in consequence of this feeling that he had determined to write.

Against the vagueness of the impression in this case may be set off the fact that it prompted Berni to a definite action; but the coincidence does not seem sufficiently exact or striking to exclude the likelihood of its being due to chance.

Dr. Oscar Giacchi, of Racconigi, communicates three telepathic cases in the *Rivista*, Vol. XIX., Fasc. I.

1. The first is an experience of his own. In 1853, when a student at Pisa, he saw in a dream, or when half awake, his father, apparently dying. The figure spoke to him, and he kissed its lips. Although he had no previous cause for anxiety, he went at once to Florence, where his father was, and found that he had died suddenly of heart disease.

This experience was not, apparently, recorded at the time, and no confirmatory evidence is given.

2. An old woman, for three years an inmate of the Racconigi Asylum, had, before she was shut up there, received kindness from the parish priest of San Giovanni di Racconigi. She usually slept quietly at night; but at midnight on the night of November 18th, 1892, she began to howl and disturb the whole ward. She told the nurses, who tried to calm her, that she had "seen the Prior fall to the ground, with bloody foam coming from his mouth, and die in a few moments." The morning's report to the doctor related this occurrence; and at the same time it became known that the priest in question had died of an apoplectic stroke at the time of the dream.

Here again confirmatory evidence is wanting; and it is not stated whether the "medical report" exists, and whether it contains particulars of the words used by the woman.

3. Dr. Giacchi's third case is similar to Professor Tamburini's second. The wife of a patient in the asylum wrote to inquire for news of him just at the time of his death. But the coincidence in this case is less striking, as the patient had only been in the asylum for two months.

Finally, a case is communicated by Dr. Bracaloni, in the same number of the *Rivista*.

In October, 1880, Signora M. was at Florence, and her father at Siena. She was suddenly seized with violent and persistent melancholy, so strong as to produce weeping, and to keep her awake through the night. Next morning a telegram announced that her father—about whom she had no cause for anxiety—had been murdered at about the time when the melancholy began. This is related in a letter from Signora M., dated March 25th, 1892.

H. BABINGTON SMITH.

The Law of Psychic Phenomena, a Working Hypothesis for the Systematic Study of Hypnotism, Spiritism, Mental Therapeutics, &c. By Thomson Jay Hudson. London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1893.

It is not quite easy to decide on what plane Mr. Hudson's work should be judged. If it be regarded as a purely popular, unscientific handbook to

“psychical research,” intended to inspire the general reader with an interest in the subject, we may say that it is clear and readable, and reproduces a good deal of both fact and argument from these *Proceedings* and elsewhere in an easier, though often in an inaccurate, form, and occasionally with some ingenious development. If, however, we judge it from a standpoint more nearly approaching what seems to be the author’s own, we shall be obliged to make some serious reserves even in this modified approval.

The professed aim of the book is certainly ambitious. “My primary object,” says the author in his preface, “is to assist in bringing Psychology within the domain of the exact sciences. That this has never been accomplished is owing to the fact that no successful attempt has been made to formulate a working hypothesis sufficiently simple to embrace all psychic phenomena. . . . The London S.P.R., whose ramifications extend all over the civilised world” (we wish they did), “was organised for the purpose of making a systematic search for that law. . . . I have tentatively formulated a working hypothesis for the systematic study of all classes of psychic phenomena. . . . Sincerely believing in the correctness of my hypothesis, I have not hesitated to follow it to its legitimate conclusion in every field which I have entered.”

We naturally looked with interest for the hypothesis which has thus far eluded our own researches;—of which researches, we hasten to acknowledge, the author speaks in flattering terms. On p. 26 that hypothesis is produced. But it hardly brings us much nearer to an exact science than we were before.

“Under the rules of correct reasoning, therefore, I have a right to assume that MAN HAS TWO MINDS; and the assumption is so stated, in its broadest form, as the first proposition of my hypothesis. For convenience I shall designate the one as the *objective* mind, and the other as the *subjective* mind.

“The second proposition is, that THE SUBJECTIVE MIND IS CONSTANTLY AMENABLE TO CONTROL BY SUGGESTION.

“The third, or subsidiary, proposition is, that THE SUBJECTIVE MIND IS INCAPABLE OF INDUCTIVE REASONING.”

To those who have in any degree followed the discussions in these *Proceedings* on “the supraliminal and the subliminal self,” “duplex personality,” “the hypnotic stratum,” “the mechanism of suggestion,” and so forth, it will not at once be obvious for which part of this theory Mr. Hudson claims originality. “Hitherto,” he goes on to say, “no successful attempt has been made to define clearly the nature of the two elements which constitute the dual mind”;—and he proceeds “slightly to modify and extend” the definitions of objective and subjective in order to effect this purpose. The words “objective” and “subjective” have had many burdens to bear, but perhaps have never yet undergone the confusion worse confounded of being set to represent two different forms or phases of what would commonly be called subjective consciousness. Yet this nomenclature, so far as we can discover, is Mr. Hudson’s main original contribution to the psychology which he is anxious to transform into an exact science.

A still more curious assumption of novelty for a theory familiar to most readers will be found on p. 398. “I have interpreted the passages” (in the New Testament), says Mr. Hudson, “relating to the conditions precedent

to the attainment of immortal life in a way in which they have never before been interpreted." Mr. Hudson's interpretation is that when Jesus Christ said "He that believeth on me hath everlasting life," he meant that "belief was the essential prerequisite to the attainment of immortality" and that those who did not believe simply perished altogether. This doctrine of "conditional immortality," as it is usually called, is a perfectly well known form of theological escape from the doctrine of eternal perdition. It has been supported by tolerably conspicuous personages, from Origen down to Sir George Gabriel Stokes. Whatever the theological value of the hypothesis may be, it is hardly convincing as a mere proposition in experimental psychology deduced (as Mr. Hudson deduces it) from the phenomena of hypnotism. The theory of "suggestion" must be pushed far indeed if it is to prove that a mere change in a man's intellectual attitude, on however important a matter, can effect a fundamental revolution in the relation of his soul to his own body, and to the unseen world. Mr. Hudson, however, has no fear "that even prejudice will find fault with my interpretation; . . . [which] is confirmed by the facts of modern science, and must, therefore, shed a new lustre upon the name and attributes of Jesus." The critic, perhaps, may be excused from discussing a claim so lofty as this.

But indeed here, as often elsewhere, it looks as though Mr. Hudson had fallen into confusion from a somewhat hasty attempt to simplify theories which he has imperfectly grasped. His "subjective mind" is alternately made equivalent to the whole of the self assumed as lying beneath the ordinary threshold of consciousness, and then again only to the so-called "hypnotic stratum" of that assumed self,—that dream-like part of our being which can be influenced by suggestions, however foolish, from our ordinary conscious life. Thus he says (p. 324) of his "subjective mind": "Those powers of which we catch occasional glimpses, and which so excite our admiration, are powers which pertain to its existence in a future world. They are powers which proclaim it as a part of God, as partaking of the nature and attributes of the Divine Mind." And yet this "part of God," which "sees God as He is," (p. 325) may be practically extinguished for ever by the mere suggestion of the mortal or "objective mind," if the "objective mind" does not happen to believe in its companion's existence. "A life-long scepticism regarding the existence of the soul, and a consequent disbelief in immortality, constitute a suggestion that must operate to deprive the soul of a conscious existence, if the law of suggestion is universal in its operations" (p. 386). This seems (we repeat) a somewhat serious result to follow upon a speculative uncertainty which a good many excellent men have shared; nor are we convinced of its truth by being told (p. 327) that "it is not for man to question the wisdom of God in so ordaining the relations of the soul to the body as to subordinate the eternal to the perishable."

We have dwelt thus far upon Mr. Hudson's theories, because he himself has insisted much on their novelty and importance. But it is not by its *theories* that we are ourselves disposed to judge any new work on our special branch of experimental psychology, but rather by the new observations which it adduces, and most of all by the new experiments which it recounts. Let us see how Mr. Hudson's work stands in these particulars. We cite the best new observation and the best (or only) new experiment which we can find,

On p. 246 an alleged case of clairaudient warning is given, which, if correctly reported, is in the highest degree remarkable. But all that is vouchsafed to us is a third-hand report, without names, date, or any kind of authentication. We had hoped that one result of our work in these *Proceedings* might have been that anyone who professed to accord importance to that work would have become ashamed of this kind of looseness,—would at least have endeavoured to bring his narratives up to a fair evidential level. What confidence can we accord to a story told to us by Mr. Hudson, as told to him by an unknown person, to whom it was told by a “well-known colored preacher” at a date unknown? The case is worse here inasmuch as the story happens to be one which, if true, it would be very easy to verify.

One series of experiments of Mr. Hudson’s own is described in this work (pp. 192-5). “The best possible condition,” he says, “for the conveyance of therapeutic suggestions from the healer to the patient is attained when both are in a state of natural sleep; and such suggestions can be so communicated by an effort of will on the part of the healer just before going to sleep.” Mr. Hudson claims to have himself tried this method with success. “Over one hundred experiments have been made by the writer and one or two others to whom he has confided his theory, without a single failure. Some very striking cures have been effected,—cures that would take rank with the most marvellous instances of healing recorded in the annals of modern psycho-therapeutics.” It is obvious that if this statement represents a real fact, it is extremely important. Not one tittle of evidence, however, is adduced in support of it; and the one case which is described is a model of confused vagueness.

The patient “was subject to the most excruciating spasms during his nervous attacks of rheumatic trouble, and was frequently brought to the verge of the grave. . . . An idea of the suffering which he endured may be imagined from the fact that one of his hips had been drawn out of joint, by which the leg had been shortened about two inches.” We find it uncommonly difficult to “imagine an idea” (to use our author’s phrase) of what was really the matter with this patient; and the description of his cure;—“after the lapse of a few months” he became “comparatively well”;—is of an equally mysterious character.

Now we are quite ready to agree that Mr. Hudson’s plan of endeavouring to affect a patient at a distance while both operator and patient are asleep may be worth a trial. But who can pay any regard to alleged cures narrated in this slipshod unscientific style? If our author can really effect cures in the manner claimed, he certainly can do nothing more useful to mankind than to repeat them as often as possible, and to get someone to watch and record them with at least the care which an ordinary student bestows on a thesis sent in for his medical degree. We can assure Mr. Hudson that we shall be the very first to welcome any real and effective collaboration of this kind.

We had marked for comment many passages containing, as it seemed to us, inconsistencies, exaggerations, or definite and demonstrable mistakes. But it is distasteful further to insist on these in a book which does, after all, range itself on the side of what we regard as important and seldom-realised truth. This is, we assume, a first work. We hope that our present

words may have the effect, not of alienating the author from this difficult study, but of stimulating him to something more of that steady experiment and laborious accuracy which alone can help towards his avowed object of “bringing Psychology within the domain of the exact sciences.”

SOCIETY FOR PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETINGS.

The 60th General Meeting of the Society was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, July 14th, 1893, at 4 p.m., PROFESSOR SIDGWICK in the chair.

MR. W. LEAF read part of his translation from the Russian of Mr. V. S. Solovioff's account of Madame Blavatsky, which will be published in a separate Supplement to this Part of the *Proceedings*.

PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT read a paper on "The Alleged Evidence in Favour of the Divining Rod."

The 61st General Meeting was held in the same place on Friday, October 27th, at 4 p.m., MR. PEARSALL SMITH in the chair.

MR. F. W. H. MYERS gave an account of his visit to the Congress of Psychical Science at Chicago.

MR. W. LEAF read a further part of his translation of Mr. Solovioff's account of Madame Blavatsky.

MR. MYERS read part of his paper on "The Experiences of W. Stainton Moses," printed below.

The 62nd General Meeting was held in the same place on Friday, December 1st, at 8.30 p.m., PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT in the chair.

PROFESSOR LODGE read a paper on "The difficulty of making crucial Experiments as to the Source of the extra or unusual Intelligence manifested in Trance-speech, Automatic-writing, and other states of apparent mental inactivity."

MR. MYERS read a further part of his paper on "The Experiences of W. Stainton Moses," including Mr. Charlton T. Speer's account of his reminiscences of Mr. Moses; and Mr. Speer, who was present, gave further explanations in answer to questions.

I.

PARTIAL ANÆSTHESIA.

BY PROF. WILLIAM RAMSAY, PH.D., F.R.S.

Some fourteen years ago I belonged to a committee of the British Medical Association formed for the purpose of investigating the action of anæsthetics, especially chloroform and ether. But some other substances capable of producing anæsthesia were also experimented with; among others, ethylidene dichloride, ethylene dichloride, chloropropane, amylenes, etc. Professor John McKendrick and Dr. Coats bore the brunt of the inquiry; my function was chiefly to purify the substances employed, and in some cases to ascertain their composition.

One of the questions which occurred to us to investigate was the influence of anæsthetics on the rate at which the muscles respond to a nervous stimulus. For example, a bright light was flashed before the eyes of the partially anæsthetised person, who had to signal his perception of the stimulus by touching a button, which registered on a chronograph the interval of time which elapsed between the flash of light and the response of the muscles. I was frequently the subject of such experiments, and was often under various anæsthetics, more or less completely. It has occurred to me that it might be of interest to the Society for Psychical Research were I to put on record some account of the mental delusions which invariably, with me, accompany partial insensibility; and as I have frequently, though often at intervals of a year or more between each trial, taken anæsthetics without any tragic object in view, I am able to draw conclusions, not from one or two impressions, but from many, extending over a series of years.

The anæsthetic was always administered on a handkerchief or piece of rag, dipped in the liquid, whatever it might be. With nitrous oxide, I usually breathed through an india-rubber tube straight from the iron bottle in which the substance is sold, turning the gas on and off at each breath. When I failed to regulate the stop-cock, my assistant closed and removed the bottle.

I may say at the outset, that on me all anæsthetics produce the same mental state. Some are more agreeable to inhale than others. To breathe chloroform gives a feeling of slight nausea; ether vapour is apt to excite coughing; but they all produce the same curious

delusion. My early recollections are of a kind of dream, of which the main incidents were:—A taste of peppermint; an idea of two tones sounded together, of which the upper one was a harmonic of the lower; my eye then usually caught some object whose distinctive feature was parallel lines; for example, the bars of the grate, or the cross-pieces of the window-sash, and here again the idea of a harmonic arrangement suggested itself, as if the bars of the grate were arranged so as to form gaps corresponding to the fundamental note, the fifth, and the octave. I have recollections of a certain artist's lay-figure in which the skin is removed to show the lie of the muscles, in motion round me, so that he, too, partook of the rhythmic nature of things, continually quickening his pace, and appearing on my left hand, to dart quickly past and disappear on my right. These I may term preliminary impressions; I have long ceased to have them, and they are more of the nature of an ordinary dream, in which things pass through one's mind without exciting great attention, remarkable though they may seem. I remember noticing with some curiosity the mode of action of the gentleman without his skin; how the muscles of the thigh and calf contracted and expanded as he ran; but this was a matter of no great moment.

During this dream I was really conscious, and was able to reply to questions, and to criticise the various remarks made by the persons round. Up to this point, moreover, I retained my power of signalling in response to a flash or a sound, with little, if any, greater retardation than that of my normal state. But the second stage gradually approached; and I failed to attend to external objects, except for certain reasons, shortly to follow. An overwhelming impression forced itself upon me that the state in which I then was, was reality; that now I had reached the true solution of the secret of the universe, in understanding the secret of my own mind; that all outside objects were merely passing reflections on the eternal mirror of my mind; some more, some less transient. In later experiments with anæsthetics I have tried with success to recall events of the day; how I was occupied in my laboratory; how I walked down Oxford-street in the morning; what I saw, and whom I met; and with success; but they impressed me as a fleeting vision; something quite trivial and transitory. The main and impressive fact for me was that *I* was self-existent, and that time and space were illusions. This was the real *Ego*, on whose surface ripples of incident arose, to fade and vanish like the waves on a pond.

But to test the truth of this conception, I have generally noted the objects near me. Someone, perhaps, made a remark; for example, "He has had nearly enough now." This remark wearied me, because I had heard it so often before; I conceived a low opinion of the

being who could pass his life in saying such a trivial and unimportant thing, and I disdained to answer. Or, perhaps, my eye caught sight of a Bunsen burner—a common object in every laboratory; and here again I knew that it had been there through endless ages. Some noise—the emptying of a cart of coals on the street, perhaps—struck my attention. I not merely knew that it had happened before, but I could have predicted that it would happen at that particular moment.

To make my story more definite, since writing the above, I have taken ether, and during the commencement of anæsthesia, I took notes; it is as if one were writing in a dream; I wrote until the muscles of my hand refused to obey my will; and I have little doubt that the concentration of attention on the mechanical process of writing interfered to some extent with the normal course of the mental impressions. The notes, such as they are, are as follows:—

(I began with nitrous oxide.)

Singing in ears; slight difficulty in focussing, and dimness of vision (that is, I imagine, the partial paralysis of the muscles, the function of which is to focus the eyes); tingling in legs (continued with ether; the numbers refer to doses).

1. Much slower than nitrous oxide: became unusually sensitive to “outside things”; heard water dropping from cistern outside room.

2. Deep inhalations; stage of singing in ears not reached yet. Just come; vision affected; tingling in legs; tingling in spinal cord at neck. Beginning of consciousness of previous existence.

3. Slack off, keeping about the same stage.

4. Ether disagreeable to inhale. *Swallow*, important. (This refers to the fact, either true or imagined, that at this stage I always swallowed my saliva. It appeared to me to mark a definite stage in the whole range of sensations.) I allowed myself to recover slightly and wrote: “This refers to feeling that same stage always recurs, and to feeling of eternal existence.”

5. Felt perspiring. *Am* perspiring. Absurdly self-conscious, all through.

6. A lot—things going too slowly; deep inhalations. *Swallow*, &c., all as before.

(On waking, I looked at my watch, and found that I had been unconscious about a quarter of an hour.)

As soon as I regained consciousness, I wrote:—“With the consciousness of writing, sitting at this table; with a handkerchief at my mouth, a door on my right, a window on my left, a cigarette on the table (I am wearing striped trousers, and there is a cane-bottomed chair on my left), a ticket before me, and a book open at page 8. All these and other things convince me (as I have been convinced before by seeing a piece of crumpled paper) that this is

a stage in the cycle of the universe. The notion is that I alone am privileged to see all this ; other people may exist, but I have not thought of them ; it is a phase in my development. Each time I am under the influence of an anæsthetic I am able to penetrate a little further into the unfathomable mystery. The recognition of past stages does much to render the path familiar." I do not think that I am a follower of Bishop Berkeley in my ordinary every-day existence ; my tendency of mind is, by training, and by the nature of my daily avocations, to suspend judgment—a condition of scientific scepticism. But under the influence of an anæsthetic all doubts vanish ; I *know* the truth of Berkeley's theory of existence, and I also believe, because I know with absolute certainty, that self-existence is all that any reasonable man can be convinced of ; that all fellow-creatures are products of my consciousness, and that, although they may be real to themselves, and have each a world of his own, to me they are merely parts of my thoughts, and, moreover, not very important elements in my chain of life. Faith, I take it, is belief without reason, because of a supposed certain knowledge ; and that is my attitude of mind with regard to Berkeley's theory of existence. But the feelings evoked are disappointing. It is not satisfying to realise that the goal of the whole universe is of this nature. The circumstances are so trivial as to make it painful to believe that *this* is the scheme of nature ; that " that far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves " should have in its progress no higher deeds, and for its outcome no nobler aim than I am then conscious of. My feelings are sometimes those of despair in finding the secret of existence so little worthy of regard. It is as if the veil that hides whence we come, what we are, and what will become of us were suddenly rent, and as if a glimpse of the Absolute burst upon us. The conviction of its truth is overwhelming ; but it is painful in the extreme. I have exclaimed—" Good heavens ! is this all ! " Such impressions, which it is exceedingly difficult to express in words, pass off gradually. After five minutes they begin to fade in intensity ; the conviction of their absolute truth is less deep-seated ; that there exists an ordinary work-a-day world, in which I and innumerable others play our parts, is again realised ; and in ten minutes or a quarter of an hour the state of mind is again perfectly normal. There is no after-impression ; no nausea, except occasionally after chloroform ; and my nerves are as steady as usual, for I have performed the operation of weighing immediately on recovery—an operation requiring a steady hand, and some judgment.

It may be worth while to supplement the above account by full notes taken by Miss F. W. of my sayings under ether. I take this opportunity of thanking her for her kind co-operation.

Position.—Usually standing, leaning slightly forward.

Expression.—Concentrated, but no rigidity after first experiment.

Two states apparently supervened: One of attention to minute details—furniture, surrounding objects, &c.; the other of complete subordination to idea of “Theory of Universe.” The transition from one to the other was well defined and instantaneous.

Pauses—and partial or total return to consciousness—always occurred after preparing a new dose, before taking it. Then “breaks” came unexpectedly—like a sudden idea occurring to the experimenter; quite distinct from the phrase, “Now, I know you think,” or “will be saying that I have taken enough”—which seemed a mere *façon de parler* and was never succeeded by an interruption of the experiment.

EXPERIMENT I.

Dose I. 1.20 p.m.—Begins to inhale. “Pleasant taste, as usual, of ether.” “Slight fulness about head; just beginning to tell.” “Least possible affection of eyes—not dimness of vision.”

Dose II. 1.21 p.m.—“Inclination to take full breaths (coughing); mental state still perfectly normal.” (coughing) “Tingling in ears begins, also sense of ‘recurrence of events’—*i.e.*, everything has occurred before.”

Dose III. 1.23 p.m.—“Trace of beginning sense of ‘having been here before.’” (swallows) “This is not the important moment.” Feeling of recurrence, *e.g.*, table, mantel-piece, &c., “having been *always* there.”

(Here talking interfered; goes back a stage.)

Dose IV. 1.25 p.m.—Outside noises peculiarly intense throughout—back at recurrent stage—(cough)—confused sense coming on—(swallow)—conscious of F. A. W. sitting at table as unfamiliar object in sequence—(deep breaths). [Here I observed a slight change of face—fulness about eyes, swallow, then fixed look, motionless *and silent for two minutes*—then eyes winked, and you roused yourself to speak.] “This, one little piece of enormous coherence of Universe—utterly ridiculous in its smallness.” (more complete awakening) “Every bit of these events recurred—except fact of woman instead of man as observer—cycle of events recurring bothers me greatly, because I expect each stage to go further—*i.e.*, stage in evolution of Universe.”

EXPERIMENT II.

Dose I. 1.30 p.m.—Begins again, so as to recover former stage; deep breaths as before.

Dose II.—Can still speak—tells me what to note down. Taste dulled, 1.31, and general dullness of sensation, but no choking; feels cold touch of ether, but no strong taste. N.B.—Throat, difficulty in articulation.

Dose III.—No difficulty in breathing—*e.g.*, no asphyxia—this *not* noticed in former experiments. 1.33 (looking at me). Very close upon unconscious stage and on stage of repetition. (speaks) “This is the scheme of the Universe and my being here—but I never before reached the point of having taken ether before.” (Sat down on sofa, having previously been standing—1.35 p.m.)

Dose IV.—(on sofa) Points to and names wall, papers, F. A. W.’s watch—notes feeling of swallowing—points to bottle—book—No. 27, *Jour. Chem. Soc.*—1.36. (silence, staggered.)

Dose V.—(Prepares dose, stops short, saying): “I see you think I have had enough—I will stop short to explain. In the ordinary work-a-day world this is an untenable theory—I mean the sense of ‘myself alone’—of what affects me—there is a series of precisely similar events. I believe, as far as I can comprehend, that this is the Universe. At a certain point the order of reason alters—this time has brought me a stage farther. That is wrong. (1.38.) Here I have recognised the ultimate scheme of the Universe, as far as I am concerned up to a certain stage. It will probably be worked out when I die. Yet that is not the end—I shall go on after that, but—to what?”

“I will take ether again.”

EXPERIMENT III.

Dose I. 1.44. *p.m.*—(deep breaths—coughing) Reflex action abolished at certain stage—patient does not choke. That stage is past, (1.45) and recurring stage begins.

Dose II.—“Feeling of repetition of details. (coughs) I put my hand in my pocket—characteristic action?” Feeling of swallowing—notes look of board, pen, watch, F.A.W. writing.

Dose III. 1.46 *p.m.*—Notes fact of taking another dose of ether; points to letters—glass plate—bottle with label. (replaces hand in pocket) “Oh, by Jove! Yes, I know—after all it comes to this.” (takes dose)

Dose IV. 1.47 *p.m.*—“It is one or the other Theory of the Universe, and mine must be the most probable—mine or somebody else’s. Well, I may be the central person in the universe—I don’t mind. I can’t help it. (1.48—deep breaths—winking of eyes—*silent* 1½ *minutes*. 1.49—swallowed—moved.)

Dose V.—“Have I been unconscious for a considerable time? By Jove! if one only knew the whole thing. This may be the truth—it is my own view, and *deserves* to be known.”

Dose VI. 1.50 *p.m.*—“The Universe is in our brain. Is this a big thing? Do you hear the man sawing—more or less quickly? Now I breathe hard. Now I note appearance of a particular man there (pointing to fireplace), whom I never asked you to note before, nor will now, but he appears as part of the Universe.”

1.52 *p.m.*—(Prepares next dose but stops short—sits) “It looks to me as if the Universe were the creation of a demon. This is a stage in the development bound to recur, but each time I can stop it—and anticipate it. Now, I want to go on a stage further if you will let me. This is quite consistent so far. (1.53.) I am now in my ordinary common-sense state of mind.”

Dose VII. 1.54 *p.m.*—“Now I am beginning to get into new dose. There are two Theories of the Universe. One individual undergoes a series of mental transformations. People choose to imagine that there are worlds—that is to say, build mental cosmogonies.”

Dose VIII. 1.55 *p.m.*—“Of course it is an open question whether other people have existence as well as one’s self. Am I right to take another dose? [I replied that I thought you might.] No good without? dying. I simply put it in this way, am not losing time—that is to say, truth.” 1.56. (silent) “This ether may give out. Some control is still left. (prepares dose) Am able still to exercise control and stop. (1.57.) By some chance I

am picked out for the central purpose of the Universe." (*Lights cigarette.* Interruption at door—Williams; answered quietly and coherently, sending him away.) "In this state of mind, quarrels and reconciliations, woes and fears, are no longer the chief thing of the Universe—but one asks—where does it come from—what is it all for—*i.e.*, which is the normal, which the abnormal state of affairs? When I come back to my sane consciousness I hold the ether state to be abnormal, and *vice versa*. We are mere excrescences and little bits of the Universe. The main fact is this recurrence. (2.3 p.m.) Of course this is utterly absurd in ordinary life. Now I am sane again, but under ether there is only me. It is all myself—my wife and friends are nowhere. (2.10.) Fact of recurrence induces me to think of it as perpetual."

At the end of another experiment, in which the remarks bore a close similarity to those already given, I am reported to have said: "Have been drunk with ether; am now recovering. Of course, the theory of other people's existence is the most convenient. But when one is self-centred, evidence goes the other way—*i.e.*, Universe evolves out of one's own mind. *The whole thing* turns on this point—all social relations—all develop out of the recurring stage." (I suggested, yes as "nucleus.") "Yes, but all comes out of this—far more than you can imagine." (2.45, *stopped*.)

Such is a brief chronicle of my mental state under anaesthetics. Others whom I have seen in a similar condition are usually unable to give any account whatever of their sensations. One gentleman, however, now in Australia, used to be hypnotised by ether, and was very susceptible to suggestions; but he was highly excited, and sometimes became unpleasantly demonstrative, even dangerous.

At the end of a very interesting work by Sir Humphrey Davy (then Mr. Davy, working in Dr. Beddoes' Pneumatic Institution at Bristol), entitled, *Researches, Chemical and Philosophical, chiefly concerning nitrous oxide or dephlogisticated nitrous air and its respiration* published in 1800, twenty-nine persons, among whom are Dr. Joseph Priestley, Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, Mr. Boulton, and Mr. Watt, chronicle their feelings under the influence of nitrous oxide. They almost all speak of a high flow of animal spirits, and great pleasurable excitement; but no one has placed on record any state of mind like that which I have attempted to describe. The only account tallying in the least with my impressions is by Davy himself, and with him such impressions were exceptional. He says: "As I recovered my former state of mind, I felt an inclination to communicate the discoveries I had made during the experiment. I endeavoured to recall the ideas: they were feeble and indistinct; one collection of terms, however, presented itself; and with the most intense belief and prophetic manner, I exclaimed to Dr. Kinglake, 'Nothing exists but thoughts!—the universe is composed of impressions, ideas, pleasures, and pains!'" It is curious that this, with Davy, was an isolated occurrence; it appears not to have recurred. With me it was a permanent impression.

It is somewhat startling to be confronted with an unexpected condition of one's own mind. The saying, *in vino veritas*, is, I suppose, intended to imply that an intoxicated person will blurt out the truth ; but the intoxication of anaesthetics forces me, while in that condition, to believe that what I think is true. The theory attributed to Bishop Berkeley is a perfectly consistent one, and can be disputed only on grounds of what we term "common-sense." I do not, in my ordinary state of mind, attribute any importance to this theory, beyond regarding it as a somewhat improbable, but incontrovertible speculation ; but I confess that, since my experiences with anaesthetics, I am disposed to regard it as worthy of a little more consideration than it usually receives. The difficulty in accepting it is our practically absolute certainty of the existence of our fellow-creatures ; and the deduction that if A and B receive the same impression at the same time, that impression must be caused by some *thing*, external to both. But in my anaesthetic state, this objection presents no difficulty to me ; I conceive each ego to have his orbit, and to stand absolutely alone, conscious of, but uninterfered with by, the other egos. To choose a crude illustration :—two mirrors reflect, but do not influence each other in any mechanical or material sense. The recollection, which remains after return to the ordinary state of mind, of *having had* such Berkeleian views, is, perhaps naturally, not without some influence on the normal mind ; and, as I have said, it appears to me not wholly absurd to reconsider the usual postulates of "common-sense." In short, I am confronted, under ether, with what I may term "recurring events." It is necessary to form some theory which will reconcile myself with this new environment ; and the idea that the Universe centres itself in me appears to me, while in the anaesthetised state, to be a satisfactory one.

I must leave to others speculations regarding the nature of the change which has occurred in my brain by such stimulation or perhaps partial paralysis. Whether it is that a certain region of my brain is rendered inactive, and that a speculative tendency, to which I acknowledge, escapes the control of certain higher centres active in my ordinary state of existence ; or whether the one lobe of the brain which I habitually use has become paralysed, and one which usually lies dormant is stimulated—these, and such questions, I cannot attempt to solve. The fact remains that, while anaesthetised, my belief in that theory of existence which we may call for short the Berkeleian hypothesis, is immeasurably more firm and decided than in my normal state is my belief in the ordinarily accepted views of matter and motion which regulate the lives of most human beings.

In conclusion, I owe an apology for the egotistic tone of this paper. My only excuse is that, under the circumstances, it was

unavoidable. It might also have been desirable to have hunted through the literature of anaesthetics, and to have compared my impressions with impressions possibly recorded by others. I have purposely avoided doing so, and for this reason, that I feared that I might have been unconsciously led, before placing on record my experiences, to give a biassed account. Such impressions are so apt to elude one's waking grasp, and to slip away like a dream, that any inducement to add to or to take from them has been carefully avoided.

I believe that an examination of such a mental state is not without value. Everything which bears on the pathology of the mind throws light on its physiology; and I trust that others who may have happened, from choice or necessity, to take anaesthetics, will be induced by my essay to give some details of their impressions.

II.

THE EXPERIENCES OF W. STAINTON-MOSES.—I.

BY FREDERIC W. H. MYERS.

Mr. William Stainton Moses, who departed this life on September 5th, 1892, entrusted by will his unpublished manuscripts to two friends as literary executors—viz., Mr. Charles Carleton Massey, barrister-at-law, and Mr. Alaric A. Watts, late one of the Assistant Secretaries to the Board of Inland Revenue. These gentlemen, at my earnest request, have permitted me to undertake the task of selecting passages from the MSS. of our common friend, which passages they allow to be printed in the first instance in the *Proceedings of the S.P.R.* In an obituary notice of Mr. Moses, already published in *Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., p. 597 (and to which I would beg to refer my readers), I have indicated the reasons which have for nearly twenty years led me to attach high importance to these records of his phenomena, and to desire earnestly that they should be placed before the public in sufficient detail to enable them to be rightly appreciated. Mr. Moses himself was for a long time averse to any full publication of the documents, which do, indeed, contain much matter of a private and personal nature. But in his later years his view changed; he had himself begun (in 1892) to publish them in *Light*, and his statements to intimate friends leave no doubt that this posthumous publication (with certain reserves to be mentioned hereafter) of the essential part of his records is in accordance with what would have been his own desire, as it is the desire of his trusted executors.

The materials here available for the exposition of Mr. Moses' unique experiences are of four kinds—viz.: (1) his own printed works; (2) his MS. remains; (3) the written and printed statements of witnesses to his phenomena, and (4) oral intercourse with himself and other friends.

I. Among his printed works the most important for our present purpose are—

1. *Researches in Spiritualism*. This unfinished work was published in *Human Nature*—a periodical now extinct—in 1874-5, and not reprinted. It is now difficult of access.
2. *Spirit Identity*, published in 1879. This work also has been for some years out of print.

3. *Spirit Teachings*, published in 1883, is also at present out of print; but a new edition, with a biography by Mr. Charlton Speer, is now in preparation.

Two other volumes, *Psychography* and *Higher Aspects of Spiritualism*, contain little which bears on our present theme.

Besides these books, Mr. Moses wrote much in the weekly periodical *Light*, of which he was for some years the editor.

II. Mr. Moses' MSS. entrusted to me, and of which I have made use, consist of thirty-one note-books, ranging from September, 1872, to March, 1883, and various letters.

The note-books may be divided as follows:—

Twenty-four books of automatic script, numbered 1-24, and extending from March, 1873, to March, 1883.

Four books of records of physical phenomena, September, 1872—January, 1875. These books run concurrently with the books of automatic script. The first book of this series (April-September, 1872) is missing. Those which remain I have numbered 2 B, 3 B, 4 B, and 5 B.

Three books of retrospect and summary, which I number 25, 26, 27. Books 25 and 26 recapitulate physical phenomena, with reflections. Book 27 is entitled *The Identity of Spirit*, and contains, in briefer form, much of the evidence first printed in *Spirit Identity*; which work, indeed, this later tractate may have been intended to supersede. Some of the *letters* also are of value, but mainly as adding contemporary confirmation to facts already to be found in the note-books.

III. Among the records made by friends the most important are Mrs. Stanhope Speer's "Records of Private Séances, from notes taken at the time of each sitting." Over sixty instalments of these records have now (October, 1893) been published in *Light*. They begin in 1872, and go down to 1881—considerably beyond the date (1875) at which Mr. Moses' extant records of physical phenomena obtained in his séances cease. As will be seen later on, these independent and contemporary records are evidentially of capital importance. Dr. and Mrs. Stanhope Speer were Mr. Moses' most intimate friends; and they, often with another intimate friend, Mr. F. W. Percival (Barrister-at-Law and Examiner in the Education Department), were the habitual members, and generally the only members, of the small group who witnessed the phenomena about to be described.

Mr. Percival, the late Dr. Speer, Mr. W. H. Harrison, and Dr. Thomson, and the late Mr. Serjeant Cox have at different times printed short first-hand records of certain of Mr. Moses' phenomena, and Mrs. Garratt and Miss Birkett took some contemporary notes of sittings at which they were present.

Two note-books and other MSS. by Dr. Speer have been placed in

my hands, and contain independent contemporary records of much evidential value.

IV. In estimating the evidential value of *oral intercourse* as to Mr. Moses' phenomena, the character of my own friendship for him is an item on which I am bound to be explicit. Friendship it might truly be called, for it was based upon a consciousness of common pursuits of great moment, and I felt for him much both of gratitude and of esteem. He responded to my unfeigned interest with a straightforward intimacy of conversation on the experiences of which I cared so much to learn. But there was no such close personal attraction as is likely to prompt me to partiality as a biographer; and, indeed, both Edmund Gurney and I were conscious in him of something like the impatience of a schoolmaster towards slow students;—natural enough in a man whose inborn gifts have carried him irresistibly to a conviction on the edge of which less favoured persons must needs pause and ponder long. I am bound to add that the study of his notebooks, by making him more intimately known to me as he was in his best days, has brought me nearer to the warm and even enthusiastic estimate implied in the letters of various more intimate friends of his which lie before me.

More important, however, than the precise degree of attractiveness, or of spiritual refinement, in Mr. Moses' personal demeanour are the fundamental questions of sanity and probity. On these points neither I myself, nor, so far as I know, any person acquainted with Mr. Moses, has ever entertained any doubt. "However perplexed for an explanation," says Mr. Massey, "the crassest prejudice has recoiled from ever suggesting a doubt of the truth and honesty of Stainton Moses." "I believe that he was wholly incapable of deceit," writes Mr. H. J. Hood, barrister-at-law, who knew him for many years. The people who assumed that he must somehow have performed the phenomena of his dark séances himself;—who asked, triumphantly, "Where was Moses when the candle went out?"—even these never, so far as I know, suggested anything beyond unconscious fraud in a trance-condition.

A brief record of Mr. Moses' life, with some estimates of the work done by him in ordinary professional capacities, will help the reader to form something of a personal judgment on his character.

On the events of his life the Speer family, who were his most intimate friends, and are well acquainted with his nearest surviving relatives, are my main authority. Their importance as witnesses of the phenomena is so great that I must be pardoned for inserting a "testimonial" to the late Dr. Speer (M.D. Edinburgh); which shall not, however, be in my own words, but in those of Dr. Marshall Hall, F.R.S., one of the best known physicians of the middle of this

century. Writing on March 18th, 1849, Dr. Marshall Hall says (in a printed collection of similar testimonials now before me): "I have great satisfaction in bearing my testimony to the talents and acquirements of Dr. Stanhope Templeman Speer. Dr. Speer has had unusual advantages in having been at the Medical Schools, not only of London and Edinburgh, but of Paris and Montpellier, and he has availed himself of these advantages with extraordinary diligence and talent. He ranks among our most distinguished rising physicians."

Dr. Speer held at different times various hospital posts of credit, and was much valued as a practising physician at Cheltenham and in London. The work of a physician, however, was rendered somewhat trying to him by an over-anxious temperament; and as he possessed private means, and had strong scientific and artistic tastes, he quitted his profession at thirty-four, and preferred to spend the latter part of his life in studious retirement. Dr. Speer's cast of mind was strongly materialistic, and it is remarkable that his interest in Mr. Moses' phenomena was from first to last of a purely scientific, as contrasted with an emotional or a religious, nature.

I regret that I never met Dr. Speer, who died in 1889. His widow, Mrs. Stanhope Speer, is well known to me; and I regard her as an excellent witness. Her son, Mr. Charlton T. Speer (also an excellent witness) is an Associate of the Royal Academy of Music, and is well known in musical circles as a successful composer and performer.

With these words of preface I pass on to the facts—simple and ordinary enough in their external aspect—of Mr. Moses' life.

William Stainton Moses was born in Lincolnshire, November 5th, 1839. His father had been headmaster of a grammar-school at Donington, near Lincoln. His mother's family name was Stainton. Mr. Stainton Moses believed that the name Moses had been originally Mostyn, but that an ancestor had changed it in order to avoid some peril in the time of the Commonwealth. There seems no reason to suppose that the family, which had been for some time settled in Lincolnshire, was of Jewish descent. Mrs. Moses—still living and vigorous (1893) at the age of ninety-one—was a serious and intelligent woman, and brought up her only son with pious care. He showed ability; and the family moved to Bedford, about 1852, that he might have the advantage of education at Bedford College. There he did well, and in due time gained a scholarship at Exeter College, Oxford. In his school days he occasionally walked in his sleep, and on one occasion his mother saw him go down into the sitting-room and write an essay on a subject which had puzzled him on the previous evening, and return to bed without awaking. The essay thus written was the best of those sent up by the class that day (Mr. Moses tells us), and was fully up to the level of his waking performances.

This is the only incident of which I have heard which in any way foreshadowed his future gift. He is not recorded as having been a specially nervous or excitable child; and he was at this time strong and healthy. In after life his health was bad; but his troubles were mainly respiratory—constantly recurring catarrh and bronchitis—until near the end of his life, when he was attacked by Bright's disease, which ultimately caused his death. His phenomena, it may be observed, were at their best when he was in his best health, and declined or disappeared altogether when he was ill.

To return to his Oxford career. At Oxford he was an ambitious and hard-working, but not in other ways a very noticeable, undergraduate. His health broke down from overwork, and he left Oxford without taking a degree, and spent some considerable time in travel, mainly with friends, but in part alone. He was already much interested in theology, and he lived for some six months (none of these dates are very precise) in a monastery on Mount Athos. Beyond the mere fact of his residence on Mount Athos, to which his surviving friends testify, all that is known of this period of seclusion consists of allusions made by his "spirit guides," who say that they directed him thither that he might study the Eastern Church, and be prepared by a comparison of theologies for the reception of a wider truth. Be this as it may, he recovered his health, returned to Oxford, took his degree, was ordained by Bishop Wilberforce, and accepted a curacy at Kirk Maughold, near Ramsey, in the Isle of Man, at the age of twenty-four. He was an active parish clergyman, liked by his parishioners, and holding Anglican views of an ordinary type. On the occasion of an outbreak of small-pox he distinguished himself by his zeal and kindness; and it is recorded that in one case he helped to nurse and to bury a man whose malady was so violent that it was hard to get anyone to approach him. During this period also he began to write for periodicals, *Punch* and the *Saturday Review* being specially mentioned. The memorial verses to the Rev. F. D. Maurice which appeared in *Punch* have since been quoted as of Mr. Moses' writing; and I should conceive that his other contributions were probably in this serious strain. He continued to write much, anonymously, for various periodicals during many years of his life, and showed an easy style and a good deal of miscellaneous knowledge.

After some four years of residence near Ramsey, he accepted the curacy of St. George's, Douglas, Isle of Man. Here also he was esteemed as an active clergyman, and admired as a preacher. In April, 1869, he had a serious illness, and hearing that Dr. Speer, whom he knew slightly, was in the island on a holiday, he called in his medical aid. Dr. Speer brought him successfully through his illness, and invited him as a convalescent to the house which he was renting in the

island. The foundations of a life-long friendship with Dr. and Mrs. Speer were then laid.

In 1870 he took a curacy somewhere in Dorsetshire, where also he was liked, and was appointed "Lent preacher" for the county. A very severe attack of hooping-cough obliged him to interrupt his parish work, which, in fact, he never resumed. Dr. Speer invited him to become his son's tutor, and for seven years he filled that office in a way which attached to him both parents and pupil more closely than ever. In 1871 he was offered a mastership in University College School; and this post he held until failing health compelled him to resign it some three years before his death. The physical phenomena about to be described began in 1872, and continued with gradually lessening frequency until 1881. The automatic script began in 1873, and finally died out, so far as we know, in 1883. During these later years Mr. Moses was active in contributing to, and afterwards in editing, the weekly newspaper *Light*; and he took a leading part in several spiritistic organisations. Of one of these—the London Spiritualist Alliance—he was president at the time of his death. In 1882 he aided in the foundation of the Society for Psychical Research; but he left that body in 1886, on account of its attitude towards Spiritualism, which he regarded as unduly critical. It is worth remarking that although, as the fact of his withdrawal shows, many members of the Society held an intellectual position widely differing from that of Mr. Moses, and although his own published records were of a kind not easily credible, no suspicion as to his personal probity and veracity was ever, so far as I know, either expressed or entertained.

Mr. Moses' health became steadily weaker. He suffered greatly from suppressed gout, in addition to other ailments. A serious fall from the top of an omnibus made matters worse. In 1890 he was attacked by influenza in the severest form, and was reckoned, I believe, to have had twelve separate relapses or recurrences of that complaint. An accident to his eyes also gave him much trouble. He worked on, as best he could, to the last; but the period of decline was tedious and distressing; and it would be very unfair to judge him from the utterances of these last years. When in September, 1892, he passed from earth, we may surely trust that his achievements here had won their way to promotion, and his sufferings to repose.

Mr. Moses never married, and went very little into general society. His personal appearance offered no indication of his peculiar gift. He was of middle stature, strongly made, with somewhat heavy features, and thick dark hair and beard. The accompanying photograph (reproduced from *Light* by the kind permission of Mr. E. Dawson Rogers) shows his face as his body lay in death. His expression of countenance was honest, manly, and resolute. Many testimonies of



MR. W. STAINTON MOSES (AFTER DEATH).

affection and esteem appeared in *Light* and elsewhere after his decease ; especially, of course, from those to whom his experiences and teachings had brought a convincing hope. I subjoin a few letters from friends who had good opportunities of estimating his value in the common duties and intercourse of life.

Dr. Johnson, of Bedford, writes to me as follows :—

“ 68, High-street, Bedford.

“ *March 24th*, 1893.

“ DEAR SIR,—As the intimate friend and medical adviser of the late Stainton Moses I have had ample opportunities of thoroughly knowing his character and his mental state.

“ He was a man even in temper, painstaking and methodical, of exceptional ability, and utterly free from any hallucination or anything to indicate other than a well-ordered brain.

“ He was a firm believer in all that he uttered or wrote about matters of a spiritual nature, and he impressed me—and, I believe, most others he came in contact with—with the genuineness of his convictions and a firm belief not only that he believed in the statements he had made and written, but that they were the outcome of a mind which had given itself up entirely to the study of a subject which he considered of essential value and importance to the welfare of his fellow men.

“ I have attended him in several very severe illnesses, but never, in sickness or at other times, has his brain shown the slightest cloudiness or suffered from any delusion. I not only consider that he believed what he stated, but I think that those who knew him best would not for an instant doubt that all he stated were facts and words of truth.—Sincerely yours,

“ WM. G. JOHNSON.”

In another letter Dr. Johnson says :—

“ He was a most lovable character ; kind and generous in his every action ; and with a fund of information on most subjects which made him a most welcome guest.”

Dr. Eve, headmaster of University College School, writes as follows to Professor Sidgwick :—

“ University College School, Gower-street, London, W.C.

“ *March 18th*, 1893.

“ MY DEAR SIDGWICK,—Stainton Moses was an excellent colleague. He confined himself entirely to English ; in that subject he took classes in all parts of the school, and his work was always well and methodically done. He taught essay-writing well, and was very skilful in appreciating the relative value of boys' essays, which is not easy. He was much looked up to by boys, and had considerable influence over them. On general points connected with the management of the school he was one of the colleagues to whom I most naturally turned for advice, and I have every reason to be grateful to him.—Yours very sincerely,

“ H. W. EVE.”

Mr. F. W. Levander, a master at University College School, writes to me thus :—

“ University College School, Gower-street, London, W.C.

“ *May 16th, 1893.*

“DEAR SIR,—My acquaintance with the late W. Stainton Moses commenced in the year 1871, when he first became one of the masters here. This acquaintance soon extended beyond the nature of that generally met with between colleagues ; it ripened into a constantly increasing friendship, which continued unbroken till his death. During the whole of this long period he always impressed me with the idea that he was thoroughly earnest and conscientious, and I believe that perfect reliance can be placed on all his statements.—Yours faithfully, “ F. W. LEYLANDER.”

I have often heard Mr. Moses discussed by persons of opinions opposed to his own ; and since I owe it to my readers to make the present paper not merely eulogistic, but as accurately descriptive as my materials allow, I feel bound to reproduce adverse criticisms. I have, then, heard him, in his later years, characterised as an obstinate, confused, and irritable controversialist. I have heard him described as lacking in the grace of humility, and in that spirituality of tastes and character which should seem appropriate to one living much in the commerce of the Unseen. But I have never heard anyone who had even the slightest acquaintance with Mr. Moses impugn his sanity or his sincerity, his veracity or his honour.

Thus briefly,—and with a dispassionate coldness against which an impulse of gratitude in my own heart rebels,—let the life of W. Stainton Moses be here recorded. But now our narrative must pass at a bound from the commonplace and the credible to bewildering and inconceivable things. With the even tenour of this straightforward and reputable life was inwoven a chain of mysteries which, as I have before said, in what way soever they be explained, make that life one of the most extraordinary which our century has seen. For his true history lies, not in the everyday events thus far recorded, but in that series of physical manifestations which began in 1872 and lasted for some eight years, and that series of automatic writings and trance-utterances which began in 1873, received a record for some ten years, and did not, as is believed, cease altogether until the earthly end was near.

These two series were intimately connected ; the physical phenomena being avowedly designed to give authority to the speeches and writings which professed to emanate from the same source. There is no ground for separating the two groups, except the obvious one that the automatic phenomena are less difficult of credence than the physical. Since, however, to the physical we must needs come sooner or later, it seems the simplest plan to place them first, as coming first in chronological order. I shall, therefore, proceed to describe some of these sittings, mainly by quotation from Mr. Moses' contemporary notes.

Mr. Moses' notes, however, are not the only records of these experi-

ments. For almost all the sittings which he describes, and for some which he does not describe, there is (as already stated) a second detailed, independent, contemporary record, by Mrs. Stanhope Speer, and for many of the sittings a third record, also independent and contemporaneous, although very brief, by Dr. Speer. For some few of them there is also a similar record by Mr. Percival; whose memory also confirms the other accounts. Parts of Mr. Moses' own record, indeed, are avowedly derived from the other sitters, since he depended upon them for information as to what went on when he was in trance. But he has always, I think, made this distinction clear in his notes. His note-books of these phenomena, I may add, were very privately kept, and even Mrs. Speer tells me that she has never read any of them except the first. Curiously enough, therefore, much of what I now print has actually never been read till now, so far as I can discover, by anyone except the writer himself. And a certain combination of accidents has been needed even now to enable these passages, after their twenty years of privacy, to see at last the light of day.

Mrs. Stanhope Speer's notes have, as already stated, been for the most part already published in *Light*, so that the reader can judge for himself as to their accordance with Mr. Moses' record. They are largely concerned with trance-utterances of which Mr. Moses was unconscious, but the description of the physical phenomena seems to me as nearly identical in the two series of records as can be expected from two separate observers. I have not thought it needful to reprint here more than a few passages of Mrs. Speer's, where, for some reason or other, her account seems to supply a useful complement to Mr. Moses' own.

Dr. Speer's notes, which are short, I have printed almost *in extenso*,—interwoven with Mr. Moses' own. They were written on a loose sheet of paper and in two small note-books, which do not appear to have been shown to anyone but Mr. Moses, among whose papers at Bedford they were found. He printed some extracts from them in *Light*. An important statement from Dr. Speer is also incorporated in Mr. Moses' *Researches in Spiritualism*, and will be quoted below. I may add that Mrs. Speer, examining Dr. Speer's private diary, has found there also short records of séances, concordant, though not verbally identical, with the accounts given in his note-books. These records extend further than the note-books, and some of them also will be found below.

Several passages by Mr. F. W. Percival, already printed, will be found below; and Mr. Percival has verbally confirmed to me the correctness of Mrs. Speer's record of those sittings at which he was himself present. Much indeed which is there given was taken down by Mr. Percival himself.

I have spoken of these records as *contemporaneous*. Mrs. Stanhope

Speer tells me that her notes were habitually written on the day of the sitting, or at latest on the morrow. As to Dr. Speer's and Mr. Moses' notes it is now impossible to be equally certain, except in Mr. Moses' books of automatic script, in which every entry begins with a record of the day, and often of the *hour* and the *place*, of writing. But the incidental phrases, and the changes of pen and handwriting, in his note-books of physical phenomena lead me to think that his notes were roughly jotted down daily, and written out in the note-book either at once or at intervals of a few days. He says himself that they "were very regularly written when the events of the séance were fresh in my memory." This point is the less important because, as I have said, the various series of records are so concordant that (unless it be suggested that they were fabricated to suit each other, though with a show of independence) it is clear that they must all have been written while the events were fresh in the recorders' minds.

The passages which I have selected for quotation are simply such as best illustrate the subject matter;—the most striking and characteristic samples of the recorded phenomena. This may not, perhaps, be the most politic course, in view of the reader's difficulties of belief; but (as already implied) there seems no valid ground for selecting what he might regard as the least incredible among so many incredibilities. The evidence for all the incidents is practically the same;—the whole group of witnesses are as fully pledged, say, to the falling of pearls from the air as to the automatic script or the trance-phenomena. I at least can see no *via media* which can be plausibly taken. The permanent fraud of the whole group, or the substantial accuracy of all the records, are the only hypotheses which seem to me capable of covering the facts. At any rate, before further discussing this point, I propose to quote at sufficient length to allow my readers to form their own judgment. My only personal contribution to the data before us lies in my somewhat confident impression that my friends whom I am thus frankly discussing are and were in the habit of speaking the truth.

There are, indeed, two subsidiary points on which I have had a clear principle to guide me to certain omissions. In the first place, I have almost wholly omitted Mr. Moses' accounts of his sittings with other mediums. What in those sittings is important for our present purpose may be briefly summarised as follows:—

1. Mr. Moses spent much time and trouble in sitting with many paid and one or two private mediums. He was in the habit of at once recording the results in private note-books and trying to decide whether the phenomena were genuine or no. So far we have additional indication of a serious and reasonable interest in such matters, as against the view that his own experiences are attributable to hallucination or fraud.

2. As an observer he seems to me to have been about at the average level of that epoch. Several times he detected fraud; once at least he was convinced by a manifestation afterwards absolutely proved to have been fraudulent. On some other occasions, while it is not *certain* that he was deluded, he shows a very imperfect perception of possibilities of deceit. But his degree of acumen as a detective is of little importance to our present inquiry.

3. More important is the question as to the relation between these séances with other mediums and his own manifestations. He frequently asked the "guides" or "controls" of his automatic writing their opinion on what he had witnessed. Did those "controls," we may ask, ever vouch for the genuineness of what was afterwards proved to be false? or did they, on the other hand, show that kind of intimate and infallible detective power which might be expected from observers freed from the trammels of the flesh? The evidence is to my mind inconclusive either way. The "controls" themselves are of various types; and there is one rare "control" ("Magus"), to be later discussed, whose utterances seem to me shifty and exaggerated, in a way very common in automatic script, and who does apparently endorse a complete impostor. The utterances of other "controls" for the most part reflect Mr. Moses' own opinions on other mediums, or are sometimes more severe.¹ But the question which is of most interest, and which

¹ After a sitting with Mr. Williams, which Mr. Moses had recorded as fully convincing, the following remarkable colloquy occurs in an automatic note-book (Book XV., p. 1.)

Aug. 9th, 1874, Bedford.

Q. Was anyone present at the last séance at Mrs. F.'s? I was much impressed.

A. Yes. I was not present myself but our friends were there. We do not advise you to rest much on that.

Q. What? I thought it conclusive proof.

A. You must use your own judgment. We do but warn you to be careful.

Q. Do you mean to say it was not genuine?

A. We only urge you to be wary. The manifestation was suspicious and is not to be depended on.

Q. I am surprised. Who writes?

A. It is I,—† I: S: D. [Imperator, Servus Dei, the assumed name of Mr. Moses' principal guide.]

Q. Then you will tell me. Am I to understand that the manifestation was not of a materialised form?

A. We do not feel it part of our work to save you from the use of your own powers. You are warned. Exercise your observing faculties.

Q. But I am bewildered.

A. It is needful for you to work through such experience. We may not save you from it. Only be wary.

Q. I have long wanted information about those forms and have had grave doubts, but I have believed in J.K. [John King.]

A. It is not our plan to give you any further information now. We only say that what was then presented was dubious.

Q. But I am to write about it. Was it a materialisation at all? Is there such a thing?

is now insoluble, arises when Mr. Moses and his accustomed guides concur in maintaining the genuineness of certain phenomena occurring in the presence of a medium whose occasional fraud neither Mr. Moses nor his guides deny. Something of this sort is the case with regard to the "spirit photographs" of the late Mr. Hudson. Hudson was clearly shown to have occasionally cheated, and was once actually caught cheating—in a most rudimentary manner—by Mr. Moses himself.¹ Nevertheless, if such things as genuine spirit photographs shall afterwards be shown to exist, then these photographs of Hudson's and the accompanying statements made by the automatic script, will deserve careful reconsideration.

The second point on which omissions from the manuscript are

A. You will know all in due time, but that was not reliable. We urge you to be careful. You are always careful, as you think. But be wary as to generalising too rapidly. There is in the manifestation of the lower spirits much deception, nor can you ever be sure that such is not being practised. It is so in all the manifestations in which the more material spirits are concerned.

Q. You do not tell me much.

A. We do not purpose to do so. We only warn. It was not reliable.

Q. But I had my hand in J. K.'s and the other on the medium's body. There could be no deception there.

A. On the medium's boot, but not on his body, as Kabbila informs us. But we will go no further. It is not our habit to go so far. Seek not further information. It will not be given. We do not wish to communicate at length now. You have done all that you are capable of doing.

Q. But I want to ask further. Are my senses good for nothing, or am I so easily deceived?

A. No, no. Neither. But you know nothing of occult influence when deceiving spirits are present. The mixture of the true and false would make it impossible for you to arrive at fact. Hence have we warned you so urgently to beware of the introduction of such. They are fatal to our work. Cease now.

† I: S: D. [Imperator, Servus Dei.]

† R. [Rector.]

(Two hours later—same day—evening.)

A. The chief will not speak. He is very cautious. But I saw and can testify. It was all bad.

Q. How do you know? I can't believe it.

A. It was all bad. John King was not there; but another who deceived.

Q. How in the world am I to know then? I could not tell.

A. You would have known if you had been well, and we were not able to protect you against false spirits.

Q. How am I to know that you are not mistaken? or if you are right, how am I to know what is true and what false?

A. We have already told you that false and deceiving spirits always do abound in such circles. Hence it is that you have been so warned of the danger of the assaults of the undeveloped. The chief has told you to beware of such. The warning is needed.

Q. Then you mean to say that you were there, and that what I mistook for J.K. was the medium. I don't want to misunderstand you.

A. Yes.

¹ This seems to be perhaps the only recorded instance of actual detection of Hudson in *flagrante delicto*. See Mrs. Sidgwick's remarks in *Proceedings*, Vol. VII., p. 274.

necessary concerns the alleged identity of some of the communicating intelligences. As a general rule the same alleged spirits both manifested themselves by raps, &c., at Mr. Moses' sittings with his friends, and also wrote through his hand when he was alone. In this, as in other respects, Mr. Moses' two series of sittings—when alone and in company—were concordant, and, so to say, complementary ;—explanations being given by the writing of what had happened at the séances. When “direct writing” was given at the séances the handwriting of each alleged spirit was the same as that which the same spirit was in the habit of employing in the automatic script. The claim to individuality was thus in all cases decisively made.

Now the personages thus claiming to appear may be divided roughly into three classes :—

A.—First and most important are a group of persons recently deceased, and sometimes, as will be seen, manifesting themselves at the séances before their decease was known through any ordinary channel to any of the persons present. These spirits in many instances give tests of identity, mentioning facts connected with their earth-lives which are afterwards found to be correct. With all such cases we shall have in the next paper to deal at length.

B.—Next comes a group of personages belonging to generations more remote, and generally of some distinction in their day. Grocyn, the friend of Erasmus, may be taken as a type of these. Many of these also contribute facts as a proof of identity, which facts, as in Grocyn's case given below, are sometimes more correct than the conscious or admitted knowledge of any of the sitters could supply. In such cases, however, the difficulty of proving identity is increased (as will be seen later on) by the fact that most (though not all) of the facts thus given are readily accessible in print, and may conceivably have either been read and forgotten by Mr. Moses, or have become known to him by some kind of clairvoyance.

C.—A third group consists of spirits who give such names as Rector, Doctor, Theophilus, and, above all, Emperor. These from time to time reveal the names which they assert to have been theirs in earth-life. These concealed names are for the most part both more illustrious, and more remote than the names in Class B,—and it is these which will here be withheld. This was the express wish of Mr. Moses himself, who justly felt that the assumption of great names is likely to diminish rather than to increase the weight of the communication. He felt this in his own person ; and for a long while one of his main stumbling-blocks lay in these lofty and unprovable claims. Ultimately he came to believe even in these identities, on the general ground that teachers who had given him so many proofs both of their power and of their serious interest in his welfare were not likely to

have deceived him on such a point. But he did not count upon a similar belief in others, and he expressly wished to avoid seeming to claim special authority for the teachings on the ground of their alleged authorship. It must be added also that some of these teachings themselves asserted that when the name of some spirit long removed from earth was given, the recipient must sometimes take this to imply a stream of influence emanating from that spirit, rather than his own presence in person.¹

“The higher spirits who come to your earth are influences or emanations. They are not what you describe as persons, but emanations from higher spheres. You must learn to recognise the impersonality of the higher messages. When we first appeared to this medium he insisted on our identifying ourselves to him. But many influences come through our name. Two or three stages after death, spirits lose much of what you regard as individuality, and become more like influences. I have now passed to the verge of the spheres from which it is possible to return to you, and I can influence without any regard to distance. I am very distant from you now.”

With these special exceptions, made on the grounds above explained, the quotations which follow are fully representative of the series of Mr. Moses' notes of physical phenomena. These notes, as already stated, were contained in five books, numbered by me 1 B, 2 B, 3 B, 4 B, 5 B,—of which the first is missing.

The now missing 1 B (as is incidentally stated by Mr. Moses) contained the early experiments, and was the note-book from which he took much of the material for certain papers summarising those experiments which he printed in *Human Nature* in 1874. I shall therefore begin with quoting the important parts of this summary, which has been long out of print. The subsequent direct quotations from the note-books will explain some points which the summary leaves obscure; for instance, as to the amount of observation which Mr. Moses, in his normal state, was able to give to the phenomena, and the degree to which he depended upon information from his fellow-sitters.

One word more before the citations begin. It must be remembered that the phenomena here to be described, strange and grotesque as they often seem, cannot be called *meaningless*. The alleged operators are at pains throughout to describe what they regarded as the *end*, and what merely as the means to that end. Their constantly avowed object was the promulgation through Mr. Moses of certain religious and philosophical views; and the physical manifestations are throughout described as designed merely as a proof of power, and a basis for the authority claimed for the serious teachings.²

¹ I have here had to draw a somewhat arbitrary line, and have decided to withhold all names more ancient and venerable than that of Seneca.

² *Spirit Teachings*, which includes many of these communications, has just been republished with a Life by Mr. Charlton Speer.

QUOTATIONS FROM MR. MOSES' "RESEARCHES IN SPIRITUALISM."¹

"All that I have described [of movement] occurs readily when the table is untouched. Indeed, when the force is developed, we have found it better to remove the hands and leave the table to its own devices. The tilting above noticed has been even more marked when the sitters have been removed from it to a distance of about two feet. It has rapped on the chair and on the floor, inclined so as to play into a hand placed on the carpet, and has been restored to its normal position when no hand has touched it. The actual force required to perform this would be represented by very considerable muscular exertion in a man of ordinary strength.

"We had ventured on one occasion, contrary to direction, to add to our circle a strange member. Some trivial phenomena occurred, but the usual controlling spirit did not appear. When next we sat, he came; and probably none of us will easily forget the sledge-hammer blows with which he smote the table. The noise was distinctly audible in the room below, and gave one the idea that the table would be broken to pieces. In vain we withdrew from the table, hoping to diminish the power. The heavy blows increased in intensity, and the whole room shook with their force. The direst penalties were threatened if we again interfered with the development by bringing in new sitters. We have not ventured to do so again; and I do not think we shall easily be persuaded to risk another similar objurgation.

"Mr. Serjeant Cox² records a curious instance of the exercise of this force, in the second volume of his very interesting work, "*What am I?*" In the cases specified above, the table was a small square one, firmly placed on four legs, and weighing about 40lb. The dining-table of Serjeant Cox, on the contrary, was very massive; so heavy, that the united exertions of two strong men were required to move it. The experiment is so curious that I extract the account:—

"On Tuesday, June 2nd, 1873, a personal friend came to my residence in Russell Square to dress for a dinner party to which we were invited. He had previously exhibited considerable power as a Psychic. Having half an hour to spare, we went into the dining-room. It was just six o'clock, and of course broad daylight. I was opening letters; he was reading the *Times*. My dining-table is of mahogany, very heavy, old-fashioned, six feet wide, nine feet long. It stands on a Turkey carpet, which much increases the difficulty of moving it. A subsequent trial showed that the united efforts of two strong men standing were required to move it one inch. There was

¹ *Researches in Spiritualism during the Years 1872-3*. By M. A. Oxon. Pages 21-23, 28-30, 34-39, 41-42, 49-54, 56-57, 59-62, 66-72 are here reprinted, as pp. 259-283 of this paper.

² It is worth mentioning that Serjeant Cox (who orally described this scene to me) was not himself a "Spiritualist," but ascribed these and similar phenomena to a power innate in the medium's own being.—F.W.H.M.

no cloth upon it, and the light fell full under it. No person was in the room but my friend and myself. Suddenly, as we were sitting thus, frequent and loud rattings came upon the table. My friend was then sitting holding the newspaper with both hands, one arm resting on the table, the other on the back of chair, and turned sideways from the table, so that his legs and feet were not under the table, but at the side of it. Presently the solid table quivered as if with an ague fit. Then it swayed to and fro so violently as almost to dislocate the big pillar-like legs, of which there are eight. Then it moved forward about three inches. I looked under it to be sure that it was not touched : but still it moved, and still the blows were loud upon it.

“This sudden access of the Force at such a time and in such a place, with none present but myself and my friend, and with no thought then of invoking it, caused the utmost astonishment in both of us. My friend said that nothing like it had ever before occurred to him. I then suggested that it would be an invaluable opportunity, with so great a power in action, to make trial of *motion without contact*, the presence of two persons only, the daylight, the place, the size and weight of the table, making the experiment a crucial one. Accordingly we stood upright, he on one side of the table, I on the other side of it. We stood two feet from it, and held our hands eight inches above it. In one minute it rocked violently. Then it moved over the carpet a distance of seven inches. Then it rose three inches from the floor on the side on which my friend was standing. Then it rose equally on my side. Finally my friend held his hands four inches over the end of the table, and asked that it would rise and touch his hand three times. It did so ; and then, in accordance with the like request, it rose to my hand held at the other end to the same height above it and in the same manner.”

“Another singular instance occurred during a visit that I made to a gentleman interested in this subject. After some conversation, it was suggested that we should try the effect of placing our hands on a pillar work-table belonging to his wife. It was filled with reels and tapes, and the appliances of needlework. We had scarcely touched it when it began to move. It danced about like a live thing ; executed a series of gyrations, first on one foot and then on another ; and finally lay down on the floor and jerked all its contents about the room. It rose again unaided, bounded off the floor, and waltzed round the room. When it was still I held my hand *over* it, and it began to quiver, and finally rose from the floor until it touched my hand, which was ten or twelve inches above it. It afterwards rose to the height of eighteen inches or two feet. While this was going on, a column of light was visible over it.

“Once more, motion without contact, directed by evident intelligence, is seen markedly in the following instance :—I was calling on a friend, and the conversation fell on the phenomena of Spiritualism. A sitting was proposed, and nothing, or almost nothing, occurred. We were quite alone in the room, which was well lighted. We drew back from the table, intending to give up the attempt. My friend asked why nothing occurred. The table, untouched by us, rose and gently touched

my throat and chest three times. I was suffering from severe bronchial symptoms, and was altogether below par. After this no rap or movement could be elicited, and we were fain to accept the explanation of our want of success.

“My first personal experience of levitation was about five months after my introduction to Spiritualism. Physical phenomena of a very powerful description had been developed with great rapidity. We were new to the subject, and the phenomena were most interesting. After much movement of objects, and lifting and tilting of the table, a small hand organ, a child’s plaything, was floated about the room, making a most inharmonious din. It was a favourite amusement with the little Puck-like invisible who then manifested. One day (August 30th, 1872) the little organ was violently thrown down in a distant corner of the room, and I felt my chair drawn back from the table and turned into the corner near which I sat. It was so placed that my face was turned away from the circle to the angle made by the two walls. In this position the chair was raised from the floor to a distance of, I should judge, twelve or fourteen inches. My feet touched the top of the skirting-board, which would be about twelve inches in height. The chair remained suspended for a few moments, and I then felt myself going from it, higher and higher, with a very slow and easy movement. I had no sense of discomfort nor of apprehension. I was perfectly conscious of what was being done, and described the process to those who were sitting at the table. The movement was very steady, and occupied what seemed a long time before it was completed. I was close to the wall, so close that I was able to put a pencil firmly against my chest, and to mark the spot opposite to me on the wall-paper. That mark, when measured afterwards, was found to be rather more than six feet from the floor, and, from its position, it was clear that my head must have been in the very corner of the room, close to the ceiling. I do not think that I was in any way entranced. I was perfectly clear in my mind; quite alive to what was being done, and fully conscious of the curious phenomenon. I felt no pressure on any part of my body, only a sensation as of being in a lift, whilst objects seemed to be passing away from below me. I remember a slight difficulty in breathing, and a sensation of fulness in the chest, with a general feeling of being lighter than the atmosphere. I was lowered down quite gently, and placed in the chair, which had settled in its old position. The measurements and observations were taken immediately, and the marks which I had made with my pencil were noted. My voice was said at the time to sound as if from the corner of the room, close to the ceiling.

“This experiment was more or less successfully repeated on nine other occasions. On the 2nd September, 1872, I see from my records that I was three times raised on to the table, and twice levitated in the

corner of the room. The first movement on to the table was very sudden—a sort of instantaneous jerk. I was conscious of nothing until I found myself on the table—*my chair being unmoved*. This, under ordinary circumstances, is what we call impossible. I was so placed that it would have been out of my power to quit my place at the table without moving my chair. In the second attempt I was placed on the table in a standing posture. In this case I was conscious of the withdrawal of my chair and of being raised to the level of the table, and then of being impelled forward so as to stand upon it. I was not entranced, nor was I conscious of any external pressure. In the third case I was thrown on to the table, and from that position on to an adjacent sofa. The movement was instantaneous, as in the first recorded case; and though I was thrown to a considerable distance, and with considerable force, I was in no way hurt. At the time that I lay on the sofa I felt the chair in which I had been sitting, and which would be four feet from where I lay, come and press my back several times. It was finally placed on the table.

“The levitations were of a character similar to the one described before, with the addition of one very important particular. On the wall behind my chair was an oil-painting in an old-fashioned massive frame. The frame projected from the wall far enough to allow my arm to rest upon it, as my dust-covered sleeve afterwards testified. This frame was about eight inches from the ceiling. I remember distinctly being raised until my hand touched the top of this frame. I was then turned round, and my body was longitudinally extended over the table until my feet were close to the head of one of the sitters. I remained in that position long enough for it to be carefully ascertained by passing the hand over my feet and legs. In this case the lowering to the ground took place rapidly and suddenly: I surmise, from the fact of my feet and legs having been touched. This demonstration, which had agitated me, closed the séance; and while we were preparing to leave the room another display of force under well-ascertained conditions took place. We had risen from the table, and one of the party was near the door. A chair was close to his right hand; I was three yards from him, when suddenly, from the corner in which I had been sitting, a footstool darted across the room as though it had been violently kicked, struck the chair near the door, and knocked it down with a great clatter. I saw the occurrence, which was in fair light, and very convincing as a display of force. The footstool ran along the floor as though it had been forcibly kicked; and started from a corner near which no human being was standing.

“These phenomena of levitation have presented themselves on a few other occasions; but the most marked instances have been those above described. I have discouraged them as much as possible, from a dislike

to violent physical manifestations. I have little power to prevent a special kind of manifestation, and none whatever to evoke any that I may desire; but I do, as far as I can, prevent the very uncomfortable phenomena which at this period were so strongly developed. On several occasions my chair has been raised from the ground slightly. I have always checked any attempt to raise it beyond a few inches, either by request, or by rising from it, and so checking the manifestation. In the instances recorded above I was a passive agent, and did not aid or check the exhibition of the force. . . .

“In dealing with the movement of objects within a closed room without the intervention of human agency, I make reference to the first startling manifestation which occurred in my presence. The date was August 18th, 1872, and the occurrence was detailed at the time in the columns of the *Medium*, as well as in the *Liverpool Mercury*. Our circle had not met more than half-a-dozen times, and no results had been elicited beyond raps and movement of the table. On the day named a remarkable access of the force was manifest throughout the day, commencing with raps on the table during breakfast. The day was Sunday, and we all went to church. On returning I found on entering my bedroom, which adjoined the drawing-room on the first floor, that three articles had been so placed on the bed as to form an imperfect cross. My attention was drawn to them by loud raps which followed me round the room. I called my friend, whose guest I then was, and he observed the position of the articles, and heard the loud rattings which followed me from chair to chair, as I went round the room by way of experiment. Even whilst I was in the room another article was brought and added to the cross. We thought it well to establish beyond doubt the intervention of an agency not human. As yet, though we ourselves had no doubt as to the agency at work, still there was no conclusive proof that children or servants might not have hoaxed us. To be sure, they could not make the raps, seeing that my friend and I were alone in the room, but we thought it well to exclude the possibility of such an explanation. Accordingly we searched the room throughout—it contained no cupboards—bolted the window, and locked the door, my friend and host pocketing the key. At lunch our conversation was annotated by clear raps, and distinct evidence of the presence of the force was never absent. As soon as lunch was over we went to the locked room, and found two more articles added. The room was again searched, and again locked by my friend, who retained the key in his possession throughout, and we returned to the dining-room. Raps loud and constant followed us, and the heavy dining-table, with all its load of dessert and decanters and glasses, was moved several times out of its place. Another visit of inspection discovered other additions, and this went on until 5 p.m.,

when a complete cross extending the whole length of the bed was made entirely of little articles from my toilet-table. My friend, his wife, and myself were together all the afternoon, so we were not the unconscious authors of the mystery. The door was locked and the key never left my host's pocket, so no human being played a trick. Indeed, there was no one who could or would do so. The room was in a public part, next to the drawing-room. The children were with us, and were incapable of such tricks. The servants were old and trusted, and knew nothing of Spiritualism, nor of what was going on. Independently, therefore, of the messages which were constantly being given throughout the day, and of the direct writing which informed us of the reason for this remarkable manifestation, we are able to assert with confidence that human intervention was impossible. The formation of that cross, by a slow process of growth in a locked room, during a bright August afternoon in broad sunlight, remains in my mind one of the most remarkable instances of assured intervention by invisible agency with which I am acquainted. Nor is it the less remarkable that it occurred at the very outset of my experience, while I was yet comparatively new to the subject, as though to overthrow scepticism by one fatal blow, and to furnish by anticipation an answer to the theory lately put forward by Mr. Serjeant Cox: 'Psychics are developed. Their power grows with practice. The phenomena are not produced immediately and together, but by slow degrees. *None of them has found himself suddenly possessed of the power to produce any but the commonest indications of its presence.*' (The italics are mine.) Here was no circle formed for the purpose of eliciting phenomena. I had undergone no process of development; and though I object to the use of the word 'produce,' seeing that it is not properly applicable, still what was then produced was by no means 'the commonest indication of the presence' of the force.

[I subjoin an account of this incident by Dr. Speer, found by Mrs. Speer on a loose sheet of paper. He had apparently made the sketches, which were reproduced by Mr. Moses in *Light* for February 19th, 1892, but which I deem it needless to give here.—F.W.H.M.]

August 17th, 1872.—On this day the Rev. W. S. Moses, self, and wife resumed our evening séances. We chose the back dining-room of the house, which we had only entered a few days previous; the table being a heavy square table with a deal top and having oilcloth sewn over it. We had scarcely drawn our chairs up to the table and laid our hands on it, when it was violently tilted up two or three times, Mrs. S. being so astonished, if not alarmed, at the sudden and violent nature of the movement as to express a wish that it might not be repeated. Raps of various kinds now began all around Mr. M.; on his chair, in the centre of the table, on the floor, &c. Thuds were also heard in various places, and scrapings on the floor—in fact, as many as seven different kinds of sound were heard.

Mr. M. was moved away from the table, turned round in his chair, and pushed against the wall. He was then brought up to the table. The table was then moved half round without being touched, it lifted itself up again, and on questions being asked as to who was present and the nature of the spirits, we were informed that there were forty-nine spirits present, that all were good, and were commissioned to take charge of the sitters.

On Sunday morning, August 18th, 1872, my wife and family, and the Rev. W. Moses, who had only arrived on Friday night, went to St. George's Church, Douglas, Isle of Man. On returning, the latter went into his bedroom, and immediately came out and called me to witness the manner in which during his absence certain articles of toilet, &c., to wit, a writing-case, a fly-book, and a pocket note-book, had been symmetrically placed on the centre of the bed. We at once noticed the crucial appearance exhibited and hazarded a guess as to the intention thereof. We left the room and shortly after returned, when we found that a skull cap lying on the chest of drawers had been placed on the bed post, while the clerical white collar which Mr. M. had removed not many minutes before had been placed like a halo around the upper portion of the developing cross (fig. 2). (It should here be noticed that our expressed surmises as to the design apparently in progress were confirmed by various loud distinct raps on the foot-board.) We again left the room for a time, and found that now the lower limb of the cross had been lengthened by the addition of two ivory-backed clothes-brushes (fig. 3). We descended to dinner, having locked the door and taken the key with us. After dinner and while sitting round the table at dessert, the conversation naturally (on the children leaving) reverted to these extraordinary proceedings, when immediately manifestations commenced all around Mr. Moses, raps on the table, thuds on the floor, raps, loud and repeated, on the back of his chair. A tune played on the table with my fingers was accurately imitated, the table with all on it was moved out of its place and everything shaken. This was put a stop to by request, but the milder phenomena persisted, and, it may be said once for all, continued till 9 p.m. Mr. M. suggested that I should go up to his room again. I did so, and found on *unlocking* the door that two paper-knives had been placed like rays to the right and left of the cross bar of the cross (fig. 4). I again locked the door, put the key in my pocket, and came downstairs. In about half-an-hour we returned and found that two additional articles had been appended (fig. 5). We again left and locked the door, and on return after another half-hour the cross had been fully developed into halo and rays, while the skull cap had been placed above all as in a crown (fig. 6). During each examination, as before, our comments had been acknowledged by raps, and now, as we meditated going to church, we canvassed the propriety of removing the articles from the bed, in the event of the servants wishing to arrange the room for the night. It now occurred to Mrs. S. that before doing so an opportunity of communicating by writing should be afforded, and accordingly a piece of paper and an aluminium pencil were placed on the bed. We retired, locked the door, and on returning shortly ascertained that nothing within had taken place. A piece of red flannel was then placed under the paper and we again retired, myself being the last again to leave, and locking the door behind me. On returning we found that the paper had been written upon (fig. 7). To us the initials were unknown, but Mr. M. at

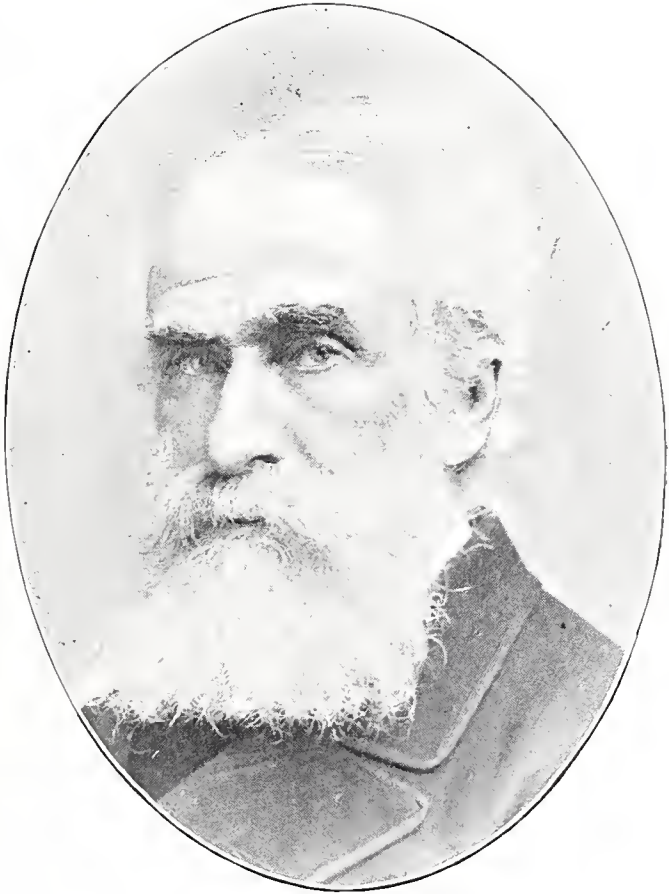
once pronounced the monogram to be that of two friends, man and wife, both departed, and one of whom had been buried on the Tuesday previous. The other initials [confusedly given] were those of a long-departed cousin, who in his lifetime had been strongly attached to Mr. M. The number 46 at first sight was puzzling, but taken in connection with the *three* autographs, it at once explained the assertion of the spirits that there had been 49 present on the previous evening. Before replacing the various articles Mr. M. suggested that although the alphabet had hitherto been invariably refused it might now be acceptable as a means of explaining these phenomena. On asking the question the answer was now in the affirmative, and the alphabet being called out by myself and the message taken down by Mr. Moses, we received the following :—

Cross. We are happy.

“I come now to deal with the carrying of objects into a locked room, and the passage of solid objects through material obstacles.

“The days immediately following the day above mentioned (August 18th) were filled with instances of such phenomena. I have before noticed the prevalence at certain times of certain phenomena; and have stated my belief that this is due to the operation for a time of a particular communicating spirit, who gives place in turn to another, who produces a different manifestation. This was so at this time. My records of séances during the latter half of the month of August show over fifty instances in which objects from different parts of the house were placed upon the table round which we were sitting. They were invariably small, and were generally thrown on the table; such of them, however, as would easily break were placed quietly, and our attention was drawn to them by a request for light. They came from all parts of the house indifferently, and even from outside; from my own bed-room, and from rooms which I had never entered; whilst we were sitting with joined hands in expectation of some such occurrence; and whilst no séance was being held, and our minds were not directed to the subject. It is in vain to attempt any exhaustive record. I have not space for it; and it would be but a wearisome iteration of a ten times told tale. It will suffice if I mention some instances, and dwell more particularly on the most remarkable cases which I have observed.

“Our séances immediately after August 18th began to show instances of this phenomenon; and on the 21st a curious instance of it, and of intelligent comment on conversation, occurred. The room in which we used to meet opened by folding doors into the dining-room. In this latter room my host and I were sitting in the twilight at the open window, talking of the subject, and wondering much whether we were deceived. Raps came, and we were told to go into the next room. We stood by the table, and raps came again. ‘*To convince*’ was spelt out, and a small copy of *Paradise Lost* was gently placed on the table.



DR. STANHOPE TEMPLEMAN SPEER.

We had all of us had it in our hands during the evening, and could testify to its position on a book-shelf close to the window at which I and my friend had been sitting.

“On August 28th seven objects from different rooms were brought into the séance-room ; on the 30th, four, and amongst them a little bell from the adjoining dining-room. We always left gas brightly burning in that room and in the hall outside, so that if the doors were opened even for a moment a blaze of light would have been let into the dark room in which we sat. As this never happened we have full assurance from what Dr. Carpenter considers the best authority, Common Sense, that the doors remained closed. In the dining-room there was a little bell. We heard it commence to ring, and could trace it by its sound as it approached the door which separated us from it. What was our astonishment when we found that in spite of the closed door the sound drew nearer to us ! It was evidently within the room in which we sat, for the bell was carried round the room, ringing loudly the whole time. After completing the circuit of the room, it was brought down, passed under the table, coming up close to my elbow. It rang under my very nose, and went round about my head, then passed round the circle, ringing close to the faces of all. It was finally placed upon the table. I do not wish to theorise, but this seems to me to dispose of arguments which would put forward the theory of our being psychologised, or of the object coming down the chimney, as an explanation of this difficult subject.

“Another curious case occurred at a later date, October 14th, 1873 ; our circle of three sitting alone. An unusual length of time elapsed before anything occurred, and we were in the act of remarking this when a little Parian statuette from an upper room in the house was placed on the table. One of the party made a request for one of our friends who usually communicates, asking that he might be fetched. ‘We are doing so,’ was spelt out by raps ; and as the sentence was complete and answered our thoughts, we ceased to call over the alphabet. However, it was called for again, and ‘mething else’ was spelt. We could form no idea what this might mean. It was repeated, and after much puzzling it occurred to us to join it to the previous message, and it then read, ‘We are doing something else.’ (What a clear case of unconscious cerebration !) We were told to sit with joined hands, and very soon an odour like Tonquin bean was apparent to all of us. Something fell on the table, and light showed that there had been brought from my friend’s dressing-room a *snuff-box* which had contained Tonquin bean. The box was closed, and the odour was remarked before any of us had the remotest idea that the box was in the room.

“With rare exceptions the objects brought seemed to come from

behind me. I have noticed this in cases where something has been brought from a distant part of the séance-room. It is the same when objects are brought from without, except in certain cases, such as that above noted. I have more than once been struck on the top of the head by objects as they have been converging on the table, and on one occasion a heavy bronze candlestick, which was brought from the mantelshelf in a room near (January 25th, 1873), struck me a severe blow, the effects of which remained for a day after. I will undertake to say that I was not biologised on that occasion.

“Another exception to the rule of objects coming from behind me occurred lately. A friend [Mr. F. W. Percival] had joined our circle, and we sat in the dining-room, instead of our usual small séance-room. The dining-table is very large, and he faced me with a good six feet of mahogany between us. He remarked that he had never been present when any object had been brought into the room from without, and said how much he desired to witness such a case. The request was made, and, contrary to rule, promptly answered. A round stone from another room was gently thrown from behind, so as to strike his left shoulder before rolling on to the table. The gentleman in whose house we were [Dr. Speer] could testify to the exact position of the stone on his study mantelshelf, and my friend had no doubt as to the direction from which it came when it struck him. Like the bell, its presence was first manifested in a part of the room opposite to, and most distant from, me.

* * * * * *

“Hitherto I have described phenomena which my eyes have witnessed,¹ which have occurred while I was in full possession of my faculties, and when my powers of observation were unimpaired. I come now to a group, which, for convenience, I have classed together, where the case is somewhat altered. I have, indeed, observed all the phenomena of which I speak at many different times, and under various circumstances, but not in their most perfect form of development. In all cases where the large luminous appearances, which I am about to describe, were most successfully presented, I was in a state of unconscious trance. In a similar way, the most perfect musical sounds are made when I cannot hear them; and, as a general rule, to which the exceptions are so rare as only to serve to establish the principle, the best and most successful manifestations occur when the medium is deeply entranced. The condition of absolute passivity on his part is then most perfectly secured, and the force which the operators use can be more safely drawn off. Over and over again have I heard this passive state spoken of as an essential condition of success.

“The fact that I am entranced during the occurrence of the best

¹ These phenomena are said to have sometimes occurred in light.—F. W. H. M.

manifestations renders it difficult for me to give an accurate description. I have endeavoured to remedy this by requesting those who have witnessed specially notable phenomena to favour me with a description of what they saw; and I have been at pains to record a faithful account immediately after each séance, drawing my information from the impressions left on the minds of the sitters. My own records, therefore, contain exact accounts of what I have seen myself, and, further, of the descriptions given me by careful observers of phenomena which occurred during my entrancement. These sources of information I have supplemented by accounts kindly furnished me, which I print exactly as I have received them. As a consequence, I am able to affirm that my descriptions and statements are trustworthy, and within the margin of fact.

SEC. I.—*Perfumes and waves of scent-laden air.*

“In every circle with which I am acquainted the conditions are harmonised by some means. Usually music is employed for that purpose. It seems to have the effect of soothing the minds of the sitters, and leading them to throw aside, for the time, thoughts of other matters, while they dwell harmoniously on what is being attempted in the circle. Whatever other effect music may have, I believe its soothing property to be its chief merit. This harmonising is effected in our circle by means of perfumes and waves of cool scented air. We are never asked for music. If, very rarely, a musical box is set in motion, its only effect is to elicit a peculiar muffled sound in the floor, and to cause a vibration to be made in the room. By these sounds we know of the presence of a particular intelligence, who so announces himself. But they are never asked for again, and they apparently have no harmonising effect. Singing is never introduced; and any noise, even of loud conversation, is checked at once. We are told to keep still. But when any opposing conditions are to be removed, then the room is pervaded by odours of subtle and delicate, or strong, perfume. If a new sitter is present, he or she is censed (if I may adopt the expression) and so initiated. The chair which the stranger occupies is surrounded by luminous haze, from which issues the perfume; and very frequently wet scent, more or less pungent according to conditions, is sprinkled from the ceiling at the same time. If a new intelligence is to communicate, or special honour to be paid to a chief, the room is pervaded by perfumes which grow stronger as the spirit enters. This scenting of the room in which we are about to meet will sometimes commence many hours before we begin. Indeed, when we have been in the country, far from the polluted atmosphere of smoke and dirt, charged with the nameless odours that London breeds, the air of the séance-room is always laden with perfumes. There is a subtle odour in it

which is perpetually being changed. Sometimes the aroma of a flower from the garden is drawn out, intensified, and insinuated throughout the house. Sometimes the odour is like nothing of this earth's production, ethereal, delicate, and infinitely delightful. Sandal-wood used to be a favourite, and rose, verbena, and odours of other flowers have been plentifully used.

"I find it difficult to convey any idea of the subtle odours that have been diffused throughout the room, or of the permanence of the scent. It is usually the first manifestation and the last. The perfume is sprinkled in showers from the ceiling, and borne in waves of cool air round the circle, especially when the atmosphere is close and the air oppressive. Its presence in a particular place is shown to me by the luminous haze which accompanies it. I can trace its progress round the circle by the light—and my vision has been many times corroborated on this point by other sitters—and can frequently say to a certain sitter, 'You will smell the scent directly. I see the luminous form going to you.' My vision has always been confirmed by the exclamations of delight which follow.

"When we first observed this manifestation, it was attended by a great peculiarity. The odour was circumscribed in space, confined to a belt or band, beyond which it did not penetrate. It surrounded the circle to the extent of a few feet, and outside of that belt was not perceptible; or it was drawn across the room as a cordon, so that it was possible to walk into it and out of it again—the presence and absence of the odour and the temperature of the air which accompanied it being most marked. Judge Edmunds [in his book on Spiritualism] especially notes the presence of an odour which was *not diffused through the room*. He describes the sensation as being like a flower presented to the nostrils at intervals. I should rather describe what I observed as a scented zone or belt, perfectly defined and not more than a few feet in breadth. Within it the temperature was cool and the scent strong, outside of it the air was decidedly warmer, and no trace of perfume was perceptible. It was no question of fancy. The scent was too strong for that. And the edges of the belt were quite clearly marked, so that it was possible, instantaneously, to pass from the warm air of the room to the cool perfumed air of this zone. I do not remember ever hearing of a precisely similar case to this, which occurred repeatedly.

"I have known the same phenomenon to occur in the open air. I have been walking with a friend, for instance, and we have walked into air laden with scent, and through it again into the natural atmosphere. We have gone back, and have found that the air in a certain locality—generally a narrow belt—was distinctly perfumed, while the air on each side bore no traces of scent. I have even known cases where wet scent

has been produced and showered down in the open air. On one special occasion, in the Isle of Wight, my attention was attracted by the pattering of some fine spray on a lady's [Mrs. Speer's] silk dress, as we were walking along a road. One side of the dress was plentifully besprinkled with fine spray, which gave forth a delicious odour, very clearly perceptible for some distance round.

"During a *séance* the scent is either carried, as it seems, round the circle, and is then accompanied by cool air, or it is sprinkled down from the ceiling of the room in liquid form. In the clairvoyant state I am able to see and describe the process before the scent is sprinkled, and can warn a special sitter not to look upwards. For, on certain occasions, when conditions are not favourable, the scent is pungent and most painful if it gets into the eye. At other times it is harmless, and causes no pain whatever. I have had a quantity of it thrown into my eye, and it has caused no more pain than water would. On the contrary, I have seen the effect caused on another [Mrs. Speer] by a similar occurrence. The pain caused was excruciating, the inflammation was most severe, and the effects did not pass off for twenty-four hours or more. In fact, whatever the liquid was, it caused severe *conjunctivitis*.

"This variety in the pungency and potency of perfume I attribute to variety in the attendant circumstances. The illness of one of the sitters will cause the scent to be coarse and pungent. Harmonious conditions, physical and mental, are signalled by the presence of delicate subtle odours, which are infinitely charming. I have said that sometimes the odour of flowers, either in the house or garden, will be intensified. A vase of fresh flowers put on the table causes the diffusion through the room of one or more of the odours of flowers in the bouquet. I have observed the process of drawing out the natural perfume in this way. We used frequently to gather fresh flowers, and watch the process. Flowers which had a very slight smell when gathered would, by degrees, throw off such a perfume as to fill the room, and strike anyone who came into it most forcibly. In this case the natural odour of the flower was intensified, and the bloom received no harm. At other times, however, some liquid was apparently put upon the blossom, and an odour not its own given to it. In that case it invariably withered, and died very rapidly. I have frequently had flowers in my button-hole scented in this way; and the phenomena to which I refer are too unmistakable, and have been too frequently observed, to leave any room for doubt.

"Great quantities of dry musk have been from time to time thrown about in the house where our circle meets. On a late occasion it fell in very considerable quantities over a writing-desk at which a lady was sitting, in the act of writing letters. It was mid-day, and no one was near at the time, yet the particles of musk were so numerous as to

pervade the whole contents of the desk. They were *placed*, for no throwing would have produced such a result, at the very bottom of the desk, and between the papers which it contained. The odour was most pronounced; and the particles, when gathered together, made up a considerable packet. Some time after this, when at a séance, I saw something which looked like luminous dust on the table. No odour was perceptible, but in my clairvoyant state I saw a heap of luminous particles which appeared to me extremely brilliant. I described it, and putting out my hand I found that there really was a heap on the table. I inquired what it was, and *musk* was rapped out. We demurred, for no odour was perceptible, but the statement was reiterated. After the séance we gathered up the dust, which looked like musk, but *had no smell whatever*. The next morning, however, the odour was powerful enough; and the powder still exists, and is indubitably very good powdered musk. By what imaginable process can that phenomenon have been accomplished?

“I remember another occasion, amongst several, when, after a séance, I was walking up and down smoking a cigar. The odour of strong perfume was distinctly perceptible, in spite of the tobacco. On the table lay a blotting pad of white paper. My eye fell on it, and I asked, on the spur of the moment, whether some scent could not be sprinkled so that we could see it there. The request was at once and repeatedly complied with. The paper was drenched, and the odour from it was very pronounced twenty-four hours afterwards. One of the astonishing points connected with this matter is the quantity of liquid that is produced. The table is covered with innumerable stains; and if they be removed, another séance will renew them. The spray appears to fall everywhere, for the very fire-irons bear traces of its presence; and I am quite sure that the housemaid’s opinion of the manifestation would not be complimentary to the invisible operators.

“I must omit much that might be said, but in conclusion I append an account of one remarkable manifestation, for which I am indebted to the kindness of a friend who was present. Our hands were all joined in a cluster in the middle of the table, and the quantity of liquid must have exceeded half an ounce at least.

STATEMENT BY MR. PERCIVAL.

“In compliance with your request, I will describe as briefly as possible what occurred at the dark séance held on the evening of March 18th, 1874, when scent was produced so abundantly in the presence of Mrs. S. and myself, while you were in a state of trance. The controlling spirit began by speaking through you at some length, and we were told to expect unusual manifestations. They commenced with a strongly-scented breeze, which passed softly round the circle, its course being marked by a pale light. In a few minutes it suddenly changed, and blew upon us with considerable

force, as if a pair of bellows had been employed, and the temperature of the room was perceptibly lowered. After this liquid scent was sprinkled upon us several times : it appeared to come from the top of the room, and fell upon us in small drops. Finally we were told that a new manifestation would be attempted, and that we were to prepare for it by joining hands and holding the palms upwards. In this position we waited for two or three minutes, and then I felt a stream of liquid scent poured out, as it were, from the spout of a teapot, which fell on one side of my left hand, and ran down upon the table. The same was done for Mrs. S. ; and to judge from our impressions at the time, and from the stains on the table, a very considerable quantity must have been produced. I may remark, in conclusion, that there was no scent in the room before the séance, and that we could distinguish several different perfumes which made the atmosphere so oppressive that we were glad to seek a purer air so soon as the séance came to an end.

“F. W. P.”

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“The first occasion on which we saw the large luminous appearances with which we were for a time so familiar was on June 7th, 1873. By that time we had become very familiar with the floating masses of luminous vapour which I have before noticed ; and on several occasions we had seen these masses condensed, so to say, until a distinct objective light was formed. On this evening, however, at an ordinary séance, I felt my chair withdrawn from the table to the distance of three or four feet, and I was partially entranced, but not so completely as to prevent me from recalling what happened. A number of cones of soft light similar to moonlight appeared in succession, until a dozen or more had been made. They presented the appearance of a nucleus of soft yellow light, surrounded by a soft haze. They sailed up from a corner of the room and gradually died out. The most conspicuous was shaped like a mitre and was 8 or 9 inches in height. This was the first time we saw lights of this description, and we determined to extemporise a cabinet for the purpose of developing them. This was simply done by throwing open the door between two rooms, and hanging in the doorway a curtain with a square aperture in the middle of it. On one side of the curtain a table was put for the sitters ; on the other side I was placed in an easy-chair, and was soon in a state of deep trance, from which I never woke until the séance was concluded. What then took place is described in the records of friends who were present. Large globes of light such as I have described above sailed out of the aperture and went into the room where the sitters were placed. They are described as of the same soft, pale hue, like moonlight. They were sufficiently bright to illumine the lintel and door posts, and to cast a strong reflection into the room. Within the gauzy envelope was a bright point of concentrated light, and the size varied considerably. The cone shape predominated, but some were like a dumb-bell, and others like a mass

of luminous vapour revolving round and falling over a central nucleus of soft yellow light. They seem to have been carried in a materialised hand, a finger of which was shown at request by placing it in front of the nucleus of light. Round each was soft drapery, the outline of which was usually perfectly distinct.

“I append an account kindly furnished me by my friend Dr. Thomson, of 4, Worcester Lawn, Clifton [now dead]:—

“The manifestations began with a luminous haze surrounding a small point of bluish light, which latter gradually increased in size, apparently at the expense of the surrounding hazy envelope, as it seemed to diminish as the point of light increased, till it attained the size of one’s closed fist. At this size it remained for some time, until one of the sitters expressed disappointment at its not coming further into the room in which we were seated. The mass of light then gradually enlarged till it became in bulk equal to an ordinary sized water-melon. At the same time it approached us to apparently within 5 feet of where we were sitting. At this time the perfumes which had been brought during the earlier part of the evening were again showered down upon us. The appearance of the light reminded me strongly of what I have seen when an electric discharge is passed through an exhausted tube, with the exception, of course, of the latter being momentary, whereas in the present case the light continued more or less for nearly an hour. During the latter part of the séance, the light emitted from this source was sufficiently intense to light up the whole of the doorway opposite to which we were placed; but it struck me that the intensity of the light was feeble as compared with ordinary light, as it did not extend beyond a few feet from the source.”

“I have reserved for separate description some very remarkable phenomena which occurred at four consecutive séances on August 9th, 10th, 11th, and 12th, 1873. I was on a holiday excursion with the same friends who have witnessed from the first the development of the phenomena that I have described. The weather was lovely, the scenery grand, and, mentally and physically, we were in a harmonious condition. Nothing heavier than the *Spectator* had engaged my mind, and my pen had composed nothing more serious than a gossiping letter. No importunate editor clamoured for ‘copy,’ and the stifling August heat of London was exchanged for the balmy air of a charming lough in the North of Ireland. Our days were spent in a boat, lazily flogging the water to tempt the wary trout to rise—exercise enough to invigorate without tiring, while the jaded mind took rest, and the body was refreshed by scenes of beauty. It is under such circumstances that the physique is in most perfect order, and the mysterious force which is used for these manifestations is generated most rapidly, while the harmonious mental state disposes to complete passivity. I do not envy the possessor of a mind so ill-regulated and a body so dyspeptic as to fail of happiness in such surroundings. Accordingly, as might be expected, our invisible friends were not slow to avail themselves of the

improved conditions. A synopsis of what actually occurred is carefully compiled from notes written in detail at the time [by Dr. Speer], and which have been kindly placed at my disposal :—

STATEMENT BY DR. SPEER.

“On the 10th of August, after some other phenomena, a large globe of light rose from the side of the table opposite to me, and sailed up to the level of our faces, and then vanished. It was followed by several more, all of which rose up from the side opposite to me, and sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left of the medium. At request the next light was placed slowly in the centre of the table. It was apparently as large as a shaddock, and was surrounded with drapery. At this time the medium was entranced, and the controlling spirit informed me that he would endeavour to place the light in the medium’s hand. Failing in this, he said he would knock on the table in front of me. Almost immediately a light came and stood on the table close to me. ‘You see ; now listen, I will knock.’ Very slowly the light rose up, and struck three distinct blows on the table. ‘Now I will show you my hand.’ A large, very bright light then came up, and inside of it appeared the materialised hand of the spirit. He moved the fingers about close to my face. The appearance was as distinct as can be conceived. The power having become exhausted, he exhorted me to wake the medium, make him wash his face and hands in cold water, and to tell him nothing till that had been done. He also insisted on my writing a close account of what had been done.

“On the following evening I placed the paper containing the account on the table, together with a pencil, and asked that the light might be brought down upon it. This was done several times. The medium having become entranced, I requested the controlling spirit to append his signature to the document, if it were possible to do so. He said he would try. He then brought a very large and bright light, and passed it up and down over the face of the entranced medium, so that I could see it distinctly. He told me that the folds which I saw round the light were drapery, and to prove it he brought the light and passed the drapery over the back of my hand several times. It was perfectly tangible. I asked that a light might be placed close to my face. He assented, and told me to close my eyes until told to open them. I did so, and on opening them I saw close to my eyes a large and very bright light, the size of the globe of a moderator lamp. He told me to rub my hands so as to generate more power, and very soon another large light, held by a hand, appeared on the table. This time the hand appeared to be outside of the drapery, and moved the fingers about freely, and receded from the light, as though the lamp were held in another hand. After other lights had been shown, I heard the pencil moving, and repeating his admonition of the previous evening, he departed, leaving on the paper a specimen of direct spirit caligraphy.

“I have omitted to say that the way of renewing the light when it grew dim was by making gently passes over it with the hand. The lights were of the kind described previously, and consisted of a nucleus which was said to be brought by the controlling spirit, surrounded by a luminous haze, and an envelope of drapery. They varied in size and luminosity, and seemed to be

more easily and fully developed when I rubbed my hands together or on my coat. At one time a portion of a forearm was distinctly visible, and the hand containing the light was pressed very distinctly on mine as it lay on the table. I may add that all the cases recorded by me occurred when no other sitter was present but myself.

“S.T.S.”

“These strange phenomena have now ceased for some time past. The drain on the vital strength of the medium was too great to be continued. As it was, the experiments made were attended by very great subsequent prostration, and the phase passed away, as the levitations described in Chapter I. ceased after a time. In the one case I strongly objected to the manifestation; in the other harm ensued. Both have therefore ceased.

“Since the commencement of the present year we have had another kind of light altogether, which is still shown occasionally. It is apparently a little round disc of light, which twinkles like a star. It has a dark side, which is generally turned towards me, so that while other sitters have been carrying on a conversation, the answers being given by this light, I have not been able to see it at all. It is very much brighter than the large light, and more like a star. It flashes with great rapidity, and answers questions by the usual code of signals. The light usually hovers over my head, sometimes coming into the circle, but more frequently floating in a distant corner of the room. It is not apparently solid, nor does it seem to be surrounded with drapery.

“On a few occasions, not more than half a dozen, we have observed a bright scintillating light, which apparently rests on the mantel-shelf. It is about the size of a pigeon’s egg, and looks like a large diamond lit up with strong light.

“I have reserved for the last a description of the most remarkable light, of quite a different kind, that I have ever heard or read of. It appeared in greatest intensity on the eve of the year 1873, and has since reappeared five times. On each occasion it diminished in brilliancy, and when last it was seen had lost almost all its striking character. It has not been seen for more than fifteen months now. In this, as in much that I notice here, I rely for my description on notes carefully taken at the time, and which now lie before me. When the light was first seen I was so far under influence as to render my powers of observation worthless, and before it had attained its full dimensions and brilliancy I was deeply entranced. The description given by the sitters is fortunately very minute. The light was first observed directly behind us. At that time it was a tall column, about half an inch or rather more in width, and six or seven feet high. The light was of a bright golden hue, and did not illuminate objects in its neighbourhood. For a minute a cross developed at its top, and rays seemed to dart from it. Round my head was a similar sort of halo to that which elair-

voyants describe round the heads of some persons, only in this case it was perceptible by natural vision, for one of the sitters put out his hand to ascertain the locality of the rays which he saw, and placed his fingers directly on the top of my head. At this time I was not so deeply entranced as to be unable to hear what was said, and, at request, I moved my body from side to side. As I moved, the ray moved with me, and the removal of my body discovered to the opposite sitter a cluster of scintillating light, of an oblong shape, about the size of a saucer, at the foot of the long pencil or ray before described. As my body resumed its position it hid the lower part of the long ray of light from view. Soon, however, the cross—as it had then become—commenced to move, and gradually travelled from my back to my right hand, always on or near the wall, until it had passed over an arc of 90°. My friend, who had been watching this strange phenomenon with absorbing interest, requested to be permitted to examine it more closely. Leave having been given, he rose from his chair, went to the light, put his face close to it, and passed his hand through it. He detected no odour, nor did the light disappear as he touched it. No warmth came from it, nor did it light up the room perceptibly. Both the long ray and eluster remained visible until the séance was concluded.

“The sound which has since developed to such an extent was first heard by us on March 23rd, 1873. At that time it resembled the plucking of a string in mid air. It was faint, and only presented itself at intervals. We called it the Lyre sound, for want of a better name, and could make nothing out about it, except that a certain imitation of it could be made by slightly touching the wires of a piano at the upper notes. It could have been more perfectly imitated by plucking the small strings of a harp, had one been at hand. I succeeded also in making some resemblance to it by drawing my finger over the wires of a musical clock which hangs on the wall of the room adjoining that in which we usually sit. This clock is distinctly audible to us in the séance-room, and soon its sound was counterfeited to perfection. Although I could not exactly make out how it was done, I supposed that the piano or clock must be used in some way to make a sound which seemed to be in mid-air. This theory was soon upset, for the sound came in rooms where there was no musical instrument; even in my own bedroom, where sometimes the sound has been so loud as to be distinctly audible through the wall in an adjoining room. Two months after its first appearance, it had become so loud that the vibration of the table was very marked. The sound would traverse the room and seem to die away in the distance, and suddenly burst forth into great power over the table, which appeared in some inexplicable way to be used as a sounding-board. The wood of the table vibrated under our hands exactly as it would have done had a violoncello been twanged

while resting upon it. It was no question of fancy or delusion. The sounds were at times deafening, and alternated between those made by the very small strings of a harp and such as would be caused by the violent thrumming of a violoncello resting on the top of a drum. Sometimes in our midst, sometimes distant and soft, sometimes the bass and treble sounds alternating, the sounds were the most inexplicable that I have ever heard. When they once became established, they were made almost continuously. We never sat without them, and they formed almost the staple phenomenon of the séance. With them, as with other phenomena, great variety was caused by good or bad conditions. Just as illness or atmospheric disturbance made the perfumes and drapery coarse and unrefined, so the lyre sound became harsh, unmusical, and wooden. It seemed to be far more dependent than on material accessories. The table was used until at times the musical twang would shade into a sort of musical knock, and finally become an ordinary dull thud upon the table. Sometimes, too, we heard a very distinct imitation, purposely done, I think, of a loose string. When things were not all right, the sound would assume a most melancholy, wailing character, which was indescribably weird and saddening. It was not unlike the sougling of wind through trees in the dead of night; a ghost-like dreary sound that few persons would sit long to listen to. That sound was always accompanied by black darkness in the room, and we were always glad to take the hint and close the sitting as soon as we could. We invariably found afterwards that there had been some reason for this sadness.

“No point, indeed, connected with these strange sounds is more remarkable than the intensity of feeling conveyed by them. They contrive to render all the varieties of emotion which are conveyed by the human voice. Anger and sadness, content and mirth, solemnity and eagerness, are conveyed in a way quite inexplicable. In answering our questions sometimes an eager and rapid request for alphabet will be struck out, the notes and the quickness with which they are sounded conveying precisely the idea of eagerness which a sharp interruption by an impatient listener would give. The wailing sounds above noticed seem at times almost to sob and shriek as if in a burst of sadness. Sometimes to a question put silence will be maintained for a while, and then little, hesitating sounds will be made, very slowly and tremulously, so as to convey perfectly the idea of uncertainty and doubt. Then again the reply will come clear, sonorous, and immediate as the ‘I do’ of a witness in the box who has no doubt as to the answer he should give.

“As one instance amongst many to illustrate this intelligence in sound, I record the following. Following our usual custom, we had inquired as to the invisible intelligence which governed the sound, and

received full particulars as to his life in the body. These were so minute that I had no difficulty in verifying them from a Biographical Dictionary. After we had become thoroughly used to the sounds and to the alleged maker of them [Groeyn : see later] a book came out which contained some incidental particulars of his life. It fell into the hands of one of our circle, who read it, got up the facts, and took opportunity of questioning about them. For a time all was right ; but on being asked whether he remembered a certain name which was long and difficult to pronounce, a negative was returned. ‘But you must, I think?’ ‘No.’ ‘Why, he was your tutor?’ ‘No.’ ‘You do not remember, but he was.’ A tremendous irritable negative was given. ‘The book says so.’ ‘No,’ in violent, angry accents ; ‘the book does not say so ; and it is imperfect besides.’ Other questions were put, and answers returned in the same sharp, irritable tone, sometimes flatly contradicting, sometimes correcting, assertions made. At last, calling for alphabet, the correct names were—what shall I say?—*roared* out ; and on reference to the book it was found that they were correct. The names were long, and the questioner had forgotten and mispronounced them. No greater evidence of intelligence could be conceived than this. The tone was just the tone of an excited disputant, or of a man angry at having his word disputed when he knew he was right. I had never seen the book from which the queries were propounded. Some of the facts given were not contained in it at all ; others which had been wrongly stated were corrected promptly and decisively ; and in no case was a slip made. I wonder where the Unconscious Cerebration came from then ? I do not believe any person could have been present on that occasion, and have heard the answers and the way in which they were given, without carrying away the conviction that a real individuality, with real feelings, passions, and mental attributes had been present, albeit invisible to the eye of sense. And if he had talked with this invisible as often as we have during more than a year past, he would have had no difficulty in bearing testimony to the reality of disembodied existence, and of the perpetuation of mental individuality and idiosyncrasy. I should have no more difficulty in recognising this sound again than I should in recalling the features and voice of any old friend from whom I might chance to be separated. The individuality is not more real in one case than in the other.

“But I am dealing with sounds now. Identity will come in its turn, and I shall be able to make out a strong case, I think. For the present I return to the immediate question.

“The sounds used always to commence near the circle, and, so to say, radiate from it as a centre into different parts of the room. Of late they have changed, and are usually audible to me before they

strike the ear of any other person. How far this may be attributable to clairaudience, a faculty lately developed in me, I cannot say positively. But at any rate, they seem to me to commence by a distant rumble, not unlike the roll of a drum. This gradually draws nearer until it is audible to all, and the old sounds are in our midst.

“Nor are they confined to the séance-room, though they never occur anywhere else with anything like the readiness and intensity with which they are made in that room, into which no other but our own circle who sit regularly is ever admitted. There they are finest both in tone and power. But they have been heard with great frequency in other places where we have chanced to be, in strange rooms altogether, in different parts of the country where I may have been staying, and even in the open air, under very curious circumstances. We were at Southend this spring, where there is a pier more than a mile in length. My friend [Dr. Speer] and I had taken our books and were sitting at the extreme end, looking out to sea, when raps came very distinctly on the rail in front of us. We ascertained that the sound was there without doubt, and proceeded to experiment upon the distance at which it could be heard. I placed my hands on the topmost rail, and my friend walked on, putting his ear to the wood from time to time. The raps were clear and metallic, and well known to us at our séance. They followed us all along the pier, and were audible at a great distance, as indeed any sound is if made on a long wooden rail. This was at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. At 8 p.m. we went on to the pier again for the purpose of experimenting in a dim light. However, a bright full moon shone overhead, and though it was quiet it was not even dusk. The clear metallic rap was plainly audible at a distance of fifty yards from me. As we were trying whether it could be heard at a greater distance, the musical sounds rang out as clear and resonant as in a closed room. They were distinctly audible to both of us when we were seventy yards apart, and were apparently made in the space between us. At any rate the sound was not near either of us, but seemed to come from a distance. Had the night been dark I believe the sound would have been considerably intensified. As it was it rang out with all the characteristics which it possesses in a closed room, and that at a distance of some 800 or 900 yards from land.

“Hitherto I have mentioned only the stringed musical sounds which first appeared and were gradually developed: the various sounds, as it were, of a harp, from the tiny strings down to the deepest bass notes. But there are other sounds which professedly emanate from the same source, and which resemble the sound of a tambourine played over our heads, or, at times, the flapping of a pair of large wings. The tambourine sound hovers over the circle, and sometimes gets away to a distance, changing almost instantaneously into the twanging of a string. Of

late, other sounds, like those made by a small zither, have presented themselves. They are very minute, rather metallic sounds, and are seven in number, graduated at regular intervals. I have never heard a zither played, but I am told by those who have that these sounds accurately imitate that instrument. They are quite distinct from the sounds which I have described before. Unfortunately, I have no tune in my composition; if it were otherwise, I have no doubt that actual melodies would be played.

“The nearest approach to a distinct melody occurred on a late occasion. We sat on two consecutive evenings; once alone, and once with a friend who occasionally joins our circle. On each occasion the sounds were very marked. When alone, we sit in a smaller room, and there the sounds come out most distinctly; the sound as of a very tense string plucked by a finger nail. Three strings are distinguishable, and very musical were the notes produced from them. On the next evening these three strings were again presented, and in addition to them, another set of seven, much less tensely drawn, and giving forth a lower scale of sounds. I write without technical knowledge, and am somewhat at a loss to convey my meaning; but what struck me was that these two sets of sound were graduated in pitch, and harmonised relatively to each other. They represented two instruments, the one of three, the other of seven strings, and they were used in playing thus:—Certain notes were sounded upon the three strings, and these were followed by a run made as if by running a finger-nail rapidly over the strings of the other instrument. The result was like what musical *cognoscenti* call ‘a free prelude’; what I should describe as a series of notes, highly pitched, clear, and liquid in their melody, followed by a rapid run on an instrument of lower pitch. I speak of instruments, but it is necessary to state that there was in the room—an ordinary dining-room—no musical instrument of any kind whatever. I am indebted to the friend who has been most interested in observing the phenomenon from its first appearance for the subjoined account, which supplements technical deficiencies in my own description:—

STATEMENT BY DR. SPEER.

“The sound which I am about to describe, which was heard in our circle for the first time on March 23rd, 1873, has been one of the most constant and persistent of all the manifestations with which we have become acquainted since commencing our investigation into the phenomena of Spiritualism, having, during the space of fifteen months, almost invariably presented itself at each sitting. By referring to my notes I find it described as ‘a sound like that of a stringed instrument, played, or rather plucked, in mid-air, while there was no stringed instrument in the room.’ Every attempt was subsequently made to ascertain through what substance the sound could be evolved. Objects

of every description were struck against one another with a view to elicit a similar sound, but in vain; and it at last became patent that the sounds were formed independently of any material substance. In process of time, the character of the sound became more and more individualised, and its locality more diversified. It would appear at one time as though emanating from a distant part of the room, and of feeble intensity. At another time, the first intimation of its presence—I speak of *it*, as a phenomenon, but, as was subsequently shown, indicative of a presence—would be the striking apparently of a tense, metallic, or catgut string, over the centre of the table, and not unfrequently upon the table itself. In process of time, the manifestation became most extraordinary. It was almost impossible (to an outsider it would have been *absolutely* impossible) not to believe that a large stringed instrument, *e.g.*, a violoncello, a guitar, a double bass, or a harp, was struck by powerful human fingers. At times the sounds attained such a pitch of intensity as to be almost alarming; as though, indeed, a double bass had been placed cross-wise over the top of a large regimental drum for a sounding-board, and then played after the manner of a guitar—*viz.*, pizzicato. On these occasions the sitters could distinctly feel a strong vibration transmitted from the points of the fingers in contact with the table up to the shoulder-joint.

“Before long these powerfully resonant metallic sounds were supplemented by sounds apparently made by plucking the shortest strings of a harp, and the two sounds would alternate with considerable regularity. Certain evidences of intelligence having been apparent in the manifestations, we ascertained that the sounds were in truth evidences of the presence of individuals purporting to have long since departed from earth-life. The intelligence was manifested first by answers to questions which were given in the same manner as the raps on a table, one, two, three, five, &c. The peculiarity of the answers was that the tone of the sounds corresponded in a most singular and convincing manner with the nature of the response. In other words, the passions of individuals, as exemplified on earth by tones of speech, were here illustrated by the peculiar type and tone of the musical sound. A harp was said to have been a favourite companion of the departed when in the flesh; and several attempts were made to elicit actual melody at various times, but the medium not being of a musical turn of mind, this attempt invariably failed. By request, however, scales, octaves, and thirds have been correctly played, and on one occasion an arpeggio was very fairly rendered, and repeated several times.
S. T. SPEER.’

“I confess myself entirely unable to give any idea of the way in which these remarkable sounds are produced. That they are made by no material means I am certain, for they occur in places where no such means are available. That they are the means taken by an Invisible Intelligence for making his presence manifest is equally certain. Just as others take a peculiar form of rap, or a special handwriting, he takes this musical sound as his symbol. How he makes it, I am as ignorant as I am of the manner in which raps are produced on a table



MRS. STANHOPE SPEER.

without contact. To tell me that it is done by the exercise of will-power does not help me ; and that is all the explanation I can get. That the sound is objective is plain from the fact that all hear it alike ; and if additional proof be wanted, it is found in the fact that the table vibrates beneath the sound. It remains one of the inexplicable mysteries which are none the less real objective facts because they *are* mysteries ; and for the explanation of which we must be content to bide our time. The fact is certain. Let the theory wait."

[From this summarised account of the earlier phenomena I pass on to citations from the almost wholly unpublished notes of Mr. Moses and of Dr. Speer, and from the published notes of Mrs. Speer (*Light*, 1892-3). Mr. Moses' first note-book of physical phenomena (1 B), as already said, is missing ; his note-book 2 B begins, as it happens, at the same date as Dr. Speer's note-book 1, viz., on November 17th, 1872, when the little group met after an interval.

The period, April-November, 1872, covered by the missing 1 B is covered also by Mrs. Speer's notes, and a few direct extracts from 1 B seem to have been printed by Mr. Moses in *Light*. I shall quote some of this early matter, giving throughout Mr. Moses' notes as the text, and Mrs. Speer's (signed M.S.) and Dr. Speer's (signed S.T.S.) in notes. I may say at once that I have found no discrepancies of any importance between the three series of records, although each narrator tends to dwell on a different class of phenomena. Mrs. Speer attends most to the trance-utterances (which I do not here reproduce), and Dr. Speer to the movements of objects without contact. Mr. Moses' own account is generally the fullest for such part of each séance as he was in a normal state ; and where slight slips in dates, &c., occur, Mr. Moses seems generally the most exact. In several cases one of the recorders supplies some detail needed for the proper understanding of the incidents which other recorders have given. None of the records attain, or can even be said to aim at, scientific completeness ; but by studying them in connection, and noting incidental phrases, one can form, I think, a fairly accurate notion of what the recorders believe to have occurred.

Mrs. Speer's early notes describe the gradual way in which the phenomena began :—

March 4th, 1872.—I was taken ill, and confined to my room for three weeks. During that time my cousin brought into my room for Dr. S. to read (she was tired of lending me books on the subject, seeing how little I was interested) Dale Owen's last published work, *The Debatable Land*. I accidentally took it up, and began to read, and at once my indifference vanished, and I read and re-read till I felt my mind and curiosity so aroused

that I longed to get well and find out with the help of others whether the facts contained in this, to me, wonderful book were true or false.

March 26th.—I was able to leave my room, and on seeing our friend Mr. Stainton Moses, I asked him to read the book and endeavour to discover whether it was true or false. I had not been able to arouse my husband's curiosity, as he was at that time almost a Materialist. Mr. S. M. had, up to the present period, felt as little interest in Spiritualism as ourselves, but impressed with my great desire for knowledge upon the subject, he read the book, and became as anxious for information as I was.¹

On *June 3rd* Mr. S. M. and self sat with Mrs. C. and Miss A. C. We then had raps near Mr. S. M., and a few tilts of the table; more than we had had before. After this we met several times, Dr. S. and Miss E. joining our party, but nothing ever occurred except slight rapping, always near Mr. S. M. I was getting weary of such constant failures, and my husband then proposed having the medium, Mr. Williams, to sit with us.

After this séance we sat two or three times with Mrs. C. and her sisters, but very little was elicited beyond numerous small raps, always in the neighbourhood of Mr. S. M., who was by degrees developing into a medium, and who with Dr. S. had attended several public séances, and had been informed at those séances that he would have great mediumistic power.

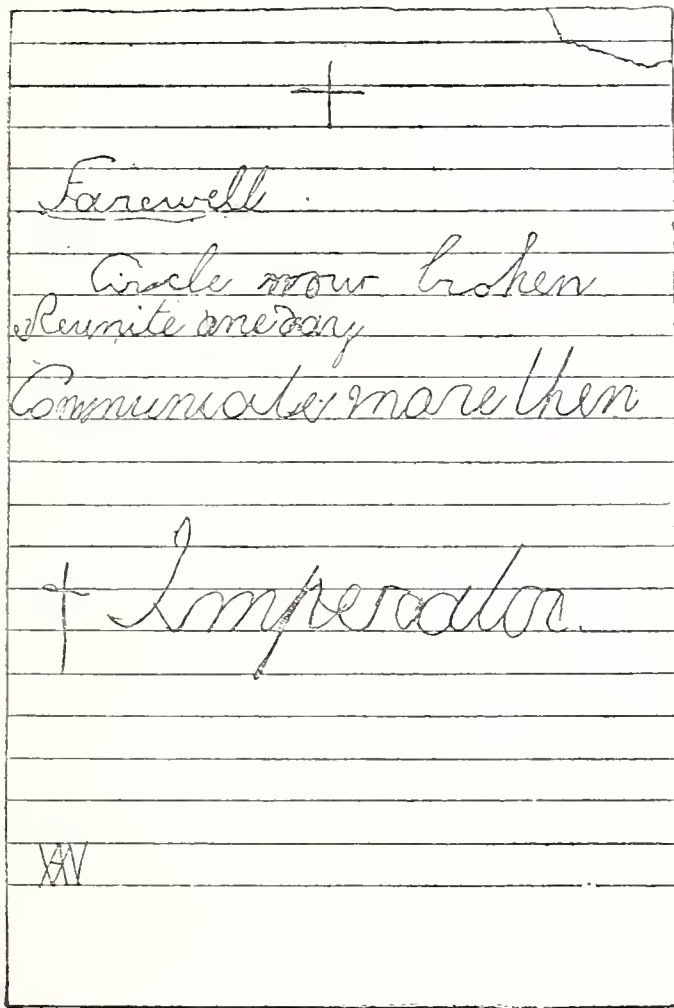
After sitting at home with various people and getting very little result, we became tired, and proposed one evening that we would try by ourselves—Mr. S. M., Dr. S., and self. Accordingly we did so on July 30th, 1872, in the same room, and with the same table that was used when Mr. Williams sat with us. For the first time the raps became intelligent, and answered a few questions. We sat again the following evening, under the same circumstances. Raps louder and more frequent; the table quivered and moved several steps; raps also answered questions.—M.S.

The phenomena improved during the summer; and indications of the *identity* of the communicating intelligences were occasionally given. The subject of spirit identity will, however, be more conveniently discussed when the whole series of proofs, partly given by physical phenomena, and partly by automatic writing, shall be before us. During this summer, too, "Imperator," the leading guide or director of all Mr. Moses' phenomena, announces his advent, although not yet giving any more personal name. I give Mr. Moses' account of the last sitting held before the break, after which Book 2 B and Dr. Speer's notes begin.—F.W.H.M.]

September 19th.—We darkened the séance-room, leaving the gas burning brightly in the adjoining dining-room, Dr. and Mrs. S. and I at the table. On the floor under the table we put a piece of ruled paper and a pencil. A corner of the paper I tore off and handed it to Dr. S. to identify the sheet of paper if necessary. Various raps, some

¹ I had previously tried in vain to read Lord Adare's record of private séances with D. D. Home. Though less than a month before I read *The Debatable Land* I could not get through it. It had absolutely no interest for me.—S. M.

objects brought in, and a noise rather like sawing wood. When light was called for Mrs. S. stooped and picked up the paper. The upper surface was blank. Her endorsement on the back of the paper after-



Facsimile reduced from original. The paper was blue, with faint blue lines. The corner at the top right hand was torn off for identification of the paper.

wards written reads: "I took the paper from under the table with the writing downwards," *i.e.*, on the surface touching the carpet. Dr. S. and I wrote and signed this endorsement. "The above corner was torn off by me (S. M.) before the light was put out, and was given to Dr. S. I (S. M.) afterwards put the two pieces together." They fit exactly, and are secured by a couple of halfpenny stamps, with the initials of Dr. S. and myself upon them.

The message follows the ruled lines exactly. A *facsimile* is

appended, omitting only the initials of a deceased friend. The monogram in the left-hand corner is that of another deceased friend of mine. It will be noticed that the writing is clearly and laboriously executed *on the ruled lines*. In no case are the lines deserted. I fancy the message is written backwards. Imperator's signature is of his usual decided type, very like what is automatically written by my hand. I suspect that the message was written by two hands. Imperator very rarely wrote before or after. The knowledge of my movements was exact. I left for London the next morning.

[We now come to Book 2 B, with the parallel notes of Dr. and Mrs. Speer.]

Sunday, November 17th, 1872.—Dr. and Mrs. Speer and I resumed our séances. The raps were extremely loud and resonant. I have never heard them more plainly. No attempt at conversation was made except in the way of comment. Several distinct kinds of rapping were heard, also creaking, and a peculiar kind of wheezing scratching.¹

Monday, 18th.—Séance resumed. An attempt to sit inside the curtains was not successful. Raps and knocks very resonant, just as much so when none of us touched the table. Clouds of light visible in the room and a form near me. The wheezing noise was present again and raps in different parts of the room. No conversation. Barometric pressure low. I very tired and below par; severe cold and cough.²

Tuesday, 19th.—Séance resumed, with similar results. In addition the table tilted violently, and moved so as to rap on the easy chair in which Dr. Speer was sitting. I saw a figure standing on my right hand, which was said to be Mr. Callister. The room was filled also with clouds of luminous vapour.³

¹ *November 17th.*—Séances resumed after two months' interval. Mrs. S., Mr. M., and self.—1st séance (about one hour). Raps and knocks very soon obtained, about Mr. M., on his chair, on table, on cupboard of library, and in cupboard. Knocks and taps louder than we have heard them. Table moved half round twice. Barometer, 29½.—S.T.S.

² *November 18th.*—Same circle.—Same result as to taps, some of which on the table were, perhaps, even louder. No movement of table. Sat inside curtain with scarcely any results. Mr. M. was tired and exhausted. Weather wet and gloomy. Barometer, 29 2-10.—S.T.S.

³ *November 19th.*—Same circle.—Same results at first, but not speedily developed. Raps in cupboard. Table moved, tilted; remained suspended on two legs at a great angle, and rapped on my chair: "Welcome; we rejoice. Wm. Cr." Barometer, 29 2-10.

November 20th.—Same party.—Sat late—10.45. All tried development by slow knocks and taps. At length table moved round, tilted, and waved as before. No message. Barometer, 29½. Séance about 40 mins.—S.T.S.

Friday, 22nd.—Séance resumed as before. Knocks very resonant. Tiltings of the table completely to the floor without contact; this repeated three times. A paper-knife brought from the drawing-room and thrown on to the table, striking me on the head in transit. On going to my bedroom I found a small cross made out of some Guimauve lozenges which I have for my cough. The remainder of the packet which was not used was taken away, and I have been unable to discover it anywhere.”¹

Wednesday, November 27th.—Séance with Mr. Williams at Douglas House. [Mr. Williams is the well-known medium (who has repeatedly been caught cheating). Douglas House was Dr. Speer’s house in South Hampstead, London.]

We sat (Dr. and Mrs. S. and self) for two hours absolutely without result. We did not get even a rap. After Mr. Williams had gone I went down to the lower room to smoke a cigar before going to bed. As Dr. S. and I were pacing up and down the room a whole shower of Guimauve lozenges (the remainder of the packet out of which the cross had been made on Friday last) was violently thrown on to my head, whence they spread over the floor round about where we were standing. There were thirteen or fourteen of them, and that number, together with the nine used in making the cross, would just about make up the two-ounce packet which I had. I had looked in every conceivable place for these lozenges (which were missing after the cross was made), but could find them nowhere.

Dr. and Mrs. S. and I then sat to see if we could elicit any communications. They came at once—knocks, tilts, and messages. Mrs. S. had imagined that she was touched during the séance with Williams. I thought not as I saw nothing—no spirit in the room. We inquired now, and were told that no touch had been given, and no spirit had been able to manifest at all.²

¹ *November 22nd.*—Same party.—Began at 9.15 p.m. Previous to sitting Mr. M. and self sat on the harmonium stool in the study. Heard loud raps. On sitting, raps almost immediately. Table moved very roughly, then tilted at various angles, and kept suspended, no one being in contact. Table then brought so close to floor as only to rest on my middle finger placed on floor, and yet balanced in that position so delicately as to give but the slightest feeling of pressure on the finger. The same thing occurred in the opposite direction. For some minutes the table (no one touching it) oscillated under my finger at angles which I have since tried and found it impossible to maintain without tipping over at once. N.B.—Mr. M. and Mrs. S. were so far removed as to be entirely out of contact with the table. Message spelt out: “We have done all. Go!”—S.T.S.

² *November 26th [27th].*—Séance. Same as before, but with the addition of Mr. Williams.—Room carefully prepared, cupboards all locked and pasted up.

Tuesday, December 3rd.—Séance with Dr. and Mrs. S. in the lower (breakfast) room. A bright fire burned, and partially lit up the room. The table used was a heavy round loo table, firm, and many times heavier than the small table which we have been accustomed to use in the library, where we usually sit. Manifestations commenced almost immediately. Raps loud and clear, but not so resonant as on the small table, creakings on my chair and on the table. Finally the table rose, tilted violently until it rested on Dr. S.'s finger or the floor. It followed my hands as iron follows a magnet, and was drawn backwards on one occasion when it rested on the floor. I tried and found that very considerable muscular effort was necessary to stir it at all. Yet it followed the passes of my hand. I found that my chair was many times moved, and at length it rose in the air to the height of eighteen inches or thereabouts, as near as I could judge. It then dropped to the floor, and I continued my upward journey until I must very nearly have reached the ceiling. My voice was described by Dr. and Mrs. S. as sounding from the neighbourhood of the ceiling. Presently I came down, and a light was struck. My chair was found to be some distance from the table. When the light was put out again my chair was taken from under me, and placed after a time on the table. It was a heavy chair, but was placed quite gently on the table; and glided towards Mrs. S. The light of the fire was enough for us to see it dimly. I again felt that I was moving, and I walked away to the end of the room to break the circle. Another table near me then began to move, and I called for a light, objecting to any more knocking about.

When we darkened the room again I called for Imperator, who had never rapped all the evening. He came at last, but only rapped a few times very faintly.¹

Bells, rings, tubes, paper, pencil, &c., placed on table. Commenced at 8 p.m., and sat 40 minutes without any result whatever. It was suggested that Mrs. S. should join. She did so for 20 minutes, without any result. We then adjourned for tea, and on returning sat for another hour, but without obtaining any results, although every change in the formation of the circle was tried. We then broke up, and Mr. W. soon after departed. On Mr. M. and myself going downstairs for a smoke, in about 10 minutes a shower of guimauve lozenges came rattling down on Mr. M.'s head, and were scattered all over the floor. They had been missing for several days past. Mr. M. suggested a short séance without Williams. We again sat for 20 minutes, and almost at once obtained results—raps, turning of table, tilting of table. We had no theory to offer for this singular failure.

November 28th.—Séance—same trio.—Power very soon manifest. A closed box placed on table, raps on table and box and in ditto—table violently moved several times, and struck each member in turn. Singular sounds

Monday, December 9th. — Séance as usual, Douglas House.—Imperator [name given by the leading control] came almost as soon as we sat down. His knocks were, as usual, very distant at first, increasing in intensity until at one period of the evening the table shook as from a blow of a powerful fist. Dicky [name given by a frequent control] had very little to do. He tried once or twice to get in, but was shut up at once by a thud and retired creaking in an injured tone. Imperator professed his readiness to answer questions, and I proceeded to question him as to the source from which these manifestations came.

Question. Are these communications from spirits?—Answer. Yes.

Q. Spirits of the departed?—A. Yes.

Q. Are you a spirit once incarnated?—A. Yes.

Q. You have been in the flesh?—A. Yes.

Q. Is the account given of these manifestations by spirits true?—

A. I don't know.

Q. Is what *you* tell us true?—A. Yes (emphatically).

Q. Then are these manifestations from the spirits of the departed?—

A. Yes.

Q. There is no mistake about that?—A. No.

Q. And you yourself are a departed spirit?—A. Yes (three very loud knocks, startling in their intensity).

Q. And others associated with you are spirits of the departed?—

A. Yes.

Q. Any who are not?—A. No.

Q. Do you know the little French child who professed to be Dr. Speer's sister?—A. No.

Q. Were you there when she came?—A. No.

Q. Did Miss Kirkland come?—A. Yes.

Q. Was it Miss K, really?—A. Yes.

emanated from box. *Sawing* closely imitated, ditto driving in of nails. Raps of Imperator soon heard, and became exceedingly strong, almost alarmingly so to a neophyte. Message: "Stop." Séance then broken.

Saturday, November 30th.—Same séance. Raps, tilts as usual on table, on a box placed on table, and on a suspended box, which box was twirled round and round several times without contact of any kind. Imperator manifested loudly, as usual, but suddenly departed.—S.T.S.

¹ December 3rd.—Séance downstairs at large round table. Manifestations slow, some complaining of same; the table suddenly tilted up with considerable force, and oscillated at a great angle. This occurred several times. Mr. M. was moved about, and floated twice, and a large dining-room chair was placed on the table. I, sitting in a large, heavy armchair, was for the first time distinctly moved.—S.T.S. Sat in firelight.—M.S.

Q. Are you sure?—A. Yes, yes.

Q. Did you write that message the other night?—A. No.

Q. Were you there when it was written?—A. No.

Q. You did not come because Dr. Speer offended you?—A. Yes.

(Dr. S. again apologised, and the apology was received with a series of stately raps, suggestive of bows.)

Q. Then your absence let in an evil or lying spirit?—A. Yes.

Q. Are we liable to that?—A. Yes.

Q. Then you do leave me?—A. No.

Q. Not usually, you mean?—A. Yes.

Q. Then we must be guarded and careful to sit with solemnity, and follow guidance?—A. Yes.

Q. You are good?—A. Yes.

Q. I solemnly charge and adjure you in the name of God that you tell the truth. Are you a good spirit, once incarnated in the flesh?—A. Yes.

(Three of the loudest knocks I ever heard. We all involuntarily drew in our breath, and a feeling of awe stole over us.)

Q. It is true, then, that departed spirits can return. Do you know Mr. C.?—A. Yes.

Q. Is he here?—A. No.

Q. Can you fetch him?—A. Yes.—Do so.

The room, which had been filled (especially round me) with floating clouds of light, grew suddenly dark, and absolute stillness took the place of the previous loud knockings. It would have been a strange scene for an ear-witness. The table, isolated, with no human hand touching it, giving forth a series of mysterious thuds of varying intensity, some of which might have been made by a muffled sledge-hammer, all indicating intelligence; an intelligence that showed itself by deliberation, or eagerness, or stately solemnity, according to the nature of the communication. Round the table three persons sitting with a hush of expectation, and faces (if they could have been seen) of awe-stricken earnestness; a question put, and a loud response, another, and a series, as though by a counsel cross-examining a dumb witness. The room shrouded in total darkness, except at one end, where shifting masses of luminous vapour now and again gathered into a pillar which dimly outlined a form, and again dispersed and flitted round the head of one of the sitters. No scene could be imagined more calculated to strike a novice with awe, none more solemn and impressive for those who participated in it. The Witch of Endor was not more surprised when her unholy incantation evoked the shade of Samuel than I was when Emperor in answer to my solemn adjuration professed himself to be a departed spirit. I had for

some time leaned to the opinion that the spirits—if spirits they were—were not departed ones. Dr. S. had leaned to the same notion, so that the Unconscious Cerebration theory fails to meet this case.¹ It must be, I think, what it pretends to be—a message of truth from a denizen of the spheres, who has passed the probation of life and has been permitted to return to the world in which he once lived, and whose communications, though imperfect, are sincere.

After being absent about three minutes, Imperator returned, and his commanding thuds drew our attention. They were at once followed by knocks of a different description to any which we had yet heard. We inquired whether Mr. C. were present? Yes. Q. Are you the spirit of my old friend?—A. Yes.—Q. Who died so-and-so, and so-and-so. . . . ?—A. Yes. Q. Can you give me any test?—A. Yes. The table then knocked T R I N I T Y. It was a test to me. My friend shortly before his death had been perplexed about theological questions, and once had written to me to say he had been lying awake on Trinity Sunday morning trying to realise the Trinity and had failed. He asked me for an explanation of the doctrine, and I had written to him on the subject.

The knocks ceased and Imperator returned. We requested that Dicky might be allowed to tilt the table, and it was at once done; but Imperator soon stopped him, and bid us good-night. So closed a most impressive séance; in which the opinion of the intelligences themselves declared unmistakably for the Theory of Departed Spirits. Though this would not form any strong argument to convince one who had made up his mind in an opposite direction, still it must be allowed to have its weight. Taken in connection with other collateral evidence such as the materialised spirit form, the strongly marked individuality which pervades communications from each particular spirit, the totally different nature of the knock in each case, and the fact of certain tests being given, the balance of evidence must be allowed to be strong.

For instance, I see a materialised form which bears resemblance to a deceased friend (Step No. 1). I see that form standing by during the progress of phenomena (Step No. 2). A knock different from any other is given (Step No. 3). That knock gives a communication which purports to come from the person whose form I see near me (Step No. 4). Questioned, that communicating intelligence asserts in the most solemn manner that it is what it pretends to be, and persists in that statement on being adjured (Step No. 5). On being further pressed a test known only to myself is given to prove identity

¹ Mr. Moses here fails to realise the possibility that opinions not held by our ordinary selves may nevertheless be held and expressed by the unconscious or subliminal part of our being.—F. W. H. M.

(Step No. 6). That information is confirmed by other communicating intelligences, who knock with their own special knock, and are apparently distinct individualities (Step No. 7).

This forms a strong link of evidence in favour of the theory advanced by the intelligences themselves. On the other side is the manifest fact that communications purporting to come from our deceased friends are not always trustworthy, and that they are generally marked by evidences of intellectual weaknesses. It may be that the falsehoods are traceable to lying spirits who personate spirits of good, and that the low order (intellectually speaking) of the communications may be accounted for by the tortuous channel through which they come and the medium through which they have been filtered. But the explanation is not perfectly satisfactory. And there is the additional stumbling-block that it is *prima facie* extremely unlikely that the spirits of the noble, the learned, and the pure should be concerned in the production of physical and intellectual phenomena which, when not silly, are frequently mischievous, and when distinctly true are not new, and being new are not true. The argument that God permits for the establishment of a fading faith manifestations such as these would satisfactorily dispose of all objections. A similar rough and ready form of argument would explain everything that is obscure and reduce all investigation as to the cause of things within very narrow limits. God permits it, or it would not exist. The fact that it exists because He permits it is no more an explanation than would be the converse, that He permits it because it exists. Speculations as to the motives which sway the Deity are utterly fruitless, and presumptions as to what is or is not likely are worse than fruitless. I have seen enough to convince me that everything is likely, and that nothing is likely; and I have come to the conclusion that one fact is worth one thousand theories. No theory that I know of will explain everything, simply because we are explaining a *terra incognita* and dealing with the impalpable, which we cannot grasp, and the unknown, which we cannot in our present state of existence expect to fathom.

The theory of the Spiritualists—the theory advanced by the intelligences themselves—is that which seems to me the roundest and most coherent. But “round” theories are suspicious, and the suspicions in this case are aggravated by the manifestly untrue character of many of the communications given by these intelligences. The voice from beyond the grave is uncertain, and when it can be tested frequently delusive, if not absolutely and mischievously false. So I fancy that a wise man will still return as his verdict, “Not Proven.”

[Mr. Moses came in a few months more to believe completely in the actual identity of the communicating intelligences. But this passage in his diary tends to show (what on other testimony also I believe to have been the case) that he was by no means anxious to believe in, or to defer to, the claims of alleged "spirit guides." His previous Anglican convictions were very strong; and his intellectual habit of mind inclined rather to the side of stubbornness than of pliancy.—F.W.H.M.]

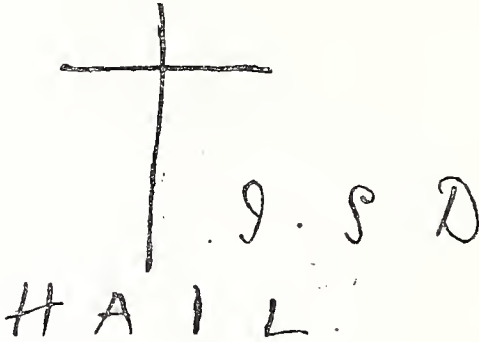
Thursday, December 12th.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S. and I.—The séance was short. I questioned Imperator as to a vision I had had on the previous night. He said that he had appeared to me. He was somewhat different in appearance to what had been described. I asked whether I should see him again. He knocked out: "Watch." The clouds of light, which had gathered as usual round me, lifted and went to my right hand. They condensed gradually into a pillar, and finally into a form, majestic, stately and noble in mien. The body was draped as with a toga, though that might simply have been the spirit drapery. The right arm was extended and pointed towards me. The face was the face of my vision, though not so distinct. I asked that I might be touched, and the figure slowly stepped towards me, but did not touch me. Finally it faded away very gradually until it was dissipated in luminous mist. Dr. and Mrs. S. saw misty light, but nothing more. I asked who it was, and "Myself" was rapped out in Imperator's knocks.

Monday, December 15th.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S., Mr. Aug. Eves, and myself.—Imperator never appeared. Dicky brought in two pieces of an ivory puzzle from the drawing-room, and a handful of sugar from the dining-room. The introduction of a new member utterly quashed all intellectual manifestations. This seems to me most undesirable, though in this case inevitable.

December 16th.—Dr. and Mrs. Speer and self alone, Douglas House.—Mrs. Speer explained to Mr. Eves that he must not join the circle, as it was objected to by the spirits. We had no sooner sat down than distant knocks of Imperator came.¹ They increased rapidly in intensity, and the alphabet was called for at once. The knocks were very loud, irritable and rapid. Several messages were given. "If you alter the circle I will withdraw all manifestations." "It is difficult enough without your making it harder." "Never again, under any circumstances." On Mrs. Speer explaining that she did not know, the irritable rejoinder came with knocks of vast power: "You ought to have known." I remonstrated with Imperator on his violence, and he knocked more quietly. Having more than once reiterated, "Never

¹ Five knocks form a conventional request to have the alphabet spelt out, that a knock may be given at each letter of the intended message.—F.W.H.M.

again," he told us to look under the table, and we found a piece of paper which we had put there perfectly clean, now covered with the pencil marks of which the accompanying is a *fac-simile* :—



The knocks were awful in their intensity, and so loud as to be plainly heard in the breakfast-room on the floor below. The communicating intelligence was of a most imperious description, little disposed to brook opposition, and showed a power which gave one an uncomfortable notion that he was quite able to break our heads if it so pleased him. Evidently the circle must not be added to without distinct permission. And no wonder. A delicate experiment may be vitiated by the most trifling alterations in conditions. And we know nothing of the conditions except that they are governed by laws of which we know little, which the spirits require before they can carry on their higher work of intellectual manifestation. Interference withdraws the higher, and sends one back again to creaking chairs and physical marvels. Emperor justly resents such interference.

December 19th.—In the evening Dr. and Mrs. S. and self sat in the study. After some knocks and tiltings, Emperor entranced me for the first time in the presence of Dr. and Mrs. Speer. Mrs. Speer proceeded to hold a long conversation with him. She describes the voice as quite unlike my own, very slow and measured, calm and very dignified. He said that he had influenced Mrs. S. to inquire into Spiritualism ; that he was here now ; that he (Emperor) had difficulty in communicating through me on account of my ill-health and want of perfect faith in the manifestations, or rather, in their origin. Psychic force, he said, was true enough. He wished Dr. and Mrs. S. to sit with me for ten minutes after he had left, so as to give me strength.

Sunday, December 22nd, 1872.—Séance at Mr. Walter Crookes's, 24, Moteombe-street, Belgrave-square. Present : Mr. D. D. Home, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Crookes, and myself.—The only things that occurred were owing to my mediumship and not to Mr. Home's. He was ill,

and his mediumship is very uncertain. Raps on my chair and in the table occurred. When Mr. Home sang and played they kept time. The table also moved twice. This was all.

Mr. D. D. Home is a striking-looking man. His head is a good one. He shaves his face with the exception of a moustache, and his hair is bushy and curly. He gives me the impression of an honest, good person, whose intellect is not of a high order. I had some talk with him, and the impression that I have formed of his intellectual ability is not high. He resolutely refuses to believe in anything that he has not seen for himself. For instance, he refuses to believe in the passage of matter through matter, and when pressed concludes the argument by saying, "I have never seen it." He has seen the ring test, but, oddly enough, does not see how it bears on the question. He accepts the theory of the return in rare instances of the departed, but believes with me that most of the manifestations proceed from a low order of spirits who hover near the earth sphere. He does not believe in Mrs. Guppy's passage through matter, nor in her honesty. He thinks that *regular* manifestations are not possible. Consequently he disbelieves public mediums generally. He had read with great interest the *Liverpool Mercury* letters [Autumn, 1872], and welcomed me as the "ablest exponent of a creed which was very dear to him." He said he was thankful to know that his mantle had fallen on me, and urged me to prosecute the inquiry and defend the faith. Altogether he made quite an Elijah and Elisha business of my reception. He plays and sings very nicely, and recites well. He wore several handsome diamonds, gifts from royal and distinguished persons. He is a thoroughly good, honest, weak, and very vain man, with little intellect, and no ability to argue or defend his faith.

1873.—The new year opens with a record of a very remarkable séance held by Dr. and Mrs. Speer and myself, in the study at Douglas House, on New Year's Eve. A number of strange spirits came, each with its peculiar noise. We noticed the great number of strange noises, and I knew by impression that strange spirits were present. Dr. Speer was in the act of calling upon Dicky to bring him something, when a pair of salad tongs came down from the ceiling and struck him on the head. They did not appear to have been thrown with any force, and seemed to come from a different direction to that from which articles are usually thrown. They generally come directly over my head, the power being concentrated there. In this case the tongs seemed to come from the ceiling nearly above Dr. Speer's head. Amongst the strange noises that we heard was one very peculiar wailing sound. I succeeded in establishing communication and found that the Spirit purported to be my old friend A. W. I begged her not to wail so. I fear she is not happy. She rapped out, "Cross for you," Mrs. S. calling the alphabet.

Light was called for, and before Mrs. Speer was placed a crucifix of blue enamel with a handsomely chased figure of the Saviour. It was unknown to all of us, and seemed to be of foreign manufacture. "Wear it" was spelled out. The next spirit gave the initials J. N. L. ; she said that affinity had brought her ; we did not know her ; and she had come to do us good. She managed to tilt the table, so as to rap upon the woodwork of Dr. Speer's armchair. The knocks were very clear and resonant, but gentle and firm in character.

After this I was entranced by Imperator. He said that a great many strange spirits had been admitted that night who had been waiting to get into the circle. He had difficulty in speaking, not being used to it ; had left the earth for a very long time, and had come back to control me in obedience to a direct mission entrusted to him. A question addressed to Imperator about a very remarkable spirit-light was replied to by him to the effect that the bright halo of light indicated great spiritual power.

The light referred to was a very remarkable one. I regret very much that I cannot from personal observation describe the appearance. I was partially entranced when it appeared, so far that my powers of observation were worthless, and before it was fully developed I was in a very deep trance, from which I did not recover until the appearance had vanished. The description given by Dr. and Mrs. Speer is very circumstantial. Dr. Speer was the first to observe the light, which was directly behind me on the wall. Dr. S. faced me, and his eye was attracted by a line of light three-quarters of an inch in width, of a bright golden hue, which for a moment developed in a cross and then took the form of a long line of golden light more than six feet in height. Round my head was a halo with rays of light darting upwards, exactly as described by clairvoyants on previous occasions. On this occasion Dr. S. said he saw light : was there any objection to his putting out his hand to feel whether it was over my head ? He did so, and his hand went straight to my head at once. The nimbus of light was formed before the concentrated pencil appeared on the wall. As I moved the ray moved with me. Commencing near the door, between door and fireplace, on the floor there was visible a large cluster of light about the size of a saucer, but more oblong. It was moved in conjunction with the other, and remained for half-an-hour or more. (The cluster of light on the floor was always in view. The long pencil of light was at times obscured by my body in its lower extremity.) The light on the wall moved round from my back to the looking-glass over the fire. It was not until Dr. S. rose from his chair to look over my head that he found that the column of light rested on the floor. His view of it had been intercepted by my body. The light was visible for more than half-an-hour. Imperator on being questioned said that the pencil of light was himself ;

the bright cluster of light was his personal attendant; and other lights in the room were the band. Dr. Speer walked up to the light on the wall, put his face within a few inches of it and passed his hand over it. The cluster of light on the floor seemed to be on the pedals of the harmonium. Both lights remained clearly in view until the gas was lighted and the séance terminated.¹

January 4th [1873].—In the afternoon, whilst Mrs. Speer and I were sitting in the dining-room, the gas being fully lighted, Dicky moved the large dining-table, rocked it, and told us that he had lived when on earth in Lincolnshire. Whilst the musical clock was playing, a heavy tramp passed round the room in time to the music.²

January 7th.—Séance at 4, Worcester Lawn [Clifton]. Present: Dr. Thomson and his son, Mr. Beattie, and Mr. Butland (the medium through whom the Clifton photographs were obtained). [Mr. Beattie and Dr. Thomson are dead; and I have not been able to trace the other two sitters.—F.W.H.M.] The table was very fidgety, was moved backwards and forwards, tilted, rocked, and finally floated to a height of about two feet from the ground. The movement was very slow and stately, except now and again, when it was violently shaken. The room was shaken throughout. Emperor entranced me and spoke to Mr. Beattie at great length about the photographs, saying that they were not photos of spirits, but of

¹ *December 31st, 1872.*—A very successful séance. A blue enamel cross was brought, no one knew whence, placed before my wife, who was told to wear it. A pair of salad tongs of Sèvres manufacture brought from drawing-room *through two closed doors*. A column of light about seven feet high was seen to move round the room, and about two feet to the right of the column was a large glowing mass of light. The column of light I placed my hand upon, as seen on the wall. High barometer, 30; dark. During the time Emperor was entrancing the medium, and conversing with us through him, we saw a large bright cross of light behind the medium's head, rays surrounding it; after this it culminated into a beautiful line of light of great brilliancy, reaching several feet high and moving from side to side. Behind this column of light on the floor was a bright cluster of lights in oblong shape. These remained for more than half-an-hour, and upon asking Emperor the meaning of the lights, he said the pillar of light was himself; the bright light behind him his attendant; and the numerous lights seen in the room belonged to the band. The light around the medium's head showed his great spiritual power. He also said in time we might see him; might do so now were our spiritual vision clearer. Emperor then closed the séance and the medium awoke unconscious of all that had been done.—S.T.S.]

² *January 4th.*—First appearance of Rector, known by his heavy tread all round the room, in full gas-light. Séance in light. Table danced a jig, with our fingers nearly touching it, perpendicularly.—S.T.S. In the light we watched the table tilt and dance up and down without contact of hands.—M.S.

pictures made by the spirits. He gave a final inspirational address on Progress, which is described as being extremely beautiful. Mr. Butland in trance came round to me and went through an extremely elaborate pounding and mesmerising of my chest and throat. It was a long process. He then (under the control of Dr. Elliotson) took my hand and joined it to Mr. Beattie's. This was in the dark. A very loud, gruff voice then said: "Let the instrument sit at the table in light, and we will endeavour to entrance him again." Accordingly Mr. Butland sat down, and we lit the gas. After a time he was again entranced. The process of passing into the trance was very painful to witness. When entranced he rose and came round to me and stood over me. The face was upturned and the lips moved in prayer: "Bless him," "Guide him," "Lead him in the right way." The hands were outspread as in benediction. He then knelt by my knee, burst into tears, covering his face with his hands, and finally fell flat on the floor, and went through a semblance of dying. The hands were at length folded on the breast, and the medium rose and impersonated another character. This is a peculiarity of his mediumship. This time it was Mr. Beattie's mother. Then two friends of his who used to live in Clifton. The face and voice changed in each new control. One of the latter, an old Presbyterian minister, said it would be better if the séance were opened with prayer. Mr. Beattie requested him to give a form. He turned round very reverently and bowed to me, or rather to Imperator standing behind me, and said: "The Great Spirit will give it." After a time the control passed and I was entranced again. During this time I spoke the following prayer:—

"Holy Father, God Most High, be present with us and hear the earnest prayer of Thy children, crying after light. We are weak, but Thou art Mighty! We grope in darkness after Thee, the Infinite Light. O God, Thou Who art the Infinite Light! O God, Thou Who art all-pure, all-holy, guide us, Thine erring children, into purity and holiness! Suffer us not to be led away by that which is earthly, sensual, devilish, but in Thine Infinite Mercy lead us onward and upward to the fountain of Eternal Light. O Thou good God, be with us! We ask no more. If we have not Thee we are indeed bereft. Amen."

The whole séance was a most striking one. I regret again that I cannot record Imperator's trance-speaking, which Mr. Beattie says were most beautiful, reminding him of Home's finest trance-speaking. He never saw such a séance, he says.

Dr. T. and I sat alone. The manifestations commenced at once. Dicky brought a small croquet ball from the next room and a handful of lozenges from my bedroom. Imperator entranced me, and explained that Miss M. had been the deterrent influence, not because of her unbelief, but from her tone of mind. My spirits could not come into the room or breathe the atmosphere that surrounded her. He



MR. CHARLTON T. SPEER.

(Imperator) had sent a manifesting spirit to fetch the articles in order to show Dr. T. the power. He also gave information of peculiarities of my mediumship, its sensitiveness and high-class nature; spoke favourably of Mr. Butland, who was, he said, a very valuable and honest medium.

January 9th.—Dr. Thomson, Mr. Beattie, Mr. Butland and I tried for spirit photographs in the dark without success.

January 10th.—Séance at Worcester Lawn, Clifton. Present: Dr. Thomson, Mr. Beattie, Miss Jones, and a French artist, a friend of Mr. Beattie and myself.—The manifestations commenced immediately. The table was repeatedly floated in the air, two feet or more from the ground, the raps were very loud indeed, Dr. Thomson and Miss Jones were touched very distinctly, my chair was floated, removed from me, and I was placed in an armchair in a corner of the room. Articles were brought from three different rooms in the house—viz., some Guinauve lozenges from my bedroom, four dominoes from a box in the dining-room, and a heavy clip with receipted bills from Dr. Thomson's room. I had never been in that room, and it is rare that articles are brought from a room in which no psychic power has been left.

I was entranced by Imperator, and gave a long address on the temper and mind requisite for receiving communications and on inspiration. Lights were seen during the trance. All agreed that the manifestations were the most powerful they had ever witnessed.

January 11th, 1873.—Séance at Worcester Lawn. Present: Dr. Thomson, Mr. Beattie, Mr. Butland, and self.—Manifestations commenced at once. The table was floated, loud raps came, my chair was moved. Two things were brought out of a bag in my room, a railway key and a foot-rule. The table was repeatedly floated, and remained suspended and waving backwards and forwards for a considerable time. Imperator entranced me, and gave an address on Investigation and Proselytising, concluding with a very beautiful prayer.

Mr. Butland was then entranced, with less difficulty than usual, and rose from his chair with eyes firmly closed and with a peculiar gesture which Mr. Beattie recognised. He took paper and signed his initials, J. E., indicating that the spirit of Dr. Elliotson was present. He is the controlling spirit with Mr. Butland.

After walking about for some time the face and mien changed and the medium went through a death-bed scene. The face wore an expression of pain, and the medium gasped for breath, put his hands over his head, writhed as though in pain, and went through a number of gestures indicative of dying. The face cleared, the expression became less painful, and the hands were put out as though on the heads of children. At last the hands were folded over the chest and

the medium rose and came to Dr. Thomson and stood over him with a look and attitude of great affection. He asked if it were his wife, who died in August last, and the face brightened and smiled eager assent. Asked if she were often with the children—four little ones—the face assumed an expression of great maternal love and gazed upwards as though imploring a blessing. It was a singularly beautiful impersonation—Dr. T. told me that the death-bed was reproduced almost exactly, and that he had no doubt that it was the spirit of his wife who inspired the medium.

The next control was by Dr. Elliotson, who went through a very elaborate magnetising of my throat and chest. Before doing so, however, he appealed with a deep obeisance to Emperor, who was standing behind me, and asked permission. Having received it, he explained that I was under the control of a very high spirit without whose permission he dared not touch me. Having completed the operation he turned again, bowed low, and Emperor seemed to come forward. I felt the presence of Emperor's touch. The spirit controlling Mr. Butland was appealed to by Mr. Beattie as to a remedy which he had advised for me, and again some three or four spirits were "called in consultation." Dr. E. said there were very many spirits who wished to manifest, but he could not allow them, as it would hurt the instrument. Mr. Beattie's father next manifested. He had been present before and had communicated through the table, and had touched Mr. Beattie in a way peculiar to himself. Amongst other things, he had given a peculiar Masonic knock, which Dicky caught up and was highly delighted with! | | | ~~~~~ | | | may represent it. After this control ceased the medium's face changed to an expression of great sweetness. He came over and stood before me, and looked down on me with a smile of great affection. He then sat down on my lap, took my hand and clasped it in both of his, straining it to him. Finally he put his arm round my neck and laid his head sobbing on my shoulder. The sobs were so violent as to shake us both, and indicated delight rather than pain. The medium then rose and gazed with a rapt expression upwards. The face was extremely beautiful. The arms were extended to heaven, and the lips moved in prayer. The arms were now and again drawn down on my head as though calling down angel ministers, and I was conscious of a very pure and soothing presence and influence. I have no doubt A. W. was the controlling spirit. I asked her if she were weeping for sorrow. She signed very earnestly "No." I asked if I caused her pain, and she eagerly embraced me afresh. Was she near me often? "Always" was faintly whispered. Could I do anything for her? Apparently, no. Was she happy? Yes. She turned and gazed again at me with a face of rapt, almost agonised affection, and left the medium, who was again controlled by Dr. Elliotson.

I inquired about the spirit who had just been present, but could get no answer except that she would communicate with me herself hereafter. She expressed great delight at my having recognised her. Soon after this the control ceased, and we closed a very remarkable séance.

Mr. Butland's mediumship is of a very remarkable type. The face is a good one, with pleasant features, and a full black beard and moustache. When controlled the face is very expressive, and admits of great change of expression. The gestures are fine and the attitudes would be a fine study for a sculptor in some cases. Both expression and gesture change very rapidly, and a stranger has no difficulty in recognising the emotions intended to be conveyed. At times the pathos is very great and most strikingly depicted. Tears flow from the eyes, and the whole man is thrown into the character he is depicting, for each representation has its strongly-marked individuality, which is maintained throughout.

Few of the spirits speak, except Dr. Elliotson, Mr. Dickie, and Mr. Charleton.

Wednesday, January 15th, 1873.—Séance at Douglas House.—The room was lighted with a red light sufficiently strong to enable us to see perfectly what was going on. We could observe the lifting and floating of the table to the height of two feet or more.¹

Tuesday, January 21st.—Séance at Douglas House.—The usual phenomena occurred. The table was floated repeatedly, and raised from the ground two feet without contact. . . . Dicky stated that he was the spirit who trod so heavily in time to music, and shook the room. He illustrated his remark by shaking the floor, and saying that that was his peculiar sound. [It appears that this séance was held in half-light, though Mr. Moses does not mention the fact.]²

January 25th.—Séance at Douglas House.—The physical phenomena commenced at once, and on one occasion the table was floated to the level of our heads; this in clear light. Dicky was requested to bring something, and accordingly he fetched part of an ivory puzzle out of the drawing-room,* and a heavy bronze candlestick out of the dining-room. The latter struck me heavily on the head, and hurt me considerably.³

¹ *January 15th.*—Séance in red light. Great movements of the table. It was repeatedly lifted up to the level of our faces, even without touching it. Subdued light, quite sufficient to see the table and our hands. The table was moved and floated several times; we could watch in light its every movement.—S.T.S.

² *January 21st.*—Séance. Half light, enough to see our hands. The table was lifted to a considerable height twelve times.—S.T.S. We again sat in light.—M.S.

³ *January 25th.*—Séance. A candlestick brought from next room through

January 29th.—Table tilted, moved, and floated as usual. Dicky came and tilted the table near Dr. Speer. I lectured and forgave him, and he danced about in great glee. [This sitting is plainly the one referred to below by Dr. Speer, who mentions that there was some light in the room, a fact which seems to have been only occasionally noted.]¹

Sunday, February 23rd.—Séance at Douglas House. Present, the usual circle, with Mr. Harrison, Editor of the *Spiritualist*.—In order to avoid the usual séance-room [which Imperator desired to be kept exclusively for the intimate group] we sat in the breakfast-room, the firelight being excluded as well as possible. The usual raps and creaks, which had been plainly audible at dinner, commenced at once, and Dicky was particularly lively. We were then requested to darken the room, and the light which had been round us vanished, and the sounds ceased. Presently my chair began to move, and I saw light coming as it were through the door. At once my chair was withdrawn from me, and placed on the table; from which position it toppled over to the floor again, whilst I was shot to the end of the room under a side table, and three articles were put upon the table, viz., a carved ivory napkin-ring from under a glass shade in the drawing room, a carte de visite from the same room, and a chamois horn from the entrance hall. We all felt cold, and the influence was very strong.

We made a break now for tea, and when we returned Dicky again fetched a compass from the drawing-room.²

Tuesday, March 4th.—Séance at Douglas House.—A very loud knock on the table came as I was describing Mrs. Jencken's knocks. It was a distinct imitation of hers, but not quite so loud. Dr. Speer had got a magnet, which he put on the table, as an experiment. I do not know how far that influenced the noise, which was very loud.

We had joined hands, contrary to our usual habit, and when a light was struck (on the heavy blow coming) we found on the table a little silver tray with an orange and rose upon it—the orange for me, I was coughing, and the rose for Mrs. Speer. Knocks sounded all over the room. [Note that Dr. Speer makes the orange a biscuit.]³

closed doors, and was thrown at Mr. M., hurting him much. The table was repeatedly lifted, higher than ever.—S.T.S. We saw a form surrounded with light standing between myself and the medium.—M.S.

¹ *January 28th [29th].*—Séance. Still greater levitation of the table. We had almost to stand to keep our hands on it; one leg was placed on the arm of my chair five times. A chamois horn was quietly brought through the locked doors, and thrown on floor; light partial.—S.T.S.

² *February 23rd.*—Séance below with Mr. Harrison, Editor of the *Spiritualist*. Several objects brought into the room from the floor above; a heavy chair placed on the table.—S.T.S.

³ *March 4th.*—Séance. Two violent blows of metallic sound struck on the

Monday, March 10th.—Séance at Douglas House.—Curious spirit knock came like a sharp tap with a pebble. I had heard the same sound before in my bedroom. It was very metallic and clear. Imperator spoke in answer to questions at some length. [Here the bringing in of two objects is noted by Dr. Speer only.]¹

Sunday, March 15th.—We sat (Dr. S. and I) below stairs, and had many knocks. The room shook, and the knocks occurred just the same when our hands were removed and our feet placed on the table. We had several messages, one purporting to come from Dr. Speer's little sister, C.P.S.S. Imperator came. He spoke with difficulty, and said that many spirits were round us. The noise on the table, chair, bookcase, and harmonium stool was very remarkable, continuing all the time that I was entranced. Before the trance passed, a very hard knock was given on the table.²

March 19th, 1873.—Douglas House.—Dr. Speer and I sat alone in the room below. The spirit above described [as making loud metallic raps] came and knocked very violently. Dr. S. had in his hand a small steel hammer, used in sounding the chest, and with it he struck violent blows on the table, which were responded to by still louder knocks from the spirit. The knocks were of the same intense and metallic character as before. The force exercised must have been very great.

We were finally told to go upstairs and sit in the séance-room. Mrs. Speer joined the circle, and little Pauline came and rapped in the cupboard of the bookcase. The raps were clear and the same as we have heard from her before. She gave her name. Dr. S. asked for a message. She said, "I wrote," alluding to a previous evening when there had been a great noise in the cupboard. Dr. S. looked in the cupboard, and found his marked piece of paper covered on one side with "Dieu vous garde.—C. P. S. Sperr" (*sic*).

[This mis-spelling is noticeable in connection with the question how far the mis-spelling of names, when given by raps or direct writing, affects the question of identity. Here we have a control which returns frequently, and shows knowledge of the brief earth-life, and the full name of the little sister of Dr. Speer's, whom it claims to be. Yet the

table; a silver salver with a flower and biscuit brought in from adjoining room, doors being locked.

¹ *March 10th.*—Séance on ground floor. Extraordinary metallic blows again dealt on table, and some on the floor. Two objects brought in from above and dropped on the floor.—S.T.S.

² *March 16th [15th].*—C. P. S. S. came, also Prudens Scientiæ. Extraordinary and unaccountable sounds heard in a closed cupboard to my right hand.—S.T.S.

familiar name is thus mis-spelt. On the other hand, certain names of infant children (as will be seen later, Feb. 10th, 1874) were spelt with great exactness. So again, of two Greek names mis-spelt in direct writing, one was thoroughly familiar to Mr. Moses, who was much disgusted at the blunder. The inference, as stated by the controlling intelligences themselves, seems to be that when a name is rapped out or given in direct writing its production is of the nature of a *physical phenomenon*, which may be more or less successfully performed, and is not necessarily performed by the spirit itself whose name is given. The mere fact that a name is given by direct writing is thus no proof of identity; and neither is a blunder in spelling it any disproof.—F.W.H.M.]¹

Sunday, March 23rd, 1873.—Dr. S. and I sat in the lower room. We had the usual sounds, especially the metallic knock very loud. A new spirit manifested, who gave the name of the Spirit of Art. There was also a noise in mid-air, apparently between Dr. S. and myself, as of the twanging of a stringed instrument. There was no such instrument in the room, and I am at a loss how to account for it. A spirit also imitated the drumming of a tunc. The knocks were at times exceedingly loud.²

Monday, March 24th, 1870.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and I sat in the study. We had the usual knocks, and Imperator answered questions. I had magnetised a sheet of paper, and put it under the table. Imperator, speaking through me, told Dr. and Mrs. Speer to hold my hands and he would give me a “pleasing test.” Accordingly, when I came out of trance I found my hands grasped. This continued until a light was called for by four raps, when we found the paper covered by minute writing. The annexed is as near a *facsimile* as I can make. [A message of about ten lines of general advice is here copied. This sitting is noticeable from an evidential point of view, from the mutually supplementary accounts of Mr. Moses and Dr. Speer. Dr. Speer’s statement: “I myself kicked the pencil away from the paper,” apparently means “in order to make sure that, hands being held, no writing should be done with the feet.”—F.W.H.M.]³

¹ *March 19th.*—Séance. Tremendous raps, imitating and exceeding those made by myself with a percussion hammer. These sounds occurred both in my study and breakfast-room. C.P.S.S. [the infant sister of Dr. Speer, from whom frequent messages were alleged to come] gave a message from the cupboard.—S.T.S.

² *March 23rd.*—Séance on ground floor. Great blows struck on table; knocks and sounds of every kind. Gravel thrown through closed window; some stringed instrument was heard playing in mid-air. There was none in the room.—S.T.S.

³ *March 25th [24th].*—Séance in study. One metallic blow struck on table,

Wednesday, April 2nd, 1873.—The anniversary of my first séance. I have now kept an accurate record of events for a year. . . . A short time after sitting, Dicky and Rector manifested loudly, and J. N. L. came. She said [by raps] she wished to introduce her brother, who gave the name of John Lydgate; said he was a monk who lived about 1420, at Bury St. Edmunds, at a Benedictine monastery; that he got his education at Oxford and travelled abroad; that he kept a school of poetry, and published the *History of Thebes* and the *Siege of Troy*. Affinity had brought him to me.

This information has since been verified in the most remarkable manner by Mr. Noyes, who writes me that John Lydgate was exactly what he professes to be, and that he studied at Oxford, Paris, and Padua. The *Siege of Troy* was a poetical romance of 28,000 lines.

We have not before had so circumstantial a description.¹

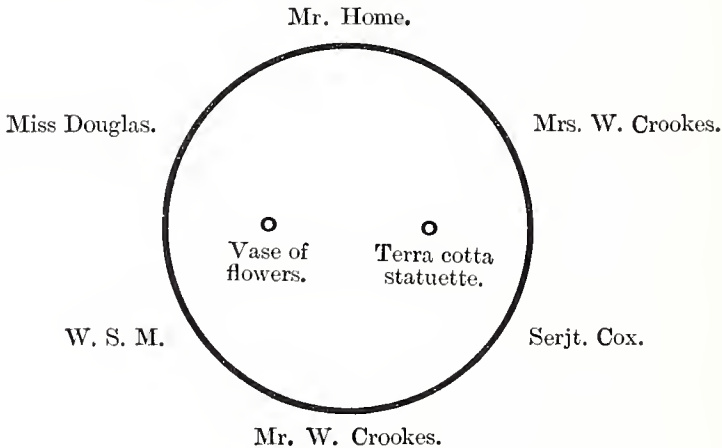
April 19th, 1873.—Mr. Deane, organist of Trinity Church, East-bourne, joined our circle. We had several loud knocks on the table, and creaks and taps, but no communication. At one particularly loud crack from the metallic spirit who has given the name of John Dee, Dr. Speer saw in the half-light a shadowy arm making impact on the table. It appeared to come from my elbow. My arms at the time were folded on the table. Mr. Deane confirmed by reference all and one on the harmonium. The best and minutest spirit-writing (direct) yet obtained, and signed by four spirits, viz., Imperator, Rector, Doctor, and Prudens. N.B.—The paper was carefully examined by us all immediately before extinguishing the light, and I myself kicked the pencil away from the paper. The writing was *undermost*.—S.T.S.

¹ April 2nd.—Séance. Mrs. De M., Messrs. N. and Pereival joined the circle. Janet Nares Lydgate gave her name for the first time, and brought her brother, who died in 1490. He gave minute details of his earth-life, all of which were found to be absolutely correct by three of the sitters during the following days and after examination of records. Raps were heard all over the large dining-table. A large stone was brought in (through *locked* doors) from my study. Hands held the whole time.—S.T.S.

April 2nd.—This evening Mrs. De Morgan, Mr. Pereival, and Mr. N. joined our outer circle. Manifestations soon commenced. Rector shook the room, and walked round the circle with a heavy step. Very many sounds and raps were heard, all different. We remarked the spirits had promised to come, and seemed very numerous. They rapped out, "We are." J.N.L. introduced her brother to the circle; he told us he had lived in the reign of Henry V., had passed into spirit life in 1420, was a monk at Bury St. Edmunds, was of the Order of the Benedictines, kept a school, and had been attracted to the medium by affinity and love of education. He had studied at Oxford and abroad, and had translated *The Siege of Troy*. J.N.L. then informed us she was in the second sphere, had passed away young. Imperator came with his soft thud on the table, telling us by raps to join hands. In a few minutes, through the table, message was given, "We have

the particulars given to us by Dr. John Dee and Dr. James Nares, who is Charley's guardian. The particulars were principally written through my hand by Doctor.²

April 30th, 1873.—Séance at Miss Douglas's, 81, South Audley-street. Present: Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Crookes, Serjeant Cox, Miss Douglas, W.S.M. Mr. D. D. Home, medium.



We sat in a well-lighted room—a bright fire, a shaded reading-lamp, and two candles, which latter were finally extinguished, the light from other sources being ample. The table was covered with a cloth, and the fireplace was at Mr. Crookes' back. The room was crowded with furniture. We had not sat very long before the table became uneasy. Small raps were heard, which gradually increased in power, though they never reached anything like the intensity of those to which I am accustomed. By the time that the raps had become con-

brought stone. Wait." Presently the medium was greatly convulsed, and suddenly a large stone was rolled violently across the table and fell on Mr. Percival's knee. The stone had been brought from the hall through a locked door, every hand at the table being held during the process. Mr. Percival had been anxious to have a proof of "matter passing through matter," and this indeed was a solid one, as the stone was very large and heavy.—M.S.

²*April 19th.*—Séance at Eastbourne, with Mr. Deane. Constant raps. One great metallic blow. I saw the hand and arm.

April 26th.—Séance. Return of band. Great power exhibited. The table thrown down, and replaced three times of its own accord. Great raps and metallic blows. Sounds as of a heavy tread constantly walking about the room. Objects shaken by it. Lyre sound again heard.

April 28th.—Séance extraordinary. I. did not come; P. did. Great and uncontrolled power exhibited. Table moved in all directions—raised high up in mid-air several times. Great difficulty in controlling it. John Dee came with immense force—cause as yet unknown.

firmed Mr. Home judged that he might experiment with the accordion. He took it up in his right hand and held it under the table. Soon it was played, and questions answered by notes struck upon it. Finally it played "Home, sweet Home" very sweetly. At one time Mr. Home's hand was withdrawn from under the table, and he allowed it to go where it was impelled, still holding the accordion. It drew steadily towards the reading-lamp, and in full light we saw it playing, expanding and contracting steadily. Mr. Home held it by the bottom, the keys being downwards. After this it was replaced under the table, still in Mr. Home's hand, and Serjeant Cox was told to look under the table. There he saw the hand—a full-sized man's apparently—playing the accordion. About that he is absolutely certain. It was light enough to be quite visible. "Ye banks and braes of Bonny Doon" was partly played, and we were all touched by hands. One was a little baby hand—small, delicate, and very soft. It patted my knee very freely, and anticipated my mental questions. Miss Douglas' bracelet was moved on her arm close to my eyes. Questions were answered upon it, and at one time the raps upon it were loud enough to be heard all over the room. Hands came up under the cloth and touched us, and questions were answered on the accordion both by raps and by the notes.

The *lyre sound*, which is familiar to us, was heard very distinctly, even when the accordion was away from the table.

By degrees Mr. Home's hands and arms began to twitch and move involuntarily. I should say that he has been partly paralysed, drags one of his legs, moves with difficulty, stoops, and can endure very little physical exertion. As he passed into the trance state he drew power from the circle by extending his arms to them and mesmerising himself. All these acts were involuntary. He gradually passed into the trance state, and rose from the table, erect, and a different man from what he was. He walked firmly, dashed out his arms and legs with great power, and passed round to Mr. Crookes. He mesmerised him, and appeared to draw power from him. He then went to the fireplace, removed the guard, and sat down on the hearthrug. There he seemed to hold a conversation by signs with a spirit. He repeatedly bowed, and finally set to work to mesmerise his head again. He ruffled his bushy hair until it stood out like a mop, and then deliberately lay down and put his head in the bright wood fire. The hair was *in* the blaze, and must, under ordinary circumstances, have been singed off. His head was *in* the grate, and his neck on a level with the top bar. This was repeated several times. He also put his hand into the fire, smoothed away the wood and coal, and picked out a live coal, which he held in his hand for a few seconds, but replaced soon, saying the power was not sufficient. He tried to give a hot coal to Mr. Crookes, but

was unable to do it. He then came to all of us to satisfy us that there was no smell of fire on his hair. There was absolutely none. "The smell of fire had not passed on him." In the trance state he passed about the room amongst the furniture without touching any. He moved the lamp to the mantelpiece. He spoke in a soft, subdued voice, called himself "Dan," and said he had a work to do in London. During the evening we never heard who the spirits were, but I was told that friends of mine were present.

[Mr. Crookes, to whom I (F.W.H.M.) have shown this account, comments as follows:—

March 9th, 1893.

I have a distinct recollection of the séance here described, and can corroborate Mr. Stainton Moses' account. I was not well placed for seeing the first part of the "fire test" here recorded. I knew, from experience, that when Home was in a trance much movement or conversation on the part of the others present was likely to interfere with the progress of phenomena. My back was to the fire, and I did not at first turn round to see what he was doing. Being told what was taking place, I looked and saw Home in the act of raising his head from the fire. Probably this was the last occasion of the "several times" it was repeated, as I have no recollection of seeing it more than once. On my expressing great disappointment at having missed this test, Mr. Home told me to leave my seat and come with him to the fire. He asked me if I should be afraid to take a live coal [ember] from his hand. I said, No, I would take it if he would give it to me. He then put his hand among the hot coals [embers], and deliberately picked out the brightest bit and held it in his hand for a few seconds. He appeared to deliberate for a time, and then returned it to the grate, saying the power was too weak, and he was afraid I might be hurt. During this time I was kneeling on the hearthrug, and am unable to explain how it was he was not severely burnt. The fire was of wood, Miss Douglas never burning coal in her reception-rooms. At the commencement of the evening a log of wood had been put on, and this had been smouldering throughout the evening. My recollection of the fire is that it was not a particularly bright one.

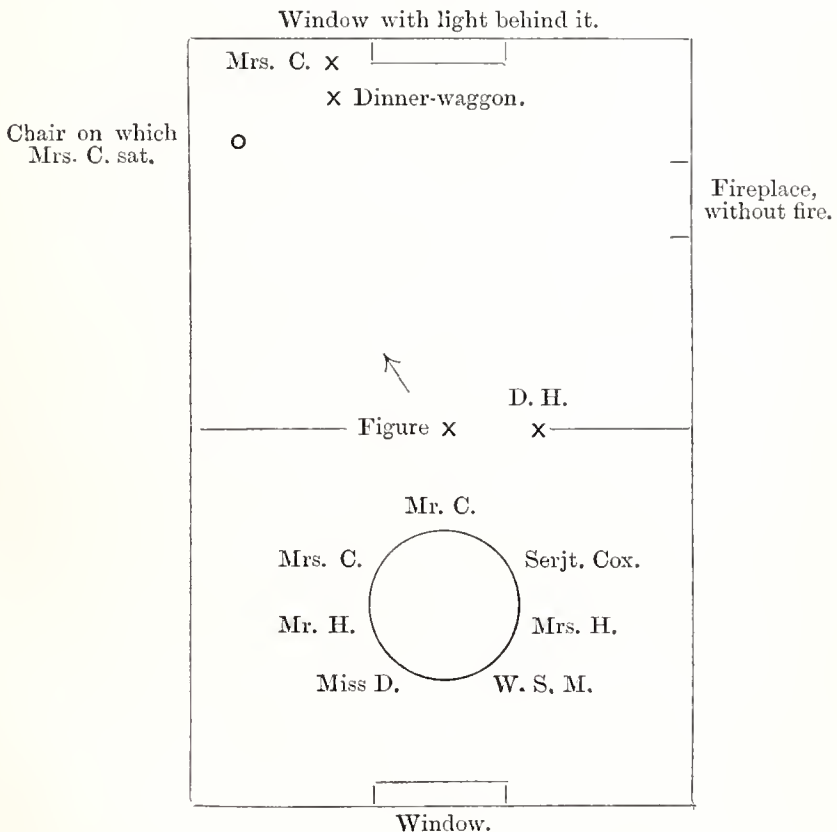
I do not believe in the possibility of the ordinary skin of the hand being so prepared as to enable hot coals to be handled with impunity. Schoolboys' books and mediæval tales describe how this can be done with alum or certain other ingredients. It is possible that the skin may be so hardened and thickened by such preparations that superficial charring might take place without the pain becoming great, but the surface of the skin would certainly suffer severely. After Home had recovered from the trance I examined his hand with care to see if there were any signs of burning or of previous preparation. I could detect no trace of injury to the skin, which was soft and delicate like a woman's. Neither were there signs of any preparation having been previously applied.

I have often seen conjurers and others handle red-hot coals and iron, but there were always palpable signs of burning. A negro was once brought to my laboratory, who professed to be able to handle red-hot iron with impunity. I was asked to test his pretensions, and I did so carefully. There was no

doubt he could touch and hold for a brief time red-hot iron without feeling much pain, and supposing his feet were as resisting as his hands, he could have triumphantly passed the "red-hot ploughshare" ordeal. But the house was pervaded for hours after with the odour of roast negro.

WILLIAM CROOKES.]

Wednesday, May 7th, 1873.—Séance with Mr. D. D. Home, at Miss Douglas', 81, South Audley-street. Present: Mrs. Home, Serjeant Cox, Mr. and Mrs. W. Crookes, Miss Douglas, and myself.—We had been told at the last séance to sit in the dining-room. Miss Douglas had forgotten, and the fire was newly lit and the room unprepared. We sat round the table for fifty minutes with no result. During all that time I felt power drawn from me, and was partially entranced. The phenomena commenced with faint raps on the table.



Mr. Home took the accordion in his hand, and held it under the table. During this time raps occurred near me and on my chair. The accordion played a strange, weird melody, unlike anything earthly I ever heard. The table rocked about like a ship at sea—rocked, groaned, and finally separated at the joint. Nothing, however, was

made of this, and the table was joined again. A chair just behind Mr. Home began to move, and was considerably moved round. We could all see it move, but stealthily, and when the intent gaze was not fixed on it. We found invariably that direct gaze would paralyse the movement at once. . . . Suddenly Mr. Home passed into trance, and spoke in his natural voice, but of himself in the third person. He spoke of a spirit near (Hamilton Dundas), who had been lost in the *President*. Miss Douglas knew him.

Mr. Home now rose from his chair, and . . . went into the inner dining-room, taking the accordion with him, and placing it on the dinner-waggon. [Carving-table.—E. Crookes.] The firelight was lowered; the reading-lamp was put out of the room; the gas behind the window at the end of the room was lowered, and we sat in gloom; the window at the end showing out in bold relief. During the evening Mr. Home stood near the fireplace, and kept us informed of his position. "Now Dan is here; now Dan is touching the, &c., &c." We all saw a hand descend from the top of the curtain and play the accordion. It was a large hand, and its reflection on the window blind was strong. After this a head showed in similar way. When Mrs. Crookes was told to go into the room and occupy the chair marked in the plan, a form was materialised as far as the middle. It floated near the folding doors, and advanced towards Mrs. Crookes, who screamed, and it vanished.

[Mrs. Crookes, to whom I (F.W.H.M.) have shown this account, makes the following comments:—

March 9th, 1893.

This is an accurate account as far as it goes of one of the most interesting séances I ever had with Mr. Home, and I have on several occasions recounted the incidents to my friends. When Mr. Home took me by the hand and led me into the back dining-room he placed me in a chair at the side of the window and carving-table (not dinner-waggon), and facing the party in the other room. The window had ground glass in it, no blind, and the gas behind was bright enough to show everything in the room distinctly. Mr. Home then left me and stood between the two rooms. The accordion was immediately taken from his hand by a cloudy appearance, which soon seemed to condense into a distinct human form, clothed in a filmy drapery, standing near Mr. Home between the two rooms. The accordion began to play (I do not remember whether on this occasion there was any recognised melody), and the figure gradually advanced towards me till it almost touched me, playing continuously. It was semi-transparent, and I could see the sitters through it all the time. Mr. Home remained near the sliding doors. As the figure approached I felt an intense cold, getting stronger as it got nearer, and as it was giving me the accordion I could not help screaming. The figure immediately seemed to sink into the floor to the waist, leaving only the head and shoulders visible, still playing the accordion, which was then about a foot off the floor. Mr. Home and my husband came to me

at once, and I have no clear recollection of what then occurred, except that the accordion did not cease playing immediately.

Mr. Serjeant Cox was rather angry at my want of nerve, and exclaimed : “ Mrs. Crookes, you have spoilt the finest manifestation we have ever had.” I have always regretted that my want of presence of mind brought the phenomena to so abrupt a termination. ELLEN CROOKES.]

May 9th.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S. in study.—A very interesting séance. We joined hands, and in that position had loud knocks from Philosophus, but no movement of table. Dicky came and brought very gently an ivory piece of puzzle from the drawing-room. At my request he fetched another. After this I felt something crawling over my right hand (which Mrs. S. held) and could not make out what it was. When a light was struck we found it to be a marker from Mrs. Speer’s bedroom. It had *crawled* over my hand, and was placed directly in front of her, with the legend, “ God is our refuge and strength,” right before her eyes. It was folded and arranged very neatly. During the whole time we grasped hands. A piece of mignonette in my button-hole was taken out and passed over my face and hair, and over Mrs. Speer’s face. As we concluded the séance a pillar of light, very bright and diffused, descended on the centre of the table and passed round the circle, vanishing near the ceiling. It was like a flash of light at first.¹

Wednesday, May 14th.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—The usual manifestations, rapping, tipping, and floating of table. No spirit lights, but the lyre sound, as we have named it. The sound had never occurred except in the lower room and in the dining-room, where there were musical instruments—a piano and a musical clock—on which it could be imitated, and I had formed the idea that it was necessary to have such means of forming the sound. Here, however, it came very much more distinctly than I had ever heard it before, close to our ears, and moving about apparently in mid-air. It seemed like the plucking of a string or strings. There was no attempt at a tune, but the sound was clear, and varied in tone and pitch. It was repeated several times over, and continued more or less for 20 minutes or more. Two articles were brought from Mrs. Speer’s bedroom. The séance did not last more than three-quarters of an hour.²

Sunday Evening, May 18th, 1873.—Douglas House. Our circle and Mr. Harrison. . . .—Scent was brought, not as before, but by a

¹*May 9th.*—Séance. Hands all held. Two ivory puzzle pieces brought from drawing-room, and a bookmarker from our bedroom. Flowers taken out of Mr. M.’s coat and brushed over my wife’s face. Philosophus came.—S.T.S.

²*May 14th.*—Séance. Lyre spirit (Groeyn) manifested well, and close to us. Two objects were brought *downstairs* from a box in our bedroom ; doors as usual locked.

cool wind laden with the odour. It was like otto of roses, very powerful. As it passed round the circle Dr. and Mrs. Speer and I saw a figure carrying it apparently. I also saw a figure in the middle of the table when the lyre sound was heard there. Rector manifested very forcibly,¹

¹ *May 18th.*—Séance with Mr. W. Harrison in our dining-room. Rector with us the whole evening, displaying great power and shaking the whole room. Grocyn came again. Cards were brought into the room from the drawing-room. Cold columns of air laden with rose scent circulated around us. At 3 30 in the morning the handles of our bedroom were violently shaken.—S.T.S.

[Mrs. Speer has incidentally given me a curious description of this nocturnal sound. I had asked her whether the servants at Douglas House or elsewhere had ever commented on the musical and other noises. Mrs. Speer replies (October 26th, 1893):—"In the Isle of Man we had a furnished house, and took our own servants. At Ventnor we had a flat to ourselves and sat very little there. At Shanklin we had, for three years, a house of our own, where the most remarkable séances occurred. It was here that Mentor used to make such beautiful scent from the flowers, scenting the house and perfuming flowers that we were wearing. While speaking of scent, I may tell you that one summer we shut up our London house and took all the servants to Shanklin. We had occasion to ask someone to enter the house. The lady wrote saying the spirits were evidently taking care of it, as it was filled with beautiful scent—no one in it. As a rule our servants slept at the top of our house, and they made no remarks concerning noises, except on one occasion, when Dr. S. and Mr. S. M. had been sitting in a lower room, opening into the garden, and near the servants' apartments. The manifestations had been very strong, and after the gentlemen left the room the servants said they heard so much pounding in the room that they felt frightened and went to bed as quickly as possible. We were told afterwards that so much power had been generated that the spirits had to make the noise to get rid of it. A similar circumstance occurred to me and Dr. S. one night. Soon after we had retired to bed the handle of our door was violently shaken. I thought a burglar had arrived; he, who did not hear well, said, 'Perhaps it was nothing.' A moment afterwards the door leading into the dressing-room was also shaken loudly. On looking outside there was no one to be seen. We were afterwards told that a spirit had been attracted by the spiritual light over the house, and had used up power that had been left by shaking the doors. The spirits did once give three loud raps at my bedroom door to call me down to a séance, Mr. S. M. being downstairs. And mental questions have been answered by raps on the wall, while I was in one room and Mr. Moses in another." This last remark relates to another question; as to phenomena occurring to Mrs. Speer in a room apart from Mr. Moses.—F.W.H.M.]

May 27th.—Séance at Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S. and I.—Lyre sound, scent while hands were held. A large materialised hand was passed over Mrs. Speer's up-turned face, as she was waiting for the

sprinkling of the scent, which seemed to come down from the ceiling. It was a large hand, and startled her so much that we closed the séance. I afterwards ascertained that the hand was Mr. C—r's. He had come to say farewell, being called to other work, and had touched Mrs. S. in mistake.

¹ *May 26th [27th].*—Séance very good. Grocyn still developing; scent (liquid) thrown over us all from above; a hand touched Maria. The table lifted its leg.

June 7th.—Séance. Grocyn again constantly with us, playing in all directions, sometimes close to us, at other times distant. A brass butterfly was brought in from drawing-room, all hands being held. Frequent appearance of spirit lights. Rector came.

June 9th.—Séance. Grocyn came again as usual. Verbena scent appeared, first in aërial form, and then in repeated showers.

June 16th.—Séance. Miss Burkett, Miss and Mr. Percival.—Grocyn, as usual. Two scents. Long address from Imperator; during which table lifted.

June 20th.—Séance very good. Grocyn's manifestations were most extraordinary. A candlestick was brought from the dining-room, and shell fell straight down from the ceiling behind me on the back of my arm-chair. The table rolled about in every direction. Showers of liquid verbena scent, and another nameless scent, fell down upon us. Sometimes it was poured on *one* of my hands alone. Columns of very cold scented air passed round the room. A cross was brought to me of silver enamel. Direct writing under table. At the close of séance John Dee gave two tremendous blows on the table.

June 21st.—Séance very satisfactory. Grocyn and his friend the Welsh Harper again manifested in a most extraordinary manner, taking in the whole range of the gamut upon their invisible instruments. Three crosses were brought with the message (by raps): "*One for each.*" Scent was again repeatedly showered down. Between thirty and forty spirit lights appeared, many of them as large as large oranges. They began near the floor, then ascended, and at last by request came within our circle, so that we might have touched them. One came down (by request) on the table, and gave three loud raps, as though it had been done with the bottom of a lamp. The appearance of several of them may be thus represented. The band which I saw is stated by the others to have been in reality the finger of a hand crossing the lamp, which was like bright moonlight. Many of the lights were amorphous, or rather formless. They succeeded each other with great rapidity.



June 23rd.—Séance. We had this day fitted up a cabinet by opening the door of the bath-room, and hanging in front of it a heavy curtain with a square aperture. Mr. M. sat in this cabinet upon a reclining chair. Large lights soon appeared, and did so about fifty times. They emerged from the aperture, and came into the room, casting reflections upon objects. Some were so large and bright as to show the whole of the lintels and doorposts. They came very close to the table upon which our hands were placed, and on which table there came most unexpectedly the little raps of C.P.S.S., with her French message: "*Dieu vous garde.*"—S.T.S.

Friday, June 27th.—Dr. and Mrs. S., Mr. H., and self. — We sat first in the dining-room. The knocks began almost directly. The musical sound of Grocyn and the scent came, and a stone was brought from my house in Clifton-road, a distance of half-a-mile. Emperor spoke very briefly, and told us to go upstairs. I had a very distressing headache, and the atmospheric conditions were not good. I sat in the cabinet, and the other three on the sofa outside. Lights soon came, whilst I was in deep trance. They are described to me as of pale, soft light, which was surrounded apparently with drapery. Mr. H. described it to me as a luminous crystal with a hand holding it. Mentor, on being asked whether it were his hand, assented, and showed a gigantic finger before the light. There were about thirty lights, and some of them were very large. They flashed by with a comet-like motion at times, and then again stood at the opening, gradually fading away.

They generally seemed to radiate from a solid centre of luminosity and to be shrouded in some soft drapery. Others were apparently solid, like luminous ice. After the lights had been shown Mentor controlled me (first time), and I walked out through the opening and sat down at the table, talking in a brisk, cheery voice, quite unlike Emperor's. The control did not last long, and I woke refreshed and with my headache gone.¹

Saturday, June 28th.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—Musical sounds, scent, knocks and tilts. Mentor controlled, and showed his light, flashing

¹*June 27th.*—Séance. Mr. W. Harrison, Editor of the *Spiritualist*, joined our circle in the dining-room. Grocyn again manifested well. Scent thrown over everyone, loud knocks, stone brought into the room. I happened to put my hand out into the middle of the table, and felt another hand. N.B.—The medium and his chair had been removed from the table. Emperor came and requested us to go upstairs and try for lights as before, Mr. M. sitting in the cabinet. They came almost immediately, of various shapes and sizes, some very large. They came into the room and illumined the doorposts distinctly; on one something like a large finger seemed to rest.



The above represent the outlines of these lights. They were all of a pale bluish-green, or rather greenish-blue, tint. Many of them had a perfectly distinct hard outline and a bright nucleus. Mr. Harrison says that such lights could by no possibility be imitated [Mr. Harrison was an electrician], and imagines that they were produced by hands holding crystals with drapery falling on them. At the close Mentor brought the medium out of the cabinet and gave us a short address.—S.T.S.

it close to Dr. and Mrs. Speer as they sat at the table. It was bright and of large size. Rector also manifested.¹

Sunday, June 29th.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—The lyre-sound of Grocyn was the most pronounced I have yet heard. He answered questions freely with it and played a duet, varying it to represent the sound made by bells. He told me that there were seven musical spirits concerned in manifesting, but we could only distinguish three distinct sounds. One was like the very small string of the harp, the other was like the very deepest bass of the violoncello, rich, full, and very powerful. It sounded freely in our midst. Scent was showered on us, and three books were brought from one of the cupboards of the book-case and laid on the table, my chair having been previously withdrawn to the end of the room. They were all books belonging to Dr. Speer which had been lately in use. The table was a good deal tilted. Many raps and sounds were made, and especially Mentor knocked, first on the table, which was quite out of my reach; and then immediately on the harmonium. I could see him passing backwards and forwards. Indeed, the room was full of diffused light—I never saw more—in the form of foggy luminous mist. Little points of light flashed out now and again, but no distinct spirit-lights were made.²

Monday, July 1st, 1873.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—The day was so oppressive and hot that we had not thought of sitting, but I suggested trying what could be done under very unfavourable circumstances. Grocyn soon manifested, with very loud thrumming, of deeper tone than we ever had before. It was as if some power were thrumming the deep string of the double-bass. With this were intermingled other sounds shading to the high note which we associate with the Welsh harper. The sounds were persistent and very loud. The deep bass thrilled the air and imparted a tremulous motion to the table. Scent came, and I was controlled both by Mentor and Imperator, who said that they had wished to try what could be done under such bad conditions.

Séance at 20, Mornington-road. Tuesday, July 2nd.—Mr. and Mrs. William and Mr. and Mrs. Walter Crookes, Miss Douglas, Serjeant Cox, and myself. Mr. D. D. Home, medium.—Home had received a

¹ *June 28th.*—Séance good. Grocyn came repeatedly in a most singular manner. The sounds were as if a violoncello had been played on the top of a big drum, and the strings plucked. Three other musical sounds were heard. Loud knocks on the table and harmonium alternately. Scent as usual.—S.T.S.

² *June 30th.*—Short séance by impression (weather very bad). Grocyn's sound as extraordinary as ever. Scent showered down several times. John Dee delivered some great blows on the table. M.S.I. came.—S.T.S.

bothering letter just before the séance, and we had very scant results. We were touched under the table, and roses in the middle of the table were thrown to us. I was touched on face, and knees, and hand. Raps in the neighbourhood of my chair and on the table near me.

Saturday, July 5th.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—Groeyn very loud. The sounds produced are indescribable. If a powerful double-bass were thrummed on a big drum, I doubt whether it could make such a sound. They were almost continuous. The Welsh harper came, and we had a new sound, which was vastly like a squeaking whistle. This may have been attributable to the fact that the power was ill-regulated and erratic. Scent. Imperator controlled very briefly. He spoke of some very interesting discussions which I am holding with him [by automatic writing].¹

Sunday Evening, July 6th.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—Groeyn's sounds were clear, bell-like, and refined. Occasionally he made a sound as of a loose or broken string, very curious and loud. The whistle developed, and was less harsh and unpleasant. No scent, but Mentor made a few small lights whilst I was awake. Knocks in cupboard.²

Wednesday Evening, July 9th.—Dr. S. and self, in study.—We sat alone, Mrs. Speer being out. The séance was very remarkable. Groeyn commenced as soon as we sat down. His sounds were portentously loud, at times causing the table to vibrate throughout. In the air was the sound as of a tambourine and a harsh shrill whistle almost like a bird's note. Knocks on the table like small objects falling and rolling about. Knocks on harmonium, cupboard, and table simultaneously. Table lifted, harmonium stool moved and brought out, my chair rapidly pulled away from the table. Books brought from the harmonium, one pulled out from the book-case, a small picture brought to the table. All placed on Dr. Speer's left hand. Scent unlike anything we had before. Message: "We show our power. Good-night," given in Mentor's knocks.

After the séance Dr. S. and I walked up and down in the dining-room, I smoking a cigar. The smell of scent became palpable through the odour of the tobacco. I casually said: "Now, if they would put it on

¹ *July 5th.*—Séance. M.A. unwell. Power erratic. Groeyn came as usual. J. Dee delivered some alarming blows—really fearful. Table moved about. A sound like a penny whistle heard several times.—S.T.S.

² *July 6th.*—Séance. Conditions good. Groeyn and his harper friend manifested in a most remarkable manner. A tambourine was heard in mid-air. The whistle, now more like a bird, was repeatedly heard all around. C.P.S.S. came, giving her peculiar knock, like the dropping of shot on the table. She gave (through the table), when inquired of: "I knock by my will." Lights seen around the medium, who himself saw them, not being entranced. They were not so distinct as when he is entranced.—S.T.S.

the blotting pad we could see it." (A pad lay on the table.) Immediately wet scent fell on the pad, and this phenomenon was repeated a dozen times, I should think. The little bird-whistle also followed us and sounded repeatedly, near the ceiling, apparently. The sound was much less than it had been in the dark room. The dining-room was well lighted, and lowering the gas did not seem to make any difference.¹

Saturday, July 12th.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. Speer, Dr. Thomson, of Clifton, and myself.—We sat in the dining-room, and obtained the usual phenomena—scent, the musical sounds, raps, tilts, &c. We tried bringing the small table out from the study, but the raps came on the large dining-table at once; and we were told to move to it. We sat for the lights in the cabinet upstairs, and some large ones appeared, of a similar nature to those which I have described before. Mentor and Emperor both controlled, and spoke to Dr. Thomson. The control was short. Mentor [*i.e.*, Mr. Moses controlled by Mentor] came out from the cabinet and walked into the circle upstairs. Scent came upstairs for the first time.²

Sunday, July 13th.—Dr. and Mrs. S. and self, in study.—Grocy's sounds very loud. Scent. Lights formed behind me, and Emperor entranced me. Dr. Speer describes the lights as being very diffused, and similar to those shown from the cabinet, but not so brilliant. Emperor spoke sadly of the difficulty of controlling me, and of the discussion which I have had with him now for a long time. I have argued out with him the question of his identity, and of the pretensions he makes, as well as of the general outcome of Spiritualism. The tone

¹ *July 9th.*—Séance. Mr. M. and self sat alone in my study. All the usual phenomena. Grocy, the bird, scent, &c., presented themselves in a very short time, and with greater intensity than ever, the violoncello or harp sounds actually sending powerful thrills up our hands to the shoulder, and even through the body. The bird-whistle came with great power, and very close. The scent fell like rain. The harmonium bend was moved out and a number of books were brought from it one after another and placed on my left hand. A frame, containing one of C.'s certificates, was also placed across my hand, and a large book—Vol. 2 of *Count Beaulus*—was finally placed on the pile already formed on the table. Great thumps were heard almost simultaneously on the cupboard door and at the farthest end of the harmonium. On returning to the lighted dining-room, scent (verbena) was several times, and by desire, thrown on a blotting pad !!!—S.T.S.

² *July 12th.*—Dr. Thomson, of Bristol, joined our séance. The study table was placed in the dining-room, but the phenomena were very slight. We left it and sat round the large dining-table. Grocy came as usual. Heliotrope scent was thrown over each in turn; and a large number of splendid lights, apparently held by hands, were seen in the cabinet. I myself saw an arm apparently holding one of these lights.—S.T.S.

was—as described to me—slow, solemn, and very impressive. A few lights were made by Mentor for me to see, but I was half-entranced.

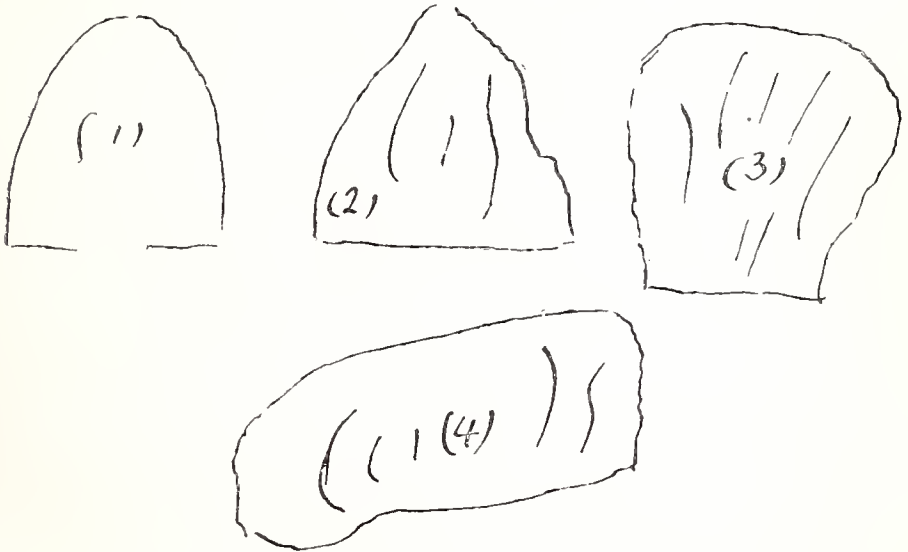
Monday, July 14th.—Dr. and Mrs. S., Mr. Percival, and self.—We sat first in the dining-room. The séance throughout was good. There was a deal of light in the room, diffused; C.P.S.S. was plain to me, and rapped on the table with the peculiar dropping rap. Raps commenced almost as soon as we sat down, and the seent came. (We had three kinds during the evening.) Grocyn's sounds were louder than I ever heard them in the dining-room, though still not so loud as they are in the study. They varied from the deepest bass to the highest treble. The whistle came again, apparently up in the air near the ceiling. Emperor came, and spoke at length in answer to Percival's questions. He promised to endeavour to put himself in communication with another medium, so as to give me corroborative evidence as far as possible: He replied also to questions about the spheres and other points. We then sat for lights upstairs, and had a number. I was in the deepest trance. Dr. S. describes them as not so brilliant as usual, but clear, and with a bright nucleus. Some were shown with a hand holding them, the hand large, and the fingers pointing upwards. Mentor controlled afterwards, and walked out as usual, talking easily, but in a totally different way to Emperor. He said the conditions of atmosphere and medium had been unfavourable. Seent was again showered through the aperture of the cabinet.¹

July 15th.—Séance in the study at Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. Speer and myself.—Emperor, in consequence of my persistent disbelief in his pretensions, had retired, and had threatened to withdraw the power. Seent came in showers; but no other manifestation was given except a few knocks. The seent was literally rained down on us. It was a very beautiful seent, like sandal-wood, at first. Afterwards there came a seent of a totally different kind. The room was so permeated with the odour that it remained till the next day. Seent fell before we began to sit, and at intervals during the day we had perceived it about my head.²

¹ *July 14th.*—Séance. Mr. Percival joined us. Grocyn as usual, with violoncello, harp, and tambourine; sounds of a most distinctive and unmistakable character. Mr. P. greatly astonished. The whistle heard. C.P.S.S. came. Jasmine seent abundantly showered down both in the dining-room and bedroom. Large lights (held by large hands) seen emerging from the cabinet. Medium in deep trance as usual during lights. Flowers from centrepiece thrown about freely.—S.T.S.

² *Sunday, July 20th.*—Séance with Mr. M., Mr. Harrison, and self. Mrs. S. in bed. Grocyn most distinct and clear; the whistle also heard several times. Mr. H. said he thought it would develop into a voice. Raps heard all over the table, especially in front of Mrs. S.'s vacant chair. At last some extra-

August 9th.—We resumed our sitting, and Grocyn again manifested very beautifully. Mentor showered scent, and I witnessed the formation of some eight or nine very beautiful spirit-lights. They formed quite close to me and near my left hand, about a foot from the floor, floating upwards till they reached the level of the table and became visible to Dr. Speer. They were expressly made at my side, instead of, as usual, at my back, so that I might see them. They seemed to develop from a very bright speck, about the size of a pea, until they attained the size of a soda water tumbler, and showed a soft luminosity like pale moonlight. They seemed to be covered with drapery and to be held by a hand. They faded slowly out, remaining visible about thirty or forty seconds, or perhaps a minute. The largest would be about eight inches long.



Imperator came for a short control, and said that Mentor had made the lights for me to see. They dared not do so in town when I was at work, and it was not safe to make them except when I was without other demands on me. They were typical of the light the spirits shed, and had a spiritual meaning, as all spiritual phenomena had. He

ordinary knocks were heard (as I believe) on another small table and on a chair near it. When asked to knock on the table, knocks of the sharpest kind came on the table and then on the floor. It was as if large glass marbles had been thrown on the table, had bounded off on the floor, and then rolled away. Till a light was struck it was almost impossible not to believe that such had been the case. Two scents came; one (by request) saturated a pocket-handkerchief belonging to Mrs. S. Adieux. No lights.—S.T.S.

spoke very gravely and mournfully of the state of Mrs. Colt, who lies in London seriously ill with typhoid fever. Several communications have been made to me on that subject. One night at Enniskillen I was kept awake all night by loud raps. "Ill" was all the communication I could get. Afterwards, at dinner on the next day, when Dr. S. was present, raps came again. "Ill" was spelled, and when I asked who, "B. C." was given, the initials of Mrs. Colt's name. (On many occasions I have felt sympathetically ill, and have been told that the cause was the same.) Imperator spoke very mournfully and said that she was grievously ill. They did all they could, but could not get near her. He said that seven spirits were watching Mrs. Speer at Shanklin.

August 10th.—Dr. S. and self at Garrison [Ireland].—The manifestations commenced with Grocyn's lyre-sound, which was very clear and melodious. Scent came, and then the lights—some sixteen of them, one after another, on both sides of me. They were large and clear and formed near the level of my knee, rising gradually above the table. Afterwards Mentor entranced me and spoke for more than half-an-hour to Dr. Speer. He describes his mode of speech as abrupt and the tone as a hoarse whisper; all unnecessary words left out. He explained that he would bring a light on the table and knock with it. This he did several times in succession, finally showing his hand in front of the last. Dr. S. describes it as a well-formed hand. One of the attendant spirits being noisy, Dr. S. said he feared the noise would awaken the inmates of the inn. Mentor said he would send him away. He knocked three times and said, "He is gone." He did not appear again. This spirit resembles Rector very much, and is the personal attendant of Mentor, as Rector is of Imperator. He shakes the floor very much like Rector. During this and the previous night loud knockings were heard in my room, and Dr. Speer was kept awake a long time, three or four hours, by them. Mentor wished to put the light in my hand, but failed in the attempt. On one occasion the advent of scent was precluded by a prolonged whistle.¹

¹ *Detailed record of séances held at Garrison, Loch Melvin, N.W. of Ireland, by Mr. M. and self.*

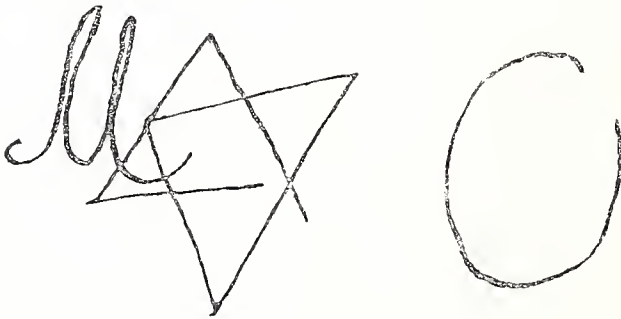
August 10th.—Sat down about half-past nine p.m., room well darkened. Raps began very soon on different parts of the long table at a distance from us, and on Mr. M.'s chair. These knocks soon assumed the dropping character in the most marked manner. A novice would have been positive that small objects had been thrown on the table (*vide* séance of July 20th). Knocks heard in other parts of the room. Scent (sandal-wood) was freely scattered, and on my asking for more we heard a sound like a prolonged wh—sh, and then a quantity was actually squirted in my face. Suddenly a large

August 11th.—Dr. S. and I, as before.—Dr. S. had written an account of the last séance according to Mentor's direction, and we agreed to lay it on the table and to ask Mentor to sign it with his name. The manifestations commenced by raps, succeeded by Grocyn's musical sound. Then came the lights as before, a dozen or more. They were precisely similar to what I have before described. I was then deeply entranced, and depend for the account of what then occurred entirely on Dr. Speer. My consciousness is utterly lost. Mentor speaks in a hoarse whisper, very short and sententious. Before I was entranced the lights were placed on the paper which we wished him to sign. After I was entranced Mentor brought the light down five or six times upon the paper. He then said that he would illuminate the medium's face. He did so, passing the light over it backwards and forwards. The eyes were closed, and the face quite passive. He then explained the process of making the lights—which Dr. Speer does not remember—said that the light was surrounded by drapery, and to prove it he brushed Dr. Speer's hand, which was on the table, backwards and forwards with fine drapery very distinctly materialised. This was repeated five or six times, attention being directed to the character of the light and the fineness of the drapery. On being requested, he placed the light close to Dr. Speer's face, first of all telling him to lean over and place his hands on the table, within the sphere of influence. He was to shut his eyes, and to open them when told. When he did so, the light was within an inch of his face, very bright,

light, fully formed, came from under the edge of the table opposite to me, to the left of Mr. M. It rose above the edge of the table and vanished; it was followed by several more. We asked if the light could be brought and placed on the table between Mr. M. and self. The next light came up, rose above the table, and advanced to its centre, in obedience to our request. Lights now rose up on Mr. M.'s right hand; some came close to his face. In all about fifteen great lights showed themselves, varying from the size of an orange to that of a shaddock. Grocyn's harp was now heard in the most distinct manner. The sounds were absolutely identical with those of a stringed instrument, without a trace of the wooden character. Loud raps of three kinds occurred simultaneously, and ere long Mr. M. was entranced and Mentor came and addressed me (through him) in his short, sententious manner. I thanked him in our joint names for his wonderfully beautiful manifestations, at which he seemed much gratified. He then told me to draw back from the table and he would try and place the light in the medium's hand. We continued talking, when a large light rose up from under the table and came to the middle of it. It was followed by another. I asked if these were actually in the medium's hand. He said "No—he could not achieve it. But," said he, "I will knock with the light in front of you." Almost immediately a light came up as before, and advanced close to me upon the table. "You



and as large as the globe of a moderator lamp. This was twice repeated. He then told Dr. Speer to rub his hands together and on his coat, and then to place them on the table. Soon a large bright light came, held by a hand which was, as before, within the drapery; but before the light was another hand, which was worked about before the light, so as to show it clearly. Dr. S. was again told to rub his hands on his coat and to place them on the table: When he had done so Mentor rapped on them with his hand holding the lamp. He then said that he was summoned away, but before he went he would endeavour to affix his mark to the paper which had been prepared. He did so, the pencil being very plainly heard moving over the paper. The sign is *facsimiled* below.



The circle and interlaced triangles always accompany his signature.¹

see! You see!" quoth Mentor. "Yes, I see." "Now listen, I knock." The light rose slowly about three inches from the table on which it rested and struck three distinct blows. Mentor repeated this six or seven times. He then said, "Now I show you my hand." A large, very bright light then came up as before, casting a great reflection on the oilcloth, came up as before in front of me; inside of it appeared the hand of Mentor, as distinct as it can well be conceived. "You see! You see!" said he. "That is my hand; now I move my fingers," and he continued to move his fingers about freely, just in front of my face. I thanked him for his consideration, and he said he would show greater wonders still. I should say that before the last light appeared he had told me to draw up and replace my hand. He talked more about what we might expect if the favourable circumstances continued. He checked his lieutenant, who was stamping about the room in too demonstrative a manner; gave me a special dose of scent; told me to transcribe accurately all I had seen and heard; told me to make the medium wash his face in cold water before I related anything to him, and be sure and tell him everything. He laid great stress on this, and exhorted me strongly. Wished me good-night and departed.—S.T.S.

¹ *August 11th.*—Sat again at a quarter to ten. Raps began almost immediately, and of the same character as on the preceding evening. I had placed the written record of the previous séance (August 10th), together with a pencil, in front of me. Grocyn again came. His sounds were perfect. Soon

August 12th.—Dr. Speer and self, at Garrison.—We commenced by rubbing our hands, and raps at once occurred. Grocyn clear, and the whistle, but not loud. Lights clear and large. Grocyn's sound led Dr. S. to say it was like King David's harp. Grocyn at once called for the alphabet and said, "I know him." Dr. S. said: "Extraordinary!" "Not at all," said Grocyn. Imperator entranced me and said that the raps which had disturbed Dr. S. had been caused by the efforts of the band to prevent some undeveloped spirits from manifesting. We had been to an old churchyard where there were some curious tombs, and some spirits had attached themselves in eagerness to manifest. He also said that I ought not to go to sleep in the day. I had taken a nap after dinner. He explained that the lights were made from a germ of magnetism which was brought. This germ was invisible to the natural eye, and continued so until it was surrounded by an envelope of something which was taken from the circle and medium. This was covered with spiral drapery. Several of the lights

a large light came up from under the table, and came upon it. Knowing that Mentor was present, I asked him to bring the light and illumine the paper, which he did at once, and repeated the operation three or four times. Light after light followed as before, when again loud raps all over the table, and Mr. M. became entranced. Mentor now spoke through him. I told him what I had done, asked if he was satisfied, to which he replied "Yes," and he would now show me more. I asked for his sign-manual of approval to my record, upon which he at once brought a large light, and placed it on it, so that I could see the writing. He said he would try and do what I wished. He then said that he would illumine the medium's face. He brought a large bright light, and passed it in front of his face, which I could see. He then explained the process of making the lights, and told me that the folds I saw around them hanging down were really drapery, which he would prove to me. He then brought the light close to the back of my hand, and brushed it backwards and forwards with as distinct a materialised drapery as can well be conceived. This feat he repeated first on one hand and then on the other, five or six times, at the same time directing my attention to the character of the light and the tangibility of the drapery. I then asked if he could place a light close to my face. He assented, told me to rub my hands briskly, lean forward, and close my eyes until told to open them. I did so, and on opening them I saw within apparently an inch or so of my face a large and very bright light of this shape, as large, indeed, as the globe of a moderator lamp. This was also repeated with equal success. He again told me to rub my hands on



my coat, and to extend them. Soon another large light came in front of me, held, as on the previous evening, by a hand. On this occasion the hand appeared to be outside the light, as it moved the fingers about freely; and also removed itself some inches from the light towards me and back again several times, as though the light were held in the left hand, and the right hand placed in front of it at various distances. He again told me to rub my hands and

were made quite close to me. For all information during the trance state I am indebted to Dr. Speer.

[A specimen of Mr. Moses' letters to Mrs. Speer may here be given to show the way in which he mixes up accounts of the phenomena with topics of private emotion :—

“ You will have heard of our little séances at Garrison. They must have been very wonderful. I was, as usual, deeply entranced during the most interesting parts. But I saw a great deal that was very wonderful indeed, and we got information about the mode of making the light that was very curious. At the last séance Imperator introduced S., and gave us a message from him, promising that more would come in time. I have had very little writing, but I expect I shall not get very much whilst I am moving about. We were constantly wishing that you had been with us at Garrison. You would have enjoyed the readiness with which Mentor manifested and the eagerness with which he tried to show how he did everything. He brushed Dr. Speer's hands with the drapery in which his light was shrouded, and even rapped on his hands as they were laid on the table. His hand was as fully materialised and as natural as mine.

“ Indeed, both his hands must have been materialised, for he put one before the light which was held in his other hand. It is all very wonderful and very convincing. He spoke with great contempt of London atmosphere, and of me as a medium under conditions of hard work. I expect that great results would spring from conditions such as those which we had at Garrison, but they are not attainable.

“ Since I commenced this letter I have had a very long communication from Doctor, who has been absent for some time. He speaks a good deal of our friend, says she is ‘grievously sick,’ and that the direction of her mind to Spiritualism, which she associates with me, enables communications to be made about her state. Doctor says he has no power of predicting the ultimate result, but says she is in danger, as we call it, of being entirely separated from the body, to which only the strong bond which binds her to her children yet unites her. He then says somewhat of our shortsightedness about what we call death. He says, in effect, God knows what we can't know, and does all for the best. He then goes on to point out at very great length the necessity of my praying most earnestly, heartily, and unceasingly,

listen. A light came and placed itself over my hand, and Mentor said he would knock with his hand on my hand, which he did, bringing the bottom of the light and his own hand most distinctly on the back of mine. He then said he must go to other work, but would try and write his signature. I then heard the pencil writing, the sound being most distinct. He repeated his admonition of the preceding evening, and departed, leaving a specimen of direct spirit caligraphy.

In the above account I have omitted to mention the manner in which Mentor asked me to notice how he would renew the light. He withdrew his hand gradually, and the light became fainter and fainter, till almost imperceptible. He then drew his hand in close proximity to the light, which appeared to grow brighter as the hand came in contact with it. I may add that a small portion of the forearm was also visible.—S.T.S.

not of any more specific petition than that the angel ministers may be able to reach her to soothe her pain in sickness, or in case of death to receive the spirit and to usher it into its new sphere. It is an exceedingly solemn exhortation. They say (Imperator said so, too, the other night) that they can't get near on account of opposing influences. If I were nearer they could, and my prayers might help more than I can imagine. They speak most solemnly. I commend their advice to you, for I am sure that such petitions as you would put up would be at least as efficacious as any that I could utter. If by such means we are enabled to soothe one pain, or to convey to the sufferer's mind one feeling of rest, it becomes a sacred duty to use all endeavours. And none can tell how 'the slender nerve that moves the muscles of Omnipotence' may be able to bring down the soothing and blessed influences of the holy angels, nor how far that influence may extend. Only that our prayers are so selfish, I believe they would do far more. The simpler they are the better; the more comprehensive the more powerful."]

September 6th, 1873.—Séance at Shanklin, Isle of Wight. Dr. and Mrs. S., and self.—Scent—sandal-wood—in profusion. Raps of various kinds. Grocyn. Lights made by Mentor. Control by Imperator and Mentor. This being the first time that the circle had met since we separated in July, the phenomena did not occur so strongly as usual. The musical sound was very clear, and the lights, some six or seven in number, were of the usual type. The scent was very plentiful, and was showered from the ceiling as usual. Imperator spoke somewhat of our lost friend (B.C.), and said she had not yet awoke.

Sunday, September 7th.—Same place and circle.—Raps and communications from A. W. and C.P.S.S. Scent. Lights, of a totally different description. One, which remained visible for fully five minutes, was apparently a solid sphere of light about two inches in diameter and six in length. It did not seem to be covered with drapery, and shone with a clear, pale light. The great peculiarity was the length of time it remained without renewal. Other lights have faded very rapidly, lasting from ten seconds up to perhaps a minute. I believe I have considerably understated the time which this continued. At request it touched us all, and was hard and cold. Several others followed. Three objects were brought into the room, one from the dining-room, one from Mrs. Speer's bedroom, and one from another room in the house. A spirit, "Harmony," came and rapped out in clear little taps: "She is well; still asleep." This spirit is one who has never been incarnated on this earth. Imperator and Mentor controlled, the latter brushing Mrs. Speer's face and hands with drapery very strongly materialised. Grocyn's sounds very clear. We put down a piece of paper under the table, and had on it a message from A. W. and C.P.S.S. By mistake the same piece was put down again,

and on it was a message from Imperator: "Hail! Cease not to pray. The peace of God be with you.—I.S.D."¹

Monday, September 8th.—Same circle and place.—Scent, raps. Message from Harmony: "Still asleep." Lights of a totally different description, shrouded with drapery, and not nearly so brilliant, remaining visible only a short time. Grocyn's sounds were very good, clear and less wooden than of old. Mentor controlled very briefly and requested the room to be made darker for the future. A bright moon was shining. Paper put under the table, as before, was found to contain a message from Imperator. There was no pencil with the paper, but two lay on the table during the evening.²

Tuesday, September 9th.—Same conditions.—Plentiful scent as before. Sixteen little pearls were put on the table, six having been previously given during the day. Mrs. Speer and I were writing at the same table, and a pearl was put on my letter as I was writing. After that I saw a spirit standing by Mrs. Speer, and was told that it was Mentor, who had put a pearl on Mrs. Speer's desk. After that four others came. They seemed to drop on the table, just as I have seen them with Mrs. A——h. [A private lady known to Mr. Moses and to myself, whose experiences have never been published.—F.W.H.M.] We have in all twenty-two now. They are small seed pearls, each perforated. Mentor showed some wonderful lights. One was so large and brilliant that it lit up all our faces. It was like a draped tent with bright light within it. The drapery brushed Dr. and Mrs. Speer's hands. Many of them were large, weird and ghost-like. Grocyn manifested beautifully, and said on his harp that he could not play a tune through me, but that he was about Charlie, and Mendelssohn would make him a great musician. We then were told to break, and on returning to the room before it was darkened my little box with the two pearls which Mrs. A——h's spirits gave me slid gently into my hand. It startled me very much. The box had been taken away and to my great grief I could get no tidings of it. Mrs. A. told me they had been taken to smooth communications with our friend Sunshine, and that they would be returned. Mentor brought

¹ *September 7th.*—A splendid séance. Grocyn and Mentor. Lights appeared. One, upon request, remained visible and stationary for 45 minutes. It assumed the cylindrical shape, thus: and tilted itself so as to show its cylindrical character.



Drapery was thrown over our hands and faces, and objects were brought into the room through closed doors (as usual).—S.T.S.

² *September 8th [9th].*—Séance. Direct spirit writing. Obtained a small pearl case of Mr. M.'s, which had been lost for a month. Was brought back in half light, while his hand was on the table, and put into it. It contained two pearls.—S.T.S.

them back. This is one of the most startling evidences I have had. Emperor brought us news of Sunshine, as Harmony could not come ; and said she slept still. All was well with her. He delivered a very long and solemn charge, followed by a beautiful prayer. It was an exceedingly impressive speech. After the control I was very tired and exhausted. The séance only lasted one and a quarter hours, but was very exhausting.¹

September 10th, 1873.—Shanklin, same conditions.—Scent very abundant. Grocyn played very beautifully, doing exactly what we asked, even to playing octaves and thirds at Dr. Speer's request. Small lights. Emperor controlled for a short time and said that the conditions were not good.²

September 11th, 1873.—Same place and circle.—Very copious scent, very sweet. Verbena, being asked for, was given. Waves of cool air, laden with scent, fanned us. Dr. Speer changed his place, and a groaning noise in the table was made until he went back. Then we were told that the places of the circle must not be changed. At first the lights were a failure until the circle rubbed hands violently ; then three of the brightest lights we have had came. The lights were large and draped in long drapery, and the light was brilliant enough to show a forearm, bare to the elbow. The hand was quite plain, and the arm swarthy and rather thin, delicately shaped. It appeared three times. Mentor afterwards said that in time he could materialise his body if I were put in a cabinet. Mentor spoke briefly: Emperor did not come at all. The lights in shape were such as this, but with the drapery sixteen or eighteen inches in length. Mentor wrote.³



¹ *September 9th.*—Séance. Very good. Pearls brought in daylight. Direct spirit writing.—S.T.S.

² *September 10th.*—Séance. Conditions not good. Lights few and feeble. The nuclei floated about without gauzy envelope.—S.T.S.

³ *September 11th.*—Séance. Pearls brought. An attempt made to raise M. A. Table tilted. Three large bright lights, with a quantity of falling drapery. To each an arm, bare to the elbow, was appended. Mentor gave direct writing under the table, to the effect that he would eventually show himself. Grocyn brought Mendelssohn, who could not yet communicate, but would do so eventually.—S.T.S.

September 12th, 1873.—Shanklin. Dr. and Mrs. S., and self.—The phenomena commenced on our rubbing hands, which we did vigorously. Immediately, during the Invocation with which we began, a round light was seen close to me, so close that I did not see it. Dr. S. saw it and called attention to it, when it went out at once. The lights rapidly developed to an extraordinary pitch. They flashed about backwards and forwards with great rapidity, darting close to our faces and brushing them with drapery. The solid cylinder was visible for full five minutes and was very brilliant. The drapery seemed to change colour at times, and to become black, or so dark as to conceal part of the light. The solid cylinder seemed to be about eight inches long and two inches in diameter. Mentor controlled, and spoke at length. He brought a great quantity of scent, which he threw about, and some of it unfortunately went into Mrs. Speer's eye, causing us to break abruptly. It was explained that the scent was brought to improve the atmospheric conditions. It must have been very plentifully scattered, for everything was spotted with it, and was evidently very pungent and strong.¹

Sunday, September 14th, 1873.—Same circle and place.—Raps from Mentor, who showed a number of lights, some of which were comparative failures, the nucleus only being visible. This nucleus Mentor has explained that he brings with him, and in unfavourable conditions he is not able to surround it with the luminosity which he gets from the circle. The power gradually improved until we had one of the largest and brightest I ever saw. The light illumined the walls, and the drapery must have been two feet in length. Mentor also brushed our faces and hands with his drapery. I had good opportunity for judging, and I should describe what I felt as the corner of a very fine muslin robe, but finer and softer than any manufactured in this country—more like the finest Indian fabrics. This is the first time I have had opportunity of examining the drapery, and even now I have not handled it.

Groeyn's sounds were more beautiful than I have ever heard them, I think; clear, resonant, and bell-like. The Holy Maid of Kent showed herself to me in company with Catharine. She could not talk, but

¹ *September 13th* [? 12th].—A singular séance. Groeyn absent, for the first time for many weeks. A cylindrical light appeared at once, remained for some minutes, came again, and moved about in every direction and at all heights with great rapidity. Other lights appeared, of



curious shapes. Scent thrown in great quantities—so much was thrown at Mrs. S.'s eye as to produce excruciating agony and congestion of the eye, with almost blindness for 24 hours.—S.T.S.



rapped continuously little pencil-raps. John Dee gave one moderate knock. Mentor controlled for a while, and gave us beautiful waves of scented air, but no liquid, in consequence of the accident. After a break Imperator controlled for a little time. Sunshine still slept, he said, and would sleep for some time to come. She had passed through two spheres of suffering during her illness, but would return and go through them in the conscious state of spirit-existence. When we broke up we found some flowers from the middle of the table had been distributed to each, and a little heap of pearl was put before each. One hundred and thirty-nine little pearls have now been brought to us, one hundred and ten in the last two days. Grocyn said he knew Luther, who was in the Second Sphere. Erasmus was seventeen when he came to him as pupil.¹

¹ *September 14th.*—Séance. Grocyn most distinct. He answered (through his harp) questions about Erasmus. Mentor fanned us repeatedly. Three splendid lights appeared; an arm was seen; drapery repeatedly thrown over us. Flowers taken out of a vase upon the table and thrown at us.—S.T.S.

[Mrs. Speer's account is as follows (*Light*, August 20th, 1892):—

September 14th, 1873.—Circle met at nine o'clock, Mr. S.M. having been impressed to sit at this hour. I was occupied in my room about the proposed time of our meeting, when several loud raps came on the door. On opening it no one was there, so I concluded the friends wished my presence in the séance-room. I at once joined the medium and Dr. S. On sitting down I saw a bright figure standing behind Mr. S.M. We were told it was Mentor. He then came between us, bringing cool air full of the scent of roses, which he wafted over our hands and faces. G. manifested, making more beautiful sounds than usual; he answered our questions on his musical instrument, which sounded like a harp. He said he knew Erasmus, that he was seventeen years of age when he came under his instructions; he also knew Melancthon and Luther, of whom he did not express much approval. Mentor then showed us lights, not equal to those we had previously had, but he was able to brush our hands with the drapery surrounding them, which felt very fine and soft, like India muslin. Then G. gave five twangs on his harp for the alphabet, spelling out the word, "Break."

On returning to the room more beautiful scent was brought, and a little sprinkled on our hands. Mentor many times during the séance fanned me with the scent-laden air. He then showed us two or three very large lights. One must have measured with its drapery quite two feet in height; he brought it close to my face, and brushed my hands many times with the drapery; he also touched my hand, and his hand felt as human as my own. Mentor then controlled the medium, and expressed great sorrow for having accidentally hurt me at a previous séance. The lights were not good, as Mr. S.M. was ill, and the atmosphere was not right, and this interfered with their development. The medium then said he saw a fresh spirit standing by Catharine. She advanced to the table and rapped clearly. We were informed it was the "Maid of Kent," who had been allowed to come to the circle for her good. We promised to pray for her. This announcement was

On September 28th we sat again. In the afternoon we had all been to Kensal Green Cemetery. We had all the usual phenomena, and in addition a spirit came which had annexed itself to me in the afternoon, and rapped very clearly, asking for a prayer. Raps all over the room. Groeyn carried his sound right away from the circle. At night I was kept awake by the Kensal Green spirit, who knocked most violently. A board near me was considerably moved from the wall, as they wished to put it on the table.

Monday, September 29th.—Douglas House.—A very irregular, disturbed séance. I was very far from well, tired and worn out with the noise and worry of school. Nothing occurred for a long time, and we made a short break. When we returned very little still occurred, until sharp raps came, quite outside of the circle. It was one of the same spirits who had annoyed me lately. It could not come on the table until we asked it, but knocked about outside. At last it came much more gently on the table and asked for prayer. A very curious and quite new sound was made in the air, between Mrs. S. and myself; a whirring noise, sighing like the wind among the trees. I have since heard it in my bedroom. Groeyn manifested, but feebly. We had some scent also. I noticed before it came that the air was pervaded by a damp, unpleasant odour. The whirring noise got so violent near to my right ear that I broke up the sitting. It was like a solid substance violently whirled round. The spirit would give no name but "S."

Sunday, October 5th, 1873.—Douglas House. Our circle and Mr. received by many very jubilant raps. Imperator then controlled the medium, and after saying, "Good evening, friends," and blessing us, spoke for a few minutes with difficulty. He said it would not be well to keep the control, as the conditions were not good; regretted the accident to my eyes, and said Doctor would give the medium some rules it would be well for all to follow. "We groped," he said, "in the dark even as they did. With more perfect conditions the manifestations would surprise us." Our friend (to whom referenc has been made) was still resting. She had passed through the spheres of suffering during her illness. "I had wished" (he continued) "to speak to you on the subject of worship, but must postpone doing so until a more convenient season. May the blessing of the Supreme be with you." After Imperator left the medium, Mentor brought more scent, and presented flowers to each of the circle. When we lighted the gas we found a small heap of seed pearls in front of each of the sitters, placed by the flowers Mentor had previously given to us.—M.S.]

September 16th.—Séance. Groeyn as usual. He played, by request, on his invisible tambourine, answered questions, and made some singular wailing sounds. Mentor made lights, which extended their range of mobility much [further] beyond the circle than ever; even up on to the ceiling. J. Dee came and communicated. Rapped more quietly than heretofore. P. came with very peculiar raps.—S.T.S.

Harrison.—We had the usual phenomena very strong. Scent in waves of cool air, moist scent. Grocyn's sound very clear. Seneca's dropping sound. Rector and Odorifer together, with a multitude of sounds on the table. Mentor and Imperator controlled. Some small lights were also made. When we went up into the cabinet upstairs, Mentor made some very clear lights, one of which endured over four minutes. I had been very anxious to try the duration of the light, because an imitation of such lights is made by phosphorised oil; but lights so made are of very brief duration. I believe that a favourable trial would show that Mentor's light would last seven or eight minutes.

October 14th, 1873.—Douglas House. Dr. and Mrs. S. and self.—We sat in the study. Nothing occurred for some time. We remarked the unusual absence, and almost while we were speaking a little Parian statuette was put upon the table. It was brought from the front bedroom, which I usually occupy when staying in the house. It was followed after an interval by a silver fruit-knife, which was brought from a closed workbox of Mrs. Speer's in the dining-room. We were then left in peace, and wondered where Grocyn was. A spirit came tapping, and I asked that Grocyn might be fetched. It was rapped out: "We are doing so." Mrs. S., who was calling the alphabet, stopped, imagining, as we all did, that the sentence was finished. However, the alphabet was called for, and "mething else" spelt. We could not conceive what was meant till it occurred to us to put the "so" on to it, and we found the sentence to be: "We are doing something else." We were told to form hands, and something fell on the table, which turned out to be a snuff-box from Dr. Speer's dressing-room. *Before it came* he said that he smelt Tonquin bean, which had been in the box. A curious snapping noise was heard in the air; we had scent-laden breeze, and then Grocyn came. Dr. S. had procured, unknown to me, a book (Drummond's *Life of Erasmus*), from which he selected test questions. Grocyn had before told us that he had become acquainted with Erasmus at the age of seventeen. This, we had thought, meant that E. became G.'s pupil at that time. We thought that this contradicted the book, and Dr. S. quoted the book against Grocyn. G. indignantly twanged out "Imperfect," and proceeded to explain that he made E.'s acquaintance first when he went to Padua, that E. came to England in 1798 and remained one and a-half years. He also spelt the year of his birth, 1767, making him thirty-one when he came to England. Dr. S. said, "No, thirty." Grocyn, however, contradicted very sharply. The twangs had a curious intensity, just as expressive as the excited tone of a disputant. Asked by Dr. S. whether he knew the name of Chalcelydes, he promptly said "No."

Dr. S. said: "He was your tutor." "No." "But he was." "No." "Do you know Domitian?" "No." "Polonius?" "No." Calling for the alphabet he twanged out: "Demetrius Chalcondyles," and afterwards "Politian."

These turned out to be the correct names. We referred to the book afterwards and found that Dr. S. had mistaken or forgotten the names. The fact of Erasmus' staying one and a-half years we none of us knew, and that Grocyn studied at Paris is not mentioned in the book. It was a very curious piece of evidence as to identity. Some of the facts were unknown to any of us. Some, *e.g.*, names and dates, were wrongly read and given, and were corrected promptly, the communicating spirit showing just the same impatience as a man would who was examined as to his life and heard false statements made. The twangs were of great intensity, and the spirit showed a complete acquaintance with Grocyn's life, which is a very strong argument for identity. One would think a personator would not have got so indignant. He got very wroth indeed. It was altogether curious evidence for identity as against unconscious cerebration. The dropping sound of Seneca was very loud indeed, and frequently repeated both on the table and harmonium stool.¹

END OF CITATIONS FROM MR. MOSES' NOTES.

¹ Séance on *October 14th.*—Mrs. S., Mr. M., and self.—For some time nothing occurred, but then raps were heard in various places—on the floor, Mr. M.'s chair, on the cupboard, in the air. Presently a small marble statuette was brought from the spare bedroom upstairs, through the locked door, and thrown on the table. Ere long a silver clasped fruit-knife was similarly brought from a workbox in the dining-room. Shortly afterwards I perceived an aroma as of a Tonquin bean, and (we had been previously told to join hands) a snuff-box which I had placed upon the chimney-piece of my dressing-room upstairs was thrown on the table. After this there was a pause; we expressed astonishment at not hearing Grocyn, and asked if he could be fetched. "We are doing so," was the reply; but we jumped prematurely at our conclusion, for on resuming alphabet we were much puzzled by the words "—mething else," the phrase standing thus, "We are doing something else." This, in reality, preceded the appearance of the snuff-box, and doubtless referred to it. After another pause Grocyn came most distinctly. I at once entered into conversation with him respecting Drummond's *Life of Erasmus* and the mention of his own name, &c., in that work. I asked for the initial of the country he (Grocyn) had studied at, and it was given, "Italy, University Padua." I asked if he knew the names of Diouysius Calcedonys, and of Polonius; answer negative. I remonstrated, having written those names down the day before from Drummond's work. He then asked for alphabet, and gave the following names, which, on

I here close for the present the series of quotations from Mr. Moses' records. We have traversed just a year from the date—November, 1872—when the continuous series of these records begins. And the reader has been introduced to nearly all the classes of phenomena, which continue in varying intensity for some six or seven years longer. It will not be necessary to follow them to the end in equal detail. But, on the other hand, in the next instalment of evidence we must deal with Mr. Moses' automatic writings as well, and we must endeavour to give some such general view as may throw light on the difficult question of the nature and identity of the intelligences at work. Can we ascribe all the phenomena to some operation of Mr. Moses' own subliminal self? or were other intelligences engaged? and, if so, did they in any sense correspond to the persons under whose names they announced themselves?

But although anything like a comprehensive survey of the phenomena must thus be deferred for a further paper, some clearness may meantime be gained by a brief preliminary classification,—which may also indicate the kind of difficulties which each possible explanation of the records will have to meet.

I. In the first place, as already implied, it is manifest that all the phenomena do in some sort cohere together, and form parts of a single

referring to Drummond's work, were found to be perfectly correct: Demetrius Chalcondyles, and Politian. He said he had studied at Paris; that Erasmus remained a year and a-half at Oxford, and arrived there at the age of thirty-eight. All this was found (on reference) to be perfectly correct, although no one had any knowledge of the latter facts, and the medium had never seen the work of Drummond. The singular part of the scene consisted in the extraordinary evidence of personal feeling made by Grocyn through the medium of his harp. The sounds were typical of approval, disapproval, anger, impatience, and on one occasion a powerful string sound changed instantly into a parchment sound. After a pause two most violent blows fell on the table, so that we instinctively extended our hands to seek the fallen objects. Nothing was to be felt. Mrs. S. being somewhat startled, we suggested moderation. The sounds were transferred to the harmonium, rolling from that upon the stool, then on the floor, and under the table towards my chair. This occurred upwards of fifteen times, and would have led anyone not accustomed to these manifestations to expect to find a corresponding number of hard bodies on the floor. Needless to say, nothing was found.

Grocyn's information forms, I conceive, a most important contribution to the much vexed question of personal identity.—S.T.S.

[This and similar biographies will be the subject] of discussion later.
—F.W.H.M.]

and prolonged effort, whose constantly avowed aim is the promulgation of important truth. The authors of the automatic writing assert in all possible ways that they are the authors of the physical phenomena as well. Each series presupposes and refers to the other. The trance-addresses given at the séances are continued by the messages written in privacy. The phenomena of the séances are predicted in the automatic script, and similar phenomena sometimes occur to Mr. Moses when alone. Nay, the actual writing itself is common to both series. The "controls" who write by Mr. Moses' hand as he sits alone produce in the séance-room "direct writing,"—inscribing their names on blank paper without the intervention of any human hand. The signatures of the automatic and the direct script are practically identical ;—the only difference being that the direct script looks as though written with greater effort. Whatever element, then, either of weakness or of strength is to be found in any part of Mr. Moses' evidence, that strength or weakness affects all the evidence alike.

II. The relation between what we should call objective and what we should call subjective phenomena is in fact much more complex than is implied in mere community of origin. This matter is treated of in the automatic script, and our discussion must be deferred until we have those statements before us. Meantime it is well to point out that the phenomena alleged go far beyond mere "telekinesis,"—that power of moving objects at a small distance from the body which, as was suggested in a previous paper, may conceivably be a power inexplicably inherent in man in somewhat the same way as the power to move his own limbs is inexplicably inherent. In these records we find asserted what we can only describe as a transcendental chemistry ;—a power of producing light without heat, like the glow-worm ; a power of overcoming the force of cohesion, of disaggregating matter and re-aggregating it in the same or different forms ;—and even a power of simulating in this re-aggregated matter that initiative and self-adaptiveness to which we give the name of life.

III. One more comment on the phenomena as a whole will not be superfluous. To the ordinary reader these marvels will inevitably appear arbitrary and incoherent. He will think that one might as well have copied the so-called "phenomena" straight from the *Arabian Nights* ; have asserted that Mr. Moses was made half of flesh and half of marble ; or that he flew on a wishing-carpet ; or that the genic burst out of the bottle in a pillar of smoke. There is, however, something more of method in this apparent madness, although it is a method which we can as yet only observe and not explain.

The fact is that the phenomena alleged to occur at séances may be divided roughly into three classes :—

- 1.—The first and by far the largest class consists of tricks whose mechanism is perfectly well known,—as well known as the way in which the ordinary avowed conjurer produces the rabbit from the hat. These tricks, indeed, are generally on a lower level than those of the conjurer at a fair; but in spite of repeated exposures they serve, when dished up with the appropriate “patter,” to deceive the great mass of wonder-seekers bent on the supernatural.
- 2.—The second class consists of phenomena somewhat similar to those of the first class, but not at present reproducible by ordinary conjurers. If these are genuine, then we may call the first class imitations of them. If they are fraudulent, they indicate that here and there a so-called “medium” has professional secrets of his own.
- 3.—The third class consists of a few rarely attested phenomena, of which Home’s fire-test is an example, which are not only not completely imitated, but are not imitated with any kind of plausibility, by even the most accomplished conjurers. Here we have to assume either genuine phenomena, or some kind of hallucination induced in the observers in some not readily imitable way.

Now, in no one of these classes is the range of alleged phenomena very wide; and the phenomena in each class have a certain analogy to the rest. Such an analogy can of course be explained in two ways. Either all these phenomena are conjuring tricks, of which some are better and some are worse; or some of the phenomena are real, and the rest are imitations, which aim less successfully at the same effects. At this moment, however, I am not discussing the question of fraud, but merely showing that the phenomena, true or false, are constantly and independently repeated, and have not, therefore, the arbitrariness and unexpectedness which characterise the marvels of the *Arabian Nights*. The simplest way of showing this will be to set aside all performances of paid mediums, and taking only such non-venal phenomena as have been printed in our *Proceedings* and *Journal* as possessing a *prima facie* claim to confidence, to exhibit

in tabular form their coincidences with the phenomena described in Mr. Moses' records¹ :—

W.S.M.'s principal phenomena.	Intelligent raps.	Movement of objects untouched.	Levitation.	Disappearance and re-appearance of objects.	Passage of matter through matter.	Direct writing.	Sounds made on instruments supernormally.	Direct sounds.	Scents.	Lights.	Objects materialised.	Hands materialised (touched or seen).
Barrett's subjects	×	×		×	×			×				
Bristowe and friends ...		×		×								
Dariex's subjects	×	×										
Davis children	×	×		×		×				×		×
Gasparin ...		×										
"Mr. H." (friend of Mr. Crowe)	×	×		×	×				×	×		×
D. D. Home ...	×	×	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Mr. O.'s friend		×			×		×					

The crosses show the phenomena alleged to have been obtained in each case. In minor cases also recorded in *Proceedings* and *Journal* the phenomena have been much the same.

I repeat that this general concordance of phenomena does not in itself prove anything except that the phenomena are not alleged *at random*. In the same way the general concordance of automatic teachings does not in itself prove anything except that the subliminal self thinks by preference in certain directions. But in each case, in that of the "physical" and in that of the "intellectual" manifestations, these general tendencies are likely, in some direction or other, to point the way towards an ultimate explanation.

¹ I have added M. de Gasparin's phenomena, not yet printed in *Proceedings* S.P.R., but mentioned by Mrs. Sidgwick in her article on "Spiritualism" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; and some incidents recorded by Professor Barrett in the *Dublin University Magazine* for December, 1877, with some of Home's phenomena not specified in the articles on him in S.P.R. *Journal*. The other phenomena referred to will be found as follows:—Bristowe, *Proc.*, Vol. VII., p. 383; Dariex, Vol. VII., p. 194; Davis, Vol. VII., p. 173; "Mr. H.," Vol. VII., p. 189; D. D. Home, *Journal* Vol. IV., pp. 141, 249; Mr. O.'s friend, *Proc.*, Vol. IX., p. 121.

And now for a few words on the origin of these phenomena, if they were not in fact the supernormal occurrences which they pretend to be.

Collective hallucination,—the first idea which will present itself to those who realise the strength here of the testimony to *character*,—seems excluded by the number of permanent traces which the phenomena left behind them. If objects are brought during the séance out of rooms which Mr. Moses had never avowedly entered, and are actually found and remain in the séance-room afterwards, there has been more than a hallucinatory percept;—a transposition of matter, by normal or supernormal means, has actually been effected. Evidence of this kind abounds in the records in question.

Shall we say, then, that the phenomena never occurred at all? that the records are from first to last absolutely false, and concocted to deceive the world, with no basis whatever? This view might have been upheld had the circle been always restricted to Mr. Moses and the Speer family. But it was not so restricted. Some dozen other persons, who cannot plausibly be held to be all in the fraud, witnessed the phenomena. It is true that some of these witnesses are now dead or inaccessible. But Serjeant Cox left a printed statement; Dr. Thomson, of Clifton, proved his belief by continued collaboration; Mr. Percival, Mrs. Garratt, Miss Collins, and Mrs. Honeywood are still living, and cannot with any plausibility be treated as accomplices. Mr. Percival's evidence, in particular, is that of an outside and occasional member of the group, who is honourably known in academic and official life, and who would have had everything to lose and nothing to gain by complicity in such a fraud. He and Serjeant Cox and Mrs. Honeywood and the rest may of course have been dupes; but at least their testimony shows that something sufficiently like Mrs. Speer's published record to enable them to subscribe to its general accuracy did actually occur.¹

Printed testimony from Mr. Percival has already been quoted, and will be quoted again in a further paper. He was, moreover, a principal redactor of such trance-utterances as were given in his presence; and thus Mrs. Speer's records printed in *Light* are largely due to him. As an intimate friend he was kept well informed of the progress of the phenomena throughout; and it was, in fact, from him mainly that Edmund Gurney and I received convincing verbal corroboration of Mr. Moses' statements after our early interviews with Mr. Moses himself.

¹ Just as this paper passes through the press two important MS. books of the late Miss Birkett, who died in 1881, have been found and sent to me. They contain contemporary notes of various séances between 1874-1880 at which Miss Birkett was present (which notes, so far as I have yet studied them, appear fully corroborative of Mrs. Speer's accounts), and add some interesting matter. These notes will be considered in the next paper. Mrs. Garratt has also kindly sent me contemporary note of a few séances,—also concordant, to be mentioned hereafter.

The testimony of an occasional member of the circle has been sent to me as follows :—

Chadbury, Evesham, Worcestershire.

December 6th, 1893.

I was witness to the following phenomena, which took place at some of the séances held at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Speer, under the mediumship of Mr. S. Moses. Some of the raps were very loud, others clear, small and rapid. The musical sounds were varied. I can describe one as soft and like an Eolian harp passing through the air, another like the chord of a violoncello pulled very strongly and reverberating through the large dining-table. A small stone cross was brought to me, delicious scents pervaded the atmosphere, and floating lights were visible in many parts of the room.

HELEN C. COLLINS.

Another friend of Dr. Speer's, well known to myself, is Dr. Rooke, a practising physician, of 7, Bays Hill-villas, Cheltenham. Dr. Rooke writes to Mrs. Speer, November 23rd, 1893 :—

“As regards communications I had from Dr. Speer *in re* Spiritualism, I had a good many, taken altogether, and spread over the whole time from his first becoming interested in the subject. I well recollect that he and Mr. Moses spent a Sunday afternoon at my house, shortly after their Isle of Man experiences, and the account they gave me of the disturbance of articles in one of their bedrooms and the symmetrical way in which heterogeneous objects had been arranged *on* the bed, the room having been previously locked, and they having taken precautions against tricks on the part of any servant, and I *think* also articles being also apparently brought *through* closed doors. Then again, after several letters on the matter I had from Dr. S., he came down to Cheltenham and stayed some days with us (you were not with him), in which we talked the whole matter over repeatedly. He described your séances at your own house and the various physical phenomena which you have lately published an account of. I well recollect his laying stress on the *ponderous* shaking of the furniture and floor of the room which one of your spiritual visitors was in the habit of producing. He, like myself, was far more interested in abnormal physical phenomena than in any trance manifestations or spirit-teachings through the mouth of any medium.”

Dr. Rooke encloses a letter from Dr. Speer, which is worth quoting, as the only letter which I have seen in which Dr. Speer describes the phenomena to a friend outside the special group. It is dated 13, Alexandra-road [Douglas House], N.W., July 13th, 1874.

“We have had two new spirits, one, ‘Kabyla,’ an old Indian, passed thousands of years ago; he has brought a new light, and materialised some beautiful fine spirit drapery (upon his first attempt), which he swept over our hands. We had last night an admirable specimen of zither playing, for a length of time. The performer (we don't know his name yet) actually performed what is called a *free prelude*; that is to say, a short unbarred composition. The whole thing was most marvellous, for there is no zither in our house, and it is an instrument that cannot be mistaken. Indeed, on his departure, Grocyn, who dropped in immediately after for a chat, produced his own sounds, and the contrast was of the most decided character.

“The other evening a new comer slipped in, and stank us out of the room by throwing down from the ceiling a large quantity of *Sp. Pulegii*. Everything that it touched was impregnated for 24 hours. The dining-room cloth and my own nether habiliments had to be exposed to view in the back garden; and on the following morning our dining-room floor and passage had to be freely fumigated with pastilles. That spirit has not been invited to join us again.”

Dr. Speer was by no means given (Mrs. Speer tells me) to proselytism; and having met with some sneers when he alluded to these phenomena in the presence of scientific friends he formed the habit of saying little about them. I can, however, add here a letter from an intimate friend of Dr. and Mrs. Speer, to whom the phenomena were communicated during their progress:—

96, Great Portland-street, London, W.

November 23rd, 1893.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have no hesitation, but a ready willingness, in replying to your request in the letter of yesterday, that I add my testimony to those of the late Stainton Moses' friends who are in a position to offer an opinion on the value attaching to the chief witnesses who were privileged to be present at the series of experimental psychology with that famous sensitive, viz., Dr. and Mrs. Speer.

I had the honour to be accounted by them as a friend, and knew them both in their home, and the late Dr. Speer as a club friend as well. We often talked over those well-attested experiments, and I was frequently shown the place and nature of their conduct and of the truly “staggering” phenomena which were continually being evolved. The smallest details, with substantial permanent effects, such as direct writing and production of objects unknown previously to the persons present, were entered into in reply to my sceptical inquiries and suggestions; and Dr. Speer, with whom I claimed common possession of “agnostic” views, yielded me the opportunity of measuring his capacity as a logical thinker free from pre-conceived opinions touching the matter in hand. He used to acknowledge his difficulty in accepting the “logic of facts,” but the inevitable working of an open mind left him no alternative. The effect of such a contact of our minds led me to accept his testimony as unquestionable and possessing the value of absolute and verifiable facts.

With regard to Mrs. Speer, that lady, responding to my desire for information at the source, helped me in every way to the best of her ability. Her method was to put before me the facts, to show me some of the records, to describe the conditions under which the séances were conducted, to exhibit the material results, and with the patience of an experimentalist in the pursuit of scientific investigation.

I cannot but think that those two witnesses, each in their own way, and supplementing each other, were imbued with the desire to seek out the treasures of knowledge and make use of the opportunities so fortunately thrown in their path.

Healthier minds, pursuing their special object with greater success and sounder judgment, I never met.—Yours sincerely,

J. FRED. COLLINGWOOD.

Who, then, was implicated in the fraud, if fraud there were? Mr. Moses himself must, of course, have been primarily concerned. But can we say that he performed the tricks in an unconscious state? Or, whatever his own state may have been, can we say that he performed the tricks *alone*? or with accomplices other than the Speers? or with only one of the Speers to help him? or must the whole Speer family be involved?

And first as to the hypothesis which would throw the blame on Mr. Moses' "subliminal self." Mr. Moses, by his own account, fell into trances, both during the séances, in his friends' presence, and also occasionally when alone in his rooms, as his automatic writings show. And besides these unmistakable trances, he was (as he himself told me) once at least for some days in a state of exaltation, which did not, indeed, prevent him from going through his routine school-work without attracting comment, but which so far abstracted him from ordinary life that acts then performed would not necessarily have been remembered afterwards. This was in direct connection with long religious messages which were then being written through his hand, and which deeply moved him. And on one other occasion at least, hereafter to be mentioned, he became entranced for a few seconds in the course of ordinary talk, and uttered a sentence of which he had no subsequent memory.

These facts should certainly make us receive with hesitation such accounts as Mr. Moses gives of physical phenomena occurring when he was alone. Thus, when on one occasion he mentions in his note-book that his coat, &c., had been disarranged during the night, we may well suppose that he himself may have unconsciously moved them. The same remark would apply to any easily producible phenomenon which occurred during the séances, when he was in a trance in the dark.

On the other hand, we are told (and the existence of copious notes of his trance-addresses confirms the statement) that frequently when he was perceived by his fellow-sitters to be in a trance, they lit a candle to take down his utterances—and could then, of course, see him as he sat at the table with them—while raps, apparently in various parts of the room, continued as usual. On other occasions, no doubt, he was entranced while musical sounds were heard, and scent fell, and globes of light sailed about the room. But these tricks, if tricks they were, were not such as a somnambulist could improvise, and then wake up and forget them. No conjurer is so gifted as to find gold fish and tubes of water under his trick-shirt unless he has previously put them there. Nor would bladders of phosphorised oil occur spontaneously in Mr. Moses' pockets, accompanied with a strong smell of otto of roses. The tricks, in fact, would have had to be carefully and continuously prepared and maintained; and to say of a busy, active schoolmaster,

most of whose time was passed in his class-room or on the top of an omnibus, that he was always packing himself with guitars, phosphorus, large stones, Chinese chessmen, and small objects from the bedrooms of his female friends, in a state of distraction, comes too near the indignant reclamations of the wives of materialising mediums, who maintain that false beards and dirty muslin are secreted about their husbands' persons by spirit-power.

No, if fraud there were, Mr. Moses may no doubt have been predisposed to such fraud by some peculiarity of temperament, but the fraud was committed, I cannot doubt, with the knowledge and complicity of every stratum of his being.¹

But, in the next place, can we suppose that Mr. Moses, granting him the use of all his faculties and full preparation, could by his own act alone have imposed upon the other sitters?

On this point, unfortunately, the very completeness of the confidence which the Speers felt in their friend's probity has interfered with the preservation of the kind of record which we desire. The whole party were interested in watching the phenomena, and not in watching each other, and the casual way in which even so important an evidential point as the existence of a light in the séance-room is alluded to shows how subordinate the conditions of the phenomena soon came to be in comparison with the phenomena themselves. Soon

¹ Though perhaps somewhat out of place, two testimonials to Mr. Moses may here be inserted, which have been printed by Mr. Speer in his memoir above referred to. The first, from Maughold Parishioners, on his resigning that cure, runs as follows:—

“REV. AND DEAR SIR,—We, the undersigned parishioners of Maughold, are much concerned to learn that it is your intention shortly to resign the position which you have for some years past so usefully and honourably occupied amongst us. We beg to assure you that your labours have been greatly appreciated in the parish. The longer we have known you, and the more we have seen of your work, the greater has our regard for you increased. The congregations at both the churches under your charge are very different in numbers to what they were some time ago. The schools have been better looked after; the aged and infirm have been visited and comforted; and the poor have been cheered and helped by your kindness and liberality. By your courteous demeanour, by your friendly intercourse, and by your attention to the duties of the parish generally, you have greatly endeared yourself to us all; and not least to our respected and venerable Vicar, whose hands we are well satisfied you have done all you possibly could to strengthen. We cannot but feel that your loss will be a very serious one to the parish, and we should be glad if you could see your way to remaining some time longer with us. By reconsidering your determination, and consenting to remain, you would place us under a deep debt of gratitude and obligation.”

“Here follow the signatures of the Rector and Churchwardens, also of fifty-four of the principal inhabitants of the district.”—*Spirit Teachings*, Memorial Edition, 1894, p. vii.

Again, on page ix. we find notice of another collective expression of esteem.

“On resigning his post through ill-health, the Council of University College passed a resolution conveying to Stainton Moses their best thanks for his long and valuable service to the school, and a special letter of affectionate regret was also sent to him, signed by twenty-eight of his colleagues.”

came to be, I say, for Mrs. Speer and her son unite in saying that in the earlier days Dr. Speer was really on the alert as to "test conditions";—Mr. Charlton Speer remembering, for instance, that his father had the legs of the large dining-table unscrewed, and the leaves separated, when the first raps were heard, in order to satisfy himself that no tricks had been played with that respectable piece of furniture. But we have here largely to depend upon recollections, such as those contained in the following letters:—

Ventnor.

November 29th, 1893.

I wish to state that the most convincing evidences of spirit-power *always* took place when hands were held.

Other manifestations occurred often in light, such as raps, raising of table, scent, musical sounds, and showers of pearls. Lights also appeared all over the room, coming and going *by request*, and rapping also by request in different parts of the room.

A book was once brought in *light* out of one room and put into Mr. S. M.'s hands, while Dr. Speer was sitting at his side in another room.

I saw a knife jump out of the butter dish and fall on to the table in light.

On one occasion the medium fell on to the floor in a deep trance, while Groeyn was making most startling musical sounds, and at the same time Catharine was rapping loudly to attract our attention, as she wished to give a message to tell us to help Mr. S. M.

Two cameos were carved in light while we were dining, and message given, through raps, to tell us where to find them. This was a very common occurrence, as frequent raps and messages would be given while dining in light.

At one séance as many as seven different sounds were going on at the same time in different parts of the room. It would have been quite impossible for any one person to have made them.

MARIA SPEER.

Glenhurst, The Common, Sutton, Surrey.

November 27th, 1893.

Referring to your letter of November 17th, in which you ask for more proof of the fact that Mr. Stainton Moses could not *personally* have performed the manifestations which occurred through his mediumship, I can only say that when I joined the circle it had been holding its investigations for several years, and that the minds of the original sitters had been quite convinced that it was out of the power of any of their members to have produced the phenomena by trickery or conjuring. When they first sat everything that happened was subjected to a rigid scrutiny, and test conditions were imposed with completely satisfactory results. However, during the time that I sat with the circle I may draw your attention to the following points:—

- (1) That we sometimes had a light during the progress of the manifestations.
- (2) That the phenomena were not confined to any one part of the room, but took place indifferently near the medium and some distance

removed from him ; also that sounds were heard at various heights extending from the floor to the ceiling, and the lights, as often as not, were *first* seen approaching from the *opposite* side of the room to that on which the medium sat.

- (3) That the phenomena occurred just as freely in one room as in another, and were in nowise affected by the séance being held in other houses, and other places many miles removed from London. This does away with the somewhat humorous theory of mechanical contrivances.
- (4) That when the medium was in a state of trance we always lit a candle in order to take notes of what the controlling spirit had to say. During the control the medium's hands and face could therefore be plainly seen, and even then raps could be heard in other parts of the room.
- (5) We often tried, *without success*, to imitate the various raps, thus showing that the sounds produced (by the outside intelligences) did *not* depend for the quality of their tone upon the nature of the substance of the table, or whatever other object was apparently used in their manufacture.

CHARLTON T. SPEER.

Mr. Percival, for whose return from abroad I have waited, before printing off the end of this paper, sends me the following letter :—

Sproughton Manor, Ipswich.

December 25th, 1893.

MY DEAR MYERS,—I was an intimate friend of the late W. Stainton Moses for nearly 20 years, and I regard him as one of the most truthful and upright men I have ever known. I attended a considerable number of séances at Douglas House, and I am convinced that it was physically impossible for him to have produced such a manifestation as the “shaking of the floor” of the séance room, which frequently occurred. I also believe that manifestations such as raps and lights were often produced while he was in a state of deep trance. With regard to the séances described in your paper, at which I myself was present, I can fully endorse the records of the other sitters ; I took notes at the time, which I still possess, and they have been used by Mrs. Speer. I always considered W. Stainton Moses to be a man of unusual ability, and I believe he would have succeeded in almost any line of life which he might have taken up. His mind was perfectly free from delusions of any kind, so far as I can judge, and in all the affairs of daily life he was eminently practical and conscientious.—Yours very sincerely,

F. W. PERCIVAL.

These letters, although of course not equal in evidential value to the contemporary notes, appear to me to be concordant with those notes, in which, as will already have been observed, sittings in full or half-light and sittings with hands held are occasionally mentioned, and mentioned in an incidental fashion which suggests that there has been no special effort made to pick out the most evidential occurrences.

Further than this, I repeat, we cannot now go ; and the looseness of the record on these points may serve to enforce the lesson that *all* records of supernormal occurrences, however intimate the group among whom they occur may be, should be kept with as much as possible of the precision usual in ordinary physical experimentation. There is no saying what point may afterwards be raised, what doubt expressed, which a few words in the contemporaneous record would have cleared up altogether.

And now, assuming, as I think many readers will do, that Mr. Moses could not have performed all these supposed tricks *unaided*, can we suggest any accomplice other than the Speers themselves ? Could he, for instance, have suborned their servants ?

But the phenomena occurred not only in Dr. Speer's house, or in houses rented by him, but in the houses of other friends (Dr. Thomson, Mrs. Honeywood, Serjeant Cox) and in ordinary sea-side lodgings (Southend, Shanklin, &c.), and especially at a little inn at Garrison, an Irish village, to which Dr. Speer and Mr. Moses had gone for some fishing. It would have been hard to transport either accomplices or apparatus to all these places in turn.

And now another point suggests itself. What was the attitude of the younger Speers, the son and daughter, who were children when the manifestations began, but were admitted to the séances about 1877, when the phenomena were already on the decline ? Can we suppose that Mr. Moses was in league with their parents to deceive them, or were they also members of the supposed plot ? I have already cited a brief letter in which Mr. Charlton Speer gives reasons for believing that he was not deceived by Mr. Moses. I subjoin a longer account from him, and a brief note from Miss Speer, who is an invalid. It will, I think, be felt that Mr. Charlton Speer cannot be separated from his parents in the matter. Honest or otherwise, his position is the same as theirs.

MY DEAR MR. MYERS,—You have asked for some of my personal recollections of séances with Mr. Stainton Moses, at which I was present. I will endeavour to place before you a few experiences which may be of interest ; and though very much that I remember would merely be a repetition of Mrs. Stanhope Speer's Records lately published in *Light*, yet certain things did strike me very strongly at the time, as being valuable tests of the genuineness of the manifestations ; and these perhaps might have been more strongly insisted upon in the Records, had they been prepared for the perusal of a sceptical, or at any rate an unconvinced, public. The habitual readers of *Light* having presumably advanced somewhat beyond the elementary, but all-important, stage of mere belief in the reality of spirit manifestations, would probably not set so much store upon the simple details of tests, uninteresting in themselves, but asked for and given as conclusive proofs of the spiritual origin of these same manifestations. It is some of these

occurrences, taking place under test conditions, that I propose to describe to you. It is important to note that at these séances no less than ten different kinds of manifestations took place with more or less frequency. On occasions when we had fewer varieties we were usually told that the conditions were not good. When they were favourable the manifestations were more numerous, the raps more distinct, the lights brighter, and the musical sounds clearer. The various occurrences may be briefly enumerated as follows:—

1. Great variety of raps, often given simultaneously, and ranging in force from the tapping of a finger-nail to the tread of a foot sufficiently heavy to shake the room. Each spirit *always* had its own distinctive rap, many of them so peculiar as to be immediately recognised; and these sounds often took place in sufficient light for the sitters to see each other's features and—I suppose more important—hands. Raps also were frequently heard on the door, sideboard, and walls, all removed some distance from the table at which we sat. These raps could not possibly have been produced by any human agency; of that I satisfied myself in every conceivable way.

2. Raps which answered questions coherently and with the greatest distinctness; also gave messages, sometimes of considerable length, through the medium of the alphabet. At these times all the raps ceased except the one identified with the communicating spirit, and perfect quiet prevailed until the message was delivered. We could nearly always tell at once with which spirit we were talking, owing to the perfectly distinct individuality of each different rap. Some of the higher spirits never—in my time—manifested by raps at all, but announced their presence by a note of music, or the flash of a light; but among those who did manifest in the usual way it would be difficult to forget Rector's heavy, ponderous, but muffled tread, which shook the whole room with its weight, while it appeared to move slowly round the circle.

3. Numerous lights were generally visible to all the sitters. These lights were of two different kinds—objective and subjective; the former were usually like small illuminated globes, which shone brightly and steadily, often moved rapidly about the room, and were visible to *all* the sitters. A curious fact in connection with *these* lights always struck me, viz., that looking on to the top of the table one could see a light slowly ascending from the floor, and to all appearance passing out *through* the top of the table, the table itself apparently not affording any obstacle to one's view of the light. It is a little difficult to explain exactly what I mean, but had the top of the table been composed of plain glass, the effect of the ascending light as it appeared to one's organs of vision would have been pretty much the same as it was, seen through the solid mahogany. Even then, to make the parallel complete, it would be necessary to have a hole in the glass top of the table, through which the light could emerge. The subjective lights were described as being large masses of luminous vapour, floating round the room and assuming a variety of shapes. However, Dr. Speer and myself being of entirely unmediumistic temperaments, we were only able to see the *objective* lights, but Mr. Stainton Moses, Mrs. Speer, and other occasional sitters frequently saw and described those which were merely *subjective*. Another curious point in relation to the objective lights was that however brightly they might shine they never—unlike an ordinary lamp—threw any radiance around them or illuminated

the smallest portion of the surrounding darkness—when it *was* dark—in the slightest degree.

4. Scents of various descriptions were always brought to the circle—the most common being musk, verbena, new-mown hay, and one unfamiliar odour which we were told was called spirit-scent. Sometimes breezes heavy with perfume swept round the circle, at other times quantities of liquid musk, &c., would be poured on the hands of the sitters and, by request, on our handkerchiefs. At the close of a séance scent was often found to be oozing out of the medium's head, and the more it was wiped away, the stronger and more plentiful it became.

5. The musical sounds, which were many and of great variety, formed a very important item in the list of phenomena which occurred in our presence. Having myself had a thorough musical education, I was able to estimate, at its true value, the importance of these particular manifestations, and was naturally well able to judge of the possibility or impossibility of their being produced by natural means, or through human agency. These sounds may, roughly speaking, be divided into two classes: those which obviously proceeded from an instrument—a harmonium—in the room, whilst the hands of all the sitters were joined round the table; and those which were produced in a room *without* an instrument of any kind whatever therein. These latter were of course the most wonderful. As regards the musical sounds produced in the room in which there was no instrument, they were about four in number. First, there were what we called the “fairy bells.” These resembled the tones produced by striking musical glasses with a small hammer. The notes thus given forth were clear, crisp, and melodious. No definite tune was ever played, but the sounds were always harmonious, and, on being requested by me or any other member of the circle, the “bells” would always run up or down a scale, in perfect tune. It was difficult to judge where the sound of these “fairy bells” came from, but I often applied my ear to the top of the table, and the music seemed to be somehow *in* the wood—not underneath it; as on listening *under* the table, the music would appear to be above. Next we had quite a different sound—that of a stringed instrument more nearly akin to a violoncello than anything else I have ever heard. It was, however, more powerful and sonorous, and might perhaps be produced by placing a cello on the top of a drum or anything else likely to increase the vibration. This instrument was only heard in single notes, and was used entirely by one spirit, who employed it usually for answering questions, in the same way that others did by raps. The third sound was an exact imitation of an ordinary hand-bell, which would be rung sharply by way of indicating the presence of the particular spirit with whom it was associated. We naturally took care to ascertain that there was *no* bell of any kind in the room; even if there had been, it would have been a matter of some difficulty to have rung it round the walls, and even up to the ceiling, as this particular sound proceeded indifferently from all parts of the room. Lastly, we had a sound that it is exceedingly difficult to offer an adequate description of. The best idea of it I can give is to ask you to imagine the soft tone of a clarinet gradually increasing in intensity, until it rivalled the sound of a trumpet, then by degrees diminishing to the original subdued note of the clarinet, until it eventually died away

in a long-drawn-out melancholy wail. This sound was ascribed to "Odorifer."

This is a very inefficient description of this really extraordinary sound, but as I have in the whole course of my experience never heard anything else at all like it, it is impossible to give to those who have *not* heard it a more accurate idea of what it was like. Like the two previous sounds I have described, it was always associated with one spirit.

It is a noteworthy fact that in no case did the controlling agencies produce more than single notes, or at best isolated passages. This they accounted for as owing to the peculiarly unmusical organisation of the medium. At any rate, the production of these sounds was wonderful enough in itself, as over and over again I thoroughly satisfied myself that there were no materials in the room which could in any way assist in making any kind of musical tones, and the clarionet and trumpet sound was one that I should be utterly at a loss to imitate in any way, whatever materials might be at my disposal. Before I joined the circle several other musical instruments were frequently imitated, and all were heard with greater variety, both of manipulation and tone; but as I am now only giving you a brief epitome of what actually happened under my own observation, I refrain from alluding to occurrences which took place when I was not present.

6. Direct writing was often given, sometimes on a sheet of paper placed in the centre of the table and equidistant from all the sitters; at other times one of us would place our hands on a piece of paper previously dated and initialled, and usually a message was found written upon it at the conclusion of the séance. We always placed a pencil upon the paper, but sometimes we only provided a small piece of lead, the results being the same in both cases. Usually the writing took the form of answering questions which we had asked, but sometimes short independent communications were given, also messages of greeting.

7. Movements of heavy bodies such as tables and chairs were by no means infrequent. Sometimes the table would be tilted up at a considerable angle. At other times the chairs of one or more of the sitters would be pushed more or less forcibly away from the table, until they touched the wall behind—or the table would move away from the sitters on one side and be propelled irresistibly against those on the other, compelling them to move their chairs in order to avoid the advance of so heavy a piece of furniture. The dining-table in question at which we usually sat was an extremely weighty one, and was made from solid Honduras mahogany, but at times it was moved with much greater ease than the combined efforts of all the sitters could accomplish—and these combined efforts were powerless to prevent its moving in a certain direction, if the unseen force willed it to do so. We frequently tested the strength of the force by trying to check the onward movements of the table, but without success.

8. The passage of matter through matter was sometimes strikingly demonstrated by the bringing from other rooms of various articles through closed and bolted doors. Photographs, picture-frames, books, and other objects were frequently so brought, both from rooms on the same floor and from those above as well. How they came through the closed doors I

cannot say, except by some process of de-materialisation ; but come they certainly did, apparently none the worse for that process, whatever it might have been.

9. The direct spirit voice, as opposed to the voice of a spirit speaking through the medium while in a state of trance, we very seldom heard, and never with any clearness or distinctness. But occasionally it was attempted, and by listening carefully we could distinguish one or two broken sentences which were hissed out in a sort of husky whisper. These sounds generally seemed to be in the air above us, but they were produced with evident difficulty, and there being so many other methods of communication, the direct voice but seldom was essayed.

10. The inspirational addresses given by various spirits through Mr. S. M. when in an entranced condition have been so thoroughly dealt with by Mrs. Speer in her "Records," that I can add nothing as regards the *matter* thus expounded. Touching the *manner* of these addresses—one or more of which we had at almost every séance,—I can only say that they were delivered in a dignified, temperate, clear, and convincing tone, and that though the voice proceeded from the medium it was always immediately apparent that the personality addressing us was *not* that of the medium. The voice was different, and the ideas were not always in accordance with those held at the time by the medium. An important fact, too, was that, although many spirits exercised this power of control, the voice which spoke was always different—and in the case of those spirits which controlled regularly, we got to know perfectly well which intelligence was communicating by the tone of voice and the method of enunciation.

So far, in this enumeration of the various phenomena, I have been speaking generally of the manifestations which usually occurred at most of our sittings ; but, in conclusion, I will give you two particular instances, one of direct writing and one of identity, both of which I think are interesting, and which certainly impressed me considerably.

On one occasion we were told to cease for a time, and resume the séance later on. I asked the communicating intelligences if they would, during the interval, give me a sample of direct writing under test conditions. An affirmative reply having been given, I procured a piece of my own note-paper and, unknown to the other members of the circle, I dated and initialled it, and put a private mark as well in a corner of the sheet. The others having retired from the dining-room to the drawing-room, I placed my piece of paper with a pencil under a table in the study, and having thoroughly searched the room, I barred the shutters, bolted and locked the door, and put the key in my pocket. I leant against the door, or for a change sat on the doormat, until I re-entered the room ;— when to my great satisfaction I found a message clearly written on the paper. As we had not been sitting in the study, and as I can positively aver that no one entered the room after I had left it until I myself unlocked the door, I have always considered this particular instance of direct spirit writing a most satisfactory and conclusive test.

The other occurrence that I consider specially worthy of mention took place as follows :—We were sitting one night as usual, and I had in front of

me, with my hand resting upon it, a piece of note-paper with a pencil close by. Suddenly the medium—Mr. Stainton Moses,—who was sitting exactly opposite me, exclaimed, “There is a very bright column of light behind you.” Soon afterwards he said that the column of light had developed into a spirit-form. I asked him if the face was familiar to him, and he replied in the negative, at the same time describing the head and features. When the séance was concluded I examined my sheet of paper which my hand had never left, and found written on it a message and signature. The name was that of a distinguished musician who died in the early part of the present century. I purposely refrain from specifying him, as the use of great names very frequently leads to results quite different from those intended. However, now comes the most extraordinary part of the affair. I asked Mr. Stainton Moses—without of course showing him the written message—whether he thought he could recognise the spirit he saw behind my chair if he saw a portrait of him. He said he thought he could, so I gave him several albums containing likenesses of friends dead and alive, and also portraits of various celebrities. I remained in another part of the room, and did not watch him, nor even knew when he was looking at the right album. On coming to the photograph of the composer in question, he at once said without hesitation, “That is the face of the spirit I saw behind you.” Then for the *first* time I showed him the message and signature. I regarded the whole incident as a very fair proof of spirit-identity, and I think that most people would consider the occurrence one of interest.

I feel that this letter has grown to an unconscionable length, and I must apologise for the bald manner in which many of the statements made therein have been set forth. I have been considerably pressed for time, and can only hope that the manifold crudities of language may, to a certain extent, be compensated for by the fact that the whole is an impartial and unprejudiced account of some of the remarkable phenomena to which I was a witness, and the genuineness of which I am ready at any time to vouch for.

(Signed) CHARLTON T. SPEER.

November 5th, 1893.

Ashley Villa, Ventnor.

October 30th, 1893.

I wish to state that I am a daughter of Mrs. Stanhope Speer, and was present at many of the séances recorded in *Light* by my mother, and, further, that the facts therein stated are in my recollection, and are true, and that the phenomena actually took place.

CONSTANCE ROSALIE SPEER.

I must now leave the reader to judge whether, if these phenomena were fraudulent, the Speer family can be acquitted of complicity in the fraud. If we were dealing with a number of known cheats, or of quite unknown persons, we should, I think, certainly pronounce the whole group equally concerned. And here, where the witnesses are all of equally good repute, I do not myself feel able to draw any dividing line between one and another of them.

It is not, indeed, clear in what way the Speer family could have benefited by such a course of deception. With regard to Mr. Moses himself, there was undoubtedly what might be regarded as a considerable, though a mixed, gain. There were some annoyances and anxieties which his note-books show him to have felt severely, but to which I need not here refer. On the other hand, there was the glory of being regarded by the Spiritualist body in England and America as a leader gifted with supernormal powers.

A prospect somewhat of this type has often been enough to tempt to fraud. Yet, having seen something of the way in which such impostors deal with their real or manufactured evidence, and of the way in which Mr. Moses dealt with his, it has often struck me that his mode of producing it was very unlike theirs. It happens that I have had repeated discussions with Mr. Moses as to his method of putting his phenomena before the world, which, as it seemed to me, was too scrappy and incidental to do them full justice. I had myself seen the pile of note-books; and I urged him to print them at once in as full a form as possible. He delayed and demurred, saying that they were too private for publication. I then urged him at least to reprint *Spirit Identity* in an exacter form, and with additional corroborations. This he used to promise to do; and he said that he would ask me to help in some such task when the time came. But he still delayed;—delayed until the year before his death. Then he began to print Mrs. Speer's notes of séances, and some of his own, in *Light*; and he prepared a tract called *The Identity of Spirit*, which I hope to print in a further article, and which gives the gist of *Spirit Identity* in a more exact form. This type-written tract is marked "Only partially revised."

Now, it seems to me that Mr. Moses' conduct throughout was explicable on the view of him taken by his friends; namely, that he was a reserved, sensitive, somewhat proud man, who disliked being discussed as a "medium," or baring his inner life to the public, and who wished only to utter just so much of his own experiences as might give him the authority on these subjects which he felt that he had a right to claim.

If these note-books had not, in fact, existed;—if he had had no real testimony to fall back upon;—reserve would of course have been a cheat's natural resource. But since the books do exist, and are full of what purports to be evidence, how is it that, if he had elaborately got up all that evidence, he was so reluctant to bring it out? Having blacked himself all over so thoroughly for his part of Othello, why was he so coy about removing more than his gloves?

If, then, I attempt to sketch the inner history of these transactions on the hypothesis of fraud, the best scheme that I can offer

for the use of the perspicacious critic will stand somewhat as follows.

“Beneath the semblance of probity,”—let him say—“the mask of sanity, Mr. Moses concealed an unscrupulous love of leadership and notoriety, a morbid passion for mystifying mankind. Unable to gratify this craving in the humdrum life of a parish clergyman, he found in the craze of Spiritualism a congenial field. He must at some time,—possibly in his retirement on Mount Athos,—have quietly acquired considerable conjuring skill. He was able, for instance, to persuade Serjeant Cox that he moved a large dining-table and raised it partially from the floor in full daylight, without any apparent contact. His dealings with phosphorus also went beyond the ordinary chemical repertory;—unless, indeed, we credit the ‘spirit-lights’ to his more scientific confederate. For he seems to have felt from an early period the need of accomplices to assist his contrivances and spread his renown. His thoughts naturally turned first to the physician who had just brought him through a dangerous illness,—a gentleman of trained scientific capacity, but whose materialistic views had probably blunted his sense of right and wrong, and disposed him to find amusement in laughing in his sleeve at mankind. On the other hand, Mrs. Speer’s serious and religious temperament was useful in its own way, for she would readily suggest to herself some high moral purpose for the sake of which a lifetime of fraud might blamelessly be embraced. Mr. Charlton Speer again, as a pure artist, would care little about *bourgeois* truth and honour. The next need was a dupe of good character to take notes and to admire. The choice of an Oxford graduate secured adequate philosophy and grammar; while a position in the Civil Service might be thought likely to have fostered a spirit of complaisant credulity. What was now needed was wide advertisement; and the means chosen, if indirect, were none the less subtle. Books out of print are often the most sought after; nor perhaps could a savour of tempting rarity have been better given to the fictitious experiences than by consigning their truncated record to a moribund magazine. Thus launched on the world, the conspirators divided their parts as their special gifts suggested. Mrs. Speer’s line was of course the womanly and the religious. She corresponded with Mr. Moses on serious and intimate matters, so as to give him the opportunity in his replies of alluding to his bogus phenomena as though they formed an ever-present element in his inner life. For this correspondence,—of which only fragments have as yet seen the light,—a fraudulent use will doubtless be some day found. Mrs. Speer helped also in *Spirit Teachings*, and perhaps contributed that semblance of high moral tone which serves to screen the essential insidiousness of the work as a whole. The task of the scientific husband was delimited

with an astute reserve. The sum and output of Dr. Speer's twenty years of fraud was to be embedded in a couple of penny note-books, which he was slyly to keep to himself. He could reckon pretty confidently, indeed, upon their being ultimately revealed with triumphant pedantry by someone whom he had never set eyes on, at an indefinite date after his death. Meantime, with the characteristic secretiveness of the impostor, Mr. Moses accumulated in his locked drawers the documents on which his pretensions reposed. The present thus amply enjoyed, all that remained was to plan for the development of future fame. The gang had naturally maintained intimate friendships with persons of known position and character. It was a stroke of consistency to bequeath the unpublished manuscripts to gentlemen of this type; even with the risk that such executors might treat the records in a spirit of masterly inaction. Some nincompoop with nothing better to do was sure to beg for permission to study and arrange the precious stuff; and some up-to-date Editor of the New Journalism was equally certain to jump at the copy for his high-toned print."

"If you want any more," as the adage runs, "you may sing it yourself."

But the private confidence which prompts a tone of irony when the probity of trusted friends is thus under discussion, will not be, and ought not to be, communicable in its fulness to other minds. I ask no immunity for Mr. Moses and his group from that jealous scrutiny to which every claim to supernormal powers should of right be subjected. No one concerned in this story will resent the most searching questions, the most extreme hypotheses. And, indeed, even for those who may be willing to accept these records as a transcript of actual fact, the period of question, of hypothesis, has yet only just begun. What was there verily, we must go on to demand, behind this bewildering manifestation? What power, and with what purpose, was working in what unknown way? *Verane te facies, verus mihi nuntius adfers?* There must yet be many a pondering of the trustworthiness, the significance, of this incursion upon the private counsels and sequestered commonwealth of men. And when all is done there will remain a mystery which neither our belief shall comprehend nor our incredulity unravel.

NOTE.

It is expressly stated in each part of these PROCEEDINGS that the responsibility for both facts and opinions rests solely with the author of each article. Since, however, it seems possible that the publication of so great a mass of documents, of very pronounced character, as are already included, or are to be included, in Mr. F. W. H. Myers' papers on the Experiences of Mr. Stainton Moses, may be misinterpreted as implying an adoption on the part of the Council which authorises their publication, of something like the point of view from which Mr. Moses' records were written, a few words of explanation may here be useful.

Two main points are involved in these Records : (1) the supernormal character of the alleged phenomena ; (2) the specific interpretation which Mr. Moses gives to them. With regard to the first point, the Council are of opinion that, taking into consideration the character of the records of which a part is here published, the conditions under which the recorded phenomena occurred, and the general circumstances of Mr. Moses' life, the supposition that the phenomena are to be explained by deception on the part of Mr. Moses, whether in a normal or an abnormal state, is in a very high degree improbable ; and that therefore the records constitute an important part of the evidence which it is the duty of the Society to collect and to put before the world, without necessarily pronouncing a decisive conclusion as to its validity. On the question whether the improbability of deception is greater or less than the improbability that the events actually occurred as recorded the members of the Council individually entertain diverse views, and they do not feel called upon to express any opinion collectively.

With regard to the second point, the Council would remind the reader that where, as in these records, actual observation is obviously, and indeed avowedly, mingled with imported theory, the distinction between fact and inference from fact must be kept in view throughout.

Much matter of importance remains to be printed ; and a final judgment can hardly be formed until the whole case shall be under review.

FREDERIC W. H. MYERS, } Hon. Secs. S.P.R.
FRANK PODMORE, }

INDIAN MAGIC AND THE TESTIMONY OF CONJURERS.

BY RICHARD HODGSON, LL.D.

In the *North American Review* for January, 1893, appeared an article entitled "High Caste Indian Magic," over the name of the well-known professor of conjuring, Mr. Harry Kellar. In this article Mr. Kellar gives an account of various marvels which he declares that he personally witnessed in India, and he states that "the high caste fakirs, or magicians, of Northern India have probably discovered natural laws of which we in the West are ignorant. That they succeed in overcoming forces of nature which to us seem insurmountable, my observation satisfies me beyond doubt." This dictum raises an interesting general question as to the value of conjurers' descriptions of performances of the kind described,—besides the question as to the value of Mr. Kellar's testimony in particular. I propose to deal briefly with these two questions. The previous publications on this subject by Mr. Kellar that have fallen under my notice are three short articles which appeared in *Leisure Hours* for March, April, and May, 1892, and a book published in 1886, entitled: *A Magician's Tour Up and Down and Round About the Earth, being the Life and Adventures of the American Nostradamus, Harry Kellar*. Edited by his faithful "Familiar," "Satan Junior." According to this book, which I shall speak of as Mr. Kellar's, his first visit to the "far East" was in the year 1877. About July 4th, 1876, Mr. Kellar "decided to visit Australia and the far East." In 1876 and 1877 we find him in Australia, which he left in 1877. Singapore, Johore, Java, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Rangoon, and various other places were visited, and Mr. Kellar finally opened in Calcutta on December 30th, 1877. The places visited in order are given,—Calcutta, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi. Mr. Kellar is also said to have visited Agra, Cawnpore, Jeypore, and Benares, and "all the prominent towns of the Punjab." He opened in Bombay on February 14th, 1878, and from Bombay moved northward to Bagdad. He did not return to India till 1882.

How happens it, then, that Mr. Kellar describes an experience which he had at Secunderabad in 1878,—when there is no mention whatever in his book of any visit to Secunderabad? And Secunderabad was a very long way off from any of the places mentioned as having been visited by Mr. Kellar, and in a totally different direction. A visit to Secunderabad would have required several days at least. Not only so, but Mr. Kellar describes a scene which he says he

witnessed "at the palace of Sir Salar Jung, the Nizam of Secunderabad." Now, there is no Nizam of Secunderabad. There is a Nizam of Hyderabad, and Nawab Sir Salar Jung Bahadur was Minister of Hyderabad. Secunderabad is a city in the Nizam's dominions. In his book Mr. Kellar is described as having appeared in Calcutta before the Nizam of Secunderabad and also Sir Salar Jung, Prime Minister of the Nizam. It is, of course, not surprising that Mr. Kellar should make a mistake about the titles of these "notables," unless he actually visited the Nizam's dominions. The surprising thing is, if he visited Secunderabad in 1878, as he now states, and witnessed what he regarded as a remarkable incident there, that no mention of such a visit should appear in his book. And such a visit would have been a complete deviation from the line of his route as described in his book. He has possibly confused Secunderabad and Hyderabad with Allahabad.

It appears clearly from Mr. Kellar's book that two or three years of scattered, hasty travel would cover his experience of "India and the far East." Yet he begins his article by the following passage:—

"Fifteen years spent in India and the far East have convinced me that the high caste fakirs, or magicians, of Northern India have probably discovered natural laws of which we in the West are ignorant."

At the very outset, then, Mr. Kellar claims a familiarity with "India and the far East" which he does not possess. But this is by no means the most serious fault that we have to find with Mr. Kellar's statements. It appears, from the account in his book, that it was not till 1877 that he visited India, and that during the winter of 1875-6 he was journeying backwards and forwards between England and America, and giving performances in the latter country. How, then, at this time could he be also in Calcutta? He says in his recent article:—

"On the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales to Calcutta during the winter of 1875-6, I saw a marvel of levitation performed in the presence of the Prince and of some fifty thousand spectators."

The *Prince of Wales* was in Calcutta during the winter of 1875-6, but if Mr. Kellar declares that he also was there at that time, as he does—well, we have a conjurer's testimony to a very remarkable performance, more marvellous than the feat of levitation which he describes himself as having witnessed at the Maidam. The reader may, however, be willing to pass over discrepancies of this kind, and to assume that although Mr. Kellar's memory of dates and persons is not very good, he may nevertheless have witnessed some such scene as he describes, in a different year, and when the Prince of Wales was not present. Let us, therefore, take another incident from the recent article for the purpose of seeing how much confidence we can place in

Mr. Kellar's descriptions of a conjuring trick which he fails to understand. He says :—

“I saw a performance by the whirling fakirs in the Chandee Choke, the Cheapside of Calcutta. There were a score of Englishmen in the party, which had gathered by arrangement, and we were escorted to a long empty room in the Chandee Choke, which was apparently an unoccupied store-room. There was no back door, and the only two windows in the room—which were at either side of the entrance—looked on the street. There was no one present when we arrived, and we examined the room carefully, testing the walls, ceiling and floor for secret doors, traps, wires, &c., and came to the conclusion that in those respects, at least, all was as it should be. We then drew a chalk line one-third of the way down the room from the door, beyond which we were to remain as audience, while four fakirs, who appeared at that moment from the street, were to give us an exhibition of their magical powers in the other two-thirds of the apartment, which was destitute of either doors or windows, and, so far as we could inform ourselves, absolutely without means of communication with the adjoining buildings or with the open air.

“The old fakir took a chafing-dish and set it about ten feet from the chalk line on his side, casting upon its glowing coals a white powder, which gave out a strong scent of tuberoses, very agreeable to the senses. A fine white vapour arose from the burning powder and filled the corners of the ceiling, draping the dull panelling with a flying wreath or two, but still permitting a clear view of the end wall. At a point some six or eight feet beyond the chafing-dish the old man and his three assistants began dancing slowly; they gave utterance to no sound, but whirled faster and faster, with a rhythmic motion, their robes flowing out on either side and blending the four forms into a composite group, of which the tall master was the central figure. Suddenly, to our great astonishment, we became aware that there was only one form visible, that of the old man. The swift whirl of his dance was gradually relaxed, and in a minute or two he became motionless, *salaamed*, advanced in front of the chafing-dish, bowed again, and pointed with a dignified gesture to the rear of the apartment. We all looked eagerly in the direction of his gesture; there was not a living creature, nor indeed an object of any kind, visible beyond the line except himself. With another *salaam* he returned to his original position in the rear of the chafing-dish, and began with reverse motion the dance of a moment before. Holding out his arms on each side of him as if the better to balance himself, he now sang, in a low, monotonous tone, a chant, the words of which impressed themselves upon my memory and sounded like this :—

AI YA OR EKTO DO !

“In some inexplicable way the monotonous drone of this chant, which fell not unmusically from his lips, seemed to join with the vapours which curled about the scene to bewitch our fancies, or at all events to produce a condition of dreamy delight. If this was hypnotism, so be it; but whether or not the existence of this charmed condition can be ascribed to hypnotic influences, I never felt my senses more completely at my command; and with my eyes fixed intently upon his whirling figure I became aware that he seemed to be throwing off from himself portions of his body; one

arm here, the other there, a leg here, and so on, the illusion being perfect, if illusion it was, and the end of the room where he had begun to dance alone becoming gradually filled with figures like his own, only younger, each whirling with the same chant in the same direction. Suddenly the dance again died away, the chant was hushed, and when we looked again there was but one performer visible, the old fakir, who advanced in front of the chafing-dish and asked for *backsheesh*. He received it liberally, and we again made an examination of the room, but could discover no explanation of the disappearance of his companions."

Now, it certainly looks as if Mr. Kellar was trying here to describe an incident which appears as follows in an article by him in *Leisure Hours* for March, 1892, where he writes:—

"At Calcutta I attended a performance of three fakirs, which was given in a large room. At one end, where they had drawn a dividing line, none of the spectators were allowed. The three fakirs began dancing and whisking around like dervishes, with a dizzy rapidity. This continued for a few moments, when I suddenly discovered that there were four dancers instead of three. Then the number increased still further until there were a dozen men dancing, twisting and gyrating. Then, seemingly, the dancers came nearer together, until they appeared to be all massed in one big dancer, who finally ceased whirling and stood there alone. As I have just explained, the spectators were not allowed to examine that end of the room where the fakirs performed their feat, so I could not make any personal inspection of the walls. It did not seem possible, however, from where I sat, that there could have been any reflection from the sides or rear; but I was evidently deceived by some clever optical delusion."

A comparison of these accounts will probably be interesting to the reader, whether he concludes that they refer to the same incident or not, and there is other evidence to show that the feats witnessed by Mr. Kellar in India have grown largely in his imagination with the lapse of time. Compare the statements in his recent article with the following passage from *Leisure Hours*, March, 1892:—

"Some of the purely Oriental wonders were unique and unaccountable—notably the levitation of a human being in mid-air without any visible means of support, and apparently defying the laws of gravity; the cutting of a man to pieces and building him up again as good as ever; the changing of a rupee held in the hand of a spectator into a writhing, lively cobra; wonderful feats of hypnotism or simulation of death; the making of birds and animals of common clay and subsequently imbuing them with life, so that they appeared real; the production of the deadly cobra from most impossible places; the whirling dervishes, changing from one to many and then back to one again; causing iron to float in water, and a ball to spin around the head without any apparent attachment to the body. These and many other wonders belong exclusively to the crafty Hindu, and have never yet been explained by Europeans. They are simply tricks, but very clever and ingenious, and the secrets are carefully guarded."

And compare this again with his statements in 1886. On turning

to the book from which I have already quoted, I find a chapter (XVI.) entitled "The Jugglers of India." The first paragraph reads as follows :—

"Naturally, on his first visit to India, Kellar was curious to see something of the famous jugglers, of whom travellers have told such marvellous tales. He went out of his way to meet any famous performer who could only be reached in that manner, and the result was that between the time he landed at Calcutta and the time he embarked at Bombay, he had witnessed about everything of note in the juggling line that the country afforded. The opinion he formed, after seeing all they could show him, was that, apart from their skill as snake charmers, in the basket trick, and one or two other illusions, the ability of the entire fraternity of Indian jugglers is beneath contempt."

He then describes the *mango* trick, a *snake charming* trick, the *basket* trick, the *bowl of water* trick, the *coloured sugars* trick, and the *dry sand* trick. The last sentence of the chapter reads :—"The tricks already described are the only ones Kellar saw in India which are worth mentioning."

How comes it, then, that if this was Mr. Kellar's opinion in 1886, he should give descriptions in his recent article of incidents which he states he witnessed in India prior to that time, incidents which he now says "baffled my deepest scrutiny, and remained the inexplicable subject of my lasting wonder and admiration"? Surely Mr. Kellar is romancing! Against the Kellar of 1893 we may quote the Kellar of 1886 :—

"Many of the wonders attributed to Oriental jugglers have never existed anywhere outside of the imaginations of those who tell them. The writers who declare that they have seen such impossible feats performed as throwing a ball of twine in the air to form a sort of Jack-and-the-bean-stalk, up which the juggler climbed out of sight, pulling the string after him, and that the pistol shot of a companion brought the aerial climber to the earth in fragments, which, when brought together, became a living, uninjured man again, must have had their brains steeped in hasheesh."

Let us now turn to what Mr. Kellar has to say about the notorious medium Eglinton :—

"My first experience with the phenomenon of levitation was in January, 1882, during the course of an engagement I was filling at the Chowringhee Theatre Royal in Calcutta. Mr. Eglinton, a professed spiritual medium, was giving *séances* in Calcutta at the time, and as I openly avowed my ability to expose the frauds of all so-called mediums, I was taken to one of them, which occurred in a brilliantly lighted apartment. I will not describe it otherwise than to say that it so puzzled and interested me that I gladly accepted the invitation an evening or two afterwards to be present with several others at a dark *séance* given by Mr. Eglinton.

"It was now that the feat of levitation was apparently performed, in the presence of these spectators. The only furniture in the room was a plain

teakwood table, a zither, some chairs, two musical boxes, and a scroll of paper. A circle having been formed, I was placed on Mr. Eglinton's left and seized his left hand firmly in my right. Immediately on the extinction of the lights, I felt him rise slowly in the air, and as I retained firm hold of his hand, I was pulled to my feet, and subsequently compelled to jump on a chair and then on the table, in order to retain my hold of him. That his body did ascend into the air on that occasion with an apparently utter disregard of the law of gravity, there can be no doubt. The musical boxes, playing briskly, then appeared to float through the air above our heads, small green lights appearing and disappearing here and there without visible cause, and the zither playing near the ceiling or immediately over our heads. . . . What most excited my wonder was the fact, for I may speak of it as a fact without qualification, that when Mr. Eglinton rose from my side, and, by the hold he had on my right hand, pulled me up after him, my own body appeared for the time being to have been rendered non-susceptible to gravity."

How, if Mr. Kellar weighed nothing, he should have been compelled to *jump*, it is somewhat difficult to understand. A more detailed account of these incidents is given in Mr. Kellar's book, pp. 167-173, where we find:—

"He sought for means to reproduce, by natural means, all that Mr. Eglinton had done, except the levitation. He succeeded after much study and many experiments. Of course he makes no claim to performing the tricks by the same means that Mr. Eglinton used. It may be that he uses the same method, and it may be otherwise. He simply knows that he produces the same results. . . . Regarding the levitation feat, my master has never been able to reach a satisfactory explanation. What puzzles him most is how he could have been pulled up by Mr. Eglinton without feeling his own weight on his hand and arm. He seemed to lose gravity. Whether the occurrence was actual, and not a mere mental illusion, he is not prepared to say. It assuredly was a wonderful and unaccountable performance."

The reader will notice that the alleged levitation occurred in the darkness, and will probably infer that Eglinton used the same means of rising as Mr. Kellar afterwards did, viz., the chair and the table. This was my own conclusion concerning the alleged levitation of Eglinton at a dark séance given in a room of a friend of my own at St. John's College, Cambridge, England, in the year 1880. Friends of mine were holding Eglinton at the time, and I was present at the sitting myself. It was unanimously agreed, I believe, by all who were present, that there was no evidence whatever to show that Eglinton rose by other than ordinary means. Eglinton, moreover, is a detected trickster. At one of his so-called "materialisation" séances, pieces of muslin and beard were cut from the supposed "spirit," and these fitted the muslin and beard afterwards found in Eglinton's port-manteau. He also co-operated with Madame Blavatsky in the production of a spurious marvel, was detected in fraud at Munich, and

was discovered surreptitiously writing at one of his so-called "independent slate-writing" séances. (*Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, Vol. IV., pp. 350-2.) Mr. Kellar's first experience with Eglinton in 1882 was in "independent slate-writing," and he was completely deceived. He afterwards, apparently, changed his opinion and concluded that he could account for what happened "by natural means." As a student of accounts of this class of alleged phenomena, it is obvious to me, from Mr. Kellar's description given in his book, that he was ignorant at the time of his first experience with Eglinton of some of the common methods of producing alleged "independent slate-writing" by trickery. Later on Mr. Kellar publicly professed to be able to "duplicate any performance given by mediums, of whatever nature, after he has seen it done three times." This suggests that Mr. Kellar's real opinion about Eglinton's performances is that they were all tricks, and I am not aware that Mr. Kellar has withdrawn the challenge thus given to mediums.

I have said enough to show that Mr. Kellar's article is written from the point of view of the romantic story-teller who allows his imagination full play, rather than from that of a careful recorder of the circumstances of a trick-performance, and some of his fundamental statements as to times, places, and his own conclusions are flatly negatived by the statements in his previously published book.

We may now ask how much importance is to be attributed to a conjurer's testimony concerning marvellous performances of the kind under review. It is, of course, not to be doubted that a conjurer, or a person familiar with the devices of conjurers, is more likely to discover the *modus operandi* of a trick than the ordinary uninitiated observer,—and even if he fails to discover the trick, he may by virtue of his knowledge of various trick-devices, write a better record than another person who is not superior to him in other respects. It does not, however, follow from this that his description of a trick which has baffled him will be specially reliable. The conjurer may not be a particularly keen observer of circumstances not already familiar to him as belonging to the conjuring class; his memory may be untrained in the reproduction of circumstances which he did observe at the time; and he may be entirely unaccustomed to the making of precise records of such a series of events. A conjurer does not seem to have any special capacity *quâ* conjurer in these directions. And a tendency which besets the ordinary observer is likely to operate still more powerfully with an expert in prestidigitation. The very fact of his having been deceived will in many cases contribute towards the marvellousness of his record, especially if he is over-confident of his ability to detect trickery. For a similar reason, he is more apt to suppose that the phenomenon, if unintelligible to him, was inexplic-

able "by natural means." Mr. Kellar seems to have taken this confiding attitude when he witnessed Eglinton's performances in 1882. I was much struck myself when in India by the complete mystification produced in some Hindu jugglers by several tricks of a European gentleman who was an amateur conjurer. At the time I was not familiar with conjuring methods, but reasoned out the *modus operandi* in these particular tricks which caused the amazement of the native experts because they were unfamiliar with that class of performance. Not only do I see no sufficient ground for supposing *à priori* that a conjurer will make specially accurate records of a trick which he has failed to understand, but a comparison of several records made by conjurers of "independent slate-writing performances" with those of other intelligent non-conjuring observers, all of the witnesses being alike ignorant of the *modus operandi*, affords *à posteriori* proof that conjurers are not specially competent recorders. Mr. Kellar's description of his slate-writing sitting with Eglinton is an instance. It may be laid down as a rule almost without exception that the account of a trick by a person ignorant of the method used in its production will involve a misdescription of its fundamental conditions. And this misdescription is frequently so marked that no clue is afforded to the student for the actual explanation. These statements apply not to the ordinary observer alone, but also to the baffled conjurer, whose testimony is vitiated by the same liability to mal-observation and lapse of memory so fruitful in the reports by ordinary observers of "occult" phenomena.

If, then, a conjurer says that he was unable to discover any trick in an alleged "occult" phenomenon, his statement to that effect is entitled to more value than that of a person unfamiliar with conjuring. There is something about that phenomenon which is probably exceptional. It may, however, be a form of trick which is simply unlike any of those already familiar to the conjurer. Eglinton's slate-writing trick, for example, deceived Mr. Kellar in 1882. It would not, however, I believe, deceive him now. But supposing that the conjurer fails to discover a trick, what is the value of his opinion that no trick was possible? This depends entirely upon the individual man, and not upon his conjuring knowledge. We must consider his general capacity, his ability to observe and recollect the detailed circumstances of the performance, his knowledge of the sciences, mental as well as physical, his tendency to believe in supernormal phenomena without sufficient evidence.* If he is too confident in his own powers, he will be likely to assume that

*I have asked many persons for an explanation of one of Mr. Davey's tricks—writing between slates screwed and tied together—and only one person, Professor S. P. Langley, solved the problem. Among those who failed were two conjurers, one of them being Mr. Kellar.

the performance was not a trick merely because he was unable to discover the trick. Now, with all due respect to Mr. Kellar's power as a conjurer—and he stands high in some branches of his profession—I do not regard his opinion as entitled to much weight beyond those special matters with which he is familiar. And I think that my statement is sufficiently vindicated by Mr. Kellar's assurance in the first place that he could easily expose the frauds of "spiritistic mediums," and then his apparent readiness to jump at the conclusion that Eglinton's performance at the slate-writing séance "was in no way the result of trickery or sleight-of-hand." When we come to consider the narrations which Mr. Kellar now gives of his experiences, putting aside the discrepancies of dates, &c., which I have pointed out—and which seem to indicate that Mr. Kellar is entitled to *less* confidence as a narrator than is the ordinary historian—it is plain that he is completely unaware of the ravages which time makes in one's recollections. What should we think of an astronomer who proposed, several years after the event, to draw from memory accurate charts of the sun's flares during a total eclipse? What would Mr. Kellar think of a witness to his own performances who, being, let us say, unable to divine Mr. Kellar's methods, should attempt years afterwards to narrate what he witnessed? Some of Mr. Kellar's operations, which were perhaps actually seen at the time, but their significance not understood, have been transposed in their order or have dropped out of memory. Possibly other events have taken their place in recollection—and Mr. Kellar would find it absolutely impossible to reproduce his performance under the conditions as these are erroneously remembered by the witness. Most persons appear to think that their memory of a series of events, if clear and vivid, is necessarily trustworthy. They regard their recollection as a photograph, the lines of which may indeed become blurred, and fade out, but do not change their distinctive positions. This view of recollection, as regards the events which we are considering, is totally erroneous. To continue our analogy, the memory photograph may change in many of its really most important elements, and yet be a clear and vivid photograph. The memory-faculty is not adequate for the reproduction of the details of the events in question as they occurred. And I have no doubt that Mr. Kellar's descriptions of the incidents which he was unable to explain are just as faulty as the descriptions of his own performances would be if given years afterwards by a witness who was unfamiliar with Mr. Kellar's methods.

I may add here a few words about my own conclusions concerning Hindu jugglers, without claiming even so much experience in India as was actually enjoyed by Mr. Kellar. All that I saw was conjuring, and every detail, I believe, became known to me, either by purchase or

by discovery. I did not, however, see some of the performances which Mr. Kellar describes. Possibly I saw only what he designates as the low caste fakirs, and not any of the high caste fakirs. I venture to suggest about these that the high caste fakirs, if such exist, may bear somewhat of the same relation to the low caste fakirs as the high class professionals here, such as Kellar and Hermann, bear to the performers in dime museums. In the next place I would remind the reader that the Hindu race has differentiated very widely in many respects from the Western branches of the Aryan stock,—and it would not be an extreme hypothesis to suppose that certain modes of deception have been developed by them on lines which are unfamiliar to the Western races. This differentiation is shown in other directions, from philosophical speculations down to trick puzzles in cane and wire. They may, indeed, have discovered some “laws” of which we in the West are at present ignorant. I certainly do not affirm that this is impossible, though in the course of my investigations in India concerning the marvellous phenomena alleged to have occurred in connection with Madame Blavatsky and the Theosophical Society I could find no evidence for the existence of anything but ordinary trickery. The performances of all the “jugglers” whom I saw were unquestionably conjuring tricks, and I sought in vain for an eyewitness, European or native, of the famous rope exploit of which we have heard so much in travellers’ tales. About three years ago a story spread that this supposed trick was explicable by “hypnotism.” It was alleged that certain travellers had proved this by means of a kodak. The kodak showed no such scenes,—rope taut as though fixed to an inevitable point in the air, disappearing boy, man following with a knife,—bloody limbs and trunk and head falling,—reintegration of the boy’s organism, &c. This story turned out, by the confession of its author, to be a “yarn,” as was obvious to myself when it first appeared,—not only from the indications of the drawings given with the story, but because the famous “mango” or tree-growing trick was explained in the same way—viz., by hypnotic suggestion; whereas I was well aware that the latter was a simple conjuring trick, every detail of which was known to me. Even Colonel Olcott, faithful follower of Madame Blavatsky, and recipient of so many favours from the (imaginary) adepts or Mahatmas, told me, after several years’ residence in India, that he had never witnessed the rope-climbing performance. It was he who made the statement to me, on what authority I do not remember, that the explanation was “hypnotic suggestion,” and he related in connection with his opinion the story of a native who was looking on at this performance from a little distance off, up a tree, whence he had a good view but could not distinguish the conjurer’s words. He saw the conjurer do nothing more mysterious

than to cut up a large vegetable of the pumpkin order, and fit the fragments together, whereas the spectators close at hand averred that they had witnessed the various stages of the "rope-climbing" trick. So runs the story. Now, it is, of course, perfectly easy to induce in a hypnotic subject the belief that he is witnessing or has witnessed a performance like that under consideration, but I do not know of any experiments that in the least degree indicate the feasibility of hypnotising a whole group of persons without their knowledge. It is, nevertheless, possible that the original story of this famous trick, as well as several later versions, may have been due to hypnotic suggestion. Colonel Henry Yule, in his notes to *The book of Ser Marco Polo*, has given various references to the accounts of this performance,—by Ibn Batuta, the Moor, in the fourteenth century; by Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller, in the seventeenth century; by Francis Valentyn (whose account Colonel Yule apparently thinks is borrowed from Melton's); and by the Emperor Jahanguir, in the seventeenth century.

After describing the trick, Ibn Batuta writes :—

"All this astonished me beyond measure, and I had an attack of palpitation like that which overcame me once before in the presence of the Sultan of India, when he showed me something of the same kind. They gave me a cordial, however, which cured the attack. The Kazi Afkharuddin was next to me, and quoth he, 'Wallah! 'tis my opinion there has been neither going up nor coming down, neither marring nor mending; 'tis all hocus pocus!'"

On referring to this previous incident mentioned by Ibn Batuta, I find that it was a case of apparent levitation, where one of several jugglers rose in the air and took a sitting posture in the air above the head of the witness. Ibn Batuta states that he was alarmed, and finally lost consciousness, that he was restored to consciousness, and that he still saw the juggler in the air above him, and that the juggler shortly after resumed his normal position. These two accounts by Ibn Batuta certainly seem to indicate that his experience was due to hypnotic suggestion. Experts in practical hypnotism are well aware that there is a light stage of the hypnotic trance where the subject is susceptible to illusive suggestions, but from which he frequently lapses into a deeper stage, that of coma, if not kept active, so to speak, by continual inquiries or suggestions. It is not at all unlikely that Ibn Batuta's loss of consciousness in his first experience was an instance of this tendency to lapse into the deeper state of hypnotic trance. The remark of the Kazi Afkharuddin which he quotes in the account of his later experience appears to indicate that this person, at all events, was not a good hypnotic subject. His official position perhaps warranted him in speaking out an opinion of the performance which might indeed

have been shared by many others who dared not venture to criticise the conjurer. My readers will doubtless remember the old fairy tale of the Emperor of China's magic robes and the little child. Afkharuddin apparently witnessed nothing at all extraordinary, and asserted this in such plain and impressive language that Ibn Batuta recorded the fact. I do not claim an extensive knowledge of accounts of this rope performance, but I have not yet met with any authentic records by joint witnesses of its occurrence, and possibly the tale of it depends upon a few accounts by isolated travellers who were more or less susceptible to hypnotic suggestion, and who were not all so fortunate as Ibn Batuta in finding that not every person present was affected as he was.

The Emperor Jahangueir describes a series of remarkable tricks, performed by seven Bengal jugglers. He enumerates twenty-eight in detail. The reader will rightly infer that his account is full of mis-descriptions of various kinds. These will probably be extraordinary in the case before us, since the Emperor Jahangueir must be regarded as liable not only to the ordinary forms of mal-observation and lapse of memory, but also to further deficiencies due to the age in which he lived,—which may be briefly characterised as comparatively ignorant and superstitious. For explanation of some of the incidents mis-described there are obvious clues for persons familiar with modern conjuring operations. Other incidents may be explained if we suppose that acquisitions which we regard as recently achieved were known to the Bengalese operators,—but in all these cases we must amend the accounts of Jahangueir by supplying additional details. Other incidents remain apparently inexplicable, as appears to me (perhaps not to others who may know more than myself about these matters), *if we regard Jahangueir's descriptions as correct*. And this is just the very point that I wish to emphasise more than any other. His descriptions must be regarded as largely erroneous. Take the descriptions by uninitiated witnesses—I have heard them frequently—of Mr. Kellar's flower-growing trick, or the wine and water trick, or the Psycho. They are absurdly inaccurate from the nature of the case, inasmuch as the witnesses failed to see through the tricks. In the same category I place Mr. Kellar's descriptions of the Hindu tricks (those which he actually saw) which he failed to understand.

I conclude, therefore, that, in spite of the strong assertions of a distinguished conjurer, we have before us no real evidence to the manifestation by Indian jugglers or fakirs of any marvels beyond the power of trickery to produce. Such a conclusion, if correct, is of importance to our general inquiries, which can only make progress by a constant sifting of all kinds of testimony, a constant delimitation of false from true in accordance with canons which ought to be made

more exact and effective by every fresh application. And I add one word of moral,—a caution, namely, against accepting too readily the uncorroborated dicta of eminent men, whatever their source, and whatever their tendency. The conjurer's mere assertion that certain marvels are *not* explicable by trickery is worth just as much as the *savant's* mere assertion that they *must* be so explicable,—just as much, and no more.

There is no royal road to sound opinions on such matters generally ; there is nothing for it save to examine each narrative on its own merits, and with close individual care ; the mind meanwhile prepared for either fate,—whether to prick some bubble of pretension into empty falsity, or to discover beneath some unpromising envelope a germ of inexplicable truth.

SUPPLEMENT.

REVIEW.

1. *The Secret Commonwealth of Elves, Fauns, and Fairies.* A Study in Folk-Lore and Psychical Research. The Text by Robert Kirk, M.A., Minister of Aberfoyle, A.D. 1691. The Comment by Andrew Lang, M.A., A.D. 1893. London: David Nutt.
2. *Comparative Psychical Research.* By Andrew Lang. *Contemporary Review*, September, 1893.

Mr. Robert Kirk was "a man of good family, a student, and, as his book shows, an innocent and learned person." He wrote of Elves and Fairies, with full belief in their existence, and minute knowledge as to their habits and qualities, mental and bodily, if we may use the word *body* of these "vehicles so spongy, thin, and defecate." His style occasionally reminds us of Sir Thomas Browne. Sir Thomas himself might have said of the shooters of the fairy arrow-heads: "They are not as infallible Benjamites, hitting at a Hair's breadth; nor are they wholly unvanquishable, at least in Appearance." The book is of curious interest, and we are grateful to Mr. Lang and Mr. Nutt for making a rare work accessible in so pleasant a form as that which clothes the *Bibliothèque de Carabas*.

Mr. Lang prefixes a long and interesting introduction, in which he discusses, with the wealth of illustration which he has at his command, the psychical problems suggested by the book. This introduction, and also his article on *Comparative Psychical Research*, have a direct bearing on the work of the Society for Psychical Research. Both will be read with great interest by members of the Society; and some discussion of the moral which they convey may not be out of place in the Society's *Proceedings*.

The main theme of the two essays is that the historical branch of Psychical Research has been neglected. Mr. Lang points out that in legends and popular beliefs, in stories of witches, fairies, hauntings, magic, and so forth, among peoples of all degrees of civilisation, there is a great deal which finds a close parallel in the records of spiritualism, hypnotism, telepathy, and other modern forms of supernormal phenomena. He argues that, the results being similar, the causes are probably similar also. There may be a "residuum of fact" behind the phenomena; or there may be only certain world-wide tendencies inherent in the human mind, which make men of very different races and periods believe and invent similar fictions—just as spiders have an instinct which makes them spin similar webs. In any case, he urges, the comparative method applied to Psychical Research should help

to discover the residuum of fact if there be one ; and, whether fact be discovered or not, it should serve to elucidate a most remarkable province of psychology.

This branch of inquiry has not been so completely neglected as Mr. Lang supposes. "As far as the writer has read the Society's *Proceedings*," he writes, "it 'takes no keep,' as Malory says, of these affairs in their historical aspect" ;—and again—"The Psychological Society, as far as the writer is aware, has not examined officially the old accounts of the phenomena which it investigates at present." He may be excused, perhaps, for not being familiar with the 1,300 pages of *Phantasms of the Living* ; but he will find at p. 172 of the first volume of that work a most interesting and masterly examination, by Edmund Gurney, of the evidence for Witchcraft and Magic. This examination is founded, the author says, "on a careful search through about two hundred and sixty books on the subject (including, I think, most of the principal ones of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries), and a large number of contemporary records of trials." The conclusion at which Gurney arrives is that "there is a total absence of respectable evidence, and an almost total absence of any first-hand evidence at all, for those phenomena of magic and witchcraft which cannot be accounted for as the results of diseased imagination, hysteria, hypnotism, and occasionally, perhaps, of telepathy."

The results of this careful and laborious study do not encourage further excursions in the same country. There is ample material for the chapter in the "History of Human Error" which Mr. Lang desires. It will be a voluminous chapter ; while the "residuum of fact" may probably be contained in very few paragraphs. It is with this "residuum of fact" that Psychological Research is mainly concerned, at any rate for the present ; and it is clear that for the establishment of facts we must rely almost entirely on contemporary and recent evidence.

The grounds for this conclusion are two-fold. In the first place, a careful scrutiny and sifting of evidence, such as is now thought necessary, was almost unknown among the older recorders. This is plain to anyone who reads Mr. Gurney's note on Witchcraft, and might be illustrated abundantly from the *Secret Commonwealth*.¹ This destroys the value of a large part of the evidence. In the second place, even in the case of such evidence as *primâ facie* will satisfy the high standard of modern requirements, there is no means of testing it in the manner which is familiar to readers of the *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the Society. In accounts of occurrences one, two, three, or more centuries ago it is impossible to verify dates, to establish coincidences, to examine witnesses, and to obtain corroborative evidence. Experience of contemporary cases shows that, without such examination and corroboration, reports of extraordinary occurrences, even when at first hand, are of imperfect evidential value.

I am inclined to think, too, that Mr. Lang has laid rather too much stress

¹ For example, Kirk states, without any expression of doubt, and without thinking it necessary to state his evidence, that "Walter Grahame, some Time living in the Paroch wherein now I am . . . shot a Hair with his eyes, having praised its swiftness (such was the Infection of ane evill Eye)." He adds that this was "unusuall."

upon the coincidences between the old and the new, the civilised and the uncivilised. It would be a serious task to catalogue the beliefs which do not find a parallel in modern records; but they far outnumber those that do. To give one example only, second sight may have its parallel in telepathy, but the "odd solemnity" by which the "Priviledges of the whole Mistery" were acquired is not practised or believed to be efficacious by the moderns. "He must run a Tedder of Hair (which bound a Corps to the Bier) in a Helix about his Midle from End to End; then bow his Head downwards, as did Elijah, 1. Kings 18. 42, and look back through his Legs untill he sie a Funerall advance till the People cross two Marches." The attitude is more uncomfortable than that in which Peter Ibbetson "dreamed true"; and, moreover, not without risk—for "if the Wind change Points while the Hair Tedder is ty'd about him, he is in Peril of his Lyfe." Darwin used to say that no experiment is too absurd to try, but we may doubt whether Mr. Lang would desire his historical inquirer to make practical investigations into this and other similar neglected branches of art.

The whole mass of folk-lore, myth, magic, and all the beliefs of an uncritical age are compounded of many elements. Mr. Lang's conclusion as to the Fairy belief is that it is "a complex matter, from which tradition, with its memory of earth-dwellers, is not wholly absent, while more is due to a survival of the pre-Christian Hades, and to the belief in local spirits—the Vuis of Melanesia, the Nereids of ancient and modern Greece, the Lares of Rome, the fateful Moere and Hathors—old imaginings of a world not yet 'dispeopled of its dreams.'" Thus, even in a belief which appears to be so far removed from reality as this, Mr. Lang admits that there may be some element of fact. A similar analysis may be applied to other kinds of belief. The primary object of Psychological Research is to separate the element of fact, and for this purpose, as I have said, only contemporary evidence can serve.

It is this possible element of fact which Mr. Lang appears to neglect when he sums up his results by saying—"our only conclusion is that the psychological conditions which begat the ancient narratives produce the new legends." Why, then, if the psychological conditions are unchanged, are there many old legends which have no analogues among the new? Mr. Lang gives no answer to the question. In fact, he does not ask it, because he only collects likenesses and not differences, and therefore the differences and omissions do not strike him. The answer, I think, is that the legends are begotten not by psychological conditions alone, but by psychological conditions together with a certain substratum of fact. The psychological conditions have changed, as civilisation has advanced, in the direction of more stringent criticism of evidence. The result is that the legends with the least substratum of fact have died out, while those which have a greater substratum of fact still survive in some form. This consideration, if valid, may encourage an examination of modern beliefs, with the object of finding the underlying facts; but, for the reasons given above, such an examination must be carried on by scrutiny of contemporary evidence, and by experiments. Comparison with the old stories will give very little result.

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