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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXVIII.

JANUARY, 1914.

I.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF SOME "CONCORDANT AUTOMATISMS."

BY ALICE JOHNSON.

SYNOPSIS.

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Correspondences between scripts cannot be compared with a series of experiments in telepathy, because the latter is made up of isolated units, whereas the scripts of a single automatist are all continuous. The methods of interpretation that we apply to them are similar to those generally applied to works of literature; examples. The obscurities in the scripts are due partly to their allusiveness and conciseness, and partly, it is suggested, to the "author's" wish to conceal his meaning from the "writers," in order to prevent the action of telepathy between them, till his experiment is complete.

Recent study has shown the meaning of much that was obscure in some already published scripts, and some of the results, with a number of scripts hitherto unpublished, are given in the present paper. PAGE

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Mrs. Verrall's scripts relating to this topic were first interpreted as alluding to Raphael's picture of St. Leo's meeting with Attila. It now appears that they allude also to the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, a detail in the former of which was copied in Raphael's picture. Mrs. Verrall's scripts give a bird's-eye view of the history of Rome, to which Mrs. Holland's corresponding script appropriately applies.

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The scripts are a composite product, the knowledge and mental activities of the "writers" being moulded under the guidance of a supervising intelligence,—the "author." Examples of eases, showing in a graduated scale the apparent influence of the "author" as a more and more important factor: (1) "The One-Horse Dawn"; the "author" faintly indicated through the rational use made of a fact completely forgotten by the experimenter. (2) "Ave Roma immortalis"; the fresh points brought forward in this paper show in the combination of the scripts of the two writers more intelligent mental action and reasoning than can easily be attributed to either writer alone. (3) The "Sevens"

Case; the compounding of two separate topics in the scripts of six writers suggests the influence of a single "author" on all of them. In order to avoid the influence of living experimenters or of writers on the scripts, it is necessary for the "author" to conceal his design from them till his own experiment is complete. One device is to allude to some specific but unfamiliar feature of a familiar object, so that they do not recognise the allusion. Examples: the allusions to the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius; to the tomb of Julius II., and to the Medici tombs. But the "author" must ultimately reveal his design,—*e.g.* by showing through the script of one writer unsuspected connections between the scripts of two other writers. Example: "Alexander's Tomb." Evidence afforded in this case by the writers' misinterpretation of their own scripts that the "author" had apparently succeeded in concealing his design from them. The connection between the scripts of two writers given in 1907 in a third writer's script was, in fact, not recognised till 1912, when it was observed that the "author" had revealed it in 1910 through the script of a fourth writer. Continued study makes it more and more difficult to explain the mass of cross-correspondences as due to the unaided subliminal powers of the writers.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE increasing complexity of commentaries on the automatic scripts of Mrs. Verrall, Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Piper, and others, as well as some recent criticisms, suggests the desirability of a few preliminary remarks on the nature of the phenomena dealt with.

It has to be borne in mind that they differ in several ways from typical experiments in telepathy between living persons. In the latter case, each experiment can be counted as successful, partially successful, or a complete failure. If,

therefore, the experiments are limited to a specified set of objects to be guessed, such as a pack of playing-cards, it is possible to state precisely whether the success is more than would probably be obtained by chance, and if so, how much more. Even if the experiments are not thus limited, it is still possible to say how many of them have been successful, though in that case we can only judge by general considerations of common-sense whether the amount of success is more than could reasonably be attributed to chance.

The coincidences between the scripts of different automatists cannot be estimated as such experiments can, because there is no way of deciding what should be regarded as the equivalent of an experiment: we cannot say that so many experiments, or what is equivalent to so many, have been tried. Further, the coincidences obviously vary so much in importance that their mere number can have no significance, while the scripts also vary greatly in length and as to the number of topics contained in each.

From these causes alone no mathematical estimate of the amount of coincidence as compared with the amount that might have been obtained by chance is, or can ever be, possible in the case of the scripts. And this is one reason why the inferences to be drawn from them cannot be stated in a brief and explicit form.

But there is a still more fundamental difference between experiments in telepathy and correspondences between scripts. A typical series of experiments is composed of isolated units, like throws of dice, when each throw is a separate matter, complete in itself and exercising no influence whatever on any of the other throws. On the other hand, a script represents an emergence of ideas from the automatist's subliminal consciousness, so that it is potentially, if not actually, continuous with all the other scripts of the same automatist. Therefore, if a script is treated by itself as an isolated unit, most of its significance will probably be missed; just as the words and actions of a hypnotised person might be completely misunderstood by persons who were ignorant of the events of his previous hypnotic states.

The scripts have therefore to be analysed very carefully; all the allusions made to any topic at different times should

be compared together; and when this is done, it often happens that a passage that has seemed vague and meaningless becomes clear and significant through the light thrown on it by other scripts.

“Search the scriptures and the dust shall be converted into fine gold,” as the Mac script observed¹ in connection with referenees to *Sesame and Lilies*, obviously meaning that the same sort of careful verbal study should be applied to the scripts that Ruskin applied to a portion of *Lycidas* in the lecture *Sesame*; and a few instances may be given to show that the usual way of treating literary problems is actually very much like our way of treating the scripts.

The three following quotations from Dante illustrate the fact that passages, which, when isolated, appear vague or meaningless, may throw light on one another and become clear when put together:

(1) “The next who followeth [in the eyebrow of the eagle], . . . to give place to the pastor, made himself a Greek” (*Par.* XX. 55).

(2) “Then . . . I saw the eagle descend down into the body of the ear [*i.e.* the Church], and leave it feathered with his plumage” (*Purg.* XXXII. 124).

(3) “Ah, Constantine! to how much ill gave birth, not thy conversion, but that dower which the first rich Father took from thee!” (*Inf.* XIX. 115).

These passages are shown to be connected by the same kind of internal evidence that leads us to regard certain scripts as connected, *viz.* by their having points in common. Between (1) and (2) are two points in common: the Eagle (generally representing in Dante the ideal Roman Empire) and the Pastor or the Church. The connection between (1) and (3) is also twofold—the “Pastor” and the “Greek” of (1) being equivalent to the “Father” and “Constantine” of (3). Thus (3) throws light on (1) and (2), and, when we consider Dante’s known views on the relation of Church and State, it becomes clear that all three passages allude to the tradition (believed by him) that Constantine transferred the capital of the Roman Empire to Constantinople out of gratitude to

¹ See *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 307.

Pope Sylvester for curing him of leprosy, and with the object of leaving to the Pope and his successors the sovereignty over Italy. This explains the allegory in (2), by showing that the feathers shed by the Eagle are equivalent to the "dower" in (3).

From the point of view of understanding the passages, it does not, of course, matter that they are historically incorrect; the only question is what Dante meant; and it appears that he is expressing in a brief and concise way both the supposed facts and his own condemnation of the action which—through its giving rise to the temporal power of the Papacy—he believed to be at the root of most of the evils of his time.

Similarly, it is of no consequence for the purposes of interpretation whether the scripts are historically or linguistically correct; the only essential question is, what is the meaning intended to be conveyed by the writing; and this can often be made clear by putting two or more passages together.

In the next instance, the recurrence of the same striking phrase in two different works by the same author affords evidence of a continuity of thought between the two occasions:

- (1) "But thought's the slave of life, and life time's fool."
(Hotspur's dying speech in *King Henry IV.*, Part I.)
- (2) "Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come."
(*Sonnet CXVI.*)

I think it can hardly be doubted that Shakespeare in this second passage was remembering and alluding to the first,¹ just as one script may allude to a much earlier one.

Again, the combination of the same words, phrases, or ideas—none very striking in itself,—in two widely separated passages of the same work is evidence of continuity of thought

¹The date of composition of the *Sonnets* is supposed to have spread over a number of years, and, the one quoted being late in the series, it is probable, though not certain, that it was written after *King Henry IV.* The internal evidence afforded by a comparison of the two quotations makes it, I think, almost certain that the second was the later one.

between the two passages. Thus in Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*, near the beginning, we find :

“ O'er this world
Extends that realm where, ‘ as the wise assert,’
Philemon, thou shalt see Euripides
Clearer than mortal sense perceived the man !”

And after a great deal of intermediate matter, including the translation of a whole play of Euripides, Philemon himself says :

“ Grant, in good sooth, our great dead, all the same,
Retain their sense, as certain wise men say,
I'd hang myself—to see Euripides !”

Here there is no exact verbal parallelism,—the nearest being “ as the wise assert ” and “ as certain wise men say ” ; but the general similarity both of words and of ideas is so great that it seems certain that in the second passage Browning was deliberately referring back to the first.

One more instance will illustrate another important point in our argument about scripts.

Lamb, in his poem *On an infant dying as soon as born*, writes :

“ Shall we say that Nature blind,
Check'd her hand, and changed her mind,
Just when she had exactly wrought
A finish'd pattern without fault ?
Could she flag, or could she tire,
Or lack'd she the Promethean fire . . .
That should thy little limbs have quicken'd ? ”

Though the central idea of this passage—the creative Promethean fire—is, of course, to be found in many writers, the fact that Lamb was especially familiar with *Othello* makes it, to my mind, pretty certain that he was here borrowing from Othello's soliloquy before he killed Desdemona :

“ Once put out thy light
Thou cunning'st pattern of exelling nature,
I know not where is that Promethean heat
That can thy light relume.”

(*Othello*, Act V., Se. 2.)

There are, it will be seen, other slight resemblances between the two passages ; but my view that Lamb derived his "Promethean fire" from this rather than from other sources is based not so much on the resemblances as on what is known of his intimate knowledge of the play.

Similarly, we may trace fragmentary phrases in the scripts to literary sources with which the automatists are known to be familiar. *E.g.* in Mrs. Holland's script (see below, pp. 45 and 114) I trace "the perfect strength" (March 20, 1907) to Rossetti's *Blessed Damozel* ; and "a billowy cloud" (April 8, 1907) to Browning's *Last Ride Together*, because both these poems are very well known to her. If the phrases had occurred in Mrs. Piper's trance, I should feel much less confidence as to their origin. It follows that there may be cases in which *the fact that something is within an automatist's normal knowledge adds to the evidence for supernormal interaction between the scripts of different automatists.* See *e.g.* the composite Browning-Tennyson quotation in Mrs. Holland's script of April 8, 1907, below, p. 112.

The scripts are like the literary productions of cultivated writers in that subjects are often alluded to, instead of being definitely mentioned, and the allusion often implies some literary or historical association, so that a great deal of meaning is sometimes contained in a single short phrase. But they carry us a step further than ordinary literary productions in this way : for, whereas in studying a poem, such as the *Divina Commedia* or *Aristophanes' Apology*, we often find light thrown on one passage by (among other things) another passage in the *same* poem ; in studying the scripts, we often find that light is thrown on the script of *one* writer by a passage in the script of *another* writer, when there has been no normal communication between the two writers. In the case of the poem, the continuity of thought is naturally to be accounted for by its being all the work of the same author. And the continuity of thought throughout the scripts would suggest that their continuity is to be accounted for in a similar way,—namely, that they too are all essentially due to the same author.

I here use the words "author" and "writer" to express two different things. By the word "author" I mean the

intelligence—whether one or several—behind the scripts ; and by the word “ writer ” I mean the person who performs the act of writing,—the automatist. An author may either write his own compositions or get some one else to write them for him. But the terms may be used without prejudice as to what the relation of the author to the writer is, and without implying any view as to the “ author’s ” nature.

If the different scripts are not all essentially due to the same “ author,” we must suppose that the supernormal connections between them are the result of telepathy between the writers, aided perhaps by telepathy to the writers from the investigators in charge of the scripts. We have seen that the scripts are obscure in the same way that literary works are often obscure, through their allusiveness and their great conciseness. But they have also special obscurities of their own,—due, as I believe, to the “ author’s ” deliberate intention to prevent their being understood, so as to prevent the ideas being transferred telepathically from one writer to another, and thus to afford evidence of his own independent activity. The problem before the “ author,” on this hypothesis, is to express the fragments of a cross-correspondence, distributed among the scripts of two or more writers, in so veiled and obscure a form that no one will guess what they mean, and yet so explicitly that, when once the clue is found, there can be no doubt of their meaning.¹ To combine these two conditions must be a task of great difficulty, and one in which he may not always succeed. But the hypothesis that this is his aim gives, at least, a perfectly rational explanation of the nature of the scripts.

This deliberate concealment of his meaning on the part of the “ author ” is comparable with the precautions taken in experiments in telepathy between two living persons, to prevent the percipient discovering by normal means the idea which the agent is trying to transfer to him telepathically. In this latter case, material obstacles are used to prevent the physical action of the senses : we put up an opaque screen or wall between agent and percipient, or we separate them by a great distance in space. Our “ author,” on the other hand,

¹ The Riddle of the Sphinx is a simple but excellent instance of this kind of enigma

has to prevent the mental action of telepathy between the writers, and he does this by interposing between them the mental barrier of the unintelligibility of the scripts.

I do not, of course, mean to assert that all the obscurities in the scripts are due to the deliberate intention of the "author"; some, no doubt, may arise from his failing to convey to the writer exactly what he wished to express. But in a great many cases, what we took, after careful study, to be vague and incoherent or meaningless statements have been found, on further investigation, to have a clear and rational meaning, which shows that there is much more intelligence behind the scripts than for long we supposed; and we believe that there is still much more to be discovered in them.

The cases given in this paper relate to scripts many of which have been published in whole or in part in earlier reports, especially in my first report on Mrs. Holland's script in *Proc.*, Vol. XXI., and Mr. Piddington's paper, "A Series of Concordant Automatisms," in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII. Since some of the most essential points were then missed for want of the proper clues, it will be convenient to quote here again the greater part of the scripts in question, as well as a number of hitherto unpublished ones; and I propose to do this as far as possible in the chronological order of the scripts, so that the reader may judge how one event led on to the next.

CHAPTER I.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE: "AVE ROMA IMMORTALIS."

"The destiny of the Eternal City is without doubt the conception which, throughout the long roll of human history, has come nearest to the unchangeable and the divine."

(F. W. H. Myers, *Classical Essays; Virgil*, p. 152.)

"And even as it was not in truth the great ghost of Hector only, but the whole nascent race of Rome, which bore from the Trojan altar the hallowing fire, so it is not one Saviour only, but the whole nascent race of man—nay, all the immeasurable progeny and population of the heavens—which issues continually from

behind the veil of Being, and forth from the Sanctuary of the Universe carries the ever-burning flame.”

(F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 292.)

THIS case, in which Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland only were concerned, was first published in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXI., pp. 297-303. The scripts were then interpreted as alluding to Raphael's picture of the meeting of Pope Leo I. (St. Leo) with Attila, King of the Huns, in 452. As Attila with his army approached Rome, the Pope went out unarmed to persuade him to retire. In the picture, reproduced below (Plate I.), St. Peter and St. Paul, the two chief guardian saints of the city, are seen descending from the sky, as in the traditional story, to reinforce the appeal of the Pope. St. Peter carries his two keys, and also a sword in his other hand; St. Paul bears his usual emblem, the sword. Attila, on the black horse in the centre, starts back in terror from the vision.

The scripts were as follows :

(*Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 2, 1906.*)

(*Drawing of bulrush*) bulrushes

non tali auxilio invenies quod velis

non tali auxilio nee defensoribus istis¹

[Not with such help will you find what you want.

Not with such help, nor with those defenders of yours.]

Keep the two distinct—you do not hear write regularly—give up other things.

Primus inter pares ipse non nominis immemor—cum eo frater etsi non sanguine animo consanguineus ii ambo tibi per aliam vocem mittent—post aliquot dies bene quod dicam comprehendere potes. usque ad illud vale.

[First among his peers, himself not unmindful of his name; with him a brother related in feeling, though not in blood. Both these will send a message to you through another woman. After some days you will easily understand what I say; till then farewell.]

Mrs. Verrall recognised the first Latin passage as being a quotation from the *Aeneid*,—the words used by Heeuba

¹ Virgil, *Aen.* II. 521.

when she saw the aged Priam putting on his armour in the vain hope of defending Troy against the Greeks, who had already entered it; but the second Latin passage had no meaning or association for her. She showed the script to Dr. Verrall on the same day, and asked him who was described as "Primus inter pares." He answered "The Pope," and he also said that he saw a connection between the two Latin passages, but he did not tell her what it was.

His mention of the Pope probably had some influence on her next script, which was :

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 4, 1906.)

Pagan and Pope. The Stoic persecutor and the Christian. Gregory not Basil's friend ought to be a clue but you have it not quite right.

Pagan and Pope and Reformer all enemies as you think

Crux significationem habet. Crucifer qui olim fertur.

[The cross has a meaning. The Cross-bearer who one day is borne.]

The standard-bearer is the link.

To-morrow's news will help.

This script was also shown to Dr. Verrall on the same day, and he said that the same intention was shown in the words "Pagan and Pope," etc. ; but he still did not tell Mrs. Verrall to what he thought it alluded.

The words had reminded Mrs. Verrall herself of the well-known episode in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, of the "Cave where two Giants, Pope and Pagan, dwelt in old time," and by which "Christian went without much danger"; but this did not account for the "Stoic persecutor," who, of course, both she and Dr. Verrall saw could be no one but Marcus Aurelius.

On the following day she wrote again :

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 5, 1906.)

It was the old story nothing new. You have not heard. Cloek beat with time and a bell

what more unlikely and yet all true.

Leonis pelle sumpto claviger in scriptis iam antea bene denotatus.¹
Corrigenda sunt quaedam.

[The club-bearer (*or* key-bearer) with the lion's skin already well described before this in the writings. Some things are to be corrected.]

Ask your husband he knows it well

stant inde columnae relieta Calpe

[There stand the columns where Calpe has been left.]

iam finis [That is the end.] no you have left out something
assiduo lectore columnae²

[The columns (broken) by incessant reading]

The above three scripts having been seen by no one except Dr. and Mrs. Verrall, and Dr. Verrall alone having interpreted them as referring to Raphael's picture, Mrs. Holland, on March 7, 1906, produced a script in which the following occurred :³

Ave Roma immortalis. How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue ?

On March 11, 1906, Mrs. Verrall received from me a copy of this passage and read it to Dr. Verrall. He then told her that it applied appropriately to what he had regarded as the subject of her own scripts, and explained that he had taken them to refer to Raphael's picture. It is to be noted that Mrs. Verrall's script of March 2 had said that she would receive a word or a message from another woman, and that "after some days you will easily understand what I say"; while Mrs. Holland's script of March 7 observed "How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?"—thus indicating a connection with the script of another automatist, presumably with regard to Rome.

To most readers it might appear that a clue to these scripts

¹ Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 13, 1903, had contained a pun on the two meanings of the Latin *claviger*, "key-bearer" and "club-bearer," with an unmistakable allusion to the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides.

² See Juvenal, *Sat.* I. 13.

³ For the whole of this script, see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXI., pp. 294-295.

was badly wanted, and indeed, Dr. Maxwell in his recent criticism of the case (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 77-80) denies altogether their appropriateness to the picture.¹ Before proceeding to analyse them in detail, it may be useful to summarise briefly the history of the picture.

Raphael had been summoned to Rome by Pope Julius II. to decorate the Vatican, etc., and when Julius II. died, in 1513, he continued to work for the next Pope, Leo X. The four pictures in the Stanza dell' Eliodoro were painted by him (1512-1514) to symbolise the divine help afforded to the Church against external and internal enemies, with special reference to the recent expulsion of the French from Italy by those two Popes and the victory of the Papacy at the Lateran Council of 1512-1517. Three of the four pictures² illustrate the supremacy of the spiritual power—in the person of the Head of the Church—over the material power. One represents Heliodorus driven out of the Temple by an apparition of three angels (2 *Maccabees*, III., 24-27), symbolising the expulsion of the French from the States of the Church by Julius II.; another, the deliverance of St. Peter from prison by an angel, symbolising the escape of Leo X. (then a Cardinal) from the French in 1512, after he had been taken prisoner by them at the battle of Ravenna; the third is the turning back of Attila by Leo I., with the miraculous help of the two Apostles, symbolising the expulsion of the French from Italy by Leo X. after the battle of Novara in 1513. The Pope in the picture is a portrait of Leo X., who also appears in it as one of the Cardinals, since he was a Cardinal when Raphael began to paint it.

Keeping these circumstances in mind, we may go on to consider the scripts in detail.

¹ As in several other cases, Dr. Maxwell ignores or misrepresents many of the fundamental features. He ignores the close relationship between Troy and Rome, which could hardly fail to be in the mind of any one quoting from the *Aeneid*. He says that the application of the phrase *primus inter pares* to the Pope is doubtful. This is a mistake; the phrase is constantly used with reference to the claims of the Papacy. He also ignores all the circumstances connected with the painting of the picture and what it was intended to symbolise,—to much of which the scripts are appropriate.

² The fourth picture is the Miraculous Mass of Bolsena

MRS. VERRALL'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 2, 1906.

This opens, not inappropriately, with a reference to the failure of Priam—with his merely material weapons of defence—to guard Troy, the parent city of Rome, from the assault of the Greeks.

“*First among his peers*” I take to denote Leo I., since the phrase *primus inter pares* was frequently and is still used of the Pope with reference to the primacy claimed for him as the successor of St. Peter and Bishop of Rome.

“*Not unmindful of his name*” may be very appropriately applied to Leo's conduct on this occasion, and the application has in fact been suggested by historians. In 450 Attila had been persuaded by St. Lupus to draw off his troops from pillaging Troyes; in 452 he was persuaded by St. Leo to retreat from Rome. “The Barbarian quailed to his spell, as he had quailed to that of Lupus of Troyes, and according to a tradition which is not very well authenticated, he jocularly excused his unaccustomed gentleness by saying that he knew how to conquer men, but the lion and wolf (Leo and Lupus) had learnt to conquer him.”¹

The Pope is representative of St. Peter, and the script seems to pass suddenly from him to St. Peter, as in a dream one person may change into another: “*With him a brother related in spirit though not in blood,*” this “*him*” meaning, I think, St. Peter and the two spiritual brothers being St. Peter and St. Paul. They might appropriately be so called, since they worked together for the conversion of Rome, and are said to have been confined together in the Mamertine prison, and to have been martyred on the same day of the year, or, according to some (*e.g.* St. Gregory), actually on the same day.²

¹ Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, Vol. II., p. 161, quoted by Cunningham, *An Essay on Western Civilisation in its Economic Aspects*, p. 20.

² “The sword of St. Paul [as in Raphael's picture] is often associated with the key of St. Peter, notably as marking in calendars the 29th of June, the day set apart by the Church for celebrating the martyrdom of both” (*Lives and Legends of the Evangelists, Apostles, and other Early Saints*, by Mrs. Arthur Bell; London, 1901, p. 105).

MRS. VERRALL'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 4, 1906.

"*Pagan and Pope. The Stoic persecutor and the Christian.*"

These words were regarded by Dr. Verrall as a vague reference to Raphael's picture (partly erroneous, because the "Stoic Persecutor" had nothing to do with it); but I feel no doubt that the phrases refer to the fact that Pope Sixtus V. in 1588 placed a statue of St. Peter (the first "Pope" of Rome) on the top of the Column of Trajan, where a statue of the Emperor Trajan (the "Pagan") had once stood; and similarly in 1589 placed a statue of St. Paul (the "Christian") on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, where a statue of Marcus Aurelius ("the Stoic Persecutor") had originally stood.

Illustrations of these two Columns are given below (Plate II. and Plate III.), the two Apostles being distinguished, as in Raphael's picture, by their usual emblems of the keys and the sword.

The Forum of Trajan¹ (built 107-113 A.D.) consisted originally of a large open space, the Forum proper, entered by the Arch of Trajan at one end, and leading at the other into the Basilica Ulpia, a large roofed building with colonnades all round the inner walls. Beyond was a small quadrangular open space, containing the Column; on each side of which was a building containing respectively the Greek and Latin Libraries of the Bibliotheca Ulpia. Beyond these again was the Temple of Trajan. The two libraries were the largest of all the public libraries in Rome, and they were used for literary discussions and poetical recitations up to the end of the seventh century A.D.

The part now excavated consists only of the space surrounding the Column and part of the area of the Basilica immediately in front of it, in which some fragments of the pillars have been arranged in rows. The bas-reliefs which run spirally round the Column represent scenes from Trajan's Dacian campaigns, from 101 A.D. onwards.

The original Forum, which was built by the Greek archi-

¹ For a full description of the Forum, see *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, by J. Henry Middleton, Vol. II., and *Rom und die Campagna*, von Dr. Th. Gsell Fels (*Meyers Reisebücher*).

tect, Apollodorus of Damascus, was richly decorated with sculptures and metal-work, and was the most splendid architectural achievement of Imperial Rome. During the Middle Ages it formed an almost inexhaustible quarry for marbles used in countless churches and palaces of Rome. A few of the sculptural groups have been preserved through their having been removed and built into the Arch of Constantine (312 A.D.), and these are among the finest existing specimens of Græco-Roman decorative work. In one of them Trajan is seated on a throne, below which are various standing figures whom he is addressing, one a woman with a child. "Some such relief as this, or perhaps the common subject of Trajan raising a kneeling province, was probably the origin of the beautiful story of Trajan and the widow quoted by Dante"¹ (see below).

The Column of Marcus Aurelius stood originally in front of the temple which was dedicated to him, and the whole was surrounded by a peribolus forming a sort of Forum like Trajan's, but smaller. The Column was built in imitation of Trajan's, being of the same height and encircled in the same manner by spiral bas-reliefs, which represent scenes in four campaigns of Marcus Aurelius against the German tribes north of the Danube in 167-179 A.D. It is, however, distinctly inferior in workmanship. It stands in the middle of the present Piazza Colonna, which thence derives its name.

Incidentally it may be noted that a reference to "*the Stoic persecutor and the Christian*" is appropriate as coming from Myers_v, since both were men for whom F. W. H. Myers had a special admiration, as shown by his poem *St. Paul* and his essay on Marcus Aurelius (*Essays—Classical*, pp. 177 *et. seq.*), in which he compares and contrasts the two men.

The story of Trajan and the widow who begged for justice on the murderers of her son, which he delayed one of his campaigns to grant, is twice referred to by Dante. In *Purgatorio*, X. 73-96, he describes this as one of the sculptured scenes depicted on the marble side of the first terrace of the Mount of Purgatory. In *Paradiso*, XX. (43-48, and 100-117) Trajan "who consoled the widow for her son" appears among

¹ J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, Vol. II., p. 36, footnote.

the six just men who constitute the eye of the Imperial Eagle. In both cases Dante refers to the legend (repeatedly mentioned, e.g. by Thomas Aquinas) that it was through the prayers of Gregory that the soul of Trajan was delivered from hell, and "returning to the flesh where it abode short space, believed in him who had the power to aid it; and believing kindled into so great flame of very love, that at the second death it was worthy to come unto this mirth."¹

This Gregory was Gregory the Great (Pope Gregory I., 590-604), one of the "four Latin Fathers," and there seems no doubt that it is to him the script alludes in saying:

"*Gregory, not Basil's friend, ought to be a clue.*" The Gregory who was Basil's friend was Gregory of Nazianzus, he and Basil being two of the "four Greek Fathers." These two were referred to in an early script of Mrs. Verrall's, dated March 15, 1901 (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XX., pp. 142-143, and 343); which is probably the reason why the other Gregory is here described in this negative way. The latter's close connection with Trajan justifies the remark that "Gregory ought to be a clue." In his time, much of Trajan's Forum was still remaining in its original splendour.

"*Pagan and Pope and Reformer—all enemies as you think*" seems to be a further allusion to the same topic, implying that it is a mistake to suppose that these personages are necessarily enemies. The epithet "Reformer" might well be applied to Gregory I.

"*The cross has a meaning—the cross-bearer who one day is borne.*" This is probably another reference to St. Peter, who was crucified and is frequently represented in art with a cross.

Returning to the phrase *Primus inter pares* in the script of March 2, 1906, this seems to make a link with the present script, for it is at least as appropriate to Gregory I. as to Leo I., if not more so. The feebleness of the Emperors at Constantinople had led gradually to so much increase in the power of the Pope that, by the time of Gregory I., he had become the practical ruler of Rome, organising the national defences and treating with barbaric invaders, while insisting at the same time on his spiritual authority. "Gregory at

¹ *Paradiso*, XX. 112-117 (Temple Edition, trans. by Wicksteed).

the very least," says a recent writer in the *Saturday Review*,¹ "claimed to be *primus inter pares*, the supreme governor of the Christian society . . . [But] there is no trace in these earlier centuries of the imposing Hildebrandine [Hildebrand = Gregory VII.] claim for the Papacy to be supreme over all earthly jurisdictions and magistracies."

There appears then to be a general connection between the two topics dealt with in the two scripts, namely, Raphael's picture and the Columns, in the predominant part played by the Pope and also by the two Apostles in both cases. In the picture the Apostles are overawing Attila and his Huns; on the Columns they are triumphing over two Pagan Emperors who persecuted the Christians.

There is also a special connection in the fact that Raphael, who, like other cultivated men of his time, took an interest in Roman antiquities (as shown by the introduction of the Colosseum and other ruins into the background of his picture), copied the scale armour of his Huns from that of the Sarmatian soldiers on Trajan's Column.² My illustrations, Plate IV. and Plate V., show this. On the Column, the horses, as well as the soldiers, are clothed in scale armour, whereas Raphael, as a painter, naturally prefers to leave his horses unclthed.

MRS. VERRALL'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 5, 1906.

The facts that reference is here made to an earlier script about a "*claviger*," and that in the script apparently indicated (see p. 14) the word is used in its double sense of club-bearer and key-bearer, with an allusion to the *Hercules Furens*, make it practically certain that here too "*claviger*" is to be taken in its double meaning, and as referring (among other things) to Hercules, especially as the Pillars of Hercules are mentioned shortly afterwards. It also seems clear that the "*lion's skin*" is intended as a double reference to Hercules, the wearer of the lion's skin, and to another "*claviger*" (key-bearer), viz. St. Leo, who also—if our interpretation is

¹ *Saturday Review*, Nov. 16, 1912; in a review of Sir Henry H. Howorth's *St. Gregory the Great*.

² This fact is stated in E. L. Seeley's *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*, p. 270, and in Dr. Gsell-Fels' *Rom und die Campagna*, p. 577.

correct—had been "already denoted before this in the script," viz. in that of March 2, 1906.

"*Stant inde columnae relictæ Calpe* (there stand the columns where Calpe has been left)." Mrs. Verrall tells me that "Calpe relictæ" is a phrase from Juvenal (*Sat.* XIV. 279). In a passage describing the greed for gain which takes men to sea, in spite of its perils, he says that "leaving Calpe far behind, they will hear the sun hiss in the waters of Hercules," referring to a notion that if you went far enough west you might hear the sun hiss as he sank into the sea.

Mayor's note on this passage is: "Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abyla on the opposite coast were known as the Pillars of Hercules, which are often spoken of as the extreme west. . . . Yet even this 'world's end' the adventurer leaves far behind him."

Thus it seems that the mention of Hercules in the script leads on to the "columnæ" of Hercules, which in their turn lead on to

"*Assiduo lectore columnæ* (the columns [broken] by incessant reading)." This is another phrase from Juvenal (*Sat.* I. 13), occurring in a description of a reader who recited or declaimed with so much vehemence as to break the "plane-trees, marbles and columns" of the house in which he was reciting.

In the autumn of 1912 I told Mrs. Verrall of my interpretation of her script of March 4, 1906, as alluding to the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, and discussed it with her. She then told me that Dr. Verrall and she were in Rome only once, in March, 1892, when, among other things, they had seen and been specially interested in Raphael's pictures in the Vatican. Dr. Verrall had also studied Trajan's Column, and made notes on certain obscure points in the inscription on its base, and certain points of comparison between it and the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Later he wrote a paper on the subject which was read at a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society, but has not been published. Mrs. Verrall, after telling me about it, found the MS., and looked through it. She tells me that there is no mention in it of St. Peter or St. Paul. Though she and her husband both probably knew at the time of their visit to Rome that the statues of St.

Peter and St. Paul had been put in the place of the original statues at the top of these Columns, she was sure that they had taken no interest in the fact ; and indeed when I told her of it, she did not remember that she had ever heard it before. It seems certain that Dr. Verrall had not detected any allusion to the Columns in the scripts, probably because he was thinking only of their allusions to Raphael's picture.

In his note written on March 11th, 1906,¹ he said that the first script "did in fact instantly recall to me the picture mentioned (doubtless only because I am specially familiar with it) ;" and the two later ones, in the words "Pagan," "Pope," "reformer," "Crucifer," "Leonis" and "Claviger" seemed to him to be carrying on the allusions to the picture, though apparently mixed with erroneous or irrelevant details.

In another cross-correspondence related below, "The Clavigers," we shall find Mrs. Verrall's scripts apparently influenced again by reminiscences of this visit to Rome, and again the points that emerge in the scripts are subsidiary details of what she had seen, unnoticed or but little noticed by her at the time.

MRS. HOLLAND'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 7, 1906.

"Ave Roma immortalis. How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?"

If we take all the allusions to Rome in Mrs. Verrall's scripts given above and re-arrange them in the chronological order of the events alluded to, we shall see that they give within a very short compass a sort of bird's-eye view of the history of Rome, though, no doubt, with many important omissions. The scripts begin—appropriately enough—with the fall of Troy. The reference is given in the words of Virgil. Then we come to St. Peter and St. Paul, who introduced Christianity into Rome ; to Trajan, the type of Roman justice, who built the most magnificent Forum of the city ; to Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic Philosopher ; to Pope Leo I., whose repulse of Attila has been regarded as the first important indication of the growing political influence of the Papacy ; to Gregory I., who completed the transformation of the Roman State into

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXI., p. 299.

the Roman Church. As to the two Popes for whom Raphael painted his picture of St. Leo meeting Attila, Julius II. brought both Michael Angelo and Raphael to Rome to adorn the Vatican, pulled down the old Church of St. Peter's, because it was not large enough to contain the magnificent tomb which he had planned for himself (which tomb, by the way, forms an essential factor in a later cross-correspondence, see below, p. 137), and began to build the present St. Peter's. Leo X. was the great patron of art and literature; he founded the University of Rome, and added largely to the art treasures of the Vatican; it was he also who started the sale of Indulgences, which roused the protest of Luther, and so brought to a head the gathering forces of the Reformation.

Finally, Sixtus V. (1585-1590), who put the statues of St. Peter and St. Paul on the two Columns, was the Pope chiefly responsible for the planning and rebuilding which has given the city its modern appearance. He laid out on the north-eastern heights a series of long straight streets, regardless of ancient landmarks, and built a great aqueduct for the supply of that region. Under him, the dome of St. Peter's, planned by Michael Angelo, was completed. He also built—for a summer residence for the Popes—the Quirinal Palace, which was taken possession of by Victor Emanuel in 1870, and became thenceforth the Royal Palace of Italy.

It seems then that there is much more point than was at first apparent in the application of Mrs. Holland's phrase "Ave Roma immortalis" to the scripts which involve this history. The history is all implicit in the scattered items of Mrs. Verrall's scripts, but it is latent, or, as we may say, held in solution in them, till Mrs. Holland's "Ave Roma immortalis" gives the final touch which crystallises it into form and without which we might never have observed its existence.

Of all the cities which now hold a first rank in the world, Rome has the longest continuous history, and the influence that it has exercised and still exercises over the human race is perhaps hardly to be exaggerated. Some part of the sentiments associated with the name are expressed in the two passages from the writings of F. W. H. Myers, which are quoted

at the head of this chapter. Midway between the two might be placed his adaptation of Virgil's line,

“ So great a work it was to found the race of Rome,”
into

“ So hard a matter was the birth of Man.”¹

With the second passage—written towards the end of his life²—may be compared the allusions in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 5, 1906, to the voyager who has left far behind him the pillars of Hercules and sails out into the western sea to seek new lands and fresh adventures. This theme is further developed in the scripts given below under the headings “*αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων*” and “The Clavigers.”

CHAPTER II.

THE THEORY OF CROSS-CORRESPONDENCES AND THE LATIN MESSAGE.

ABOUT a month after the cross-correspondence just described had occurred, viz. in April, 1906, the theory that cross-correspondences were expressly designed to provide evidence for something transcending telepathy between the minds of the automatists was first definitely formulated, as stated in my first report on Mrs. Holland's script (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXI., p. 362, and pp. 369-391). In the autumn of the same year Mr. Piddington and I, in view of the sittings with Mrs. Piper which were about to be held in London, devised the experiment of a “Latin Message” to be addressed to Myers, in Latin. The original English version of the Message was as follows :

We are aware of the scheme of cross-correspondences which you are transmitting through various mediums, and we hope that you will go on with them.

¹ “The Implicit Promise of Immortality” (*The Renewal of Youth and other Poems*, p. 53).

² In March, 1899.

Try *also* to give to A and B two different messages, between which no connection is discernible. Then as soon as possible give to C a third message which will reveal the hidden connection.

It appeared to us that if the experiment succeeded and cross-correspondences of the desired type occurred, they would afford almost conclusive evidence of the agency of a mind external to those of all the automatists, and might afford strong evidence of the identity of this mind.

The conversations with Myers_p about this experiment are recorded in detail by Mr. Piddington in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., pp. 312-414, and a good deal of ink has since been spilt over the secondary question of whether Myers_p had enough "Myers" in him to be able to translate the Latin in which the Message was delivered to him. The primary question, of course, was whether "Myers" understood the purport of the Message¹ and could prove his understanding to us *by producing the kind of cross-correspondence we wanted*.

My excuse for reverting to the subject now is that in Mr. Piddington's original report and generally in the subsequent discussion, the assumption has been made that "Hope, Star and Browning" was the cross-correspondence especially intended to meet our wishes, and the discussion has mostly turned on its appropriateness to the Latin Message.

Some of the clues lately found to the real meaning of many of the scripts, however, show that several other cases—in particular that described below under the heading "Alexander's Tomb"—conform much more definitely than "Hope, Star and Browning" to the type asked for in the Message.

Meanwhile I give the latter case first, for the sake of including in it the contributions to the subject in Mrs. Holland's script, which have not yet been published.

To make these intelligible, I prefix a joint chronological summary of the Latin Message Experiment and the most important allusions to "Hope, Star and Browning" made in Mrs. Piper's trance, these two topics being inextricably mingled in her case.

¹ An interesting discussion of the intelligence shown by Myers_p in this experiment is to be found in Mrs. Hude's paper in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 147-170.

Mr. Piddington was in charge of all the sittings here referred to up to March 13, 1907, inclusive, and Mrs. Sidgwick was in charge of the later ones. Mrs. and Miss Verrall's scripts were during this time being sent to Mr. Piddington, so that he might test the correctness of Myers_P's statements about them. When a statement was found to be correct, he as a rule informed Myers_P of it. For these and all other details of the case, his original report must be referred to.

As to the automatists' knowledge that the experiment of the Latin Message was to be tried :

(a) Mrs. Verrall was fully acquainted with it.

(b) Miss Verrall must be assumed to have known something about it, since she was present at the sitting of Dec. 19, 1906, when part of the message was dictated to Mrs. Piper in trance.¹

(c) To Mrs. Piper the subject was mentioned only while she was in trance, and the Message was dictated in Latin to the trance-personalities.

(d) Mrs. Holland, who was in India at the time, knew nothing whatever about the experiment, and did not even know till near the end of March, 1907, that Mrs. Piper had come to England to give us sittings.

The knowledge or ignorance of the automatists about the Latin Message had of course no bearing on the evidential value of the cross-correspondences, but it might have had some effect on the wording of the scripts.

Chronological Summary of the Latin Message Experiment.

During the first half of Nov., 1906, J. G. P. and A. J. composed the English version of the Message.

Nov. 16 or 17, 1906. Dr. Verrall was asked to translate it into Latin.

Nov. 26, 1906. Dr. Verrall made the translation, which was received by J. G. P. on Nov. 27.

Dec. 17, 1906. J. G. P. dictates the first sentence of the Message in Latin to Myers_P.

Dec. 19, 24, and 31, 1906. J. G. P. continues the dictation of the Message to Myers_P.

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., p. 316.

- Jan.* 2, 1907. J. G. P. finishes dictating the Message to Myers_p, who, at the end of the sitting, says "United we stand, divided we fall."
- Jan.* 16, 1907. J. G. P. suggests to Myers_p that, when producing a cross-correspondence between the scripts of Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland, he should add to each script some such sign as a triangle within a circle.
- Jan.* 23, 1907. Myers_p, *à propos* of the Latin Message, says he believes he can send a message which will please J. G. P.
- Feb.* 6, 1907. Myers_p says he will reply to the Latin Message as soon as he can.
- Feb.* 11, 1907. Myers_p says Mrs. Verrall has got Hope, Star and Browning in her script.
- Feb.* 11, 1907 (*later in the day*). J. G. P. takes Mrs. Verrall's scripts of *Jan.* 23 and *Jan.* 28, 1907 (see below), to correspond to this statement, and, reading *Abt Vogler* for the first time, concludes that the line, "That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star," would be especially appropriate to the Latin Message.
- Feb.* 12, 1907. J. G. P. tells Myers_p that he was right in saying Mrs. Verrall had got Star, Hope and Browning in her script.
- Feb.* 26, 1907. J. G. P. asks Hodgson_p to tell Myers_p that Mrs. Verrall had drawn a triangle within a circle in one of her scripts.
- Feb.* 27, 1907. Myers_p says that Star, Hope and Browning is his answer to the Latin Message.
- Mar.* 6, 1907. Myers_p says he said Bird and Paradise in connection with the triangle and circle, and refers again to Browning, Hope and Star.
- Mar.* 13, 1907. Myers_p says the circle was connected with Browning, Hope and Star, and also calls the circle a Ring.
- Mar.* 20, 1907. Myers_p refers again to Browning, Hope and Star.
- April* 8, 1907. Myers_p says that one of the other automatists has drawn a Star and a Crescent.
- May* 6, 1907. Myers_p says he long ago gave the word Music in this connection.

CHAPTER III.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE: "HOPE, STAR AND BROWNING."

FOUR automatists, Mrs. Piper, Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall, were concerned in this case. The part played by Mrs. Piper is summarised above, and the dates of Myers's statements should be compared with those of the scripts of the other automatists, which are given below in chronological order.

Mrs. Holland's scripts were, as usual, being sent from India to me, and she knew nothing of what was being produced by the other automatists; while Mrs. Verrall, the only one to whom I gave any information about Mrs. Holland's scripts, saw those here dealt with for the first time on Feb. 19, 1907—that is, after all her own and Miss Verrall's scripts relating to this subject had been written.

Here, as throughout this paper, some of the scripts quoted may seem to have but a vague and dubious connection with the topics of the cross-correspondence. But, since the references in them appear to be continuous with the more definite and explicit references in other or later scripts, I include the vaguer scripts as well as the others, on the general principles explained in my Introduction; for, if these vaguer scripts are really continuous with the others, it is probable that they really refer to the same topics.

Thus, in the following script, it would seem that the topics are only beginning to emerge:

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Dec. 3, 1906.)

Nowell—"So doth the Greater Glory dim the less"¹

Rundell—

Rundall—

¹ "Portia. How far that little candle throws his beams!
So shines a good deed in a naughty world.

Nerissa. When the moon shone, we did not see the candle.

Portia. So doth the greater glory dim the less."

(Merchant of Venice, Act V. Scene 1.)

Arundell—No not of Wardour—the Norfolk family—For them
a short lived joy—

“ Ah Starry hope that didst arise
But to be overcast ”¹

[The rest of the script refers to another subject.]

This script gives Star and Hope in conjunction, and in the immediate context of the first quotation occurs the word Moon, while in Miss Verrall's script of Feb. 3, 1907 (quoted below) occur “ the crescent moon and the star,” with drawings of both ; and Myers_p on April 8, 1907 (see above), stated that through “ the other light ” he had drawn a star and also a crescent² in connection with this cross-correspondence. He also stated on March 6, 1907, in referring to the same subject, that he had given “ Paradise ” as one of its items,³ while Mrs. Holland's “ Starry Hope ” is quoted from a poem entitled *To One in Paradise*, and should be compared with “ the hope that leaves the earth for the sky ” in Mrs. Verrall's script of Jan. 28, 1907, given below.

It will be seen that the Moon, implicitly referred to in the above script of Mrs. Holland's, is clearly a full, or nearly full moon, while the Moon of Miss Verrall's and Mrs. Piper's scripts is a Crescent. But we find in Mrs. Holland's script of March 20, 1907, below, pp. 42-46, which contains more definite references to this cross-correspondence, that the Moon again occurs implicitly,—that is, in the context of a quotation given in the script,—and this time it is a Crescent Moon.

This is an instance of what has just been explained :—since the Moon in the second script seems clearly one of the topics of the cross-correspondence, and since the first script appears continuous with the second, there is reason to regard the Moon of the first script as an item of the same cross-correspondence.

¹ “ Ah, dream too bright to last !
Ah, starry Hope ! that didst arise
But to be overcast ! ”

(E. A. Poe, *To One in Paradise*.)

² For full details, see *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 76.

³ For full details, see *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 72 and 339.

The next script to be quoted is again a vague one :

(*Mrs. Holland's Script of Dec. 4, 1906.*)

The grey church tower ¹

A very scattered family this Christmas—and yet hardly more so than three years ago.

“ Pray—if thou canst in hope—but ever pray
Though hope be weak and faint through long delay—
Pray in the darkness if there be no light ” ²

“ I will be quiet and talk to you
and reason where you are wrong. ” ³

[The rest of the script refers to another subject.]

Here the first quotation contains the word “ hope,” emphasised by being twice repeated ; and is immediately followed by a quotation from Browning.

The next script is one of Mrs. Verrall's, which was begun at 12 noon on Dec. 17, 1906, immediately after Mr. Piddington in London had dictated the first sentence of the Latin Message to Mrs. Piper in trance. Though Mrs. Verrall did not know on what day the experiment with Mrs. Piper would begin, she was aware that it was to be tried, and this script seems—in part at least—to reflect her own conception of it. But the particular symbolism employed—which, for brevity, we may call “ the music of the spheres ”—became, as will be seen, one of the main items of this cross-correspondence.

¹ This phrase constitutes a possible cross-correspondence with Mrs. Piper. See *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 46.

² Hartley Coleridge, *Prayer*. The words italicised are underlined in the original script.

³ Browning, *James Lee's Wife*, IV. :

“ I will be quiet and talk with you,
And reason why you are wrong.
You wanted my love—is that much true ?
And so I did love, so I do :
What has come of it all along ? ”

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Dec. 17, 1906.)¹

Revolving axes

Revolving spheres the mystic music make

Revolving spheres the harmony began

Harmonious sound scarce audible to man

But Then from every several unit of the whole

Joined the majestic music of the Soul

no no

Majestic music

No—you don't see what I want—begin again.

Revolving spheres the harmony began—

A diapason manifest to man—

Each single unit played its several part

Discoursing symphony with god-sent art

Till the majestic music of the whole

Throbbled in pulsation:—and the throbbing Soul

Saw through the sound the burning of the flame

Felt the lost Presence—to the Presence came.

Much of the phraseology of this script is derived from two sources (both familiar to Mrs. Verrall), viz. (1) Dryden's *Song for St. Cecilia's Day*, especially the lines :

“ From harmony, from heavenly harmony,
 This universal frame began :
 From harmony to harmony
 Through all the compass of the notes it ran,
 The diapason closing full in Man.

As from the power of sacred lays
 The spheres began to move.”

and (2) the translations by F. W. H. Myers of two Greek Oracles² (*Essays—Classical*, pp. 97 and 99), especially the lines :

“ O God ineffable, eternal Sire,
 Throned on the whirling spheres, the astral fire,

¹ Mr. Piddington discusses this script in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., pp. 309-311, and 328-330.

² The first of these two oracles was found on a leaf of the manuscript which contains Porphyry's letter to Marcella. The second was given at Delphi to a friend of Porphyry's who enquired, “ Where is now Plotinus' soul ? ”

Hid in whose heart thy whole creation lies,—
The whole world's wonder mirrored in thine eyes,—

.

Thee the first Number and harmonious Whole,
Form in all forms, and of all souls the Soul.”

“Once by God's grace was from thine eyes unfurled
This veil that screens the immense and whirling world,
Once, while the spheres around thee in music ran,
Was very Beauty manifest to man ;”

The metre of this latter, it will be noticed, is the same as the metre of the script. But the script embroiders on the ideas thence derived, adding something of its own. In particular the phrase

“the throbbing Soul
Saw through the sound the burning of the flame”

seems, as Mr. Piddington observed in his Report, to foreshadow the quotation from *Abt Vogler* :

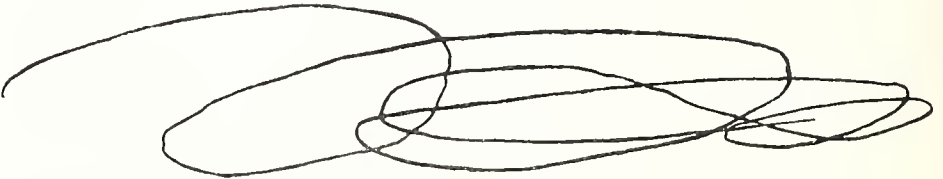
“That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star,”

which played so important a part later in the cross-correspondence.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Dec. 19, 1906.)

. Pace—Pax—it is only in appearance that the life appears unduly brief or all too swiftly terminated in reality the wheel had run full circle. . . .

“Into a darkness quieted by hope.”¹



No—the water has a whirling sweep—but not a circular whirlpool like one.

¹ Browning, *Sordello*, Book I.

Pink may-blossom on the trees near the drive—

Qui bien ayme tard oublye.

Why not that motto for the ring—it applies to both sides—. . .

H. December 21st, don't you remember ?

M—

A white frost in January but not before—

This script, as stated in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., p. 219, was produced on the day of Professor F. W. Maitland's death, and Mrs. Verrall, to whom I showed it (on Feb. 19, 1907) thought that some passages in it were meant to refer to him. "It is only in appearance that the life appears unduly brief. . . ." had a certain appropriateness, as he was only 56 when he died. But Mrs. Verrall attached more importance to the words "H. December 21st, don't you remember ? M." since it was on Dec. 21, 1906, that she heard of Professor Maitland's death (which had occurred in the Canary Isles), whereas on Dec. 21 of the previous year she had heard of Dr. Hodgson's death. Further, "the pink may-blossom on the trees near the drive" was appropriate to her house, well known to Professor Maitland; while, in accordance with the punning habits of scripts,¹ it may be supposed that "May" (the name by which Mrs. Verrall's friends call her) implies a connection of the script with her in two respects, both in regard to her friend, Professor Maitland, and as containing a cross-correspondence with her own script.

Some confirmation of the supposed reference here to Professor Maitland is afforded by the facts that Mrs. Holland's script of Oct. 17, 1906, appeared to be premonitory of his last voyage to the Canary and of his death (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., p. 217); and that her script of March 20, 1907 (see below, p. 42), undoubtedly refers to him, contains further allusions to "Hope, Star and Browning" and seems closely connected with this script of Dec. 19, 1906; though on March 20, 1907, she was unaware that these earlier scripts had been interpreted as referring to Professor Maitland.

¹ Thus in Miss Verrall's scripts of Feb. 3 and 17, 1907, below, the phrase "Song birds pipe their tune" and the allusions to the Pied Piper are clearly references to Mrs. Piper.

The context of the quotation in the script from *Sordello*¹ is as follows :

“ For he is thine !
 Sordello, thy forerunner, Florentine !
 A herald-star I know thou didst absorb
 Relentless into the consummate orb
 That scared it from its right to roll along
 A sempiternal path with dance and song,

 Still, what if I
 launch once more
 That lustre ? Dante, pacer of the shore
 Where gluttoned hell disgorgeth filthiest gloom,
 Unbitten by its whirring sulphur-spume—
 Or whence the grieved and obscure waters slope
 Into a darkness quieted by hope ;

 I would do this ! ”

Here then the quotation from Browning contains the word Hope and is taken from a passage describing Sordello under the image of a Star, which pursued its “ path with dance and song,” an allusion to “ the music of the spheres.”

The drawing which follows this quotation in the script, and the next sentence, which clearly refers to the drawing, allude, no doubt, to the “ grieved and obscure waters ” of the line preceding the one quoted.

“ *Qui bien ayme tard oublye. Why not that motto for the ring ? It applies to both sides.* ” I regard this as an allusion to the following passage from *The Ring and the Book* (Book I.) :

“ A ring without a posy,² and that ring mine ?
 O lyrie Love, half angel and half bird
 And all a wonder and a wild desire,—

¹ It will be remembered that Sordello was an Italian poet—liko Virgil, a native of Mantua—whom Dante met in Purgatory.

² In the complete edition of Browning’s Poems, edited by A. Birrell (the notes to *The Ring and the Book* being by F. G. Kenyon), the following footnote is attached to this word : “ *Posy* : a motto or rhyme, engraved inside a ring.”

When the first summons from the darkling earth
 Reached thee amid thy chambers, blanched their blue,
 And bared them of the glory—to drop down,
 To toil for man, to suffer or to die,—
 This is the same voice: can thy soul know change?
 Hail then, and hearken from the realms of help!"

"Qui bien ayme tard oublye" is of course a very appropriate motto for Browning's *Ring*, and the phrase "it applies to both sides," if taken to mean that it applies both to heaven and earth, fits in closely with the whole sentiment of his half mystic and half personal appeal to "Lyric Love." It is also very appropriate to the general gist of *Abt Vogler*, and especially to these lines (Stanza IV.):

"And the emulous heaven yearned down, made effort to
 reach the earth,
 As the earth had done her best, in my passion, to scale
 the sky."

It will be seen that Mrs. Verrall's script of Jan. 28, 1907, quotes both from the above passage in *The Ring and the Book* and from *Abt Vogler*.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Jan. 23, 1907.)

JUSTICE HOLDS THE SCALES.

That gives the words but an anagram would be better
 Tell him that— rats star tars and so on. Try this.

It has been tried before

R T A T S rearrange those five letters or again t e a r s
s t a r e

s e a m

s a m e

and so on

Skeat takes Kate's Keats stake steak.

But the letters you should give to-night are not so many—only
 three

a s t

The anagrams in this script are to be compared with those in Miss Verrall's script of Feb. 17, 1907, given below. The last three letters are probably the beginning of the word "aster," with which the next script opens.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Jan. 28, 1907.)

Aster [star]

τερας [sign, or wonder]

the world's wonder¹

And all a wonder and a wild desire.²

The very wings of her

A WINGED DESIRE

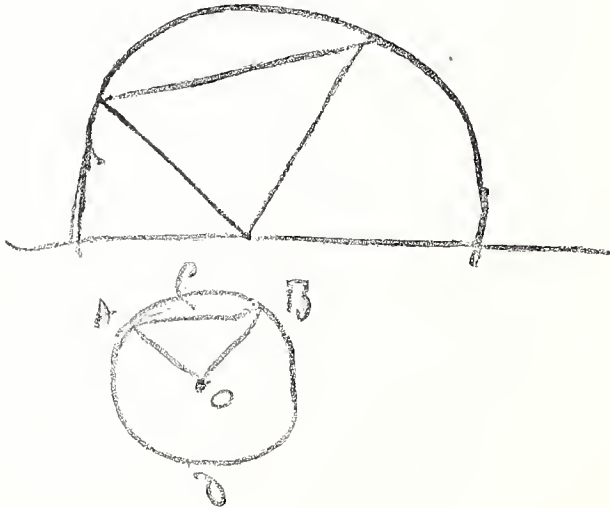
ὑπόπτερος ἔρως [winged love]

Then there is Blake

and moeked my loss of liberty.³

But it is all the same thing— the winged desire

ἔρως ποθεινός [passion] the hope that leaves the earth for the sky—
Abt Vogler— for earth too hard that found itself or
lost itself—in the sky.



That is what I want—
On the earth the broken sounds
 threads
In the sky the perfect are.

¹ See F. W. H. Myers, *Essays—Classical*, p. 97, quoted in the text above.

² Browning, *The Ring and the Book*, quoted in the text above.

³ "He loves to sit and hear me sing,

Then laughing, sports and plays with me;

Then stretches out my golden wing,

And moeks my loss of liberty."

(Blake, *Song*: "How sweet I roamed from field to field.")

The C major of this life ¹

But your recollection is at fault

ADB is the part that unseen completes the are.

Mr. Piddington had asked Myers_p on Jan. 16, 1907 (see summary of Latin Message above) to add to the scripts of Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland some such sign as a triangle within a circle when producing a cross-correspondence between them. It will be noticed that this particular sign appears in this script.

"*The world's wonder*" is a quotation from a poem to which Mrs. Verrall's own script of Dec. 17, 1906, alluded; while "*all a wonder and a wild desire*" is a quotation from a passage in *The Ring and the Book* to which Mrs. Holland's script of Dec. 19, 1906, as I believe, alluded (see above).

The leading idea of the script is clearly Love, or Passion,—emphasised, as the leading ideas are apt to be, by various devices. The word itself occurs only twice,—both times in its Greek form,²—but several of the quotations turn on it, namely:

- (1) "O lyric Love, half angel and half bird,
And all a wonder and a wild desire."

(2) The "Prince of Love" who, in Blake's song, imprisons the lover in a cage and mocks his loss of liberty; and (3) the "passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky."

The reminiscences of *Abt Vogler* in this script are of special interest. In most cases the phrases are not taken direct from the poem, but compounded out of two or more phrases in it, so that a single sentence is ingeniously turned to express two or more ideas, as in several other cases given in this paper. While the number of allusions seem to point to a general reference to the whole poem, the individual variations are all, as I believe, intentional. I will give the original passages

¹ Browning, *Abt Vogler*.

² Somewhat similarly in the case of the cross-correspondence *Thanatos*, Mrs. Verrall on April 29, 1907, produced a script containing four quotations involving the notion of Death, but the word itself occurred once only, as *mors* (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., p. 299).

in full, in the order in which they are alluded to in the script :

- (1) "The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the ground to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God. . . ."

Here note that the script substitutes "hope" for "passion,"—a device probably intended, as Mr. Piddington pointed out, to emphasise "hope" by drawing attention to it, for no one familiar with the poem could fail to notice the misquotation, and Mrs. Verrall, in her contemporary notes, remarked on it.

The script too, instead of "to lose itself," has "that found itself or lost itself,"—thus hinting at the conception of individual persistence, as contrasted with that of absorption into a greater whole, which is suggested by the original phrase.¹

- (2) "But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
Existent behind all laws, that made them and, lo, they are !
And I know not if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,
That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound.
but a star."

- (3) "On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heaven, a perfect round."

These two passages from the poem are, I take it, represented in a highly concise and conglomerate manner in the script by :

Aster [star] *τερας* [a sign or wonder]. . . .
On the earth the broken sounds—threads—
In the sky the perfect arc

"The finger of God" is a Biblical phrase, used in connection with something done as a sign of the power of God, *e.g.*, "Then the magicians said unto Pharaoh, This is the finger of God" (*Exodus*, viii. 19), referring to the plagues of Egypt ;

"If I with the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come upon you" (*Luke*, xi. 20) ;

¹ Somewhat similarly Myers_p, quoting from *Abt Vogler*, attempted to improve on his text when he said that he had "returned to breathe in the old world which is not however better than our new"—in the sitting of May 1, 1907 (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., p. 380).

The tables of the Law given to Moses on Mount Sinai were "written with the finger of God" (*Exodus*, xxxi. 18).

In the poem the Sign is the "Star" made "out of three sounds." Mr. Piddington concluded later that Myers_v had intended to point to this sign as symbolising the Latin Message.

The odd variant given in the script of the well-known line, "On the earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect round," has also, I think, a special meaning; but this, with the rough drawings that follow it, will be best discussed in connection with Mrs. Holland's script of March 20, 1907, given below, pp. 42-45.

Next in chronological order comes:

(*Miss Verrall's Script of Feb. 3, 1907.*)

A green jerkin and hose and doublet where the song birds pipe
their tune in the early morning

therapeutikos ek exotikon [a healer from aliens]



a monogram

the crescent moon

remember that



and the star

like a thunder riven oak the grim remains
stand on the level desolation of the plains
a record for all ages of the span
which nature gives to the weak labour of a man



bird

The word "pipe," with "a healer from aliens" is probably meant as an allusion to the Pied Piper of Hamelin, especially as Miss Verrall's script of Feb. 17 (given below), which, like

this one, contains the word "star" and a drawing of a star, refers unquestionably to that poem. "Pipe" is also intended, I have little doubt, as a punning reference to Mrs. Piper, indicating that the script contains a cross-correspondence with hers.

There is a connection with Mrs. Verrall's script of Jan. 28, 1907, in the (apparent) allusion to a poem by Browning, in the "Star," and in the "bird," for Mrs. Verrall had recorded on Jan. 29 that she thought her script was an attempt at "Bird," through the words "wings" and "winged," and *Abt Vogler* ("Vogler" = fowler).

On Feb. 11, 1907, Myers_p stated that Hope, Star and Browning had appeared in Mrs. Verrall's script. Later in the day Mr. Piddington, studying Mrs. Verrall's scripts, concluded that those of Jan. 23 and 28 were referred to. He communicated this success to Mrs. Verrall, who, with a view to encouraging her daughter,¹ gave her on Feb. 15 a general description of the incident, substituting imaginary words for the original ones. For "Star," "Planet Mars" was substituted, for "Hope" "Virtue," and for "Browning" "Keats." Nothing was said to Miss Verrall about the script of Jan. 23, but she was told that a *five-letter* anagram had constituted part of the success on Jan. 28. Her next script was as follows :

(*Miss Verrall's Script of Feb. 17, 1907.*)

androsace (?) Carthusian eandelabrum



many together



that was the sign she will understand

when she sees it

¹ Miss Verrall had done very little automatic writing up to this date.

diapason *δια πασων ρυθμος* [rhythm through all]
 No arts avail
 the heavenly harmony *ως εφη ο πλατων* [as Plato says]
 the mystie three (?) [scribble]
 and a star above it all
rats everywhere in Hamelin town
 now do you understand Henry (?)

In regard to the anagrams in Mrs. and Miss Verrall's scripts, a sheet of paper was discovered in August, 1907, among Dr. Hodgson's rough notes at Boston, in which several of them occurred.¹

Dr. Hodgson's anagrams included: "rates, stare, tears, aster"; "star, tars, rats, arts."

Mrs. Verrall's anagrams (on Jan. 23 and Jan. 28, 1907) included: "rats, star, tars;" "tears, stare, aster, teras."

Miss Verrall's anagrams (on Feb. 17, 1907) were: "arts, star, rats."

There are other obvious connections between Miss Verrall's script of Feb. 17 and Mrs. Verrall's of Jan. 28. Miss Verrall's star which "was the sign" is equivalent to Mrs. Verrall's "aster *τερας*." Miss Verrall has also an allusion to Browning in the phrase "rats everywhere in Hamelin town" (*Pied Piper*). The "diapason, rhythm," and "heavenly harmony" in this script are also to be compared with Mrs. Verrall's script of Dec. 17, 1906, above, which, of course, Miss Verrall had not seen.

Further, the phrases: "No arts avail—the heavenly harmony—the mystie three and a star above it all," seem to point to certain lines in *Abt Vogler*, especially:

"It [*i.e.* both painting and poetry] is all triumphant art, but art in obedience to laws . . .

But here [*i.e.* in Music] is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can, . . .

That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star."

Thus, two of Miss Verrall's anagrams, "arts," "star," belong to *Abt Vogler*, though the referenee is not given in

¹The episode is fully related in Mr. Piddington's report, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-66, where a reproduction of the sheet of paper is given.

the script; while her third anagram "rats" is referred to the *Pied Piper*.

The next script is Mrs. Holland's of March 20, 1907, which, as shown by postmarks, was the last one she produced before hearing in a letter from me that we were now having sittings with Mrs. Piper in London.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of March 20, 1907.)

All last month was so grey and chill that the flowers of February have waited until March— Hellebore and aconite are only lately unfolded— Now comes the first flame of spring—the golden crocus— Dearer to me than all the Italian (?) bounty—profligate bounty—of blossoms too plentiful to seem truly those of spring—

I begin to understand that though transmigration as ye apprehend it is but a partial truth—yet do we hold together as the nucleus of stars or as the notes that form the perfect chord— I must wait before going on for the completion of the chord— or for the two remaining lives, that are as stars in my constellation. Very unlike many of my imaginings.

A peculiarly long upper lip but the face is raised to beauty by the eyes—large—luminous grey—and by the noble lift of the brow above them—

The left hand—a twisted finger.

The mist is clearing from the ground even as earth mists do— Be not unhappy that the stars are yet hidden— They at the last will be revealed—but content ye now with the waft of a robe bearing a memory with it— the print of an unforgotten foot.

Memory—ever-dwelling thought—constant faithful memory is the true ghost-compeller On our side many remember faithfully but our memories need to be met by an answering memory ere comes the perfect strength—

Dressed in black—a large-eyed woman—long limbed—large mouthed with slack voluble lips—"How poor an instrument may do a noble deed"¹—

¹ *Cleopatra*. "Let him come in. What poor an instrument
May do a noble deed! he brings me liberty."

(Referring to the Clown that brings her the basket of figs with the asp.)
Antony and Cleopatra, Act V., Scene 2.

The inveterate jarring note. F (?) 6— 23— 13— No the 8th is purposely omitted— And Memory dies without Love.

G. M-T.¹

This script, though containing only one complete quotation, is full of literary reminiscences in a slightly veiled form. Thus the first paragraph refers to "the ground flame of the erocus" (Tennyson, *The Progress of Spring*); and the phrases immediately following this are, I think, a sort of summary of Browning's *Home-Thoughts, from Abroad*:

"Oh, to be in England,
Now that April's there

And though the fields look rough with hoary dew,
All will be gay when noontide wakes anew
The buttercups, the little children's dower,
—Far brighter than this gaudy melon-flower!"

The second paragraph seems to contain several references to *Abt Vogler*:

"*Transmigration as ye apprehend it is but a partial truth*" suggests:

"The wonderful Dead who have passed through the body and gone

But were back once more to breathe in an old world worth their new."

(The phrase in the script may perhaps also allude to Horace's *Ode I. 28*, which refers to re-incarnation, and about which a question had been put on Mrs. Verrall's behalf to Myers, on Jan. 23, 1907.²)

"*Yet do we hold together as the nucleus of stars or as the notes that form the perfect chord. I must wait before going on for the completion of the chord, or for the two remaining lives that are as stars in my constellation.*"

¹These are the initials of Lady Mount-Temple, who is several times mentioned in Mrs. Holland's early script (see *Proc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 208-209). Mrs. Holland knew, from reading *Human Personality*, that she was an old friend of Mr. Myers's.

²See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., p. 397 *et seq.*, and below, p. 81.

combination of notes sounded together and (through the implicit allusion to *Abt Vogler*) the straight line between the two ends of an arc of a circle. Mrs. Verrall's "broken sounds—threads" and "the perfect arc" also point to chords in both senses of the word.

But, while the poem speaks of a "perfect round," the two automatists—both of whom are extremely familiar with the poem—refer, the one to a "perfect chord" and the other to a "perfect arc."

As if to emphasise this misquotation or adaptation of the line, Mrs. Verrall's script (see above, p. 36), gives two geometrical drawings, the first showing a segment of a circle with its chord and its arc, and the second representing a complete circle, below which is added the remark :

"A D B is the part that unseen completes the arc."

With this compare the Holland script :

"I must wait before going on for the completion of the chord, or for the two remaining lives that are as stars in my constellation."

Abt Vogler, the optimist with a passion for personal immortality, thinks only of the perfection to be attained in heaven. In the scripts we find Abt Vogler's conception enlarged by the thought that inspired F. W. H. Myers's poem *Venice*,—that perfection is not to be attained all at once,—

*"The race of angels is the race of men ;
Their vanished light is on our vision shed,
Nor even their joy without us perfected."*¹

The same idea is emphasised still more strongly in a later passage of the same Holland script :

"Memory—ever-dwelling thought—constant faithful memory is the true ghost-compeller. On our side many remember faithfully, but our memories need to be met by an answering memory ere comes the perfect strength."

"The perfect strength" is, I have no doubt, an allusion to Rossetti's *Blessed Damsel*, the context of the phrase in that poem being as follows :

*"The sun was gone now ; the curled moon
Was like a little feather
Fluttering far down the gulf ; and now*

¹ See Mr. Piddington's paper in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 174-220.

She spoke through the still weather.
Her voice was like the voice the stars
Had when they sang together.

‘ I wish that he were come to me,
For he will come,’ she said.
‘ Have I not prayed in Heaven ?—on earth,
Lord, Lord, has he not pray’d ?
Are not two prayers a perfect strength ?
And shall I feel afraid ? ’ ”

It will be seen that several other of the leading ideas or items of the cross-correspondence,—viz. the crescent moon, the stars, and the music of the spheres,—are to be found in these verses. Mrs. Holland is very familiar with this poem, as well as with *Abt Vogler*, which confirms the view that her phrase is quoted from it.

References to Professor F. W. Maitland.

In the last paragraph of the script we find :

“ 6—23—13— No, the 8th is purposely omitted. And Memory dies without Love.”

Substitution of letters of the alphabet for these numbers ¹ gives the initials F. W. M., and “ the 8th is purposely omitted ” clearly means that they do not refer to F. W. H. M. (Myers). F. W. M. are the initials of Prof. Maitland.

Mrs. Verrall points out to me that the allusion to Browning’s *Home-Thoughts, from Abroad* (which begins “ Oh, to be in England, Now that April’s there ”) in the first paragraph of this script was appropriate to Professor Maitland, since April was the regular month for his return to England from the Canaries ; also that the opening of the script of Dec. 26, 1906, below, suggests Browning’s companion poem, *Home-Thoughts, from the Sea*, which describes scenery that he might pass on his voyages to and from the Canaries, as he often went by ships that touched at Gibraltar or Tangier, and so down the western coast of Spain. She tells me that he was a great admirer and constant reader of Browning. It is, therefore, interesting that

¹The full names of Richard Hodgson and Roden Noel were similarly indicated by numbers in Mrs. Holland’s script ; see *Proc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 304 and 320.

three out of the four Holland scripts alluding to him (viz. those of Dec. 19 and 26, 1906, and March 20, 1907) refer to poems of Browning's.

It has already been mentioned that an earlier script of Mrs. Holland's, that of Oct. 17, 1906, had been interpreted by Mrs. Verrall (on January 29, 1907) as premonitory of his death, and that of Dec. 19, 1906, given above, as referring to it. In a third script his name had been given, as follows :

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Dec. 26, 1906.)

England—Old England—Thoughts across the sea—Thalassa

1865—Not a long life—

M— M— F. W. M. Mary B.

Mary Maitson—

Maitland— Baitson— M. B.—F. W. M.

There had seemed to be many years of work before them both—

One to whom the dead past grew living—

"Where History's Muse the memorial was keeping

Of all that the dark land [*sic*] of Destiny graves" ¹

On receiving this script I wrote to Mrs. Holland, saying that it referred to Professor Maitland and Miss Mary Bateson, both of whom had recently died, and asking if she had seen any newspaper notices of them. I added that Professor Maitland's death had probably been telegraphed to India. She replied to me on Feb. 5, 1907: "Professor Maitland's death was telegraphed out here; his name was unfamiliar to my ignorance and I did not notice any reference to it in the script.² . . . I saw a rather long obituary notice of Miss Mary Bateson in the *Queen*."

Mary Bateson, Lecturer in History at Newnham College, Cambridge, was Professor Maitland's most distinguished pupil, and well known to historical scholars through numerous articles, especially on obscure constitutional and legal problems

¹ "While History's Muse the memorial was keeping
Of all that the dark hand of Destiny weaves."

(T. Moore, "*While History's Muse*.")

² Mrs. Holland sends me the originals of her script and does not keep copies for herself, so that her subsequent knowledge of them depends on her recollection.

connected with the history of mediæval boroughs. The date of her birth, 1865, was given in the article in *The Queen* (of Dec. 8, 1906) referred to by Mrs. Holland, but Professor Maitland is not mentioned in that article.

She died on Nov. 30, 1906; Professor Maitland attended her funeral at Cambridge, and the last paper he wrote was an obituary notice of her, which appeared in *The Athenæum* of Dec. 8, 1906, signed "F. W. M." On Dec. 8 he sailed for the Canary, was taken ill on the voyage, landed on Dec. 13, and died in the night of Dec. 19-20.

It is, of course, possible that Mrs. Holland saw this article, as well as that in the *Queen* (though she only remembered seeing the latter), and that when she read the telegraphic announcement of Professor Maitland's death, she put the two announcements together subliminally and so produced the script.

At the time that I wrote to enquire about her knowledge of Professor Maitland, I was unaware of the earlier references to him in her script (of Oct. 17 and Dec. 19, 1906), since these had not yet been interpreted. Consequently, when she produced her script of Mar. 20, 1907, she knew nothing of those earlier allusions, and therefore could have had no normal reason for associating him with the script of Dec. 19, 1906. Yet this latter and the script of Mar. 20, 1907, seem closely linked together through their contributions to the cross-correspondence "Hope, Star and Browning," and through their references to Prof. Maitland, while the phrase "Memory dies without Love" (March 20, 1907) is very similar to "Qui bien ayme tard oublye" (Dec. 19, 1906).

The four scripts here discussed are the only ones out of the whole mass produced by Mrs. Holland and in my possession which contain any mention of or allusion to Professor Maitland.

The following Table shows the dates at which the principal topics of this cross-correspondence occurred in the scripts of the various automatists. The round brackets indicate that the topic appeared on that date in an implicit form only,—that is, generally speaking, in the context of a quotation which was given explicitly.

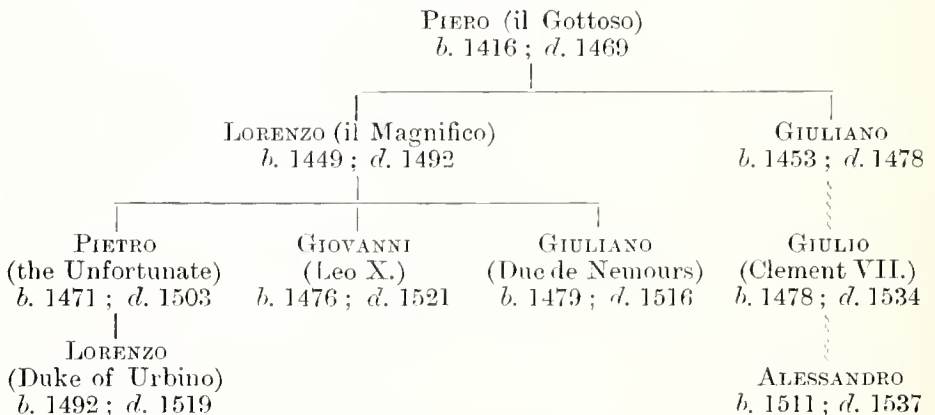
	STAR.	HOPE.	BROWNING.	LOVE.	BIRD.	MOON.	PARADISE OR SKY.	MUSIC OF THE SPHERES.
Mrs. Holland,	Dec. 3, 1906	Dec. 3, 1906	...	...	...	(Dec. 3, 1906)	(Dec. 3, 1906)	...
Mrs. Holland,	...	Dec. 4, 1906	Dec. 4, 1906	(Dec. 4, 1906)	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Verrall,	(Dec. 17, 1906)	...	...	..	...	...	...	Dec. 17, 1906
Mrs. Holland,	(Dec. 19, 1906)	Dec. 19, 1906	Dec. 19, 1906	Dec. 19, 1906	...	...	...	(Dec. 19, 1906)
Mrs. Verrall,	Jan. 23, 1907	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Verrall,	Jan. 28, 1907	Jan. 28, 1907	Jan. 28, 1907	Jan. 28, 1907	(Jan. 28, 1907)	...	Jan. 28, 1907	(Jan. 28, 1907)
Miss Verrall,	Feb. 3, 1907	...	Feb. 3, 1907	...	Feb. 3, 1907	Feb. 3, 1907	...	...
Mrs. Piper,	Feb. 11, 1907	Feb. 11, 1907	Feb. 11, 1907	...	...	...	...	...
Miss Verrall,	Feb. 17, 1907	...	Feb. 17, 1907	...	...	...	...	Feb. 17, 1907
Mrs. Piper,	Feb. 27, 1907	Feb. 27, 1907	Feb. 27, 1907	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Piper,	Mar. 6, 1907	Mar. 6, 1907	Mar. 6, 1907	...	Mar. 6, 1907	...	Mar. 6, 1907	...
Mrs. Piper,	Mar. 13, 1907	Mar. 13, 1907	Mar. 13, 1907	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Piper,	Mar. 20, 1907	Mar. 20, 1907	Mar. 20, 1907	...	...	...	...	...
Mrs. Holland,	Mar. 20, 1907	...	Mar. 20, 1907	Mar. 20, 1907	...	(Mar. 20, 1907)	(Mar. 20, 1907)	Mar. 20, 1907
Mrs. Piper,	Apr. 8, 1907	...	...	...	...	Apr. 8, 1907	...	...
Mrs. Piper,	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	May 6, 1907

CHAPTER IV.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE : "ALEXANDER'S TOMB."

SOME of the scripts classified under the above heading were published in Mr. Piddington's report (*Proc.*, Vol. XXII.) under the cross-correspondences "Library," "Laurel Wreath," and "Light in West." A re-classification has become necessary since the discovery (in July, 1912) that the Alexander of "Alexander's tomb" in Miss Verrall's script of March 17, 1907, was not Alexander the Great, as we had all assumed, but Alessandro de' Medici, who was buried in one of the two famous Medici tombs erected by Michael Angelo in the Sagrestia Nuova of the Church of San Lorenzo at Florence.¹ This discovery made it clear that a number of other passages in the scripts referred to the same tombs.

The allusions in these scripts to more or less well-known facts in the history of the Medici family will perhaps be more easily understood if prefaced by a consecutive summary of the facts alluded to,² together with a genealogical tree of the Medici chiefly concerned, as follows :—



¹ I owe this clue to a friend of mine, who has on more than one occasion made valuable suggestions about the meaning of the scripts.

² Most of the historical information in this section is derived from *The Medici*, by Colonel G. F. Young (Second Edition; London, John Murray, 1911; two vols.). This is the only complete history of the Medici family in existence, and, among those that I have consulted, seems to be based to an unusual degree on original authorities and to embody the results of the most recent researches.

The Laurel.

The Laurel, which plays so large a part in this cross-correspondence, was the special emblem of Lorenzo the Magnificent, derived from the play on the Latin form of his name, Laurentius, in accordance with the punning habit of the time. In February, 1469, when he was 19 years old, a splendid tournament was held at Florence, to celebrate his betrothal to Clarice Orsini. The dress worn by him on this occasion is represented in Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco of the Magi (part of which is reproduced in Plate VI.), where Lorenzo—the third and youngest of the Three Kings—appears riding on the great white horse which had been presented to him by the King of Naples for the tournament. On the trappings of this horse are the Medici arms, the seven balls,¹—afterwards reduced to six. "The device on his standard was a bay-tree, one half dry and dead-looking, and the other half green, with the motto (worked in pearls) *Le temps revient*, symbolising that a time of youth and joy, after the winter of [his grandfather] Cosimo's old age and [his father] Piero's ill-health, was now to supervene."² At this tournament Lorenzo was the victor, and the bay-tree which forms a back-ground to his face in the fresco represents his device. A tall standard laurel is also seen above his horse's head, and several other groups of laurels are conspicuous in other parts of the picture.

The frescoes, painted for Piero il Gottoso on the walls of the chapel of the Medici (Riccardi) Palace by Benozzo Gozzoli, are the only samples now remaining in the Palace of all the art treasures that it contained in the times of Cosimo, Piero and Lorenzo. The Journey of the Three Kings is made a vehicle for references to the history of the Medici, and to all that they had done for Florence up to that time. Two chief episodes are referred to :

(1) The Council of Florence in 1439, which had included John VII. (John Paleologus), the last but one Emperor of Constantinople, represented in the fresco as the second of the Three Kings, and Joseph, the Patriarch of Constantinople,

¹ The reproduction is on too small a scale to show these details, which are clear in photographs.

² Col. Young, *The Medici*, Vol. I., p. 160.

represented as the First King. This Council had brought to Florence the most learned men of the time, and so had furthered the revival of the ancient learning which the Medici did so much to foster. And it was in consequence of the hospitality shown to them in 1439 that, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453, the Greek scholars who were driven out took refuge in Florence.

(2) The Tournament of 1469, in which the young heir of the family had distinguished himself. Lorenzo appears, as said above, as the Third King. Behind him is his grandfather, Cosimo, riding a white horse, on whose trappings are the Medici arms, and his own private crest of the three peacock's feathers with the word *Semper*—the motto of the first three Medici—above them ; next to Cosimo is his brother Lorenzo on a mule ; in the left corner Piero il Gottoso, and next to him his younger son Giuliano, on a white horse with a jewel in its forehead.

In 1475 another famous tournament took place. Lorenzo, who was now head of the family, used the same standard as at the previous one,—the bay-tree which had appeared dead putting forth fresh leaves, with the motto *Le temps revient*. On this occasion, his brother Giuliano was the victor, so that the tournament was known as *La Giostra di Giuliano de' Medici*, under which title a celebrated poem on it was composed by Politian. In this poem Politian, in allusion to the tournament's Queen of Beauty (the beautiful Simonetta Cattaneo), describes the birth of Venus. And Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* follows closely the lines of Politian's poem, which is adapted from one of the Homeric hymns. In the picture (reproduced in Plate VII.) the laurel grove on the sea-shore, which spreads out over the nymph and partly over the head of Venus, symbolises Lorenzo, who was called by Politian "the Laurel who sheltered the song-birds that carolled to the Tuscan spring," in allusion partly to his own poems and partly to his patronage of the poets of his time.

Politian on another occasion spoke of Lorenzo's great friend, Pico della Mirandola, as "the Phoenix who rested in the Laurel," partly, I suppose, as a pun on his name, "the bird of wonder."

When in 1512, the Medici family, who had been banished in 1494, were recalled to Florence, the rule of the city was

at first placed in the hands of Giuliano (Duc de Nemours), third son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and afterwards in those of Lorenzo (Duke of Urbino), son of Pietro the Unfortunate, who had died in exile, Cardinal Giovanni (afterwards Leo X.) and his cousin Giulio directing their policy. With a view to attaching the youthful nobles to their family, the Medici formed two Societies, one called the Company of the Diamond, which was headed by Giuliano, and the other called the Company of the Branch, which was headed by Lorenzo. These Companies gave feasts and pageants, in imitation of those held in former years at Florence.¹ The badge of the Diamond was derived from certain crests of the elder Medici, and the Branch was that of the dry laurel putting forth new leaves, which was the tournament device of Lorenzo the Magnificent. (Cf. Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 6, 1907, below, p. 61.) It is important to note that the Laurel was thus the emblem of the younger as well as of the elder Lorenzo.

In 1524 the celebrated Medici Library, founded by Cosimo and largely added to by Piero and Lorenzo, was moved to the building in which it is now located (in the cloisters of San Lorenzo), which was designed and constructed by Michael Angelo. Hence it became known as the Library of San Lorenzo, or the Laurentian Library. (Cf. Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 6, 1907.) It is described by Col. Young as "the parent of all the great libraries of Europe." It is familiar to classical scholars from its giving a name to well known MSS., in particular the Laurentian MS. of Sophocles.

The Medici family were for the third time exiled from Florence in 1527, immediately after the sack of Rome. Two years later, the Imperial army marched on Florence, which surrendered after being besieged for ten months; and in 1532, through the influence of Clement VII., Alessandro de' Medici was made Duke of Florence.

Alessandro, who passed for the son of the younger Lorenzo, was actually the son of Clement VII., his mother being a mulatto slave. From his woolly hair, thick lips and generally negro-like appearance (see his portrait by Bronzino, reproduced in Plate VIII.), he was called *Il Moro* (the Moor). (Cf.

¹ See *Artists of the Italian Renaissance*; translated from the *Chronicles* and arranged by E. L. Seeley (Chatto and Windus, London, 1907), p. 257.

Piper sitting of Feb. 26, 1907, and Mrs. Holland's script of March 27, 1907.) The five years of his rule represent the darkest period of Florentine history. "A historian of his own time calls him a 'creature who would have disgraced even the deadliest epochs of Roman villainy'; while another describes him as 'one whose excesses were as controllable by human reason as those of a beast of the forest.'" ¹

On the night of January 5, 1537, he was murdered by his young relative Lorenzino, of the younger branch of the Medici family, in a room in the latter's house, adjoining the Medici Palace. Lorenzino then fled, and the Duke's body was discovered next evening by his own servants. His death was kept secret, and the body was hurriedly prepared for burial, "and on the following night was carried by a few servants with great secrecy to the church of San Lorenzo, and without any religious service was hurriedly placed in the sarcophagus containing the remains of Lorenzo (Duke of Urbino)." ² (Cf. "Alexander's tomb" in Miss Verrall's script of March 17, 1907.)

The New Sacristy of San Lorenzo had been originally planned by Leo X. while on a visit to Florence in 1516, with the intention that it should contain six tombs,—those of his father Lorenzo and uncle Giuliano, and of the four members of the family who were then living, namely, himself, his brother Giuliano, his cousin Giulio (afterwards Clement VII.), and his nephew, Lorenzo. Michael Angelo, to whom the commission was entrusted, worked on it at intervals through various vicissitudes of fortune, including the siege of the city, when he was in charge of the fortifications, up to the year 1534, when on the death of his protector, Clement VII., he was obliged to flee from Florence, his life being in danger from the tyrant Alessandro. Only two of the tombs were ever completed, namely, those of the younger Lorenzo and the younger Giuliano. The bodies of Lorenzo the Magnificent and his brother Giuliano were originally buried in the same tomb in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo. In 1559 their bodies were removed to the New Sacristy and buried there under the statues of St. Cosmo and St. Damian, the patron saints of their family; but no monument was erected

¹ Col. Young, *The Medici*, Vol. I., p. 497. ² *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 508.

to either of them. The two Medici Popes, Leo X. and Clement VII., were buried at Rome. So the five Medici actually buried in the New Sacristy are the two Lorenzos, the two Giulianos, and Alessandro,—these five including the most famous and the most infamous of the family.

The two tombs, of which illustrations are here given (Plates IX. and X.), are :

(a) That of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, with the seated statue of Lorenzo—the figure known as *Il Pensieroso* (not a portrait of the Duke)—above, helmeted, and hence "with everlasting shadow on his face,"¹ and the two recumbent figures below, representing Dawn (the woman) and Twilight (the man); otherwise called Morning and Evening.

(b) That of Giuliano, Due de Nemours, with a seated statue of Giuliano—again not a portrait—above, and two recumbent figures below, representing Day (the man) and Night (the woman). The latter is the most famous of all the statues and the only one which has symbolie objects attached to it, namely, the tragic mask, the owl, and the sack of poppy-heads on which the left foot of the figure is resting.

The faces of the two men, Twilight and Day, were left unfinished when Michael Angelo fled from Florence to escape the vengeance of Alexander, who thus, besides being buried in one of the tombs, was partly responsible for the present condition of both of them.

The figures were no doubt intended to symbolise the recent and contemporary history of Florence,—the Day referring to the golden times of Lorenzo the Magnificent, Michael Angelo's first patron, and the Twilight and Night the time of darkness and tyranny under Alexander. The meaning of the statue of *Night* is indicated in some verses written by Michael Angelo himself (in reply to some by Giovanni Battista Strozzi²) and thus translated by J. A. Symonds :

"Sweet is my sleep, but more to be mere stone,
So long as ruin and dishonour reign ;

¹ Mrs. Browning, *Casa Guidi Windows*.

² La Notte che tu vedi in sì dolce atti
Dormir, fu da un Angelo scolpita
In questo sasso, e perchè dorme, ha vita :
Destala, se nol credi, e parlératti.

To hear nought, to feel nought, is my great gain :
Then wake me not, speak in an under-tone.”¹

The New Sacristy and its tombs are also described in poems by Mrs. Browning, Swinburne, and Rogers, and the statue of Night in the following sonnet by Wordsworth :

“ *Night speaks* :

Grateful is Sleep, my life in stone bound fast
More grateful still : while wrong and shame shall last,
On me can Time no happier state bestow
Than to be left unconscious of the woe.
Ah then, lest you awaken me, speak low.
Grateful is Sleep, more grateful still to be
Of marble ; for while shameless wrong and woe
Prevail, 'tis best to neither hear nor see.
Then wake me not, I pray you. -Hush, speak low.
Come, gentle Sleep, Death's image though thou art,
Come share my couch, nor speedily depart ;
How sweet thus living without life to lie,
Thus without death how sweet it is to die.”

(Wordsworth, *Michael Angelo in reply to the
Passage upon his statue of Night Sleeping.*)

I now proceed to give the scripts in which we find the cross-correspondence. The phrases in the first ones are, it will be seen, of a vague and general character. But they seem to be continuous with and to lead up to the later more explicit passages, and it is on this ground that I interpret them as alluding to the Medici Tombs.

(*Mrs. Holland's Script of Nov. 9, 1906.*)

The shadow is very clear and black and appears almost as weighty as the substance—

“The best of this kind are but shadows”²

Shadow-shapes— Did Margaret trace the connection back in her analytical mind. . . .

¹The original verses are as follows:

“Grato m'è 'l sonno, e più l'esser di sasso,
Mentre che il danno e la vergogna dura ;
Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura ;
Però non mi destar, deh ! parla basso !”

²*Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act V., Scene 1.

The "shadow" here seems to be the first emergence of the "Light and Shadow—Shadow and Light" of Mrs. Holland's script of March 27, 1907, below, which I take, for reasons there given, to refer to the statues of Day and Night on the Medici tombs. Cf. "shadow" in Holland scripts of Nov. 28 and Dec. 12, 1906, below, which seem to continue the topic of this script.

"Margaret" is no doubt Mrs. Verrall, who is frequently so referred to in Mrs. Holland's script; the occurrence of the name here and in the next script seems to indicate that a cross-correspondence with Mrs. Verrall is intended.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Nov. 13, 1906.)

There is no place for doubt or any fear—

"In a voice that she will know
Margaret" ¹

No—no—not Percy— John—

A wreathed garland of deserved bays ² [sic]

Since life had grown more pale than Death—

Waking more husht than Sleep—

The second son—

"There is no place for doubt or any fear" is perhaps connected with the implicit reference to "human fears" in the first line of the script of Nov. 21, 1906, below.

In this script, again, as in that just quoted, we have the name "Margaret."

"A wreathed garland of deserved bays" is the first emergence of the important topic *Laurel Wreath*, which connects with the Medici, as explained above; it is to be noted that, as in many other cases, the most important word is emphasised by a misquotation,—the substitution of "bays" for "praise."

"Since Life had grown more pale than Death
Waking more husht than Sleep—"

These lines (which are, I think, original) seem to combine Symonds' and Wordsworth's versions of Michael Angelo's verses, quoted above; or, in any case, to refer to the statues on the Medici tombs.

¹ Matthew Arnold, *The Forsaken Merman*.

² "A wreathed garland of deserved praise,
Of praise deserved, unto Thee I give."

(George Herbert, *A Wreath*.)

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Nov. 21, 1906.)

A slumber did my spirit steal ¹ [sic]

Laurence

The poem of which the first line is quoted in the script would be an apt description of the statue Night, and has certain definite resemblances to Wordsworth's sonnet on that statue, quoted above. Cf. especially "Grateful is Sleep, my life in stone bound fast" with "A slumber did my spirit seal," "left unconscious of the woe" with "I had no human fears;" and "'Tis best to neither hear nor see" with "She neither hears nor sees."

The name "Laurence" at the end of the script bears out my interpretation of it as referring to the Tombs.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Nov. 28, 1906.)

. . . The *dark* was not alarming—but the strangely shaped *shadows* frightened her. . . .

Fin de nuit—an anagram name or rather a symbolical one—*dawn* as it were. Night's end. . . .²

Here we have again "dark" and "shadows" which I take to refer to the Night; and "dawn"—presumably a reference to the statue of Dawn. These three words, here italicised, are the only ones that are underlined in the whole of the original script. The important topic *Dawn* is further emphasised by the pun on it, which serves the double purpose of drawing attention to the word and indicating, through the allusion to Mrs. Piper's early "control," Phinuit, that she is to bear a share in the cross-correspondence.

¹ "A slumber did my spirit seal,
I had no human fears;
She seem'd a thing that could not feel
The touch of earthly years.

No motion has she now, no force;
She neither hears nor sees;
Roll'd round in earth's diurnal course,
With rocks, and stones, and trees."

(Wordsworth, *A slumber did my spirit seal.*)

² To this Mrs. Holland added a contemporary note: "On reading it over, the last sentence suggests Mrs. Piper's 'Dr. Phinuit.'"

(Mrs. Holland's Script of Dec. 12, 1906.)

The shadow and the sleep— The Dream and the Awakening. . . .

I take the first of these phrases to refer to the statue of the sleeping Night and the second to that of the Dawn, who is generally described as awaking from troubled dreams.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Dec. 24, 1906.)

* Let there be light he said and there was light ¹

And the evening and the morning were the first day.*

The reference has been given before but I think not understood.

largas luminis oras [Shores full of light.]

The western light that flooded all the room

Sic vos non vobis. aliena utitur voce non sua

Ego feci \perp

quem Rectorem Directorem cognoscis.

[So you not for you. He uses another voice not his own. I have done it, whom you know as Rector the director.]

The prayer of Ajax was for light.²

Whereas most of Mrs. Holland's references hitherto have been to the Shadow or the Dark (Night), Mrs. Verrall's first contribution to the cross-correspondence lays stress on the complementary topic of Light or Day, the word *Light* being repeated several times, as is often the case with important words in the scripts. "The evening and the morning" probably means the Twilight and Dawn statues.

We come next to some sittings with Mrs. Piper which do not properly belong to this series, but are only introduced here in their chronological order, because in the course of them the word "*Wreath*" was inadvertently mentioned to Mrs. Verrall and may possibly have had some influence on her subsequent script, although it seems clear from the context that the "wreath" alluded to by Rector was a wreath of roses, while the wreath of Mrs. Verrall's script was of Laurel.

** Between asterisks in mirror-writing.

¹ *Genesis*, i. 3.

² *Iliad*, XVII. 647.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on Jan. 2, 1907.*)

(J. G. P. present alone.)

(Myers communicating) I said Wreath to Mrs. Verrall.
Wreaths.

J. G. P. A wreath—a wreath of flowers ?

Yes but plural.

Wreaths of roses in her hair entwined. . . .

(Rector communicating) I am Rector friend. . . .

I feel . . . that the word Wreaths has been received by
Mrs. Verrall.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on Jan. 21, 1907.*)

(Present, Mrs. Verrall and J. G. P.)

J. G. P. The friend [i.e. Mrs. Verrall] is here and will come and
sit by you.

(Rector communicating) thank you. We are glad to
see you again.

Mrs. V. Thank you.

and hope you will be able to U.D.¹ our messages better
when you are not present. [i.e. that she will get
them clearly in her script.]

Mrs. V. Yes.

We can help very much.

did you U.D. about the wreath ?

Mrs. V. " the wreath " ?

did you U.D. about it ?

Mrs. V. I don't understand about the wreath.

J. G. P. (to Mrs. Verrall) I understand.

all right neither does our friend [i.e. J. G. P.] U.D. what
we mean now.

We will tell him later.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on Jan. 23, 1907.*)

(Present : J. G. P. alone.)

(Rector communicating) we are rather sorry we men-
tioned wreath before her [i.e. Mrs. Verrall] but we
did so inadvertently.

¹ In the Piper script, " U.D. " is used as an abbreviation for any part of
the verb " to understand. "

J. G. P. It doesn't matter. Besides, when you said *I* didn't understand about "wreath," that put Mrs. Verrall off the track, I fancy.

yes very good. as it is a very good thing to try.
we do not wish to spoil it.

R.

This shows that Rector recognised that he had made a blunder in mentioning the word "Wreath" in Mrs. Verrall's presence. Cf. record of Piper sitting of March 4, 1907, below, p. 66.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Feb. 6, 1907.)

Laura and another

There is some great obstruction this morning help to remove it.

This must not occur again tell him that.

Put not your light under a bushel.¹

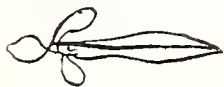


K.G. blue riband and five pointed star

The great Library has already gone before Hugh Le Despenser
the branch that should have grown full straight

Apollo's laurel bough²

You don't get it right but some of this is true



I think it is a jewelled dagger

three curved objects and a point



I cant see what all this means but I am told to say it to
you

¹ Cf. *Luke*, xi. 33, and *Matthew*, v. 15.

² "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
And burnèd is Apollo's laurel bough,
That sometime grew within this learned man."

Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus* (referring to the death
of Faustus).

APOLLO'S LAUREL BOUGH

There is also some point in the Library—
Put together the Library and the bough
Laureatus [laurelled]

a laurel wreath

perhaps no more than that



Corona laureata [laurel crown] has some meaning here
With laureate wreath his brow serene was crowned.
No more to-day
await the better news that brings assurance with a laurel crown.

The name "Laura" means Laurel. Thus, Byron speaks of Petrarch as

"Watering the tree which bears his lady's name
With his melodious tears."¹

As to the "great Library" and "Hugh Le Despenser," in a script produced by Mrs. Verrall on April 25, 1906, occurred the names Althorp and Lord Spencer, with a reference to a Library (presumably the Althorp Library), so that a subliminal recollection of this may have led by association of ideas to the name "Despenser" following the mention of the "Library" here.

This is an instance—others are given below—where there is evidence that the automatist attached to her script a meaning which is almost provably *not* the meaning of the intelligence behind the script. For later on we are told to "put together the Library and the [laurel] bough," which is meaningless in relation to the Althorp Library, but highly significant if—as I hold—the Laurentian Library is meant.

As just observed, it is conceivable that the word "Wreath" may have been introduced into this script because it had been mentioned to Mrs. Verrall at a Piper sitting; but it is clear that the Laurel and not the Wreath is the main sub-

¹ *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto IV., xxx.

ject of the script,—the former occurring ten times (as *Laura*, the branch, *Apollo's laurel bough*, *Apollo's laurel bough*, the bough, *laureatus*, a laurel wreath, *corona laureata*, *laureate wreath*, *laurel crown*) while the latter occurs only four times (as a laurel wreath, *corona laureata*, *laureate wreath*, *laurel crown*) after six previous mentions of the Laurel in other forms.

"The Branch" and "Apollo's laurel bough" I regard as allusions to the Company of the Branch (of laurel) of Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino, and the Bay-tree device of Lorenzo the Magnificent, described above; while the whole quotation:

"Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight
And burnèd is Apollo's laurel bough"

would form an appropriate epitaph for the Medici buried in the New Sacristy.

The association of "Apollo's laurel bough" with the Library would be especially appropriate to the Laurentian Library (see above, p. 53) both in regard to the connection of its name with Lorenzo and hence with the laurel, and because its founders might by poetic or literary licence be compared with Apollo in their patronage of the arts.

References to the Laurel were next made by Mrs. Piper in two consecutive sittings.

On the first occasion, the passages connected with this subject were given during the "waking-stage," when Mrs. Piper speaks instead of writing. Her speech is then sometimes rather indistinct and more or less incoherent, and whatever is not intelligible is taken down as far as possible phonetically.

(Extract from record of words spoken during the waking-stage of Mrs. Piper's trance of Feb. 26, 1907.)

Fairies. (??)

(Hand points.) George.—All right. — — —

J. G. P. Say that again.

There is George. Whatever is it?

Morehead.* (?)

* In his original record, Mr. Piddington, not understanding this word, on both occasions wrote first "Moo," then wrote "r" over the second "o," and continued the word as "Morehead." But in recording his question (see top of p. 64), he spelt the word "Moorhead."

J. G. P. "Moorhead" ?

Morehead * (?) (or some such name or word)
laurel—for laurel.

J. G. P. Say that again.

for laurel. I say I gave her that for laurel.

Good-bye. (addressed apparently by Mrs. Piper to the spirit.)

J. G. P. No, before you say good-bye ask him to repeat that.

I gave her that for laur-el. [I noted at the time that the first syllable "laur" was clear, and the second syllable indistinct.—J. G. P.]

J. G. P. Spell it.

Laur-el (or, "Laur-ie" ; the second syllable being again indistinct.)

J. G. P. L—a—u. Is that right ?

Aphasia, aphasia.

Mr. Headman. H is it ? Herdman. Thurl. There's George [i.e. George Pelham.]

I thought I heard some one say it was George. That's the window. Weren't you over by the window ?

J. G. P. Do you remember what George said ?

Well, let me think. You're Mr. Piddington, aren't you ? Something—I think he said something about—let me see. Well, I think it was something about laurel wreaths, lau—rel [*sic*] wreaths he tell her.

J. G. P. (mistaking the last three words for a proper name)
"Hetella" ?

(Irritably) He tell her. He would tell her. Oh ! you make me so cross. . . Tell her about.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on Feb. 27, 1907.*)

(Present : J. G. P. alone.)

(Myers communicating) I am too [weak] to tell it to-day. my thoughts wander.

J. G. P. Let me say good-bye. On third after coming we meet again. good-bye God be with you.

* See note on previous page.

J. G. P. Good-bye, and thanks again—many thanks.
listen.

J. G. P. Yes.

I gave Mrs. Verrall
laurel wreath

J. G. P. Yes, quite right ; she got it.¹
and I said Hodgson.

J. G. P. "Hodgson" ?

yes would give the next.

J. G. P. I don't know about that ; I'll look.
she may not have received it but

J. G. P. No ; but she got "laurel wreath" clearly.
I, (written while J. G. P. was speaking)
Yes I gave her that
and as the spirit of the light
Returned to its body² I tried to grasp it—
Grasp the spirit so as to give it you last time.

J. G. P. I heard it quite well : "laurel wreath."

Yes all right I go now
I cant think more my thoughts wander.
Farewell
Myers.

Thus, in these sittings, besides the statement "I gave Mrs. Verrall laurel wreath," we have the name "Moorhead" (or "Morehead") connected with "laurel." Mr. Piddington, being unable to attach any meaning to this, conjectured that he might have misheard what Mrs. Piper said, and that the word she really uttered was "laureate."³ I feel no doubt, however, that his record was correct (see "Alexander Moors Head" in Mrs. Holland's script of March 27, 1907, below, p. 70).

¹ Mr. Piddington was referring to Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 6, 1907, quoted above.

² That is, during the waking-stage of Mrs. Piper's previous sitting.

³ See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., p. 99.

The next script to be quoted is another of Mrs. Piper's :

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on March 4, 1907.*)

(J. G. P. present alone at this point)

(Rector communicating) I wish to explain one more thing i.e. when I gave Mrs. V. the message about Laurel wreath I purposely said Laurel so as (hesitation)

make the message clear.

J. G. P. "so as make" ?

(Hand negatives.)

J. G. P. "to make" ?

(Hand assents and writes) to make the message clear after having mentioned wreath here. I thought it wiser to add more to it.

J. G. P. You mean that, as you had mentioned "wreaths" here in Mrs. Verrall's presence, you purposely added a distinctive word to "wreath" in order to strengthen the evidence ?

(Hand assents.)

J. G. P. Yes, I had already understood that.

thank you. Goodbye if you have nothing for me.

This completes the record of everything relating to the mention of the word "Wreath" to Mrs. Verrall at the Piper sitting of Jan. 21, 1907, see above, p. 60.

The next script which contributes to the cross-correspondence is :

(*Mrs. Holland's Script of March 13, 1907.*)

Oh Rama—Ram¹—

Mere paper—untouched by any hope of inspiration—

That strange and complex silence which is compact of an infinite number of small incessant noises—

The far shore of a very still and tideless sea—

Poor finite ambitions, and the sorrow that if ye could but realize it is over—finally swallowed up in the void of nothingness long ere the tear it invokes dries upon the cheek.

¹ Mrs. Holland noted on this : " I see the script begins ' Oh Rama—Ram,' an invocation to a Hindu deity which is a frequent street-cry here."

Where birchen boughs with hazel mingle ¹—
 The green book—not the blue one— the fuller version—
 two trees have been killed by the frost— but the twigs of the
 old elm are thickening with buds again— The miracle of spring.
 No conscious recollection. it is unreasonable to expect that
 immediately.

"She knew she had waded bosom deep
 Along Death's bank in the sedge of sleep"—
 But a wild gleam on a shaken shoal.

We gain the same goal through different gates. What need for
 violent wail if to one it is the gate of the sea—to another a passing
 in sleep—to another the long wasting—the tooth of a fell disease to
 another—a few drops of sleep—to another the crash and jar and
 conflict of a railway accident— The passing is nought—

Home again—but it is such an early Easter— Sweet of the year
 has hardly begun—

The second child—because of innocence— And for all the
 sacrament of pain—

One star in the crimson West
 And the East is cold and grey
 And the weary earth shall turn to her rest
 At the end of the winter's Day.

How many times ere I be dead
 Must I the bitterness of dying know ?

Much of this script will be dealt with below, under the
 heading "*αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων*," p. 106; but I give the
 whole of it (except a short passage at the end referring to a
 different topic) here, because the quotations seem to carry
 on the themes of Mrs. Holland's scripts of Nov. and Dec.,
 1906, above, and lead up to her script of March 27, 1907,
 below, which—as will be seen—contains clear allusions to the
 Medici Tombs. The quotations in this script (except the
 first) are, I think, intended to suggest the Night and Day,
 and Evening and Morning of the Tombs.

¹ "The violet in her greenwood bower,
 Where birchen boughs with hazels mingle."

(Scott, *The Violet*.)

The context of the second quotation is as follows :

“ The night lay deep on Rose Mary’s heart,
 For her swoon was death’s kind counterpart ;
 The dawn broke dim on Rose Mary’s soul,—
 No hill-crown’s heavenly aureole,
 But a wild gleam on a shaken shoal.

She knew she had waded bosom-deep
 Along death’s bank in the sedge of sleep :
 All else was lost to her eluded mind ;
 Nor, looking back, could she see defin’d
 O’er the dim dumb waste what lay behind.”

(D. G. Rossetti, *Rose Mary*, Part III.)

This description is very similar to those in the earlier scripts just mentioned, and is appropriate to the figures of the two women, Night and Dawn, of the Tombs.

The verse in the script beginning : *One star in the crimson West* is, I believe, original, though the third line is probably a reminiscence of “ And the weary Day turned to his rest ” in Shelley’s poem, *To Night*. It is appropriate to the man’s figure, Twilight, and also gives the word, Day, which is the name of the other man.

The last quotation in the script is :

“ My God, how many times ere I be dead
 Must I the bitterness of dying know ? ”

These are the opening lines of the second of a pair of sonnets by F. W. H. Myers, entitled respectively, “ Would God it were Evening,” and “ Would God it were Morning ” (*The Renewal of Youth and other Poems*, pp. 82-83). This, then, gives us again, by implication, Evening and Morning.

It is to be noted that the melancholy and despondent tone of all these literary allusions is highly appropriate to the subject of the Tombs.

(*Miss Verrall’s Script of March 17, 1907.*)

Alexander’s tomb quinque et viginti annos post urbem conditam
 [five-and-twenty years after the founding of the city]
 with fire and sword to purge the altar. not without grief.

laurel leaves are emblem
 laurel for the victor's brow.
 Say not the struggle nought availeth¹
 Sesame and lilies arum lilies
 when the darkens [*sic*] on the quiet land
 scarlet tulips all in a row

"*Alexander's tomb.*" The combination of this script with the following one by Mrs. Holland makes it in my view certain that the tomb meant is not—as we all supposed at the time—that of Alexander the Great, but that of Alessandro de' Medici, described above, p. 54.

The Latin sentence following the words "*Alexander's tomb*" has definite meaning in connection with another topic not dealt with in this paper.

"*Laurel leaves are emblem—Laurel for the victor's brow.*" This is especially appropriate to the bay-tree that had appeared dead putting forth fresh *leaves* which, as stated above, was the device on the standard of Lorenzo the Magnificent at the tournament of 1469, and Lorenzo was the victor in that tournament.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of March 27, 1907.)

Birds in the high Hall Garden²—

Not Maud Sylvia—

The poor right hand is so dreadfully tired at the *wrist* not in the ball of the thumb—

[*The following, as far as "right way up," is in mirror-writing, and as far as "toto dum" is written with the left hand.*]

Take the left hand—only it is not your right hand that is tired. Peter is the second one—

But M. [?] can see [?] it right way up

Hold it to the mirror. The shining world of looking glass.

¹ Clough, *Say not the struggle nought availeth.*

² "Birds in the high Hall-garden
 When twilight was falling,
 Maud, Maud, Maud, Maud,
 They were crying and calling."

(Tennyson, *Maud*, XII.)

I sprained my wrist once

R.

Talem [?] uttorque [?] surgit
absulem [?] lux toto dum [?]

Sine ab horos [?] tenebrae.

Via obscura vita lucit

And o'er the flats the singing of the sea—

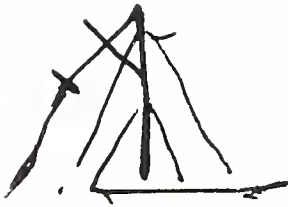
Ebbed like the thought of long forgiven wrong—

The abiding horror to me was that of darkness— Let sorrow
take any other shape it will— Love and Sorrow— Sorrow and
Love—as inevitably as Light and Shadow—Shadow and Light—

The sundial at Broadmeadows what was the motto ?

Not Jane's husband—the other one—Alexander—Moors Head—
Antres vast and deserts idle¹—

One not easily jealous.² Benissima cara—



The tall mast. but this one is not at sea.



I give the whole of this script,³ although much of it is, or
seems to be, incoherent, since it includes one of the most
essential links in the cross-correspondence—the name “ Alex-
ander Moors Head.”

“ *Birds in the high Hall-garden.*” This quotation seems to
be introduced on account of its context, the next line being
“ When twilight was falling.” “ Twilight ” is one of the
figures on “ Alexander's tomb.”

The Latin words are difficult to decipher, and are partially
incorrect, but there is no doubt about the words “ *lux* ”
(light), “ *tenebrae* ” (darkness, especially the darkness of
night), and “ *obscura* ” (dark). And these ideas are em-
phasised by their repetition in the later passage of the script,
which contains the words “ *darkness,* ” “ *Light and Shadow—
Shadow and Light.* ” I take these words to refer to the statues
of Day and Night on the second Medici tomb.

¹ *Othello*, Act I., Scene 3.

² *Othello*, Act V., Scene 2.

³ For Mr. Piddington's original comments on this script, see *Proc.*, Vol.
XXII., pp. 225-227, and 261-262.

"*Alexander Moors Head.*" This, combined with Mrs. Piper's "Moorhead" (Feb. 26, 1907) and Miss Verrall's "Alexander's tomb" (March 17, 1907) seems to prove that the person meant is Alexander de' Medici, who, as stated above, p. 53, from his woolly hair, thick lips and negro-like appearance, was known as "The Moor." The quotations from *Othello* which follow indicate that "Alexander Moors Head" was the same kind of Moor as Othello, that is, not a real Moor, but a negro, the negroes, as well as other Africans, being commonly called Moors¹ at that time. Othello is described in the play once as "The thick-lips" and several times as "black" or "sooty"; and the portraits of Alexander de' Medici (see Plate VIII.) show his strongly marked negro traits.

The drawings of masts at the end of the script led me at first to interpret "Alexander Moors Head" as Dr. Alexander Muirhead, for I took the masts to represent wireless telegraphy apparatus, and knew that Mrs. Holland had taken some interest in the subject of wireless telegraphy (though she knew nothing of it scientifically) in connection with Sir Oliver Lodge. There had, in fact, been a punning reference to the Lodge-Muirhead system in her script of May 15, 1906, besides an earlier reference in her script of January 17, 1904, which was discussed under the heading "The Diamond Island Incident" in *Proc.*, Vol. XXV., p. 293. The significance of this misinterpretation is discussed in the final section of this paper, see below, pp. 153-154.

The next script to be quoted was produced a considerable time after the one last given. But as Mr. Piddington's report was not published until October 19, 1908, and the automatists here concerned were strangers to all of us, they could not have known anything about the scripts or the cross-correspondences discussed in that report. An account of the experiments of these automatists, whom we call the "Mac" family, was given in Mrs. Verrall's paper on "A New Group of Experimenters," in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 264-318, and certain cross-correspondences between their script and Mrs. Holland's were given in my "Third Report on Mrs. Holland's Script," in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXV., pp. 222, 234-236, and 193-198.

¹ Hence the word *blackamoor*.

The only point that concerns us here is the following extract from a script by Miss E. and Mr. A. Mac :—

(*Mac Script*, Oct. 7, 1908.)

Dig a grave among the laurels



The drawing is obviously intended for a laurel wreath, and the combination of the "grave" with "the laurels," together with the fact that the script contains an allusion to *Sesame and Lilies* (see *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 291-292), and so connects with Miss Verrall's of March 17, 1907, shows, I think, that the Medici tombs are meant.

The next script to be quoted was again produced after a long interval; but the fact that Mrs. Willett's script during the early part of 1910 contained a number of cross-correspondences with the earlier scripts of other automatists, as related in my Third Report on Mrs. Holland's script (*Proc.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 218-293) adds considerably to the probability that the connection in this case also was supernormal, and not accidental.

At the time of producing this script, Mrs. Willett had seen the reports on the scripts which had been already published (*i.e.* up to *Proc.*, Part LX. inclusive) but she did not know that there had been any allusions to the Medici tombs, these not having been made out until two years after she wrote.

(*Mrs. Willett's Script of June 10, 1910.*)

. . . . Myers The Laurentian tombs DAWN ¹

MILTON'S ALLEGRO AND PENSIVE WORDS

Songs of Innocence and the Songs of Experience

Now he would write a third to make the trilogy [*sic*] Songs of COMPLETION of FULFILMENT

Who will write these songs of Promise and Songs of Fulfilment

We sang the songs of Promise in the dim twilight of the dawn. . . .

¹ Mrs. Willett noted on this at the time: "I take this as a reference to the Medici tombs in Florence. They are in San Lorenzo."

As indicated in her note, Mrs. Willett was well acquainted with these tombs, having stayed in Florence for some time. But it is to be noted that the script does not use the ordinary name, "Medici tombs," but calls them instead by a name which is, I believe, never used,—“The Laurentian tombs.” The intention seems to be to point to their association with the Laurel, and so to link this script with those containing the cross-correspondence on the *Laurel*, which Mrs. Willett did not at this time know to be an emblem of Lorenzo de' Medici.

The “Dawn,” “Twilight” and “Dawn” are no doubt references to the figures so named.

“Milton's Allegro and Pensive words” is obviously an application of the titles of Milton's two poems, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* to the statues of the two Dukes, one of whom is commonly called by the latter title.

Finally, I quote some of Mrs. Piper's trance-utterances, in which the combination of “Meditation” (= *Il Penseroso*) with “the sleeping dead” and “laurels” makes it, I think, certain that the allusion is to the Medici tombs.

(Extract from record of Sitting with Mrs. Piper, July 8, 1910.)

(Sitters, Sir Oliver and Lady Lodge)

(Words spoken by Mrs. Piper during the waking-stage, as follows:)

Myers. Meditation

(She then whispered a verse, only a few words of which could be heard, as follows:)

. meditation . . .

. sleeping dead

Laurels round

. ever grow.

Meditation links it.

(On being asked to repeat, she said:)

Churehyard tree

. walked with gorgeous¹ feet

. about the sleeping dead.

Meditation links it

Life open peace completes the semblance

Let's stiek to the old never mind the new.

¹ From comparison with the sitting of July 16, 1910, below, it seems clear that this word was “cautious,” misheard as “gorgeous.”

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on July 16, 1910.)

(Sitters, Miss Johnson and Sir Oliver Lodge)

(R. H. communicating)

Meditation

O. J. L. Yes, I want to understand about that.

Connects it

O. J. L. Links it ?

Yes.

O. J. L. I cannot find a poem called Meditation

Meditation comes out in Mrs. Holland's also will appear
at Mrs. W.'s. Wait for it.

O. J. L. Yes, all right, but let me ask you : In the waking-stage
last time Myers recited a verse of a poem, but I could
not get it down quite. Could you write the poem ?

Elegy

I'll get Myers to repeat it for me.

As through the graveyard's lone retreat
my Meditation led

Slow I walked with cautious feet
above the sleeping dead.

Meditation clinches it

O. J. L. Can you tell me if it is an original poem ?

No he quoted it.

O. J. L. Does he wish to say where he quoted it from ?

Elegy.

O. J. L. Do you mean Gray's Elegy ?

Yes ¹

But Meditation will play a most interesting *part*

O. J. L. Yes, I understand, a C.C.

And the last two *lines through both lights*

Wait for them.

Times around Helen coming slowly ²

¹ Note by Sir O. J. L. : " This must be an instance of an accepted but erroneous suggestion."

² These words were indistinctly written, and probably incorrectly deciphered.

Helen V

Wait for it wait for it

(*Waking-stage*)

· · ·
Come into the garden, Maud¹

· · ·

As Sir Oliver Lodge observed, it is pretty clear that his suggestion of Gray's *Elegy* was wrongfully adopted, for the lines given are not, as stated, a quotation from that poem, and neither of the words "Laurels" or "Meditation" occurs in it. But the general resemblance in situation and sentiment between the supposed quotation and the *Elegy* suggests that some vague recollection of the latter was in the mind of Myers_p.

It is worth noting that while Mrs. Holland's script of March 27, 1907, given above, quotes a line from Maud:

"Birds in the high Hall-garden,"

the next line of which is:

"When twilight was falling";

Mrs. Piper quotes:

"Come into the garden, Maud,"

the next line of which is:

"For the black bat, Night, has flown."

So that these two quotations may be said to give (implicitly) between them Twilight, Night and Dawn, that is, three out of the four figures on the Tombs.

Chronological Summary of the Cross-Correspondence

"Alexander's Tomb."

1906, Nov. 9 (Mrs. Holland's Sc.). Shadow—shadows—shadow shapes Margaret

Nov. 13 (Mrs. H.'s Sc.). Margaret—A wreathed garland of deserved bays—Death—Sleep.

Nov. 21 (Mrs. H.'s Sc.). A slumber did my spirit steal
Laurenee

¹ Tennyson, *Maud*, XXII.

- 1906, Nov. 28 (Mrs. H.'s Se.). Dark—shadows—Fin de nuit—
Dawn
- Dec. 12 (Mrs. H.'s Se.). Shadow — sleep — Dream —
Awakening
- Dec. 24 (Mrs. V.'s Se.). Light — light — Evening and
Morning—Western light
- 1907, Jan. 21. *Mrs. Verrall, at a sitting with Mrs. Piper, is
asked by the latter "Did you understand
about the wreath?"*
- Feb. 6 (Mrs. V.'s Se.). Laura—Apollo's laurel bough—
The Library and the bough
—a laurel wreath—Corona
laureata—laureate wreath—
laurel crown
- Feb. 26 (Mrs. P.). Moorhead — Moorhead — Lau-
rel—laurel—laurel wreaths
- Feb. 27 (Mrs. P.'s Se.). I gave Mrs. Verrall laurel wreath
- Mar. 13 (Mrs. H.'s Se.). (*Implicit*) Night and Day ;
Evening and Morning
- Mar. 17 (Miss V.'s Se.). Alexander's tomb—laurel leaves
laurel for the victor's brow
Sesame and Lilies
- Mar. 27 (Mrs. H.'s Se.). Darkness—Light and Shadow
—Shadow and Light—Alex-
ander Moors Head
- 1908, Oct. 7 (Mae Se.). Dig a grave among the laurels
Sesame and Lilies (*implicit*)
- Oct. 19. *Proc., Vol. XXII., containing Mr. Piddington's
Report, published.*
- 1910, June 10 (Mrs. W.'s Se.). The Laurentian tombs—Dawn
—twilight—dawn
- July 8 (Mrs. P.). Meditation — sleeping dead —
laurels
- July 16 (Mrs. P.'s Se.). Meditation — sleeping dead —
Meditation elinehes it.
- 1912, July. "*Alexander's tomb*" identified as one of the *Medici
Tombs.*

CHAPTER V.

THE *ἄτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* INCIDENT.

"We need a summons to no houri-haunted paradise, no passionless contemplation, no monotony of prayer and praise; but to endless advance by endless effort, and, if need be, by endless pain. Be it mine, then, to plunge among the unknown Destinies, to dare and still to dare!" (F. W. H. Myers.)

Summary of Chapter.

It may be useful to prefix to this long and complicated section a general account of the course of events, though it must be understood that the force of the coincidences cannot be given in a summary, nor can they be estimated without a detailed study.

The episode is initiated by a remark made to Mrs. Verrall at a Piper sitting which reminds her of an early script of hers about calm on high summits above storm. She then determines to ask Myers_p what are his associations with the words *ἄτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* (a phrase from Plotinus, meaning "The Heaven itself waveless," prefixed to a poem on Tennyson by Myers, and taken from a Plotinian passage describing trance or ecstasy, which is quoted in *Human Personality*).

On the day after the question was put, Myers_p gives (on Jan. 30, 1907) what appears to be a paraphrase of a line in the poem and an apparent reference to *In Memoriam*.

Mrs. Verrall's script (Feb. 12) refers to several of Tennyson's poems: *Voyage of Maeldune*, *Merlin* and *The Gleam* (?), *Passing of Arthur*, and *Lucretius*. These references relate not to Calm only—like the Greek phrase—but to storm and adventure, expressing the contrast between the Active and Contemplative life which seems to be the essential topic of this section. The poems quoted from are familiar to Mrs. Verrall; but, as Mr. Piddington five years later notices, two quotations which the script combines are derived from two different passages in the *Odyssey*, which two passages he finds to be combined, as in the script, in the *Dissertationes* of the

Neo-Platonist Maximus of Tyre, a book unknown to Mrs. Verrall, but known to F. W. H. Myers.

Mrs. Verrall's next script (Feb. 20), which refers again to Peace and to Adventure, contains what I take to be an allusion to Myers's poem *The Renewal of Youth*, which is definitely alluded to again in her script of March 11 and in Mrs. Piper's of March 13.

On Feb. 25, Miss Verrall's script gives expression to the Active ideal, through a quotation from Browning's *Epilogue*; and on the same day Mrs. Verrall insists on the need for "the help of all who labour in this cause" (meaning, no doubt, the co-operation of several automatists) to bridge the space between world and world.

Next day Mrs. Verrall hears of her daughter's quotation from Browning on the day before, and her script proceeds to enlarge on the contrast between Tennyson, "the seer who knew" and Browning, "the fighter."

This is the only script of Mrs. Verrall's belonging to this section, or to the subsidiary section of "The Clavigers" (Chapter VI., below), in which any reference to Browning occurs, whereas every one of her scripts of this section (except those of Feb. 20 and Mar. 4—the latter a "Claviger" script) contains quotations from or allusions to poems by Tennyson.

Similarly, Mrs. Piper, who—it is to be noted—did not know that the *ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* question had anything to do with Tennyson, makes no reference to Browning, but alludes in four different sittings to *In Memoriam*, and in three to *Crossing the Bar*, the latter being the particular poem alluded to in Myers's poem on Tennyson.

On the other hand, Miss Verrall's single contribution to the subject consists in a quotation from Browning.

Mrs. Holland, again, in this section and in the subsidiary section of "The Clavigers" makes important contributions to the subject through significant quotations from three different poems by Browning, whereas her only reference to Tennyson (apart from possible reminiscences of *Crossing the Bar* and *In Memoriam* on March 13 and April 8), consists in three words combined with one of her Browning quotations (on April 8).

To return to the chronological order of events,—Mrs.

Verrall on Feb. 26 quotes from *Crossing the Bar*, and refers to Elijah on Mount Horeb and Moses on Mount Sinai, which latter she takes afterwards to imply a verse in *In Memoriam*.

On March 6 she quotes from *In Memoriam* verses about Calm.

On the same day Mrs. Piper refers to *In Memoriam* ("Arthur Hallam"), and gives the same quotation from *Crossing the Bar* that Mrs. Verrall had given on Feb. 26.

On March 11 Mrs. Verrall refers to passages about Plato in two poems by Myers,—*Stanzas on Mr. Watts' Collected Works* and *The Renewal of Youth*, connecting these with "a verse in Tennyson." These and previous scripts lead her to a careful study of *In Memoriam*, from which she concludes that Tennyson, like Plotinus, specially associated the calm of external nature with the condition of ecstasy, and that this was why F. W. H. Myers had chosen the words from Plotinus as a motto to his poem on Tennyson.

The close parallelism between Tennyson's description and that of Plotinus in this respect had not hitherto been noted by writers on Tennyson; it seemed, then, that knowledge not possessed by Mrs. Verrall had emerged in her script.

On March 13, Myers_p states (correctly) that he has given Mrs. Verrall a message about *Crossing the Bar*, and refers to *In Memoriam* ("Arthur Hallam") again. He also refers to a description of death in *The Renewal of Youth*.

On the same day, Mrs. Holland quotes lines about death from another poem of Myers's in the same volume; with other references to different ways of dying, and the phrase "A very still and tideless sea."

On March 18, Mrs. Holland again describes different ways of dying.

On April 8, she again speaks of the calm of external nature in the words:

"Peace on the great heart of the heaving sea
And on the rocks that fringe the ocean, peace."

In connection with a contrast of the Active and Contemplative ("Leah and Rachel") she gives a composite quotation from Browning and Tennyson, and apparently alludes to Moses with a quotation from Browning analogous to the Tennysonian

quotation associated with Moses in Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 26.

On April 8, Mrs. Holland's script also speaks of an after-glow in the East; Mrs. Verrall's says "Rosy is the East," and in Mrs. Piper's waking-stage the phrase "Light in West" is uttered.

In the same waking-stage Mrs. Piper speaks of "Francis" and "Roland Les Val." This seems to be explained on April 29 by the mention of Francis of Assisi, whose experiences in his retreat on La Verna, given to him by Roland, is shown to be closely parallel to the experiences of Moses on Mount Sinai.

On April 29 Myers_P in connection with the Greek words also mentions other great visionaries—Swedenborg, St. Paul, and (?) Dante and, on April 30, Socrates,—apparently with special reference to the vision premonitory of his death.

On May 1 Mrs. Verrall's script repeats some of the topics previously given in it. Finally, on May 6, 1907, Myers_P states that Plotinus is his "answer" to the Greek words.

*Detailed Report.*¹

This is one of three cases belonging to this period in which a test-question put to Mrs. Piper's trance-personalities seemed to be the starting-point of one or more cross-correspondences.

In one case—the "Latin Message," summarised above—the especial aim of the question was to elicit evidence of the action of an intelligence independent of the minds of all the living persons concerned,—whether automatists or investigators.

In the other two cases—"Horace Ode" and "*ἀπὸς οὐρανόσ ἀκρόμων*"—the question was planned by Mrs. Verrall with a special view to obtaining evidence of the identity of the intelligence communicating through Mrs. Piper whom we call Myers_P.

It followed from the circumstances of these experiments that the different automatists were not all in the same position with regard to them, as they are in spontaneous cases of cross-correspondence.

(a) Mrs. Verrall knew that the three experiments were

¹ The first report of this case was given by Mr. Piddington in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 107-171.

being tried, and allusions to all of them naturally appeared in her scripts. In the case of the Latin Message, her knowledge of the experiment could not, of course, help her in any way to produce the evidence desired. But in the case of her own two questions, she knew something about what answers would be appropriate. More knowledge of the topics, however, seemed to be shown in her scripts than was normally possessed by her. Further, cross-correspondences between her scripts and those of the other automatists occurred.

(b) To Mrs. Piper the three questions were put while she was in trance, and they were, of course, never mentioned to her when she was in any other condition. One question was put to her in Latin; another related to the meaning of a Greek phrase (*ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων*); and the third, the Horace Ode question ("Which Ode of Horace entered into your [*i.e.* F. W. H. Myers's] inner life?") was one which it was impossible that Mrs. Piper could have answered from her own normal resources.

(c) Miss Verrall had some knowledge of the Latin Message experiment (see above, p. 26), but none of the other two.

(d) Mrs. Holland (in India) was in complete ignorance of all the experiments.

The "Horace Ode question" was put by Mr. Piddington to Myers_p for the first time on January 23, 1907. Passages relating to it were found in the scripts of Mrs. Piper and of Mrs. Verrall only,¹ and have been fully described and discussed by Mr. Piddington in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 397-407; Vol. XXIV., pp. 150-169; and Vol. XXVI., pp. 174-220; also by Mr. G. W. Balfour in Vol. XXVI., pp. 221-230.

The gist of these passages was to suggest a contrast between the despairing view of man's destiny after death taken in the Horace Ode and in some of F. W. H. Myers's early poems, and the hopeful view of his later poems; the contrast being expressed through cross-correspondences between the scripts of Mrs. Piper and of Mrs. Verrall.

Experiments of a kind somewhat similar to these had been tried in earlier days with Mrs. Piper by Dr. Hodgson

¹ There is also a possible reference in Mrs. Holland's script of March 20, 1907, see above, p. 43.

and other investigators; that is, they had tried to obtain evidence of the identity of alleged communicators by asking questions on scientific or literary topics, the answers to which would presumably be known to the communicators, but would be considerably beyond Mrs. Piper's normal knowledge. No very satisfactory results had been obtained.

The present experiments were not only more successful than previous ones in the amount of literary knowledge shown by Myers_p,¹ but a new and very important element was added in that parts of the answers to the questions were given through other automatists besides Mrs. Piper, one at least of whom—Mrs. Holland—knew nothing of the questions. This result was not expected by the experimenters, and, indeed, the whole upshot was far more complicated than they had expected, the various topics overlapping one another and mingling together in the scripts in a way difficult to disentangle. These topics have been classified as far as possible to help the reader to follow them; but he should bear in mind throughout that several subjects were being treated of contemporaneously in all the scripts and that some of them turned out to be curiously interconnected.

The Horace Ode topic has already been dealt with exhaustively in the *Proceedings*, and need not here be referred to again. But the discovery of allusions in Mrs. Holland's script to the *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* topics entailed a further study of all the scripts concerned with them, in the course of which other discoveries were made. The scripts are therefore given again here.

The αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων Question.

The question was devised by Mrs. Verrall under the following circumstances:

At a sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 15, 1907,² Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Piddington being present, Myers_p said that he had given Mrs. Verrall the message:

“Celestial Halcyon days.”

¹ Still more interesting results in this line were obtained later by Mr. Dorr in his sittings with Mrs. Piper, March to May, 1908. See *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 31-200.

² See *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 104.

Mrs. Verrall did not remember that any such phrase had occurred in her script, but on Jan. 22, while on her way to another sitting with Mrs. Piper, she wrote the following :

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Jan. 22, 1907.)

A thousand years shall roll
 A thousand aeons pass
 Ere the imprisoned soul
 Shall see as in a glass
 Darkly,¹ a vision dim
 Flit, phantomlike and fair,
 A breath, a fairies' whim
 Thro' the encircling air.

Clasp not the half-seen shade
 As once Anchises' son,
 Let the faint vision fade
 Till all thy race be run
 Then in the broader light
 That floods the world SUPERN
 Clear to the sharpened sight
 Hold fast the One Eterne!

Mrs. Verrall thought that the main point of this script lay in the word "Supern," and on the following day she remembered that the word "supernal" had occurred in her script of July 3, 1903,² which was as follows :

For her a message of peace—contemplation on high summits—stillness in the air. . . .

The storm and whirlwind consume the blue clear space between the worlds, but the supernal peace is undisturbed.

The last sentence seems to represent the fundamental idea of "haleyon days,"—an interval of calm between storms. But the main point of the script seems to be that while haleyon days in this world are transitory, in the celestial world they are unending. Thus, as Myers_p claimed, the idea of, though not the phrase, "celestial haleyon days," would seem to have

¹ Cf. "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face" (1 Cor. xiii. 12).

² Quoted in full in *Proc.*, Vol. XX., p. 64.

appeared in Mrs. Verrall's script, though this might never have been observed but for the occurrence of the word "Supern" in her script of Jan. 22, 1907. After her sitting with Mrs. Piper on that day, Mrs. Verrall tried to think of some question to put to Myers_P, with a view to testing if he had access to the memories of F. W. H. Myers,—the question of course to be one which it would seem impossible that Mrs. Piper should answer from her own normal resources.

Mrs. Verrall thought that some Greek quotation would be a good subject for the test-question, and on the evening of Jan. 23, 1907, it suddenly occurred to her that the words *καὶ αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* would serve the purpose.¹

These words, followed by the name of the author, Plotinus, but by no further reference, and with no translation, occur once in Myers's published works, namely, as the motto to a poem "To Tennyson" in *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*, p. 117. They may be translated as: "And the very Heaven waveless." They are taken from a passage in Plotinus' *Enneades*, V. 2-3, which was translated as follows by F. W. H. Myers in *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 291:

The Vision which dissolves for a moment the corporeal prison-house; "the flight of the One to the One."

"So let the soul that is not unworthy of that Vision contemplate the Great Soul; freed from deceit and every witchery, and collected into calm. Calmed be the body for her in that hour, and the tumult of the flesh; ay, all that is about her, calm; calm be the earth, the sea, the air, and let Heaven itself be still. Then let her feel how into that silent heaven the Great Soul floweth in. . . . And so may man's soul be sure of Vision, when suddenly she is filled with light; for this light is from Him and is He; and then surely shall one know His presence when, like a god of old time, He entered into the house of one that calleth Him, and maketh it full of light."

It seems clear that Mrs. Verrall's script of Jan. 22, 1907, was largely based on a subliminal recollection of this passage.

Mrs. Verrall, having informed no one of her proposed experiment, determined to put the question to Myers_P at her next

¹ This decision, with the reasons for it, was recorded in Mrs. Verrall's diary of Jan. 24, 1907, quoted in full in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 140-141.

sitting with Mrs. Piper, on Jan. 29, 1907. In the event of a complete answer being given, Mrs. Verrall expected :

(1) a translation into English of the words *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* ;

(2) a reference to Myers's poem on Tennyson ;

(3) a reference to Plotinus and the latter part of *Human Personality*.

The question was put in the following terms :

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 29, 1907.)

(Present Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Piddington.)

Mrs. V. If I say three Greek words, could you say what they remind you of ?

I might grasp the words and I might not but I could try

Mrs. V. Yes. You could either translate them into English, or tell me of what they make you think.

Do what ?

Mrs. V. Tell me of what they remind you.

Oh yes, of what they remind me. But what have they to do with our experiments ?

Mrs. V. I think you have spoken of them to me before, or something like them.

Yes.

Mrs. V. If I speak them now, you can tell me now or later what they remind you of.

Very good.

Mrs. V. *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς*¹ *ἀκύμων*

Spell it.

[Mrs. V. then spelt out the words by their English lettering, and Myers_P wrote them down in English letters, adding :]

I will certainly reply if I live and I can U.D.

¹ It was subsequently observed that this word had been mentioned to Mrs. Piper in a sitting held on June 21, 1895, by Professor Newbold, who repeated to G. P. in Greek "Our Father who art in heaven," and tried to make him translate it, which he ultimately succeeded in doing. See *Proc.*, Vol. XIV., p. 46.

At the next sitting, on Jan. 30, 1907, Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Piddington were again present.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 30, 1907.*)

(Present: Mr. Piddington and Mrs. Verrall.)

(Myers communicating.)

(To Mrs. V.) Now my answer to three different questions you have asked me shall be given to our friend while he is alone and you are not present here

I also said something about stars

Mrs. V. What about stars?

I said satellite [*sic*] and stars beam brightly

Mrs. V. Can you repeat the phrase?

Yes similar to this—did you receive it?

Mrs. V. I have had something about this and will look it up.

Thank you.

Mrs. V. You said you had spoken to me of Celestial Haleyon Days. I couldn't remember it, but I have found it now.

I told you my dear friend that my memory was better than yours on some points

I mentioned Larches I think to you before
Laburnum

(*Waking-stage*)

I've been ¹. . . Horace . . . Paradise . . .
shores meet you there. I did say it

J. G. P. Say that again.

Say the words so fast Ulysses
hurries too fast for meaning. . . .

¹ As usual, during the first part of the waking-stage a good many words were inaudible. The mention of "Horace" shows that, as stated during the sitting, the trance-personality was thinking of the questions put to Myers_p by Mrs. Verrall.

"*Satellite and stars beam brightly*" looks like a vague reminiscence of the following lines from Myers's poem on Tennyson :

" O closing shades that veil and drown
The clear-obscure of shore and tree !
O star and planet, shimmering down
Your sombre glory on the sea ! "

Cf. "*Chiaroseuro*" in Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 20, 1907, below, p. 91, which is probably derived from the same passage.

The words "*Larches*" and "*Laburnum*" in the above reminded Mrs. Verrall,¹ as they would probably remind any reader of Tennyson, of the lines :

" When rosy plumelets tuft the larch,
And rarely pipes the mounted thrush ;
Or underneath the barren bush
Flits by the sea-blue bird of March."

(*In Mem.*, XCI.)

and

" Laburnums, dropping-wells of fire."

(*In Mem.*, LXXXIII.)

The fact that "*Larch*" was written by Myers_p not long after he had been reminded of the phrase "*Celestial halcyon days*" suggests that he was actually thinking of the verse in *In Memoriam* just quoted, since this speaks of "*the sea-blue bird of March,*" *i.e.* the king-fisher, or halcyon. Cf. "*purple and sea-blue*" in Mrs. Holland's script of April 8, 1907, below, p. 112.

"*Ulysses*" may be a reference to Tennyson's poem "*Ulysses,*" which is closely associated with *In Memoriam*, as Tennyson himself said of it :

"*Ulysses* was written soon after Arthur Hallam's death and gave my feeling about the need of going forward and braving the struggle of life perhaps more simply than anything in *In Memoriam.*"²

¹ Mrs. Verrall did not, of course, make any comment on these words at the sitting.

² *Tennyson : A Memoir*, Vol. I., p. 196.

The fact that, as Mrs. Sidgwick tells me, Tennyson's *Ulysses* had been mentioned to Mrs. Piper's trance-personalities by Dr. Hodgson at one or more of his sittings with her proves that they knew there was such a poem, and so adds to the probability that Myers_P was referring to it when he said "Ulysses."

After this sitting of Jan. 30, 1907, Mrs. Verrall had no further intercourse with Mrs. Piper of any kind until the sitting of April 29, 1907 (see below, p. 116). One of her own scripts is the next to be quoted :

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Feb. 12, 1907.)

The voyage of Maeldune faery lands forlorn and noises of the western sea.

thundering noises of the western sea.

It is about Merlin and Arthur's realm Merlin's prophetic vision—

' all night long

mid thundering noises of the western sea '

and how he would not go—the passing of Arthur.

And then the island valley of Avilion

where blows not any wind none nor ever falls the least light—
no not that but you have the sense

there falls no rain nor snow nor any breath of wind shakes the least leaf.

I will try to get the idea elsewhere conveyed—but it is hard and I know I have failed before.

Why will you not put the signature ?

Surely you know now that it is not you.

F.W.H.M.

"*The voyage of Maeldune*" probably refers to Tennyson's poem of that name. The voyage of Maeldune, who was a sort of Irish Ulysses, was in the western sea, "the great ocean that has no ending,"¹ and the islands he met with might well be described as "faery lands forlorn," which is a phrase from Keats's *Ode to a Nightingale* :

"The same [song] that oft-times hath
Charm'd magic easements, opening on the foam
Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn."

¹ Lady Gregory, *A Book of Saints and Wonders*, "The Voyage of Maeldune."

It is also the title of a poem by F. W. H. Myers (see *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*, p. 142) containing the phrases: "that heaven-high vault serene" and "unearthly calms," and suggestive in general of the lines from *In Memoriam* (XI.),

"And in my heart, if calm at all,
If any calm, a calm despair,"

which are quoted in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 6, 1907, see below, p. 97.

"*Noises of the western sea*" and the similar phrases following it are no doubt reminiscences of

"So all day long the noise of battle roll'd
Among the mountains by the winter sea ;"

and

"Where the moving isles of winter shock
By night, with noises of the northern sea."
(Tennyson, *Morte d'Arthur* and *The Passing of Arthur*.)

Merlin's prophetic vision was interpreted by Mrs. Verrall on March 15, 1907, as a reference to Tennyson's poem, *Merlin and The Gleam*, read by her then for the first time. In the Preface to the *Memoir* of Tennyson, this poem is explained as his literary autobiography, and the lines :

"Arthur had vanish'd
I knew not whither,
The king who loved me
And cannot die ;"

as a joint reference to King Arthur and Arthur Hallam.

The first version of *The Passing of Arthur* was *Morte d'Arthur*, and the first draft of this was written shortly after Arthur Hallam's death, between Sections XXX. and XXXI. of *In Memoriam*.¹ It is of course obvious to any student of Tennyson that the conception he formed of King Arthur was closely bound up in his own mind with his conception of Arthur Hallam ; but this special connection between the two poems was unknown to Mrs. Verrall till she read the *Memoir* of Tennyson for the first time on May 18, 1907.

¹ See *Tennyson : A Memoir*, Vol. I., p. 109.

The next part of the script alludes to part of Arthur's farewell to Sir Bedivere :

“ I am going a long way . . .
To the island-valley of Avilion ;
Where falls not hail, or rain, or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly.”

But in Oct., 1910, Mr. Piddington noticed¹ that the words in the script “ *Nor ever falls the least light* ” are taken from the following passage from Tennyson's *Lucretius* :

“ The Gods, who haunt
The lucid interspace of world and world,
Where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm ! and such,
Not all so fine, nor so divine a calm,
Not such, nor all unlike it, man may gain
Letting his own life go.”

(“ The lucid interspace of world and world ” is quoted in Mrs. Verrall's scripts of Feb. 25, 1907, and May 1, 1907, given below, pp. 93 and 124.)

The first of these Tennysonian passages is based, as Mr. Piddington observes, on *Odyssey*, IV. 566-568, and the second on *Odyssey*, VI. 43-45, so that a reference to the two *Odyssey* passages is combined in a single passage of the script. The combination may be attributed to subliminal memory, since Mrs. Verrall is familiar with the two passages in the *Odyssey*, and with the two Tennysonian passages. Mr. Piddington, however, discovered the same combination of the two *Odyssey* passages in a single sentence of the *Dissertationes* (XVII. 10-11) of the Neo-Platonic philosopher, Maximus of Tyre, in a passage describing the conditions whereby a man while still embodied may attain to the vision of God. (Cf. Mrs. Holland's script of April 16, 1907, “ To fly to find Euripides,” and comments on it, below, pp. 139-142.) Mrs. Verrall had never read the *Dissertationes*, but a passage in F. W. H. Myers's

¹ For full particulars, see *Proc.*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 245-250.

"Essay on Greek Oracles" (*Essays—Classical*, p. 60), shows that Myers, who was deeply read in Neo-Platonic literature, had at least some acquaintance with Maximus of Tyre.

There is thus a special appropriateness in this composite reference in the script, both in connection with the *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* topic and as purporting to be inspired by Myers.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Feb. 20, 1907.)

Chiaroscuro

non semper possum tibi confidere hortationes meas. sed auscultata.

[I cannot always confide to you my exhortations, but listen.]

There are messages for you in Monday and Wednesday's words not on Tuesday. To-day is important. Sit still and help—it will not come to you but to Piddington.

no the word is very difficult to give

Print it Rector.

Behind the darkening billows there is peace

Peace—and the Light that never was On Land or Sea [*sic*]¹

No not right but partly. Do not write—sit still and wait.

Behind our darkness there is light.

'High Emprize' adventure forth—a full sail

Argosy 'comes beetling forth'.

"*Chiaroscuro*" is probably a reminiscence of "the clear-obscure of shore and tree" in the third verse of Myers's poem on Tennyson, which seemed to be alluded to in the Piper sitting of Jan. 30, 1907, see above, p. 87. The word "clear-obscure" also occurs in *The Renewal of Youth* (p. 223) in a passage relating to Tintoretto's pictures.

Mr. Piddington has shown (*Proc.*, Vol. XXVI., p. 212)

¹ "The light that never was, on sea or land."

(Wordsworth, *Peele Castle in a Storm.*)

that much of this script points to Myers's poem *Venice* and relates to the Horace Ode question. It also refers explicitly to the general topic of this section,—Peace.

The last phrases are clearly reminiscent of *The Merchant of Venice* (Act I. Se. 1):

Salarino. "There where your argosies with portly sail,
 Like signiors and rich burghers on the flood,
 Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
 Do overpeer the petty traffiekers,
 That curtsy to them, do them reverence,
 As they fly by them with their woven wings.
Salanio. Believe me, Sir, had I such venture forth. . . ."

The phrases selected out of this passage by the script point again to the Adventurer, already referred to in the script of Feb. 12, 1907 ("The voyage of Maeldune") and so to the contrast of Active and Contemplative that will be seen later to form an essential factor in this cross-correspondence.

Next comes a short script by Miss Verrall, who was then at Cambridge, but knew nothing of her mother's experiment, or of her scripts.

(*Miss Verrall's Script of Feb. 25, 1907. 5.30 p.m.*)

Many ties that bind
 in the silence of the sleep time.¹

About an hour later, Mrs. Verrall, not having seen her daughter's script, produced the following:

(*Mrs. Verrall's Script of Feb. 25, 1907. 6.45 p.m.*)

Not each but all United stand —a firm knit band —but,
 single, fall.²

¹ "At the midnight in the silence of the sleep-time,
 When you set your faneies free,
 Will they pass to where—by death, fools think, imprisoned—
 Low he lies who once so loved you, whom you loved so?"
 (Browning, *Asolando*: "Epilogue.")

² Mrs. Verrall knew that the phrase "United we stand, divided we fall" had occurred in Mr. Piddington's sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 2, 1907, being apparently a reference by Myers, to the Latin Message.

Test the weakest link but even that stands firm

I stretch my hand across the vaporous space, the interlunar space¹—'twixt moon and earth,—where the gods of Lucretius quaff their nectar.

Do you not understand ?

The lucid interspace of world and world

Well that is bridged by the thought of a friend, bridged before for your passage, but today for the passage of any that will walk it, not in hope but in faith.

The bridge has been built from our side, it is our thought that builds it—but it rests on a pier of your founding,—not yours—of you only,—of all of yours

Non TUA opera, sed omnibus adiuvantibus qui in ista causa laborant

[not by thy help, but with the assistance of all who labour in this cause.]

not *tua* [thy] but but *vestra* [your] he means

R

but he does not talk our language.

"Where the gods of Lucretius quaff their nectar." The passage from Tennyson's *Lucretius* alluded to in this script is quoted in full above, p. 90, in connection with the script of Feb. 12, 1907. But the word "nectar" does not occur in *Lucretius* and the above phrase seems to be a composite reference to that poem and a passage in *The Lotos-Eaters*:²

"On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind.

For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurl'd

Far below them in the valleys. . . ."

The intention is, I think, to contrast the calm of indifference of these Gods, and the inglorious ease of the Lotos-Eaters, both with the ecstatic calm to which Plotinus aspired, and the "High Emprise" of the Active Adventurer.

On the following morning, Feb. 26, 1907, Miss Verrall told her mother that she had written on the previous afternoon a script containing the words "in the silence of the sleep-

¹ Cf. Mrs. Verrall's script of May 1, 1907, given below, p. 124.

² Spedding, in reviewing Tennyson's early poems in the *Edinburgh* for April, 1843, says: "The gods of the Lotos-Eaters, it is worth knowing, are altogether Lucretian." *Lucretius* was published in 1868.

time." Both she and her mother were familiar with the poem from which this was quoted, and the information obviously influenced Mrs. Verrall's next script, which was as follows :

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of Feb. 26, 1907.)

(Two drawings of a crown.)

S. Stephen's iron crown

But why should the Emperor wear it ? a Magyar crown. Divide the rule

Every act on [*sic*] has its own use

I have tried to speak with you to-day but it was not possible. Listen now

αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων I think I have made him understand but the best reference to it will be made elsewhere, not Mrs Piper at all. I think I have got some words from the poem written down—if not stars and satellites, another phrase will do as well. And may there be no moaning at the bar—my Pilot face to face.¹

The last poems of Tennyson and Browning should be compared. There are references in her writing to both—Helen's I mean.

The fighter fights one last fight, but there is peace for him too in the end—and peace for the seer who knew that after—after—the earthquake and the fire and the wind—after, after, in the stillness comes the voice that can be heard

No more now.

"Some words from the poem . . . if not stars and satellites, another phrase will do as well." The poem in question is Myers's poem on Tennyson, to which Mrs. Verrall had traced the words "Satellite and stars" in the Piper sitting of Jan. 30, 1907, above, p. 87.

The poem is on the death of Tennyson and it alludes definitely to his *Crossing the Bar*, but to no other of his poems. This, though not the last poem composed by him,² is almost certainly what the script means by "the last poem of Tennyson," and it may fitly be so called, since he gave special directions that it should be placed at the end of all complete editions of his works.

It is obvious from the other references in the script that

¹ Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar*. Cf. Piper Sitting of March 6, 1907, below.

² The last was *The Silent Voices*.

"the seer who knew" is Tennyson, and "the fighter" Browning, as interpreted by Mrs. Verrall at the time.

The "last poem" of Browning is clearly that quoted from in Miss Verrall's script of Feb. 25, 1907, above, namely, the "Epilogue" in the volume entitled *Asolando*, which was published on the day of his death, December 12, 1889. In this poem he tells his friends that he wishes them to think of him after his death as holding to the same ideals of activity and progress that he had during life, when he

"Never turned his back but marched breast forward, . . .
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

So, he urges them, when death comes

"In the bustle of man's work-time
Greet the unseen with a cheer!
Bid him forward, breast and back as either should be,
'Strive and thrive!' cry 'Speed,—fight on, fare ever
There as here!'"

But the phraseology of the script,—“The fighter fights one last fight, but there is peace for him too in the end,”—is derived more directly from Browning's *Prospice* :

"I was ever a fighter, so—one fight more,
The best and the last!"

.
"And the elements' rage, the fiend-voices that rave,
Shall dwindle, shall blend,
Shall change, shall become first a peace out of pain. . . ."

This reminiscence leads on not unnaturally to the "still small voice" heard by Elijah on Mount Horeb after the wind, the earthquake, and the fire (I. *Kings*, xix. 9-13).

Mrs. Verrall herself, however, did not consciously recognise the allusion to Elijah at all, but interpreted this part of the script at the time as referring to Moses on Mount Sinai, when "there were thunders and lightnings and a thick cloud upon the mount and the voice of the trumpet exceeding loud. . . . And mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire: and the smoke thereof

ascended as the smoke of a furnace, and the whole mount quaked greatly. And when the voice of the trumpet sounded long and waxed louder and louder, Moses spake and God answered him by a voice" (*Exodus*, xix. 16-19).

Later, when Mrs. Verrall concluded that the essential part of the answer to her question on *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* was to be found in the description of trance in *In Memoriam*, XCV. (see below, p. 101), it seemed to her that the supposed allusion to Moses was the first emergence in her script of *In Memoriam*, the last verse of Section XCVI. being :

" But in the darkness and the eloud,
As over Sinai's peaks of old,
While Israel made their gods of gold,
Altho' the trumpet blew so loud."

This view was recorded by Mrs. Verrall on June 25, 1907.

My interpretation of Mrs. Holland's script of April 8, 1907 (see below, p. 113), as alluding to Moses, was made some years later, and on entirely independent grounds.

Now it is clear that the wording of Mrs. Verrall's script—"after the earthquake and the fire and the wind, in the stillness comes the voice that can be heard"—is derived from the story of Elijah rather than from that of Moses. But the interpretation that she herself places on her script at the time must be regarded as one of the factors in the total mental impression, which is partially—but probably never more than partially—expressed in the script. It must, then, be held that the script refers to both Moses and Elijah. This is extremely natural, considering the great similarity between the two stories; and considering also that Moses and Elijah were associated together in the Transfiguration, which also took place on a "high mountain," apart from the multitude, and when also a voice from heaven was heard out of a cloud.¹

All these associations were, of course, familiar to Mrs. Verrall, though she did not consciously think of them at the time. But there is another close connection between the Old Testament histories of Moses and Elijah, of which both she and Mr. Piddington, as well as myself, happened to be ignorant, viz. that Mount Horeb and Mount Sinai are two

¹ *Matt.* xvii. 1-5.

different names used in different parts of the Bible for the same mountain. "It has been shown by Dillmann that the Elohist and Deuteronomy always use the name Horeb for the same mountain which the Jahvist and the Priestly Code call Sinai" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*: Article "Sinai"). This is by most authorities identified with the mountain now called St. Catherine, the name being derived from the great monastery of St. Catherine, the most famous of the monasteries built in early Christian times in the Sinaitic peninsula. From this monastery a path of granite steps was constructed up to the top of "the Mountain of the Law."

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 6, 1907. 10.45 a.m.)

I have tried to tell him of the calm the heavenly and earthly calm but I do not think it is clear. I think you would understand if you could see the record. Tell me when you have understood.

Calm is the sea.

and in my heart if calm at all, if any calm, a calm despair. That is only part of the answer—just as it is not the final thought. the symphony does not close upon despair—but on harmony.

So does the poem. Wait for the last word

Tuus bene scis quis [*sic*] tale
seribat. Nomen non facile tibi in charta ponere
Tuus igitur pro amico interpretare.

[Yours. You know well who writes so. It is not easy to you to put the name on paper. Yours, therefore, interpret as your friend.]

This is the first of the scripts belonging to this topic in which a quotation from *In Memoriam* occurs, though, as stated above, Mrs. Verrall had thought that Myers_p's mention of "Larches" and "Laburnum" in the sitting of Jan. 30, 1907, pointed to *In Memoriam*. In the section here quoted (XI.) every stanza begins with the word "calm":

"Calm is the morn without a sound,
Calm as to suit a calmer grief. . . ."

"Calm and deep peace on this high wold. . . ."

"Calm and still light on yon great plain. . . ."

“ Calm and deep peace in this wide air,
 These leaves that redden to the fall ;
 And in my heart, if calm at all,
 If any ealm, a ealm despair :

Calm on the seas, and silver sleep,
 And waves that sway themselves in rest.
 And dead ealm in that noble breast
 Which heaves but with the heaving deep.”

On the morning of the same day, the name “ Arthur Hallam ” was mentioned for the first time in Mrs. Piper’s trance, as follows :

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on March 6, 1907, beginning at 11.15 a.m.)

(Present : Mr. Piddington.)

Cloudless

Sky

Horizon

It was given like this ———

J. G. P. Yes ?

A cloudless sky beyond the Horison [*sic*]

(Waking-stage)—¹

(Present : Mr. Piddington and Miss Newton.)

. . . Moaning at the bar when I put out to sea. . . . Arthur Hallam

Arthur Hallam

Good-bye. Margaret. I’m so glad I came. . . .

There was some man—Arthur Hallam. Myers said it was he—he about. . . .

“ A cloudless sky beyond ” a horizon which seems to be represented by a straight line can hardly mean anything else than a cloudless sky beyond the horizon of a calm sea, so that the phrase seems to point clearly to the Plotinian description of the elements at peace.

¹ For a more detailed report of this “ waking-stage,” see *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 150-152.

In the waking-stage is given the same quotation from *Crossing the Bar* that had appeared in Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 26, 1907. *Crossing the Bar*, as mentioned above, is alluded to in Myers's poem on Tennyson. To this quotation in the waking stage is added a reference to *In Memoriam* which was not one of the things expected by Mrs. Verrall in an answer to her question about *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων*, but which was clearly pointed to in her own script of the same day (March 6, 1907) as part of the proper answer to the question.

The next script connected with the subject is one by Mrs. Verrall, who had heard nothing of any references to it by Mrs. Piper since her own sitting with the latter on Jan. 30, 1907.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 11, 1907.)

With violet buds their heads were crowned
violaceæ

 odores [violet-coloured scents]

Violet and olive leaf purple and hoary¹

The city of the violet and olive crown.

News will come of her. of Athens

The shadow of the Parthenon. It is a message from Plato that I want to send— It has been given elsewhere but should be completed here. It is about dim seen forms, half-seen in the evenings gray by a boy and afterwards woven into words that last— I want to say it again. I think there is a verse in Tennyson about it. Plato and the shadow and the unseen or half seen companionship— shapes seen in the glimpses of the moonlit heights.

To walk with Plato or some phrase like that.
with voiceless communing, and unseen Presence felt

 No you dont get it right

Presenees on the eternal hills
that is better

The Presence that is in the lonely hills

 That is all for now wait.

The paragraph beginning "The shadow of the Parthenon"

¹ Cf. Swinburne, *Erechtheus*, l. 145.

seems to allude jointly to passages in two poems by F. W. H. Myers :

- (1) " So gazed on Phidias' Warrior-maid,
Methinks, Ægina's kingly boy.¹ . . .
Then as he walked, like one who dreamed,
Thro' silent highways silver-hoar,
More wonderful that eity seemed,
And he diviner than before ;—
A voicee was calling, All is well ;
Clear in the vault Selene shone,
And over Plato's homestead fell
The shadow of the Parthenon." ²
- (2) " Or one from Plato's page uplifts his head,
Dazed in that mastering parley of the dead,
Till at dark eurfew thro' the latticed gloom
What presenee feels he in his lonely room,
Where mid the writ words of the wise he stands
Like a strange ghost in many-peopled lands." ³

" I think there is a verse in Tennyson about it—Plato and the shadow and the unseen companionship." This seems to be explained by the more explicit reference to the " shadows in Plato's eave " in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 25, 1907 (see below, p. 129). In that script special stress is laid on the distinction between the shadow and the reality represented by it ; and the " verse in Tennyson " here mentioned is probably *In Memoriam*, XCIII., especially :

" No visual shade of some one lost,
But he, the Spirit himself, may come
Where all the nerve of sense is numb ;
Spirit to Spirit, Ghost to Ghost.
.
.
.
Descend, and touch, and enter ; hear
The wish too strong for words to name ;
That in this blindness of the frame
My Ghost may feel that thine is near."

¹ Plato, who, according to one tradition, was born at Ægina.

² " Stanzas on Mr. Watts' Collected Works " (*The Renewal of Youth and other Poems*, pp. 117-118).

³ *The Renewal of Youth*, p. 212.

"Presences on the eternal hills, etc." These phrases seem to be reminiscences of two Wordsworthian passages :

"The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills."

(*Song at the Feast of Brougham Castle.*)

"For images of other worlds are there ;
Awful the light, and holy is the air.
Fitfully, and in flashes, through his soul,
Like sun-lit tempests, troubled transports roll ;
His bosom heaves, his Spirit towers amain,
Beyond the senses and their little reign.

And oft when that dread vision hath past by,
He holds with God himself communion high,
There where the peal of swelling torrents fills
The sky-roofed temple of the eternal hills."

(*Descriptive Sketches taken during a Pedestrian
Tour among the Alps.*)

Here we have a continuation of the topic of visions in the solitude of mountain heights, like those of Moses and Elijah in Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 26, 1907, above.

The references in her script to Tennyson, with the introduction of *In Memoriam*, and in particular the combination of Plato and Tennyson as both aware of "unseen companions" in the script of March 11, 1907, led Mrs. Verrall to believe that there must be a more definite connexion between *In Memoriam* and the passage from Plotinus than she had hitherto recognised. She therefore re-read the poem carefully in the light of her script, and was struck by the resemblance in language as well as in thought between Sections XCIV.-XCV., which describe the poet's trance and its antecedent conditions, and the passage in *Enneades* V. (quoted above, p. 84) where Plotinus describes the antecedent conditions required for ecstasy,—Tennyson, like Plotinus demanding a condition of calm in the external world, as well as in the individual soul.¹

This discovery seemed to Mrs. Verrall partly at least to

¹ An article on this subject was, at Professor A. C. Bradley's suggestion, contributed by Mrs. Verrall to the *Modern Language Review* (Vol. II., No. 4, July, 1907).

explain why F. W. H. Myers had chosen the motto *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* for his poem on Tennyson, in which he wrote :

“ Once more he rises ; lulled and still,
 Hushed to his tune the tideways roll ;
 These waveless heights of evening thrill
 With voyage of the summoned soul.”

Mrs. Verrall had of course realised that this referred to Tennyson's *Crossing the Bar*—his desire that there might “ be no moaning of the bar ” when he “ put out to sea ”—and to the fulfilment of this desire at the time of his death. But (as Mr. Piddington observed ¹) “ a much deeper significance attaches to the choice of the motto when it is recognised that Tennyson himself, like Plotinus, desired conditions of external peace before attaining in life the trance condition, in which he felt as though he had communion with the unscen world.” There is no suggestion, either in Myers's poem or elsewhere in his writings, that he associated the Plotinian passage with Tennyson because of its resemblance to Sections XCIV.-XCV. of *In Memoriam*, so that the script purporting to be inspired by him gave a new and cogent explanation which could not be derived from his own published works.

Mrs. Verrall recorded the conclusions she had come to on these points in her diary of March 12, 1907 (which is quoted at length in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 145-146), and on the following day brought a summary of this entry with full explanations and references to London, and gave it to me in a closed envelope to be given to Mr. Piddington after his sitting with Mrs. Piper on the morning of that day.

(*Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on March 13, 1907.*)

(Present, Mr. Piddington.)

(Myers communicating.)

I referred to



¹ *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 123.

J. G. P. Well ?

saying I had crossed it. yes did she U.D.


J. G. P. You said it to whom ?

both lights . . .

J. G. P. I have not looked yct. I purposely did not look.

[Myers_p then refers to the Latin Message and other topics.]

I saw Mrs. Verrall and gave her a sign like this



and said I have crossed it. I thought she might get a
glimpse of my U.D. of her Greck

J. G. P. I have a message from her for you, but before I give it,
will you describe in a word the thing which you said
you crossed ?

B A R

J. G. P. I see ; I understand. Now I'll give you Mrs. Verrall's
message ; and when you have got all the messages that
you have prepared off your mind, I will look at Mrs.
Verrall's script and see if they have come through.

Very good.

you remember some lines I quoted before I passed out ?

J. G. P. Well, what were they ?

I quoted my own in which I referred to Stare, etc.

If I can make you U.D. his meaning I will not enter into
detail as it takes too much light.

J. G. P. I understand. You mean "Hippocratic stare."¹ I
understand *that* [meaning, "I understand the reference,
though not its immediate relevancy."

Note by J. G. P.]

Yes, I also referred to this in a message to her recently ²

¹ This was a phrase used by Myers in his poem, *The Renewal of Youth*, see below.

² At a sitting on Jan. 14, 1907, at which Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Piddington were present, Myers_p had said to Mrs. Verrall: "Do you recall anything about hippocratic stare?" and she had assented.

J. G. P. Yes, I see.

you may get that also.

[Other topics then referred to, including the Latin Message and "Browning, Hope and Star."]

(J. G. P. then¹ gives Mrs. Verrall's message to Myers_P; the message being that she now knew, through information given in her own script since her last sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 30, 1907, why αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκέρμων had certain associations for Myers; and that she understood the reference to *Larches* and *Laburnum* made by Myers_P at that sitting.)

Very good.

[other topics referred to]

(Hodgson communicating.)

Did Mrs. V. draw a *bar*. . . .

J. G. P. [After looking for the first time at Mrs. Verrall's scripts of March 11 and 12, 1907:] She wrote: "May there be no moaning at the bar,"² but she didn't draw a bar.

When I put out to sea.

J. G. P. Yes.

Why didn't you say so before

J. G. P. It was some days ago she wrote it, and I was looking out for a picture.

I am not so sure that I gave her this full impression but I did quote those lines to her. I also quoted them to this light³

J. G. P. That is so. I know. . . .

For fear that you would not U.D. Bar I [drew] it for her and said Hallam. did you get it

¹ Mr. Piddington at this time had not seen Mrs. Verrall's script of March 11, 1907, and knew nothing of the conclusions she had come to about the associations of the Greek words for F. W. H. Myers.

² See Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 26, 1907, above, p. 94.

³ On March 6, 1907. See above, p. 98.

J. G. P. I think not. I am nearly sure not.

Arthur Hallam. . . . I mean I gave it to the spirit of
this light while it was returning

J. G. P. You did, you did.

I did that so as to connect the words with its author's
[?] individuality.

(*Waking-stage*)

[Various inaudible words, the only one that came out
clearly being :]

Death . . .

Yes, Faith, Hope, Charity.

I'll give it—

Rescat—resquiat

[I have little doubt that "requiescat" was meant.—

Note by J. G. P.]

I send my love across the heavenly shore

I know— I know— Farewell

That's all they said. . . .

All the stars of all the skies to me divine

[last three words uncertain]

I say Mr. Myers is in the light. He's so handsome, and
that's a window or a door; and I don't want to say
any more if you don't understand. They said the
grave had never any terrors for him. . . .

"I quoted my own [lines] in which I referred to Stare, etc."
The reference here is to a passage in Sir Oliver Lodge's paper
"In Memory of F. W. H. Myers" in *Proceedings*, Vol. XVII.,
pp. 1-10. Speaking of Myers's last illness, Sir Oliver wrote:

In the intervals of painful difficulty of breathing, he quoted
from one of his own poems (*The Renewal of Youth*. . . .):

"Ah, welcome then that hour which bids thee lie

In anguish of thy last infirmity!

Welcome the toss for ease, the gasp for air,

The visage drawn, and Hippocratic stare. . . ."

Death he did not dread.

Cf. in the waking-stage of this sitting: "They said the
grave had never any terrors for him [*i.e.* Myers]."

It must be assumed that Mrs. Piper had read this paper ; but Myers_P's explicit reference to *The Renewal of Youth*—the only one which I have detected in the Piper sittings—seems worth noting, since, on the same day, March 13, 1907 (see below), Mrs. Holland's script quoted from a poem in the same volume, "How many times ere I be dead, Must I the bitterness of dying know?"

The above being the last sitting with Mrs. Piper of which Mr. Piddington was to take charge, he met Mrs. Verrall in the afternoon, and told her of the words "Cloudless sky beyond the horizon" given by Myers_P on March 6, 1907, and also read out to her the passages (quoted above) relevant to *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* in the sitting of March 13; after which she gave him the account which she had brought that morning of her discovery of certain special Plotinian allusions in *In Memoriam*.

On the same day Mrs. Holland, in India, in complete ignorance of the experiments that were going on and all the scripts that were being produced in England, made the first references to the topics of this cross-correspondence that I have detected in her script, as follows :

(Mrs. Holland's Script of March 13, 1907. 12.45 p.m.)

Oh Rama—Ram—

Mere paper—untouched by any hope of inspiration—

That strange and complex silence which is compact of an infinite number of small incessant noises—

The far shore of a very still and tideless sea—

Poor finite ambitions, and the sorrow that if ye could but realize it is over—finally swallowed up in the void of nothingness long ere the tear it invokes dries upon the cheek.

Where birchen boughs with hazel mingle—¹

The green book—not the blue one—the fuller version—

two trees have been killed by the frost—but the twigs of the old elm are thickening with buds again—The miracle of spring.

¹ "The violet in her greenwood bower,
Where birchen boughs with hazels mingle."

(Scott, *The Violet*.)

No conscious recollection—it is unreasonable to expect that immediately.

“She knew she had waded bosom deep
 Along Death’s bank in the sedge of sleep”—
 But a wild gleam on a shaken shoal.¹

We gain the same goal through different gates. What need for violent wail if to one it is the gate of the sea—to another a passing in sleep—to another the long wasting—the tooth of a fell disease to another—a few drops of sleep—to another the crash and jar and conflict of a railway accident—The passing is nought—

Home again—but it is such an early Easter—Sweet of the year has hardly begun—

The second child—because of innocence—And for all the sacrament of pain—

One star in the crimson West
 And the East is cold and grey
 And the weary earth shall turn to her rest
 At the end of the winter’s day.

How many times ere I be dead
 Must I the bitterness of dying know ?

.

This script has already been given above, p. 66, in the section “Alexander’s Tomb,” since I interpreted some of the passages in it as alluding to the Medici Tombs, while others belong to the present section.

“*The far shore of a very still and tideless sea*” with some other phrases scattered through the script—“the passing is

¹ “The night lay deep on Rose Mary’s heart,
 For her swoon was death’s kind counterpart ;
 The dawn broke dim on Rose Mary’s soul,—
 No hill-crown’s heavenly aureole,
 But a wild gleam on a shaken shoal.

.
 She knew she had waded bosom-deep
 Along death’s bank in the sedge of sleep :
 All else was lost to her clouded mind ;
 Nor, looking back, could she see defin’d
 O’er the dim dumb waste what lay behind.”

(D. G. Rossetti, *Rose Mary*, Part III.)

nought," "home again," "one star in the crimson west"—suggests the first two verses of *Crossing the Bar* :

"Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar,
When I put out to sea,

But such a tide as moving seems asleep,
Too full for sound and foam,
When that which drew from out the boundless deep
Turns again home."

Mrs. Holland's "far shore of a very still and tideless sea" has also some resemblance to phrases in the scripts of other automatists, e.g. "Calm is the sea" in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 6, 1907; "May there be no moaning at the bar" in Mrs. Verrall's of Feb. 26 and Mrs. Piper's of March 6, 1907; and "A cloudless sky beyond the horizon" in Mrs. Piper's of March 6, 1907.

The paragraph beginning "*We gain the same goal . . .*" describes different ways of dying, more or less analogous to the descriptions in "the last poems of Tennyson and Browning" (see Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 26, 1907).

The verses at the end of the script were interpreted in Chapter IV. (p. 68), for reasons there given, as alluding to the figures of Day and Night, and Morning and Evening on the Medici Tombs. But I believe that, just as a single phrase in a script may combine two distinct literary allusions, so it may refer jointly to two items in a cross-correspondence or to two different cross-correspondences, and I think that this is the case with these verses. The topic of East and West given in them is resumed in Mrs. Holland's script of April 8, 1907 (see below, p. 110), which in several other respects, as will be seen, is closely connected with this script.

*"How many times ere I be dead
Must I the bitterness of dying know?"*

is, as already said, taken from the second of a pair of sonnets by F. W. H. Myers, called "Would God it were Evening" and "Would God it were Morning" (*The Renewal of Youth*

and other Poems, pp. 82-83). The titles of these sonnets are taken from *Deuteronomy*, xxviii. 67, the conclusion of the curses pronounced by Moses for disobedience to the Law given on Mount Sinai.

The next script again refers to different ways of dying :

(*Mrs. Holland's Script of March 18, 1907. 1.45 p.m.*)

The memory of it is like a great black shadow that blots out half the sky— No reference is intended here to the physical suffering but the mental misery can hardly be overestimated and I have not yet fully recovered from the horror of it— The Valley of the Shadow¹ in soberest truth. No glib phrases or generalities of statement can possibly apply to ALL after lives—any more than they apply to all your present lives— The individual experience differs in each case and is greatly modified by the inherent sensitiveness the individual idiosyncrasy of each one undergoing the experience of another life— For me, my experience differed absolutely from his— a sudden passing naturally differs from a gradual wearing away— I groped my way slowly across the threshold—with faltering feet and feeling hands—he was flung across it with no consciousness of impending departure. There is respite here from the old doctrine of inevitable compensation otherwise I might point out that the sudden painless passing is handicapped on the other side by a prolonged period of cloudiness or mental inability to cope with a new environment—while the frame that on your side of the threshold has been gnawed by the tooth of pain—submitted to the refiner's fire—sees clearly from the moment of the passing—has taken the first degree

Next come two scripts produced on the same day by Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland. I will quote both and then comment on the two together.

(*Mrs. Verrall's Script of April 8, 1907. 3 p.m.*)

[Talbot Forbes] will tell you to-night what I said for his mother to hear.

The words were from Maud, but you did not understand. Rosy is the east and so on.

¹ "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death" (*Psalm* xxiii. 4).

You will find that you have written a message for Mr. Piddington which you did not understand but he did. Tell him that.

No more now—write again this evening

(*Mrs. Holland's Script of April 8, 1907. 1 p.m.*)

There was no real reason for his action but it would be hardly fair to deduce cowardice from it— More probably a natural dislike of giving pain— Under the circumstances it was excusable if not allowable—

Peace on the great heart of the heaving sea—

And on the rocks that fringe the ocean peace—

A sobbing weeping wind—that flings the rain against the window panes like handfuls of small-shot. There is no hail it only sounds like hail— The poor blossom buds on the plum and cherry trees—and alas for the fat green buds of the tulips that held such glowing promise

The walk that leads to the kitchen garden is all different this year— I shall miss the bold green clump and the honest round red faces of my peonies— And the pink tinted fringed petalled delicately scented substitutes will not be the same to me—

Yes— those of us who are here are bound to shrink from changes in the places we have known and loved—it impedes the vibrations—

Is the Paradiso mental relaxation? I should recommend prose— English prose— fiction—

The constellation of Orion

The tall spire shows above the mellow redness of the wall— Do you remember that exquisite sky when the afterglow made the East as beautiful and as richly coloured as the West— Martha became as Mary—and Leah as Rachel—

“With such a purple and sea blue grace

Love settling unawares”—

He the strong smiter the earth compeller—

A billowy cloud heavy with blessing—

The Brides Day How many years ago? Are the bells remembered?

Mrs. Holland's “*Peace on the great heart of the heaving sea, etc.*,” seems to be a reminiscence of *In Memoriam*, XI. (the section quoted in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 6, 1907):

"Calm on the seas, and silver sleep,
 And waves that sway themselves in rest,
 And dead calm in that noble breast
 Which heaves but with the heaving deep."

This phrase of Mrs. Holland's also recalls "The far shore of a very still and tideless sea" in her script of March 13, 1907, above, and is a still closer paraphrase of the immediate context of *ἀντὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* — "Calm be the earth, the sea, the air."

"*The Paradiso.*" This is only the third reference to Dante¹ in the whole of Mrs. Holland's script from July, 1903, up to this date, and it is of interest because references to Dante were for the first time appearing in the scripts of other automatists, viz. in Mrs. Verrall's on April 3 and 6, 1907,² and in Mrs. Piper's on April 29, 1907 (see below). At a later period, allusions to Dante became more frequent.

"*The constellation of Orion.*" In view of the clear cross-correspondence of the next paragraph with Mrs. Verrall's "Rosy is the east," it may be conjectured that Orion too is "from *Maud*,"—a reminiscence of

"Orion's grave low down in the west."

(*Maud*, Part III.)

Mrs. Verrall's phrase, "Rosy is the east," alleged by her script to come from *Maud*, is a misquotation from *Maud*, Part I. xvii. :

"Go not, happy day,
 From the shining fields,
 Go not, happy day,
 Till the maiden yields.

 Blush from West to East,
 Blush from East to West,
 Till the West is East,
 Blush it through the West.

¹ The two previous ones occurred on March 15, 1905, and Sept. 25, 1906.

² See *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 227-8, 237 and 262-264.

Rosy is the West,
 Rosy is the South,
 Roses are her cheeks,
 And a rose her mouth."

Thus "Rosy is the east" refers not, as might be supposed, to a sunrise, but to a sunset, and so corresponds closely to the phrase in Mrs. Holland's script of the same day, "when the afterglow made the East as beautiful and as richly coloured as the West." The latter, on the other hand, seems to allude by way of contrast to the lines in the Holland script of March 13, 1907 (see above, p. 107) :

"One star in the crimson West
 And the East is cold and grey."

"*Martha became as Mary, and Leah as Rachel.*" This sentence, with what follows, links together the topics of this cross-correspondence with others which it will be convenient to treat separately below (Chapter VI.) under the heading "The Clavigers." From the point of view of the cross-correspondence now under discussion, Martha and Mary, and Leah and Rachel are simply two instances of the contrasted Active and Contemplative types.

"*With such a purple and sea-blue grace
 Love settling unawares*"

is a misquotation from Browning's *James Lee's Wife* (V. v.), the original being :

"With such a blue and red grace, not theirs,—
 Love settling unawares!"

The misquotation is especially significant; for I feel no doubt that the substitution of "purple and sea-blue" for "blue and red" indicates a composite allusion to *James Lee's Wife* and to

"the sea-blue bird of March"

in *In Memoriam*, XCI. This line by itself would account only for "sea-blue"; but in the *Memoir* of Tennyson (Vol. II., p. 4), Tennyson, writing to the Duke of Argyll on this verse, remarks :

As to "sea-blue birds" etc., defendant states that he was walking one day in March by a deep-banked brook, and under the

leafless bushes he saw the king-fisher flitting or fleeting underneath him, and there came into his head a fragment of an old Greek lyric poet "ἀλιπόρφυρος εἶαρος ὄρνις," "The sea-purple or sea-shining bird of Spring," spoken of as the halcyon.

During the first week in January, 1907, Mrs. Holland had, as she told me in a letter dated Jan. 10th, been reading the *Memoir* of Tennyson, and out of the fifteen scripts (including the one under consideration) written since she read it, three besides this one contain passages that are clearly to be traced to it. It therefore seems to me practically certain that her misquotation, "purple and sea-blue," is derived from Tennyson's letter just quoted.

This view is confirmed by the passage in the earlier part of the same script, "Peace on the great heart of the heaving sea," which would aptly describe the "halcyon days" of spring, when the kingfisher is supposed to build its nest on the sea.

We have here then a contribution to the central topic of the cross-correspondence, and, in view of Mrs. Verrall's remark, "The last poems of Tennyson and Browning should be compared" (see her script of Feb. 26, 1907. above, p. 94), it is noteworthy that it is given in the form of a composite Browning-Tennyson quotation.

"*He the strong smiter—the earth compeller.*" I take this to be a reference to the two most famous miracles of Moses :

(1) "And the Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so" (*Exodus*, xvii. 5, 6).

In the version in *Numbers* (xx. 11) the smiting is further emphasised: "Moses lifted up his hand and with his rod he smote the rock twice: and the water came out abundantly."

(2) When at the word of Moses "the ground clave asunder that was under [Korah, Dathan and Abiram]. And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them up, and their houses, and all the men that appertained unto Korah, and

all their goods. They, and all that appertained to them, went down alive into the pit, and the earth closed upon them: and they perished from among the congregation" (*Numbers*, xvi. 31-33).

I base this interpretation not merely on the appropriateness of the script phrases to these incidents, but chiefly on a special association between the Leah and Rachel of the script and Moses in the cross-correspondence, "The Clavigers," given below, pp. 135-137.

"*A billowy cloud heavy with blessing.*" Cf.

"Hush! if you saw some western cloud
All billowy-bosomed, over-bowed
By many benedictions—sun's
And moon's and evening star's at once—
And so, you, looking and loving best,
Conscious grew, your passion drew
Cloud, sunset, moonrise, star-shine too
Down on you, near and yet more near,
Till flesh must fade, for heaven was here!"

(Browning, *The Last Ride Together*.)

This verse is, I think, the origin of the phrasing of the script. But the words are, I believe, intended to be applied to the "thick cloud" upon Mount Sinai, which is so constantly referred to in the Mosaic narrative,¹ *e.g.* :

"And Moses went up into the mount, and a cloud covered the mount. And the glory of the Lord abode upon mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it six days: and the seventh day he called unto Moses out of the midst of the cloud. And the sight of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel. And Moses went into the midst of the cloud and gat him up into the mount: and Moses was in the mount forty days and forty nights" (*Exodus*, xxiv. 15-18).

If this script refers, as I believe it does, to Moses, it is noteworthy that while Mrs. Verrall's script alludes only to the

¹ Another "cloud" associated with Moses, which might more aptly be described as "heavy with blessing," was the "pillar of cloud" which was the sign of divine protection and guidance to the Israelites throughout their wanderings in the wilderness (*Exodus*, xiii. 21, etc.).

contemplative side—to his communion with God on Mount Sinai—and connects this with *a verse from Tennyson (In Memoriam)*, Mrs. Holland's supplements it by laying stress on the active side of his life,—“He the strong smiter—the earth compeller,”—and then goes on to point, as I think, to the communion on Mount Sinai through *a quotation from Browning*, the whole being in harmony with the idea of the combination of the Active and Contemplative expressed in the preceding part of the script.

(Extract from report of sitting of Mrs. Piper on April 8, 1907.)

(Present, Mrs. Sidgwick only.)

E. M. S. Do you remember what the name of Imperator as given by Mr. Stainton Moses was ?

St. Something. Ignatius.

E. M. S. “Ignatius” ?

I have been trying to give that to Mrs. Verrall also.

E. M. S. St. Ignatius. You have been trying to give it through Mrs. Verrall ?

Yes, but it is not the name of + no I shall go over this and see if I can recall.

E. M. S. Good.

Wasn't one Francis ?

E. M. S. Francis ?

Yes.

E. M. S. Rector said the other day his name was Francis once.¹

And wasn't the other St. Something ?

E. M. S. “Saint” something ?

Yes. I will try and recall this for you—

(Waking-stage)

. See about Roland. Les Val.

Good-bye. . . .

Light in West

I'll tell you more

If I can reach over the bar, I'll repeat this letter. . . .

¹ At a sitting with Mrs. Piper on Jan. 2, 1907, Mr. Piddington only being present, he asked Rector what his name was, and Rector answered: “My name is Francis, or was when I was in the body.”

The above is linked with Mrs. Holland's and Mrs. Verrall's scripts of the same date by the phrase (in the waking-stage) "Light in West," combined with "If I can reach over the bar,"—an obvious reference to *Crossing the Bar*.

"Francis" seems to be explained by the mention of Francis of Assisi in the sitting of April 29, 1907, below. Whether or not there is any justification for the apparent statement that "Rector" represents St. Francis, the reference to Francis in the sitting gives a meaning to the remark in the waking stage, "See about Roland—Les Val;" for I conjecture that "Les Val" is an attempt at La Verna (otherwise called Alverna or Alvernia), the mountain given to St. Francis by the Tuscan noble, Roland of Chiusi di Casentino, where he received the stigmata. The experiences of St. Francis on the Mount of La Verna were, as explained in detail below, closely analogous to those of Moses on Mount Sinai. It is therefore noteworthy that he should be mentioned in a Piper sitting on the same day that Mrs. Holland's script contained phrases which were interpreted on other grounds as allusions to Moses.

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on April 29, 1907.)

(Present Mrs. Verrall and A. J.)

(Myers communicating)

When I referred to the Greek words I referred to a picture also. Did you U.D. it?

MRS. V. Do you mean when you spoke to me you referred to a picture?

Yes, when you were not here

MRS. V. I have had some references to a picture, but not, I think, in connection with those three Greek words.

No, but I gave you some reference to it here and later I referred to it again when you were not here

MRS. V. Yes, wait a moment. I think I must have this clear. May I go through it?

Yes do.

MRS. V. When I was last here I gave you three Greek words and I asked for their meaning and associations. You have

given me the meaning through this light and have given me direct the explanation of the associations which I did not know. You have also, so I am told, given one association through this light. The only thing now to complete it would be to say through this light the name of the Greek author of those words.

[The word "author" was not at first heard and had to be repeated.]

Oh I U.D. Author. Oh yes I did not catch it. You mean my reference to Horace

MRS. V. "My reference to Horace"?

(Hand shakes) Confusion about your questions. he is thinking of that question also. also.

MRS. V. Yes, yes.

[after a remark about the Horace question]

I remember my reference to the Greek words well. this was what brought to my mind the thought about Sasia Saisia too bad

MRS. V. Print it.

Francis

S i a a No you do not U.D. me R.

MRS. V. No, I know I don't.

I said the last sentence which I gave you was *okumen*¹ Best to U.D. each word separately if you can and it will be easier to U.D. him. R.

I gave it here several times and I thought you U.D. it

MRS. V. Yes. What was it, Rector, that you gave me? A message about Horace?

Yes

MRS. V. No, I don't think the message has been given to me about Horace. I have no knowledge of it.

Oh yes. I think there is still some muddling wait and I will explain

I did not mean Horace at all he Mr. Myers means Del Del

Borg Yes S w Borg S w Borg

¹ This is no doubt intended for *ἀκίμων*.

MRS. V. Swedenborg ?

Yes

MRS. V. You gave me a message about Swedenborg.

Yes I did

MRS. V. Yes, you did, and I found it true.

thank you now you U.D. Yes one thing more cleared up at last

MRS. V. Yes.

now listen I referred to another character both here and when you were alone

I wish to go back to St. Paul

my reference to azure a blue sea

azure. . . .

look out for the words I am trying to give you now D. etc.

D. etc.

MRS. V. Date ? First letter is D ?

begins with D

MRS. V. I know the word. I told it to my husband yesterday.

Shall I say it ?

Yes— What is it ?

MRS. V. Dante.

Yes yes Very good indeed but not right yet keep on and it will come.

[Later in the sitting the name "Dante" was written after many attempts and apparently with much difficulty.]

(*Waking-stage*)

All right I'm glad Inferno Myers. . . . the unknown deity. . . . Dante's Inferno— what else matters. . . .

αὐτὸς I have answered—there's no Inferno here— I want to say more—I wandered lonely as a cloud— Myers— Hallam— Arthur Hallam. . . .

As stated above, this was the first time that Mrs. Verrall had seen Mrs. Piper or had any intercourse with her since the sitting of Jan. 30, 1907. It was not unnatural, therefore, that some confusion ensued from her not always understanding

to what topic Myers_p was alluding. Thus the "picture" mentioned by him as connected with "the Greek words" was almost certainly the drawings of the "Bar" in the sitting of March 13, 1907 (see above, p. 102); whereas when Mrs. Verrall replied that she had had "some referenees to a picture," she meant Raphael's picture, which was one of the subjects of the cross-correspondence "Ave Roma" (see above, p. 12).

Myers_p seems at first confused between the "Horace Ode" question and the "Greek words" question (both having been put to him originally by Mrs. Verrall), but almost immediately realises that they are distinct, and spontaneously connects with the latter "*Sasia Saisia Francis S i a a.*" There can, I think, be little doubt that by this St. Francis of Assisi is meant. He then goes on—apparently in the same connection—to refer to Swedenborg, St. Paul and "a blue sea" (which must imply a cloudless sky); and to a word beginning with D., which Mrs. Verrall suggests is Dante. In the waking stage he mentions "the unknown deity,"—probably in reference to St. Paul's sermon at Athens (*Acts*, xvii. 23),—and repeats the name "Arthur Hallam."

Swedenborg and St. Paul are spoken of in *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 261, as among "the strong souls who have elaimed to feel [the transeendental ecstasy]," together with Elijah, Plotinus, Dante, Wordsworth and Tennyson (among others), all of whom have been referred to in the course of this cross-correspondence. It is therefore appropriate that Myers_p should mention them here.

St. Francis of Assisi, who, as we have seen, was probably the Francis mentioned in the Piper sitting of April 8, 1907, is of special interest in this connection on account of the close parallelism between what must be regarded as the crowning event of his life—the retreat on the Mount of La Verna during which he received the stigmata—and the experiences of Moses on Mount Sinai,¹ referred to in the scripts of Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland. The parallelism is referred to in general terms by more than one of his early biographers, but

¹ It is of course probable that the Franciscan Legend was moulded to some extent on the Mosaic Legend, and that this accounts—at least in part—for the resemblances between them. My argument relates only to the resemblances, and is not affected by any question as to what caused them.

has not, so far as I know, been worked out in detail. It may therefore be worth while to give it more fully here.

The Mount of La Verna (otherwise called Alverna) in Tuscany was given to St. Francis ¹ by a Tuscan noble, Roland of Chiusi di Casentino, as a place where he and his friars might found a solitary retreat. (See "Roland—Les Val" in the Piper sitting of April 8, 1907.) He went there with Friars Masseo, Angelo and Leo, accompanied by a peasant on whose ass St. Francis rode. On their way up the mountain, the peasant suffered greatly from thirst, and St. Francis by virtue of his prayers caused a spring to gush out of a hard rock where water had never been seen before or since; as Moses brought water out of the rock in Horeb (= Sinai).

After they reached the place chosen for the friary, St. Francis stayed there for a short time with the other friars. Later he sought for a more solitary and more secret place, in which to keep the fast of St. Michael, and a little cell was made for him on the further side of a great chasm. Friar Leo alone came with him to this retreat, but remained always at a distance from him except when at certain hours he came to bring him food. In this solitary place St. Francis spent the forty days of the fast. Similarly, Moses was accompanied for some way up Mount Sinai by Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders; and went on further alone with his minister Joshua, and remained in the mount forty days and forty nights (*Exodus*, xxiv.).

One night in the early part of September, Friar Leo, going to take food to St. Francis, saw him praying in the wood. Then he saw a flaming torch ² come down from heaven and rest on the head of St. Francis, and out of the flame he heard a voice speaking in words which he could not understand, but afterwards St. Francis told him, "God was in that flame thou sawest, who spake to me in that vision, even as of old He had spoken to Moses."

On the morning of Holy Cross Day (Sept. 14, 1224), before

¹ The account of St. Francis here given is taken from *The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, trans. by T. Okey.

² Cf. the Pentecostal "eloven tongues like as of fire" (*Acts*, ii. 3), associated, e.g. in Keble's Whitsunday hymn, with the manifestations to Moses on Mount Sinai.

dawn, St. Francis, praying, saw the vision of the Seraph and received the stigmata. Then the whole mount of La Verna seemed for about an hour to flame forth with so brilliant a light that it was reported by some shepherds to the friars. Also some muleteers, thinking the sun had risen, arose and saddled their beasts. Then they saw that light wane and the real sun rise.

Cf. "The sight of the glory of the Lord [upon Mount Sinai] was like devouring fire on the top of the mount in the eyes of the children of Israel" (*Exodus*, xxiv. 17).

St. Francis, having completed in solitude the forty days' fast of St. Michael, "descended from the mountain, bearing with him the likeness of the Crucified, engraven, not on tables of stone or of wood by the craftsman's hand, but written on his members of flesh by the finger of the Living God."¹ Cf. "He gave unto Moses, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount Sinai, two tables of testimony, tables of stone, written with the finger of God" (*Exodus*, xxxi. 18); and "And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables" (*Exodus*, xxxii. 16).

St. Francis is also compared by St. Bonaventura to Elijah: "[He was] wholly set on fire by the kindling of the Seraph, and, like the prophet, borne aloft in a chariot of fire; wherefore it is reasonably proven and clearly apparent from the witness of his whole life that he came in the spirit and power of Elias."²

We find too that his ecstasy, like that of Plotinus, was (according to St. Bonaventura) associated with the calm of external nature: "In the neighbourhood of the aforesaid Mount Alverna, before that the holy man had sojourned there, a cloud was wont to arise from the mountain and a fierce hailstorm to lay waste the fruits of the earth. But after that blessed vision, to the amazement of the inhabitants, the hail ceased, that the excellence of that heavenly apparition and the virtue of the stigmata that were there imprinted might be attested by the very face of the heavens, made calm beyond its wont."

¹ *Life of St. Francis*, by St. Bonaventura (trans. by Miss E. Gurney Salter).

² Prologue to St. Bonaventura's *Life*.

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper on April 30, 1907.)

(Present : A. J. and afterwards Mrs. Verrall.)

(Myers communicating)

I promised to give my reply to the Greek words and as soon as I saw the light departing I caught Rector and gave it to him and he will now give it to you

A. J. Yes, do, please.

As I believe it will be a better proof of identity than it would be if I gave it to Mrs. V. Do you U.D.

A. J. Yes, quite.

Well my reply to the Greek words is this They reminded me of Homer's Illiard [*sic*]

[After a little general conversation between A. J. and Myers_P, Mrs. Verrall comes in, and Myers_P repeats to her that he has given "Homer's Illiard" to A. J. as his reply to the Greek words. After some talk about the Horace Ode question, etc., Myers_P referred again to the Greek words:]

You asked for author's name. It reminded me of Pa Soer Soer tse

Mrs. V. Soerates ?

Yes— it reminded me of Homer also. I got Soeratese in my mind, and it came through your question. . . .

(Waking-stage)

Glad there's some one

Thanatos— Thanatos¹— Glad I'm— Thanatos— San. arpal okim appecky oan alon—akonoos—. . . .

[These words, which were written down phonetically by A. J., were probably intended for the Greek words.]

With *Thanatos* cf. "Moaning at the bar when I put out to sea" in the waking stage of March 6, 1907, and "Death" in the waking stage of March 13, 1907. The word "Thanatos"

¹This word—the Greek for "death"—had been mentioned to and translated by G. P. at some sittings held by Dr. Hodgson and Professor Newbold in 1895 (see *Proc.*, Vol. XIV., p. 47), so that it must be assumed that Mrs. Piper knew what it meant.

had also been mentioned in the waking stage on April 17 and April 23, 1907, and was treated in Mr. Piddington's report ¹ as a separate cross-correspondence, corresponding with "Mors, etc.," in Mrs. Holland's script of April 16, 1907 (see below, p. 139), and various references to Death in Mrs. Verrall's script of April 29, 1907.

Mrs. Verrall did not at the time of this sitting see any point in the reference to Socrates and Homer's *Iliad* in connection with the Greek words. But later she remembered a passage relating to Socrates in *Human Personality*, Vol. II., pp. 273-4, as follows :

Surely even that special premonition which is sometimes spoken of as a thing of terror,—the warning or the promise of earthly death,—should to the wise man sound as a friendly summons, and as a welcome home. Let him remember the Vision which came to Socrates in the prison-house ;—then, and then only, showing in an angel's similitude the Providence which till that hour had been but as an impersonal and invisible Voice ;—but now the "fair and white-robed woman," while friends offered escape from death, had already spoken of better hope than this, and had given to Achilles' words a more sacred meaning,—“On the third day hence thou comest to Phthia's fertile shore.”

It does not seem probable that Mrs. Piper had read this passage ; and even if she had, it is very improbable that she would have realised that "Achilles' words" are a line from the *Iliad*, no indication to that effect being given in the book. If it was to this that Myers_P referred, it fits in closely with his other associations with *ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων*, namely, *Crossing the Bar*, and *Death*.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of May 1, 1907.)

Evangel ²

then speed the word

¹ See *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 295-304.

² A probable reference to the Evangelist St. Mark, since the same word is used in Mrs. Verrall's script of Oct. 27, 1905, in connection with St. Mark ; and on May 13 (1907)—the date given later in this script—she produced a script interpreted by Mr. Piddington to refer to Myers's poem *Venice*, in which St. Mark is mentioned rather prominently (see *Proc.*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 184 *et seq.*).

Sleep Death's twin brother ¹

I stretch my hand across the gulf of time—that was said before to you. the intervening space twixt world and world, the lucid interspace.² I want you to try a special experiment. On May 13 wait for a message I cannot tell how it will reach you—but there is some special interest in that day. Tell Helen too—she might help. Don't ask more—a veil is best—but in the end you will understand and find the record complete.

Try to say the eagle soaring over Plato's tomb.

(*Drawing of bird with large outspread wings.*)

write slowly for him to repeat again

V A G I T U S Wailing

ΚΩΚΥΤΟΣ [wailing.]

We cease and may the blessings of the Most High rest on you
all Farewell (⊕) R

“*I stretch my hand . . . the lucid interspace*” refers us back to Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 25, 1907, see above, p. 93, while in her script of Feb. 12, 1907 (p. 88) occurred the words “Nor ever falls the least light . . .”, quoted from the same passage in *Lucretius*.

“*The eagle soaring over Plato's tomb.*” This phrase (used of Plotinus and, of course, familiar to Mrs. Verrall) is quoted twice in *Human Personality*, Vol. I., p. 120 and Vol. II., p. 261. It is also quoted in Myers's *Classical Essays*; Greek Oracles, p. 98, just before his translation of the Oracle given at Delphi in answer to the question “Where is now Plotinus' soul?” some reminiscences of which appeared in Mrs. Verrall's script of Dec. 17, 1906, see above, p. 31.

Finally, the name Plotinus was given in Mrs. Piper's trance, as follows :

(*Extract from report of sitting with Mrs. Piper on May 6, 1907.*)

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick and A. J.)

(Myers communicating)

¹ “When in the down I sink my head,
Sleep, Death's twin-brother, times my breath;
Sleep, Death's twin-brother, knows not Death,
Nor can I dream of thee as dead:”

(Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, LXVIII.).

² Tennyson, *Lucretius*.

Will you say to Mrs. Verrall
Plotinus

E. M. S. I will. What is that ?

My answer

E. M. S. Good

To autos ouranos okumen

E. M. S. Very good indeed. She will be very glad. I believe
that is what she wanted.

Chronological Summary of the ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων Incident.

1907.

- Jan. 15 (Mrs. P.). Statement that the message "Celestial
Haleyon days" had been given to
Mrs. V.
- Jan. 22 (Mrs. V.). Script containing word "supern." Mrs.
V. is reminded by this of an early
script containing word "supernal."
- Jan. 23. Mrs. V. determines to ask Myers_P what are his
associations with ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων.
- Jan. 29. At a sitting with Mrs. Piper, Mrs. V. puts this
question to Myers_P.
- Jan. 30 (Mrs. P.). Satellite and stars beam brightly
(? Myers, *To Tennyson*) Larches and
Laburnum (? *In Mem.*) Ulysses
(? Tennyson's poem).
- Feb. 12 (Mrs. V.). Voyage of Maeldune. Noises of the
western sea. Merlin's prophetic
vision. The Passing of Arthur.
Where blows not any wind, etc.
(Refs. to Tennyson's poems, involving,
perhaps, a ref. to Maximus of Tyre.)
- Feb. 20 (Mrs. V.). Chiaroscuro (? ref. to Myers's *To Tenny-
son* and *Renewal of Youth*) Peace.
Adventure forth.
- Feb. 25 (Miss V.). In the silence of the sleep-time (Brown-
ing's *Epilogue*).
- Feb. 25 (Mrs. V.). The lucid interspace of world and world
—where the gods of Lucretius quaff

their neectar (Tennyson's *Lucretius* and *Lotos-Eaters*).

- Feb. 26. Mrs. V. hears of Miss V.'s quotation from Browning.
- Feb. 26 (Mrs. V.). Stars and Satellites (Myers, *To Tennyson*). May there be no moaning at the bar (Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar*). The fighter fights one last fight (Browning, *Epilogue* and *Prospice*). After the earthquake, the fire and the wind (Moses on Sinai,—mentioned in *In Mem.*,—and Elijah on Horeb).
- Mar. 6 (Mrs. V.). Calm is the sea, etc. (Tennyson, *In Mem.*).
- Mar. 6 (Mrs. P.). Cloudless sky beyond the horizon. Moaning at the bar. Arthur Hallam (Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar* and *In Mem.*).
- Mar. 11 (Mrs. V.). The shadow of the Parthenon. Plato—dim-seen forms—half seen (Myers, *On Watts' Works* and *Renewal of Youth*). A verse in Tennyson, Plato and the shadow, etc. (Tennyson, *In Mem.*). Presences on the eternal hills—the lonely hills.
- Mar. 11-12. Mrs. V. finds close parallelism between Plotinus' view of conditions necessary for tranee and Tennyson's in *In Mem.*, XCIV.-XCV.
- Mar. 13 (Mrs. P.). I said to Mrs. V. I had crossed the Bar (Tennyson, *Crossing the Bar*). My own lines in which I referred to Stare (Myers, *Renewal of Youth*). Arthur Hallam (*In Mem.*). Death.
- Mar. 13 (Mrs. H.). The far shore of a very still and tideless sea. We gain the same goal through different gates [of death]. How many times ere I be dead, etc. (Myers, Sonnet in *Renewal of Youth* vol.).
- Mar. 18 (Mrs. H.). Description of different ways of dying.
- Apr. 8 (Mrs. V.). Rosy is the East (Tennyson, *Maud*).
- Apr. 8 (Mrs. H.). Peace on the great heart of the heaving sea, etc. The afterglow made the

- East as richly coloured as the West—
Leah became as Rachel— With such a
purple and sea-blue grace, etc. (Browning,
James Lee's Wife, and Tennyson,
In Mem.). The strong smiter—the
earth compeller (? Moses). A billowy
cloud (Browning, *Last Ride Together*).
- Apr. 8 (Mrs. P.). Francis. Roland. Les Val. Light in
West. If I can reach over the Bar
(*Crossing the Bar*).
- Apr. 29 (Mrs. P.). Sasia Saisia Francis Siasa Swedenborg—
St. Paul—a blue sea. The unknown
deity. There's no Inferno here. Ar-
thur Hallam (*In Mem.*).
- Apr. 30 (Mrs. P.). Greek words reminded me of Homer's
Illiard [*sic*] and Socrates. Thanatos.
- May 1 (Mrs. V.). Sleep, Death's twin brother (*In Mem.*).
The lucid interspace of world and
world (Tennyson, *Lucretius*). The
eagle soaring over Plato's tomb (Plo-
tinus).
- May 6 (Mrs. P.). Plotinus is my answer to autos ouranos
okumen [*sic*].

CHAPTER VI.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE: "THE CLAVIGERS."

THIS cross-correspondence is closely linked, as will be seen, with the "Ave Roma immortalis" case of a year before, and with the *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκύμων* case that was going on contemporaneously. It is linked with the former through its allusions to Hercules and St. Peter, the Club-bearer and the Key-bearer; to Pope Julius II. and to Rome; and with the latter through its allusions to Plotinus, to East and West, to Moses and to Leah and Rachel. But so many topics are involved that it seemed best to treat separately, as far as

possible, those that for convenience have been classified under the present category.

The first two scripts, by Mrs. Verrall, are so clearly connected together that I will first quote both and then comment on the two combined.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 4, 1907.)

μαινόμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς [Heraklés is mad].

Hereules Furens [The mad Hereules]. Tell your husband from me there is a passage in the Herakles not understood, about the pillar and the tying to it. An old story lies behind that but it means something in Euripides that A W V has not yet seen. Tell him to look at it again—it is the passage about the pillar and the thong—the pillar at the foot of wh. lay the dead children. Tell your husband to read that again—not to mind the mythology but to see another point wh. will please him.

I have long wanted to say this but the words were never there—now all the words are there and I think I have made the meaning clear ask elsewhere for the BOUND HERCULES. Ἡρακλῆς λυόμενος [Unbound Heraeles] is the sequel.

Binding and loosing δεσμοῖσι λυτοῖσι [with fetters that may be loosed.] not adamantine fetters¹ but fetters that link and loose. Something about snapping his bonds in sunder. Tell A W V he will understand.

(Mrs. Verrall's Script of March 25, 1907.)

Claviger the bearer of the Key and Club
clavem gerens trans Pontem



trans Helles pontem et insuper mare ad urbem antea Byzantineam postea de ipsius nomine nominatam. [bearing the key (or club)]

¹ Cf. Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, ll. 6 and 64.

across the Bridge across Helle's bridge and over the sea to the city formerly Byzantine afterwards called from his own name.]

The Club and Key—East and West— look for the Eastern sign of the Club *ex pede Herculem* [from the foot (you may know) Hercules] The Hercules story comes in there and the clue is in the Euripides play if you could only see it.

Bound to the pillar—I told you before of Sebastian,—it is the same story of the archer and the binding to the pillar.

I want a special message to get to you. I have tried several times, but you have not understood. I don't know where it went wrong. But let Piddington know when you get a message about shadow,—remember the Virgilian line *indignantis sub umbras*¹ [to the angry shades]. To you they are shadows—like the shadows in Plato's cave, but they are shadows of the real.

quae cum vides bene comprehendere possis quae tibi nunc fusco colore obdita paene obscurata videntur, et tamen in somniis aliquando U M B R A R U M volitantia corpora percipis—immo pro corporibus animas dicere melius—

quae tibi per somnum mentem immortalia tangunt

haec cape, quis eaptis non [sic] desine

[which when you see you will well understand what now hidden with dark colour seems to you almost obscured and yet in dreams sometimes you see the flitting bodies of SHADES—rather for bodies it were better to say souls. The immortal things that touch your mind in sleep, seize them and when they are seized do not cease.]

no, not that

summum adtingere [to attain the highest] comes in

It means that there and thus does this mortal put on immortality,² by keeping hold of the things, the true things seen in sleep. Why could he not say that? It seems simple enough to me.

et nos attingimus caelum [we too attain heaven]

But when so many things flit through the mind it is hard to seize and hold only what is true. I think I have this time. Ask if he understands.

The shadow of a shade

that is better *umbrarum umbras* [shades of shades]

σκιας εἰδωλον [the image of a shade] was what I wanted to get written. Good-bye.

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII. 952, "indignata sub umbras."

² See I. *Cor.* xv. 53.

As to the script of March 4, 1907, the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides was one of the plays included in Dr. Verrall's studies of Euripides, but neither he nor Mrs. Verrall was able to conjecture what particular point in the story had, as alleged by the script, been missed by him, nor has any further light been thrown on this since.

The latter part of the script lays stress on the contrast between the Bound and the Unbound Heracles. In the play the tying of Heracles to the pillar, after, in his madness, he had killed his wife and children, is an important incident, but there is no particular point in the untying after he recovers his reason. "Bound and Unbound," however, naturally suggests Prometheus, as is further indicated by the phrase "adamantine fetters" (borrowed from the *Prometheus Vinculus* of Æschylus)—fetters from which he was delivered by Heracles. I take it, then, that the general intention of this script is to point to the contrast of Binding and Loosing,—a topic which is carried on and developed in the script of March 25, 1907.

This script by its opening reference to the Claviger—the bearer of the Key and Club—refers back to Mrs. Verrall's script of March 5, 1906 (see above, p. 20), in which the Claviger had been interpreted by Mrs. Verrall herself as a joint allusion to Hercules and St. Peter. It may then be taken as certain that this script too refers to St. Peter as well as to Hercules.

But Mr. Piddington¹ pointed out that the only Latin writer who uses "Claviger" in the sense of "Key-bearer" is Ovid, who in *Fasti*, I. applies the term to the two-headed Roman deity Janus. Janus holds in his right hand a staff and in his left a key; he is the door-keeper of the courts of heaven, and with his double face is able to see the East and the West at the same time. In the same book of the *Fasti* Ovid calls Heracles "Claviger," viz. "Club-bearer."

The epithet Claviger, then, suggests three different characters, Heracles, Janus, and St. Peter. Heracles is partly Eastern, partly Western, and his Club is one of the signs of the Oriental elements in his mythology. Janus is a purely

¹ I here summarise the comments on this script made by Mr. Piddington in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 253-258; but the reader who is interested in the classical allusions should refer to that report for full details.

Western deity, but the Key with which he opens and shuts, and his power of seeing the East and West simultaneously are instances of various antithetical powers attributed to him. To St. Peter, an Oriental and first bishop of the Western Church, belongs the Power of the Keys, which admit into or exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven, and the power of binding and loosing.¹

Further, St. Peter, according to one tradition, was martyred on the Janiculum, the hill of Janus; while Ovid has a story that Heracles was the first to throw dummy figures instead of live human beings from the Sublician Bridge into the Tiber as sacrifices to Vulcan, this being the oldest bridge across the Tiber, and leading straight to the Janiculum.

The words "*trans pontem trans Hellespontem*" seem to involve a play on *pontem* and (*Helles*) *pontum* which can allude only to Xerxes; for it was he who built the *pontem* (bridge) between Abydos and Sestos by means of which the Persian army crossed *Helles pontum* (*i.e.* the sea of Helle, or the Hellespont) to Greece. The point of this allusion is probably as another instance of the union of East and West.

"*The city formerly Byzantine, afterwards called by his own name*" is of course Constantinople, to which Constantine removed the seat of the Roman Empire after he became sole ruler of the East and West portions of it. The Asian part of the Empire naturally became more closely bound up with the West through this action of Constantine's.

The latter part of the script, beginning: "*I want a special message to get to you . . .*", is the part that is connected with the *αὐτὸς οὐρανὸς ἰκίμων* incident, being no doubt founded, at least partly, as Mrs. Verrall herself observed, on a quotation from Plotinus in *Human Personality* (Vol. II., p. 290, on the page preceding that from which the Plotinian passage quoted above, p. 84, is taken) as follows:

When from that cloud encompassing of unforgetful souls some voice is heard,—as long ago,—there needs no heroism, no sanctity, to inspire the apostle's *ἐπιθυμία εἰς τὸ ἀναλῦσαι*, the desire to

¹ "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven" (*St. Matthew*, xvi. 19). Cf. Mrs. Verrall's script of Mar. 4, 1907.

lift our anchor and to sail out beyond the bar. . . . "As the soul hasteneth," says Plotinus, "to the things that are above, she will ever forget the more; unless all her life on earth leave a memory of things done well. For even here may man do well, if he stand clear of the cares of earth. And he must stand clear of their memories too; so that one may rightly speak of a noble soul as forgetting those things that are behind. And the shade of Herakles, indeed, may talk of his own valour to the shades; but the true Herakles in the true world will deem all that of little worth; being transported into a more sacred place, and strenuously engaging, even above his strength, in those battles in which the wise engage."

In this passage Plotinus is alluding to *Odyssey*, XI. 601-3, where a distinction is drawn between the shade (*εἶδωλον*) of Heracles in Hades and Heracles himself (*ἄτρός*) in Heaven. Mr. Piddington points out that the same lines in the *Odyssey* must have been the source of Tennyson's

"No *visual shade* of some one lost

But he, *the Spirit himself*, may come. . . ."

(*In Memoriam*, XCIII.)

(This stanza has already been quoted in commenting on the reference to Tennyson and Plato in Mrs. Verrall's script of March 11, 1907, see above, p. 100.)

The same words, *εἶδωλον*¹ and *ἄτρός*, are used in the same sense in Plato's allegory of the prisoners in the cave, which is referred to in the script of March 25, 1907.

The meaning of all the latter part of the script seems to be that the images seen in trance or ecstasy are in themselves unreal, but that they represent a reality:—"like the shadows in Plato's cave, but they are shadows of the real."

San Pietro in Vincoli.

Since the script of March 25, 1907, was taken by Mrs. Verrall to refer to St. Peter as well as to Hercules, I think there can be little doubt that the "binding and loosing" and "snapping his bonds in sunder" of March 4, 1907, also

¹ It is interesting that the word "eidolon" was used in some early scripts of Mrs. Holland's, commented on in my first report, *Proc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 215-218. The note on it supplied to me by Mrs. Verrall and there printed was not written until March, 1908.

refer to St. Peter as well as to Hercules, the two scripts being so closely connected together. The phrase "binding and loosing" refers, I take it, to the powers attributed to the Apostle, which were in some respects analogous to those attributed to Hercules (*e.g.* in the latter's delivery of Prometheus from his bonds). "Something about snapping his bonds in sunder" refers, I think, to the chains with which St. Peter himself was bound in prison.

Two imprisonments of St. Peter¹ are recorded: (1) when he was imprisoned by Herod in Jerusalem and delivered by an angel, when "his chains fell off from his hands" and the iron gate "opened to them of his own accord" (*Acts*, xii. 1-10); (2) when, as asserted by some early ecclesiastical writers, he was confined with St. Paul in the Mamertine prison at Rome for eight or nine months up to the time of his martyrdom.

The church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome, to which I believe that special reference is made in these scripts and in a corresponding one of Mrs. Holland's, contains as its chief relief the chains alleged to be those with which St. Peter was bound in the Mamertine prison.

There are a number of different legends as to the acquisition of these chains by the church. According to one version, they were sent originally to Jerusalem, and afterwards presented by the Bishop of Jerusalem to Eudoxia, who put one in the Basilica at Constantinople and sent the other to her daughter, the Empress Eudoxia at Rome. The latter built the church as a shrine for the chain. Shortly afterwards the second chain was sent to Rome and miraculously united itself to the first.² The miracle was beheld in a vision by Pope Leo I.³; the day on which it occurred, August 1st, being always afterwards kept as a festival when the sacred chain is exhibited.

In the sacristy, where the shrine containing the chain is kept, is a picture by Domenichino of the freeing of St. Peter from prison, and a copy of the same picture is in the church itself.

¹ Besides the occasion when he and St. John were "put in hold" for a single night at Jerusalem (*Acts*, iv. 3.)

² *Rom und die Campagna*, by Dr. Th. Gesell Fels, p. 806.

³ See Hare's *Walks in Rome*, Vol. II., p. 50.

This church, then, may be said to represent, as perhaps no other church does, St. Peter Bound and Unbound, both in the East and in the West; which latter feature, together with the union of the Roman chain with that from Constantinople, is another instance of the combination of West and East which we have seen to be one of the factors of the whole complex cross-correspondence.

St. Sebastian.

“ I told you before of Sebastian, it is the same story of the archer and the binding to the pillar.”

St. Sebastian is of course often represented in art as bound to a pillar (like Hercules in the *Hercules Furens*) and generally as pierced with arrows. The pillar and the arrows suggest an association with Hercules; but I believe that the main intention of the script is again to point to the church of San Pietro in Vincoli. One of the chief features of this church is a remarkable old mosaic of St. Sebastian, described by Dr. Gsell Fels as a unique example of the Byzantine influence in Rome,¹ and reproduced in the illustration given below (Plate XI).

A fresco in the church ascribed to Pollajuolo represents the translation of the body of St. Sebastian, as *Depulsor Pestilitatis*, from the catacombs to the church. This occurred during the plague of 680, when a citizen dreamt that it would cease as soon as the body of St. Sebastian was brought into the church and an altar erected to him. A tablet near the altar tells the story of the plague and its cessation.

From this time onwards St. Sebastian was invoked as a protector against the plague, and his fame gradually spread through the whole of Europe.²

Mrs. Verrall was in Rome once only, in March, 1892, as related above in connection with the “ Ave Roma immortalis ” cross-correspondence (see p. 21), and a note in her diary records that she visited S. Pietro in Vincoli on March 30, 1892. When, in the autumn of 1912, I mentioned to her

¹ *Rom und die Campagna*, p. 810.

² See Hare's *Walks in Rome*, Vol. II., p. 52; and Mrs. Arthur Bell's *Lives and Legends of the Evangelists, Apostles and other early Saints*, p. 239

that the Church contained a famous mosaic of St. Sebastian, she remembered nothing about it. But when later I showed her a photograph of it, she wrote :

On reflection I am sure that we must have seen the St. Sebastian mosaic. The photograph of it brought it back to me vividly, and we were very much interested in mosaics and went to all the churches where there were any interesting mosaics. What I did not and do not recall is that this mosaic was in the church of San Pietro in Vincoli.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of April 8, 1907.)

Is the *Paradiso* mental relaxation ? I should recommend prose—English prose—fiction.

The constellation of Orion.

The tall spire shows above the mellow redness of the wall—Do you remember that exquisite sky when the after glow made the East as beautiful and as richly coloured as the West—Martha became as Mary—and Leah as Rachel—

“ With such a purple and sea blue grace
Love settling unawares ”

He the strong smiter the earth compeller
A billowy cloud heavy with blessing—

The whole of this script is given above (p. 110) in connection with *ἀπὸς οὐρανὸς ἀκίμων*, as exemplifying the contrast or union of the East and the West, and of the Active and Contemplative types.

The mention of Martha and Mary with Leah and Rachel indicates that the idea at the back of the script was not the Biblical conception of Leah and Rachel, but the mediaeval conception of them as the Old Testament “types” corresponding to the New Testament Active and Contemplative “types” of Martha and Mary. The most famous literary expression of this idea of Leah and Rachel occurs in Dante's *Purgatorio*, and the mention of the *Paradiso* earlier in the script shows that the scribe had Dante in mind. Rachel is mentioned several times in the *Commedia*, but Leah occurs once

only, and then with Rachel, in the following passage (*Purgatorio*, XXVII. 92-108),¹ in which Dante describes his dream before the dawn of the day on which he entered the Earthly Paradise :

“sleep fell on me, sleep which oft doth know the news ere the fact come to pass.

In the hour, methinks, when Cytherea, who seemeth ever burning with fire of love, first beamed from the east on the mount, meseemed to behold in a dream, a lady, young and fair, going along a plain gathering flowers ; and singing she said :

‘ Know, whoso asketh my name, that I am Leah, and go moving my fair hands around to make me a garland.

To please me at the glass here I deek me ; but Rachel my sister ne’er stirs from her mirror, and sitteth all day.

She is fain to behold her fair eyes, as I to deek me with my hands : her, contemplation ; me, action, doth satisfy.’ ”

This passage gives us Leah and Rachel only ; Martha and Mary are not mentioned in the *Commedia* at all, but in the Temple Edition there is a note to this passage as follows :

[In] this third and last vision of Dante’s . . . Leah and Rachel, the Old Testament types of the Active and Contemplative Life appear to him. . . . In the New Testament the types are represented by Martha and Mary, see *Convivio*, IV. 17 ; 85-111.

On the other hand, Cary’s Translation of Dante has the following note on *Purgatorio*, XXVII. 101 :

By Leah is understood the active life as Rachel figures the contemplative. Michel Angelo has made these allegorical personages the subject of two statues on the monument of Julius II. in the church of S. Pietro in Vineoli.

Conversely Dr. Gsell Fels, in speaking of the Leah and Rachel of the tomb,² refers to *Purgatorio*, XXVII. 108. Since, further, it is well known that Michael Angelo greatly admired Dante, and earnestly desired to be allowed to erect a monu-

¹ *Temple Edition* ; translation by Thomas Okey.

² *Rom und die Campagna*, p. 808.

ment to him at Florence instead of labouring at the tombs of persons in whom he took no interest, there seems little doubt that his Leah and Rachel were intended to embody Dante's conception of them. In any case his is the most famous representation of them in art, as Dante's is in literature, and I believe that the script alludes to both.

If this interpretation is correct, we should expect to find in the script some allusion to the most famous feature of the tomb (and of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli), namely, the statue of Moses; and this, I believe, is to be found (as suggested in the previous chapter, p. 113) in the phrase "He the strong smiter, the earth-compeller." This is a not inappropriate description of the Moses of the tomb, which represents the active ruler, lawgiver, and judge, and not the contemplative side of Moses' life. (See below, Plate XII.)

Mrs. Holland, who is unfamiliar with Dante's works, knew nothing of the passage about Leah and Rachel in the *Purgatorio*. She has never been to Rome, and consequently has not seen Michael Angelo's Moses; nor did she know that it is placed between statues of Leah and Rachel until I told her of this fact, having myself discovered it some time after Leah and Rachel had been mentioned in her script. She had attached no meaning to "the strong smiter, the earth-compeller."

Michael Angelo was working at this tomb at intervals for a great part of his life, 1505-1545. It was originally ordered in 1505 by Julius II., who, as mentioned above (see p. 23), pulled down the old St. Peter's church, and planned and began the present building (of San Pietro in Vaticano), with a special view to its containing his own tomb, which was planned on a colossal scale, with some forty statues in marble and bronze, besides bas-reliefs and ornamental figures. After the death of Julius II. in 1513, the work was stopped for a time and resumed at intervals by the orders of his relations. The tomb was finally placed in San Pietro in Vincoli, of which he had been Cardinal. Of the figures on it, Moses is by Michael Angelo, and Leah and Rachel are either his work, or at least designed by him and executed partly by him and partly under his supervision. The Virgin and Child, and the Prophet and Sibyl, above, were also designed by Michael Angelo.

The two "Bound Captives" or "Slaves" now in the Louvre were executed by Michael Angelo for the tomb, as were the four unfinished figures now in the Grotto Buontalenti of the Boboli Gardens at Florence. One figure from each of these sets is shown in Plates XIII. and XIV. They were meant to represent the provinces conquered by the warlike Pope Julius II.

If I am right in thinking that Mrs. Verrall's scripts of March 4 and 25, 1907, refer to this church (which, as explained above, represents St. Peter Bound and Unbound) and to St. Peter's powers of binding and loosing, it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that, in the repeated phrases about binding and persons bound to pillars, etc., which no doubt apply primarily to Hercules and St. Sebastian, a secondary reference is intended to these symbols of the material power not only claimed but freely exercised by a Pope who acted as a Club-bearer rather than a Key-bearer.

(Extract from report of sitting with Mrs. Piper on April 8, 1907.)

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick only.)

(Myers communicating)

Do you remember euripides.

E. M. S. What is that? "Euripides"?¹

I meant to say Harold.

E. M. S. "Harold"?

Yes well

E. M. S. To whom did you say "Harold"?
to Mrs. V.

An extract from a later part of the same sitting, about St. Francis, is given above, p. 115, and the phrase "Light in West," uttered in the waking-stage is linked with Mrs. Holland's "the afterglow made the East as beautiful and as richly coloured as the West" of the same date. The mention of "Euripides" here links with Mrs. Verrall's scripts

¹ Mrs. Sidgwick noted that she had no doubt of the reading but for its apparent irrelevance, since she did not then know that the name had occurred in Mrs. Verrall's script.

of March 4 and 25, 1907, discussed above, and with Mrs. Holland's immediately below.

(Mrs. Holland's Script of April 16, 1907.)

Maurice. Morris. Mors.

And with that the shadow of death fell upon him and his soul departed out of his limbs.

Leopold—Lucus [?]

Margaret

To fly to find Euripides Philemon

I want you to understand me but I have so few chances to speak—it's like waiting to take a ticket and I am always pushed away from the pigeon hole before I can influence her mind— No the scribe's—

A peck of pickled pepper¹—

The first part of this script was treated by Mr. Piddington (in *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 297) as a separate cross-correspondence, connected with "Thanatos" in Mrs. Piper's trance on Apr. 17, 23, and 30, 1907 (see above, p. 122), and with various references to Death in Mrs. Verrall's script of April 29, 1907.

The scripts of these three automatists are no doubt closely connected together on this point; but the reference to Death in Mrs. Holland's is also linked with the mention of Euripides later in the same script, for this, as will be seen immediately, refers especially to the death of Euripides.

Mr. Piddington, in his original comments on the latter part of this script,² suggested that the combination of "Leopold" with "Euripides" was intended to link it with the "Euripides" and "Harold" of Mrs. Piper's script just quoted, Leopold and Harold being the names of Mr. Myers's two sons.

"*A peck of pickled pepper*" is no doubt one of the punning references to Mrs. Piper that are so frequent in all the scripts. This particular one had been used by Mrs. Holland on June 13, 1906: "The next pick of pickled pepper will be rather a surprising one. Mrs. Piper is becoming an Eddyite."³

"*Margaret*" in the Holland script almost always means

¹ "Peter Piper pieked a peck of pickled pepper."

² See *Proc.*, Vol. XXII., pp. 215-217. ³ This statement was incorrect.

Mrs. Verrall. The two names (one explicit and the other implicit) seem to indicate that a cross-correspondence with both Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Piper is being aimed at.

“*Lucus*¹—*To fly to find Euripides—Philemon.*” This is a reference to Browning’s *Aristophanes’ Apology*; including a *Transcript from Euripides*; being the *Last Adventure of Balaustion*. The “*Transcript from Euripides*” is Browning’s translation of the *Hercules Furens*; so that we find in this script the fulfilment of the statement in Mrs. Verrall’s script of March 4, 1907: “Ask elsewhere for the Bound Hercules.” Balaustion, the “*Wild-pomegranate-flower*,” is “the lyric girl” from the island of Rhodes, who saved a shipful of her fellow-countrymen by reciting to the Sicilians the *Alcestis* of Euripides, in return for which they allowed the ship that was carrying her to take refuge in the harbour of Syracuse from pursuing pirates.² This is the subject of the poem *Balaustion’s Adventure*; including a *Transcript from Euripides*, i.e. Browning’s translation of the *Alcestis*. Balaustion is therefore especially associated with the two plays of Euripides dealing with the adventures of Hercules.

In the second poem she is fleeing from Athens after its conquest by Sparta. On the voyage she tells her fellow-travellers, of whom the dramatist Philemon is one, how Aristophanes with his boon-companions came to her house a year earlier, on the night that the news of Euripides’ death reached Athens, and how she then recited the *Hercules Furens*, the original tablets of which had been given to her by Euripides himself, in memory of her first adventure with his other Hercules play, as a parting gift when he left Athens.

The association of Philemon with Euripides in the script shows that the reference is to *Aristophanes’ Apology*. The phrase, “*To fly to find Euripides*,” is derived from two passages in it: one is the opening of the final section of the poem, the words being spoken by Balaustion:

And see if young Philemon,—sure one day
To do good service and be loved himself,—
If he too have not made a votive verse!

¹ The fourth letter of this word in the original script is doubtful; it might be *a* or *u*. I follow Mr. Piddington’s reading of it as *u*.

² The story is from Plutarch, but Balaustion is Browning’s own creation.

"Grant, in good sooth, our great dead, all the same,
Retain their sense, as certain wise men say,
I'd hang myself—to see Euripides!"¹

The other passage, which is near the beginning of the poem, is clearly connected with this, both by its general tenor and by the double introduction of the phrase "as the wise assert." Here too Balaustion is addressing Philemon:

Why should despair be? Since, distinct above
Man's wickedness and folly, flies the wind
And floats the cloud, free transport for our soul
Out of its fleshly durance dim and low,—
Since disembodied soul anticipates
(Thought-borne as now, in rapturous unrestraint)
Above all crowding, crystal silentness,
Above all noise, a silver solitude:—
Surely, where thought so bears soul, soul in time
May permanently bide, "assert the wise,"
There live in peace, there work in hope once more—
O nothing doubt, Philemon! . . .
Believe—o'er falsehood, truth is surely sphered.
O'er ugliness beams beauty, o'er this world
Extends that realm where, "as the wise assert,"
Philemon, thou shalt see Euripides
Clearer than mortal sense perceived the man!

With this we may compare the passage (quoted below) from the *Dissertationes* of Maximus of Tyre, in which Mr. Piddington discovered the same combination of two passages from the *Odyssey* that he found in Mrs. Verrall's script of Feb. 12, 1907 (see above, p. 90). Mrs. Verrall, it will be remembered, produced the combination through a composite quotation from Tennyson's *Passing of Arthur* and *Lucretius*: while Mrs. Holland's script gives (implicitly) a general parallel to the Maximus passage through a quotation from Browning, which—characteristically—speaks of work, as well as of peace, in the future life.

Maximus (like Browning) speaks of the vision that may

¹ The last three lines are a translation of lines actually written by Philemon. His introduction into the poem is an anachronism, as he was not born until about 362 B.C., that is, 43 years after the death of Euripides.

be seen for a while by the soul that is still embodied as an anticipation of what it will look on permanently when freed from the body (I give Mr. Piddington's paraphrase¹ of the *Dissertationes*, XVII. 10-11) :

If with upright and steadfast soul a man gaze without growing dizzy on that unsullied light, and look not back earthwards ; if he stop his ears, and turn his sight and all his other senses inwards upon himself ; if, utterly unheeding of earthly cares and afflictions, of pleasures and honours, of glory and infamy, he let himself be led by true reason and steadfast love . . . then, as he goes thitherwards and leaves the world behind him, always that which is in front of him shall grow clear and brilliant, precluding, as it were, the Godhead. So, as he travels on, he shall hear the Godhead, and, the journey done, shall behold it face to face.

Yet his journey's goal is not the firmament of heaven, nor such bodies as are therein, . . . but he must pass beyond these, and overstep the firmament until he reach the real goal and its perfect calm,

“ Where neither is great winter-storm, nor is it ever wet with rain ; but most clear air is spread about it cloudless, and the white light floats upon it ” ;

and where no fleshly affection, such as vexes the wretched soul here below, can trouble the vision.

“ *Lucus* ” in the script no doubt means Λύκος, the ruler of Thebes, a character in the *Hercules Furens*. In accordance with his habit of using the English *u* for the Greek *v*, Browning transliterates this name as *Lukos* (instead of *Lycus*, *Lykus*, or *Lykos*), so that the script version “ *Lucus*,” like the combination of *Philemon* with *Euripides*, points to Browning's poem rather than to the original play.

Chronological Summary of “ The Clavigers.”

1907.

Mar. 4 (Mrs. V.). *Hercules Furens*. The binding to the pillar. *Euripides*. Ask elsewhere for the *Bound Hercules*. *Hercules Unbound* is the sequel. *Binding and loosing*.

¹ See *Proc.*, Vol. XXVI., p. 246.

- Mar. 25 (Mrs. V.). Claviger—the bearer of the Key (Peter) and Club (Hercules). East and West. Hercules. Sebastian (Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli). The shadows in Plato's cave—shadows of the real. The true things seen in sleep. The shadow of a shade, etc.
- Apr. 8 (Mrs. H.). East and West. Leah became as Rachel (Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli). With such a purple and sea-blue grace, etc. (Browning, *James Lee's Wife*, and Tennyson, *In Mem.*). The strong smiter—the earth compeller (? Moses—Church of S. Pietro in Vincoli). A billowy cloud (Browning, *Last Ride Together*).
- Apr. 8 (Mrs. P.). Euripides—Harold.
- Apr. 16 (Mrs. H.). Mors. The shadow of Death. Leopold. Lueus. To fly to find Euripides. Philemon (Browning, *Aristophanes' Apology*, including translation of the *Hercules Furens*).

CHAPTER VII.

SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

CONTINUED study of the scripts seems to make more and more evident what we began to suspect long ago—namely, that the part played by the "writers" is by no means a passive one. They are not like machines in the hands of an external operator with no will or initiative of their own; it seems rather that their own minds are working actively, but under the guidance of a supervising intelligence—what I have called above the "author." The result is a joint composition, in which, however, it sometimes seems possible to disentangle the product of the writer from the product of the

“author,” and I propose to attempt this in regard to some of the cases given above.

But in the first one—“Ave Roma immortalis”—there are hints of the influence of yet another person, namely, Dr. Verrall; and this may be instructively compared with “The one-horse dawn” case in Mrs. Verrall’s first Report,¹ when Dr. Verrall in 1901 made a definite attempt to convey to her telepathically the three Greek words *μονόπωλον ἐς ἄω*, and fragments both of the Greek words and their English equivalents, as well as allusions to them, appeared in her script.

The words were taken from a passage set for translation in one of the papers in the Classical Tripos Examination of 1873, in which Dr. Verrall had been a candidate. But among the script referenees to them occurred the remark—

Find the HERB MOLY that will help—it is a guide *ζήτει καὶ τέλος λήψεις* [sic]. [Seek and you will find at last, or, Seek and you will grasp the end.]

One of the most familiar associations in English² literature with “the herb moly” is, of course,

“that moly

Which Hermes once to wise Ulysses gave”

in Milton’s *Comus*, and Mrs. Verrall thought that her script was alluding to this. Some three years later she found that the passage containing these lines had been set as the subject for Latin Hexameters in the same Tripos. The recollection of this had entirely gone from Dr. Verrall’s mind, so much so that even the sight of the passage in *Comus* (after Mrs. Verrall had made the discovery in the spring of 1905) did not revive in him any memory of having translated it in the Tripos.

Thus Mrs. Verrall’s script had registered not only an existing mental impression of her husband’s, but also a completely

¹ *Proc.*, Vol. XX., pp. 156-167.

² Some of our foreign critics, such as Dr. Maxwell, have not always sufficiently considered that phrases in the scripts which are unfamiliar to them may at once suggest to an English reader some, to him well known, literary association.

forgotten past impression, once closely associated with the first.

It is conceivable that the idea of the "herb moly" came into the script through telepathy from Dr. Arthur Myers (who had died about 7 years before) who had been a fellow-candidate with Dr. Verrall in the Tripos of 1873 and an intimate friend of his, and to whom some parts of the script seemed to allude. But, if this case stood alone, it would no doubt seem more probable that Dr. Verrall had been the telepathic agent both in regard to what he deliberately and consciously tried to transfer (the words *μονόπωλον ἐς ἄω*), and in regard to what he certainly did not consciously try to transfer, namely, the lines from *Comus* which must have been within his subliminal recollections.

In ordinary experiments in telepathy we meet occasionally with cases where some subliminal idea of the agent's seems to have been transferred to the percipient, though it is, I think, very rarely one which has so completely lapsed from memory as in this case of Dr. Verrall's. Also, what happened in this case was something more than the mechanical reproduction of a lapsed impression. Not only did "the herb moly" emerge, but it was coupled with the remark that it would help—would be a guide. Somebody, then, not only remembered "the herb moly", but was able to reason in an intelligent way about it. The recollection may be attributed to Dr. Verrall's subliminal mind; it is, I think, less easy to attribute to him the power of putting together subliminally the two impressions—one supraliminal and the other subliminal—and reasoning upon them in this way. The mental action involved suggests some one with a more complete grip of the whole circumstances than he presumably had.

Ave Roma.

In the "Ave Roma" case, there is no clear evidence that Dr. Verrall exercised any influence at all; we know, at least, that he had no intention of doing so; and from the fresh facts as to the meaning of Mrs. Verrall's scripts adduced in this paper, it looks as if he had had less influence on them than was surmised at the time, and as if the action of the "author"

had been a larger factor in the whole cross-correspondence than was represented in my first report on it.

Dr. Verrall, it appears, guessed correctly the meaning of the first script as referring to Raphael's picture; he did not tell Mrs. Verrall what he had guessed, but it might be imagined that he had telepathically influenced her next scripts. Here, however, the "author" intervenes; and—the first subject having been guessed—gives her a totally different subject for the second script, while wording it in such a way that it might be thought to be only a continuation of the first subject. And this was what we all originally took it to be.

The riddle in this second script of Mrs. Verrall's answers fairly well to the definition given at the beginning of this paper,—something so veiled and obscure that no one guesses its meaning at the time, and yet so explicit that when the clue is found, there can be no doubt of the meaning.

"Pagan and Pope; the Stoic Persecutor and the Christian; Gregory—not Basil's friend—ought to be a clue." Here are two pairs of associated persons, and a fifth, somehow connected with them. One only of the five persons is described quite explicitly,—the "Stoic Persecutor," who can only be Marcus Aurclius. "Gregory" may be one of several Gregorys, but it is pretty clear from the whole context that he must be a Pope, and he must have some relation to the two pairs. Mrs. Verrall imagined at the time that there might be some reference in the script to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, but did not think that this completely explained it, since it accounted only for the Pagan, Pope, and Christian. On the other hand, my solution of the five persons as Trajan and St. Peter, Marcus Aurelius and St. Paul, and Pope Gregory I., fits the script exactly, and I think that any one who reads the whole case can hardly doubt its correctness.

Here the facts given in the scripts are within the knowledge, supraliminal or subliminal, not only of Dr. Verrall, but of Mrs. Verrall; but the special point selected for mention in the script—the connection of the Columns with St. Peter and St. Paul—is one so unfamiliar to them, or so unimportant in their eyes, that neither of them recognised the allusion to it, and when I told Mrs. Verrall of it, she could not remember

that she had ever heard the fact before. My full discussion of the case, however, shows that this point adds considerably to the significance of the whole cross-correspondence by helping to complete the rough sketch of an outline of the history of Rome, which I take to be implied in it.

I think it is difficult to attribute either to Dr. Verrall or to Mrs. Verrall the intention to give a thumb-nail sketch of the history of Rome, such as can be elicited from the scripts. If I am right in thinking that the intention is there, it must rather be attributed to the "author."

Another essential feature in the case is the connection with Mrs. Holland's script. The intention to make some such connection was not in Mrs. Verrall's conscious mind, because it was not one of the days fixed for her experiments with Mrs. Holland. Still less was the intention in Dr. Verrall's mind; he was interested only in interpreting Mrs. Verrall's scripts. Nevertheless, if the connection between the scripts of the two writers had been only a simple and straightforward similarity in phrasing or idea, we should naturally put it down to telepathy between them. But it is far from being simple and straightforward. It involves not simple reproduction, but a good deal of reasoning and intelligence. The fresh facts adduced in this paper show that the Holland phrase "*Ave Roma immortalis*" is even more appropriate to the Verrall scripts with their summary of Roman history than it appeared when the case was first published.

Somebody must have grasped the whole gist of those scripts, in a way that Dr. and Mrs. Verrall certainly had not consciously grasped them, to be able to make so intelligent a summing up of them. And the Holland phrase "How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?" shows that somebody was reasoning about them in a way no one of us up to that time had consciously reasoned; somebody saw the advantage of their obscurity for evidential purposes as no one of us saw it.

The Sevens Case.

Another case where there are indications of the telepathic influence of a living person other than one of the automatists is the much-discussed "Sevens Case" (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV.,

pp. 222-258). It will be remembered that six automatists were concerned in this case, and that the cross-correspondence combined in itself two main topics, one (*a*) coinciding with the contents of a sealed envelope which Mr. Piddington had planned to transmit posthumously, variations on the theme of *Seven*, and the other (*b*) various passages from Dante having relation to the number Seven. The second topic was unknown to Mr. Piddington, since he was very unfamiliar with Dante's works, and had taken no interest in them until a later date, when allusions were beginning to be found to them in the scripts. The combination of the Dante allusions with Seven cannot therefore be put down even to a subliminal association of ideas in Mr. Piddington's mind. If the Sevens appeared in the scripts through his agency, somebody else was responsible for introducing Dante with the sevens. Further, two of the automatists, Miss Verrall and Mrs. Frith, alluded independently to a certain episode in Dante which it appears had never been known to either of them.

This case was analysed and discussed fully in my first report of it. I there sought to show that, while in many instances individual phrases in the scripts could be traced to some normal source, a supernormal cause had to be premised for the large number of coincidences between the scripts of different writers; and that while some of these coincidences might be supposed to be due to telepathy from one person (Mr. Piddington) and some to telepathy from another (Mrs. Verrall), they could not all be so derived. But they were all connected together into a coherent scheme which was strongly suggestive of the design of a single mind, and since there were great difficulties in the way of supposing the whole of this scheme to be due either to Mr. Piddington or to Mrs. Verrall, it looked as if some other mind—altogether outside our circle—was at work.

I suggested that this other mind—the “author”—surveying and selecting from the ideas normally arising in the minds of the automatists and of Mr. Piddington, and making some use of the play of telepathy between them, had moulded these materials and influences for his own purposes and so produced the cross-correspondence.

In the final part of my third report on Mrs. Holland's script

(*Proc.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 282-293) the function of selection in the production of scripts was further diseussed. It was suggested that the mental resources and activities of the writers played an important, if not an essential, part in the whole business, the main work of the "author" being to determine which of their whole stock of ideas shall emerge in the scripts. On this hypothesis it will be an advantage to the "author" to employ writers with a large and varied stock of ideas, each with numerous literary and other associations, which will provide him with ample material for building up various and complicated designs by combining the scripts of different writers. In other words, the more educated and the more intelligent are the writers, the more opportunity is afforded to the "author" for demonstrating his independence of them.

In the present paper, special stress is laid on the necessity that the "author" is under of concealing his design from all of us till his experiment is complete. The necessity is of course purely for experimental purposes. The "author" is acting, as suggested above, in the same way that an agent in telepathic experiments acts when he conceals the object that he is looking at from the percipient, so as to prevent the latter from gaining a knowledge of it through the normal sensory channels. Our "author" has to take still further precautions to prevent the writers from acquiring knowledge telepathically. He will then be able to go on influencing the scripts without being interfered with by the influence of the experimenters, or the self-suggestions of the writers.

One of the devices apparently used for purposes of concealment is to allude to some minor and unfamiliar feature of an object, instead of to a familiar one which would be likely to reveal it at once. Thus Mrs. Verrall's phrase "Pagan and Pope—the Stoic Persecutor and the Christian" alludes, if my interpretation is right, to a definite fact in regard to the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, but a fact that would have hardly any interest or importance in the eyes of the great majority of people—at least, in the present day—who are interested in the Columns,—a fact that probably passes altogether unnoticed by the mass of sight-seers in Rome.

Again, in referring to the tomb of Julius II., Leah and Rachel alone are explicitly mentioned in Mrs. Holland's script ; while the feature for which the tomb is world-renowned, the statue of Moses, is given implicitly only. People go to see it primarily to see Moses ; the Moses is certainly the first association that would arise in one's mind on hearing the monument mentioned ; and the figure of Moses alone is constantly reproduced, whereas it is very rare to find illustrations showing more of the tomb than his single figure. Mrs. Holland, as mentioned above, was to the best of her belief ignorant that it was placed between figures of Leah and Rachel.

A still more striking instance is "Alexander's Tomb." It is a fact that Alessandro de' Medici was buried in the tomb of the younger Lorenzo ; but this is probably the first time on record that the tomb has been described as Alexander's. Other features of it are widely known ; the one fact that generally drops out of sight is the one selected for mention in the script,—and this, too, in the script of Miss Verrall who, there is every reason to believe, was ignorant of it (see below, p. 152).

It is a commonplace of psychology that only a selection, and a small selection, of the sensory stimuli that reach the brain result in conscious impressions. We notice a few items, and a few only, of our surroundings. We notice, for instance, those that somebody else has pointed out to us, or those that happen to have attracted our attention when we first saw the place and which, therefore, strike us as familiar when we see it again. But we might fail to recognise a representation of a known place or object if the different items in it had not the same relative conspicuousness that they have in our idea of it. Even a photograph often looks odd and unfamiliar, because the sensitivity of a photographic plate is not exactly the same as the sensitivity of the retina, apart from the fact that there is of course no mental selection determining what is, or what is not, prominent in a photograph.

But now let us suppose that the mental selection of perceptions was the reverse of what it usually is ; suppose that all our subliminal perceptions became supraliminal and *vice versa* ; suppose we noticed the items we had never noticed before, and failed to notice all those we had noticed before.

Everything would then appear unfamiliar to us; we should not recognise anything we saw. It would be difficult to imagine a more complete disguise.

This, I would suggest, is the sort of disguise that the "author" infuses into the scripts, in the cases just mentioned, by selecting the unfamiliar instead of the familiar items, and the disguise was for long effective.

On the working hypothesis that the "author" wished to conceal his meaning in order to prevent the writers from helping each other telepathically, we devised the experiment of the Latin Message. One of the cases most closely approximating to that type previously published was the one given in my third report on Mrs. Holland, when the subject of Prometheus bringing fire from heaven as a gift to men was given in Mrs. Verrall's script of Sept. 23, 1908; the subject of Time and Eternity was given in Miss Verrall's of Nov. 19, 1908; and Mrs. Holland's script of Dec. 30, 1908 (produced of course in ignorance of the two others) combined these two separate subjects in a quotation from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound* (see *Proc.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 255-261).

The eogeny of this and similar cases, as evidence for the agency of an "author" distinct from the writers, depends on the greater or less difficulty of attributing the ideas to the minds of the writers: it seems very improbable that Mrs. Verrall associated the Prometheus of her script with Time and Eternity, and very improbable that Miss Verrall associated the Time and Eternity of her script with Prometheus; consequently it looks as if the association came into Mrs. Holland's script from some mental source other than their minds.

Alexander's Tomb.

The case of "Alexander's Tomb" is an almost perfect instance of the Latin Message type; the essential items being distributed between the three automatists, Mrs. Piper, Miss Verrall and Mrs. Holland, as follows:

(Mrs. Piper.) Moorhead. I gave her that for laurel.
(See p. 64.)

(Miss Verrall.) Alexander's Tomb. Laurel. (See p. 68.)

(Mrs. Holland.) Alexander Moors Head. (See p. 70.)

Here, as suggested in the Latin Message, two different messages, "Moorhead" and "Alexander's Tomb," between which no connection is discernible, are given to two different writers, Mrs. Piper and Miss Verrall; and shortly afterwards a third message, "Alexander Moors Head" is given to a third writer, Mrs. Holland, which ultimately reveals the hidden connection between the first two. The "author," it is to be noted, has somewhat improved on our plan by getting both the first two writers to put "Laurel" in their scripts, showing that a connection existed between them, and that therefore the two scripts should be compared. But, even after the discovery that "Alexander's Tomb" was one of the Medici tombs, it is hardly conceivable that any one would have seen the connection between this and "Moorhead" if Mrs. Holland's script—written, of course, in complete ignorance of the other two—had not contained the combination "Alexander Moors Head."

In some cases where the items of a cross-correspondence are distributed between the scripts of several writers in such a way as to suggest the design of an outside mind, it is possible to surmise that the items which were absent from a writer's script were present in her subliminal consciousness and might have been transferred thence telepathically to the mind of another writer. But this can hardly occur unless the writer has some knowledge of the topic of the script. As to the knowledge possessed by the writers in this case, I think it may be regarded as certain that Mrs. Piper, who wrote first, knew practically nothing of the Medici or of the Medici tombs, and nothing at all of Alexander de' Medici. Miss Verrall, who wrote second, makes the following statement :

I have never been to Florence, and therefore have never seen the Medici tombs. Before my script was written I knew of their existence, but I have no conscious recollection of ever seeing any reproductions of them; on this point, however, I cannot be quite certain. I have never made any special study of the history of the Medici family, and have only a vague, general knowledge concerning it. I had never to my belief heard of Alexander de' Medici, until Miss Johnson spoke of him to me, at the time that she was writing her paper. I had supposed the phrase in

my script "Alexander's tomb" to refer to Alexander the Great, merely because he is the person one thinks of first, whenever the name is mentioned.

HELEN DE G. VERRALL.

Mrs. Holland stayed in Florence for some months a good many years ago and consequently knows the tombs; but her script about "Alexander" was written a month after Mrs. Piper's, and ten days after Miss Verrall's, which makes it impossible to regard her as the originator of the topic, except on the hypothesis that she designed the cross-correspondence subliminally, and purposely withheld her contribution to it till the contributions of the other automatists were completed.

Further, there is, I think, internal evidence in the scripts themselves that the writers not only failed to understand them, but that they positively misinterpreted them. It is, indeed, difficult to attach any meaning at all to Mrs. Piper's utterance "Moorhead—laurel—for laurel—I say I gave her that for laurel." This, taken alone, sounds like incoherent nonsense.

But in Miss Verrall's script "Alexander's tomb" is connected with "laurel leaves," and "laurel for the victor's brow." This naturally suggests Alexander the Great; we all supposed at the time that he was the person meant, and—since Miss Verrall had, as she believes, never heard of Alexander de' Medici—she too, subliminally as well as supraliminally, must have put the same interpretation on it.

In Mrs. Holland's script, again, "Alexander Moors Head" is connected with drawings of masts and the words "The tall mast, but this one is not at sea." This must mean the tall masts (150 feet high) of the Lodge-Muirhead wireless telegraphy apparatus used in the "Diamond Island experiment" referred to in Mrs. Holland's script of January 17, 1904 (see *Proc.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 293 *et seq.*); and since Sir Oliver Lodge's experiments in wireless telegraphy had been referred to on several other occasions in her script, once with a punning reference to the Lodge-Muirhead system, I felt no doubt that "Alexander Moors Head" meant Dr. Alexander Muirhead. I think there is strong ground for believing that this was also the view of Mrs. Holland's subliminal self. Otherwise, why the masts?

But when we get a real clue to the meaning of the scripts, we find that many phrases in them have more point than appeared at first. Miss Verrall's "Laurel leaves are emblem" has a special application, as I have shown, to the younger, as well as the elder, Lorenzo de' Medici, and hence to his tomb-fellow Alexander, but is only in a vague and general way appropriate to Alexander the Great. In Mrs. Holland's script, *Twilight*, and *Light and Darkness*, have a special application to the tomb of Alexander de' Medici, but none to Dr. Alexander Muirhead. In the same script, her quotations from *Othello* ("Antres vast and deserts idle," "One not easily jealous"), following the name "Alexander Moors Head," were regarded by me as an ordinary instance of association of ideas;—"Moors," I imagined, had suggested *Othello the Moor*. There is, however, no point in putting together *Othello* and Dr. Muirhead; whereas there is a definite point in putting together *Othello*, the Moor of Venice, and Alexander the Moor, of Florence. It looks then as if the "author," out of a number of associations with "Moors Head," has deliberately and carefully selected one that fits in admirably with his special purpose and has influenced the writer to express it, and has then left her subliminal mind free to select another association—"the tall mast"—in order to show what her own subliminal interpretation of the script is.

The Medici tombs and topics associated with them frequently recurred in the various scripts from 1906 onwards. We had not understood them and the "author" was, presumably, aware of our misinterpretations and failures to understand. Some time later, in June, 1910, he gave the main topic explicitly in Mrs. Willett's script, in the phrase "The Laurentian tombs." No one of us, however, observed the relevance of this to the other scripts until in July, 1912, we came upon the fact of Alexander de' Medici's burial in one of those tombs. It then became apparent that the "author" had in Mrs. Willett's script given the solution of his enigma.

But the critic, if he admits the general soundness of my argument, may object that the cross-correspondences seem to be a series of rather childish, if ingenious puzzles, amounting to little more than a trial of wits between the "author" and

ourselves, and I am acutely aware that the present paper is likely on the face of it to heighten this impression. Granting that the "author" is trying experiments, many may be repelled by the apparent inappropriateness of their subject-matter to the question of survival.

In reply to this, I would urge in the first place that if the "author" can prove his independent activity, the means he chooses for this purpose will justify themselves. I would next point out that, while the cross-correspondences between the scripts of different writers seemed at first to consist merely of verbal similarities or coincidences of topic, further study showed that they were far more complicated and elaborate than we had supposed, involving many more scripts and often several different subjects; sometimes including items of literary or historical interest unknown to the writers whose script furnished the cross-correspondence and characteristic in many ways of the supposed "author," and in general more and more difficult to explain on the hypothesis of the unaided subliminal powers of the writers. Since this further study has already been so fruitful, it seems not unreasonable to hope that, if continued, it may reveal in the scripts meanings of a deeper import than has hitherto been suspected.

These meanings will, however, only be appreciated at their true value by persons who will take the trouble to make a serious study of the cross-correspondences, for it is chiefly in these that the significance of the scripts is manifested. I have tried to show that they must be studied in much the same way that ordinary literature is studied, since in point of fact they are a kind of literature. But the problems involved in them must appeal equally to the intellectual curiosity of the literary man, of the scientist, and of the philosopher.

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RAPHAEL.—MEETING OF LEO AND ATTILA



COLUMN OF TRAJAN.



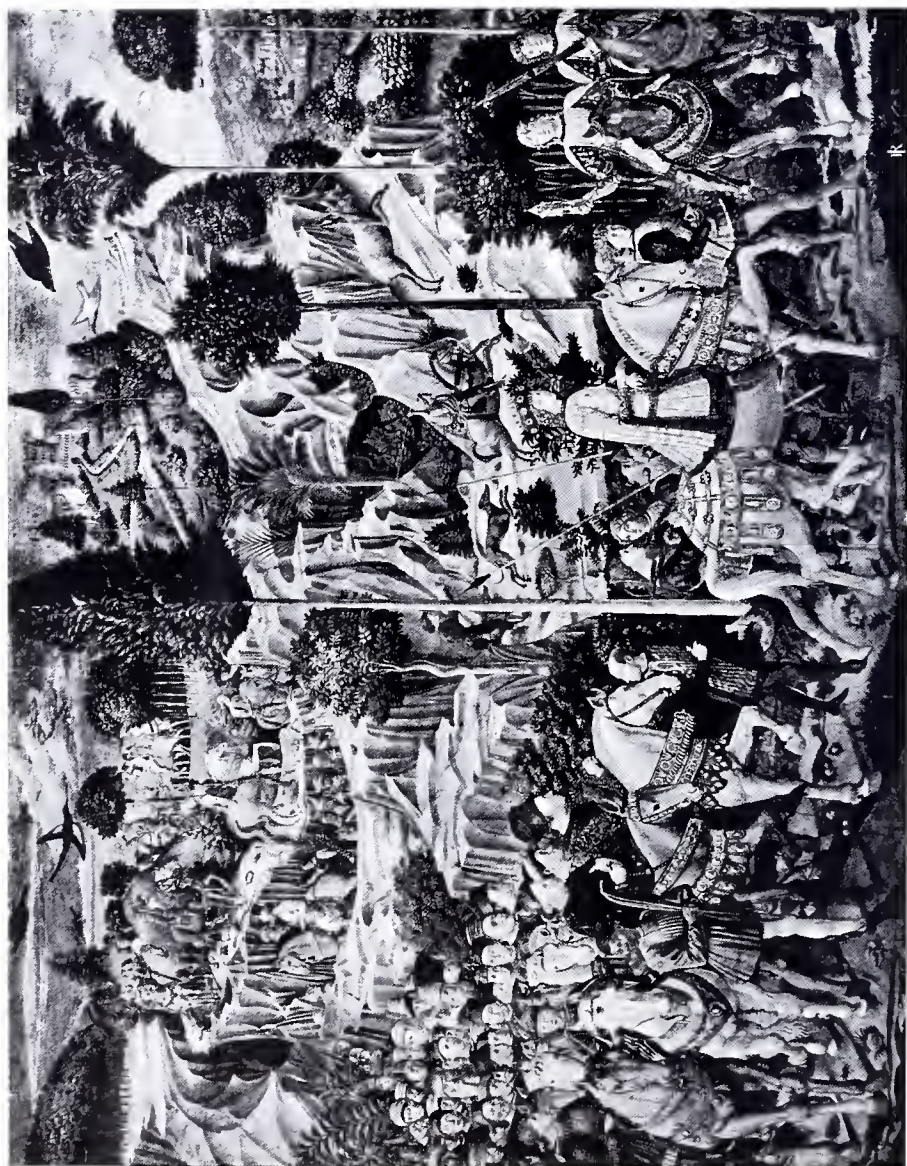
COLUMN OF MARCUS AURELIUS.



DETAIL OF RAPHAEL'S MEETING OF LEO AND ATTLA.



DETAIL OF THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN.





BOTTICELLI.—THE BIRTH OF VENUS.



BRONZINO.—ALESSANDRO DE' MEDICI.

Alinari Photo



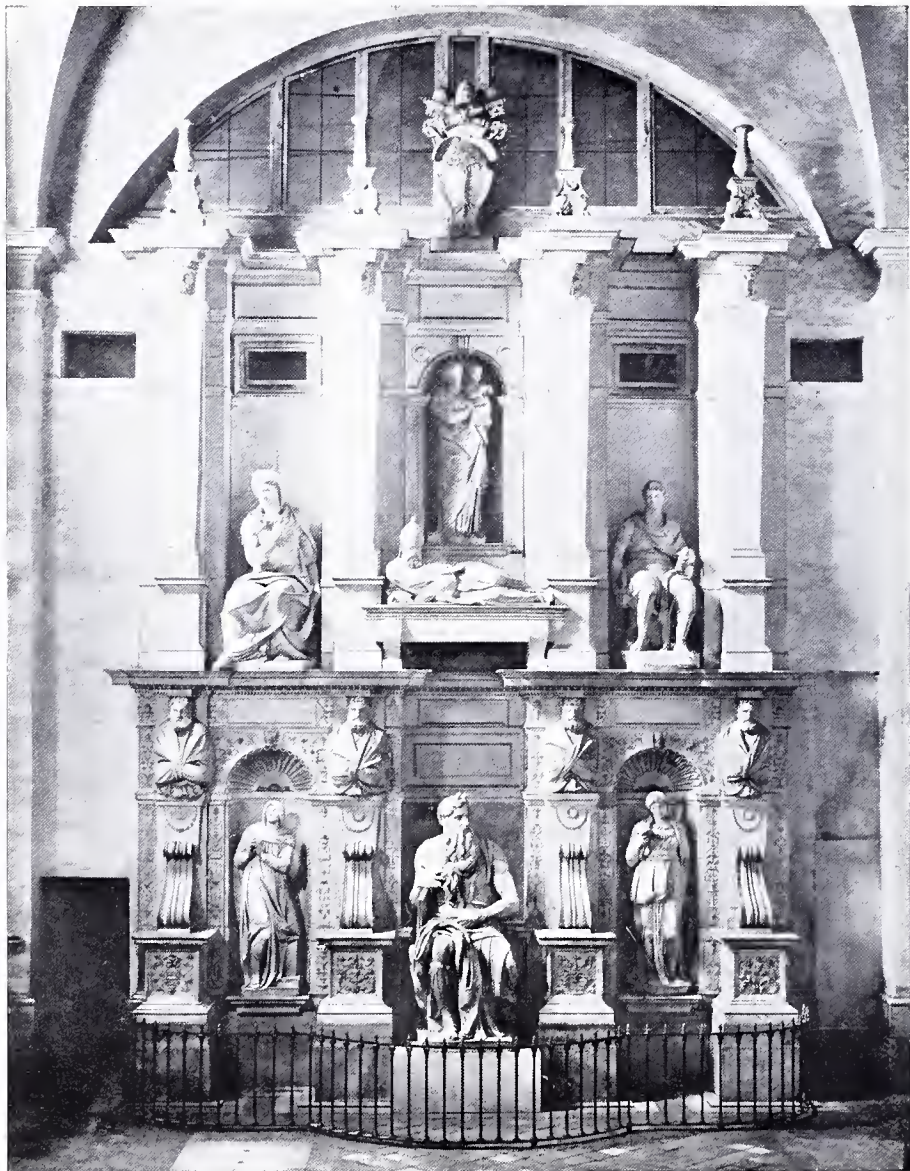
TOMB OF LORENZO, DUKE OF URBINO.



TOMB OF GIULIANO, DUKE OF NEMOURS.



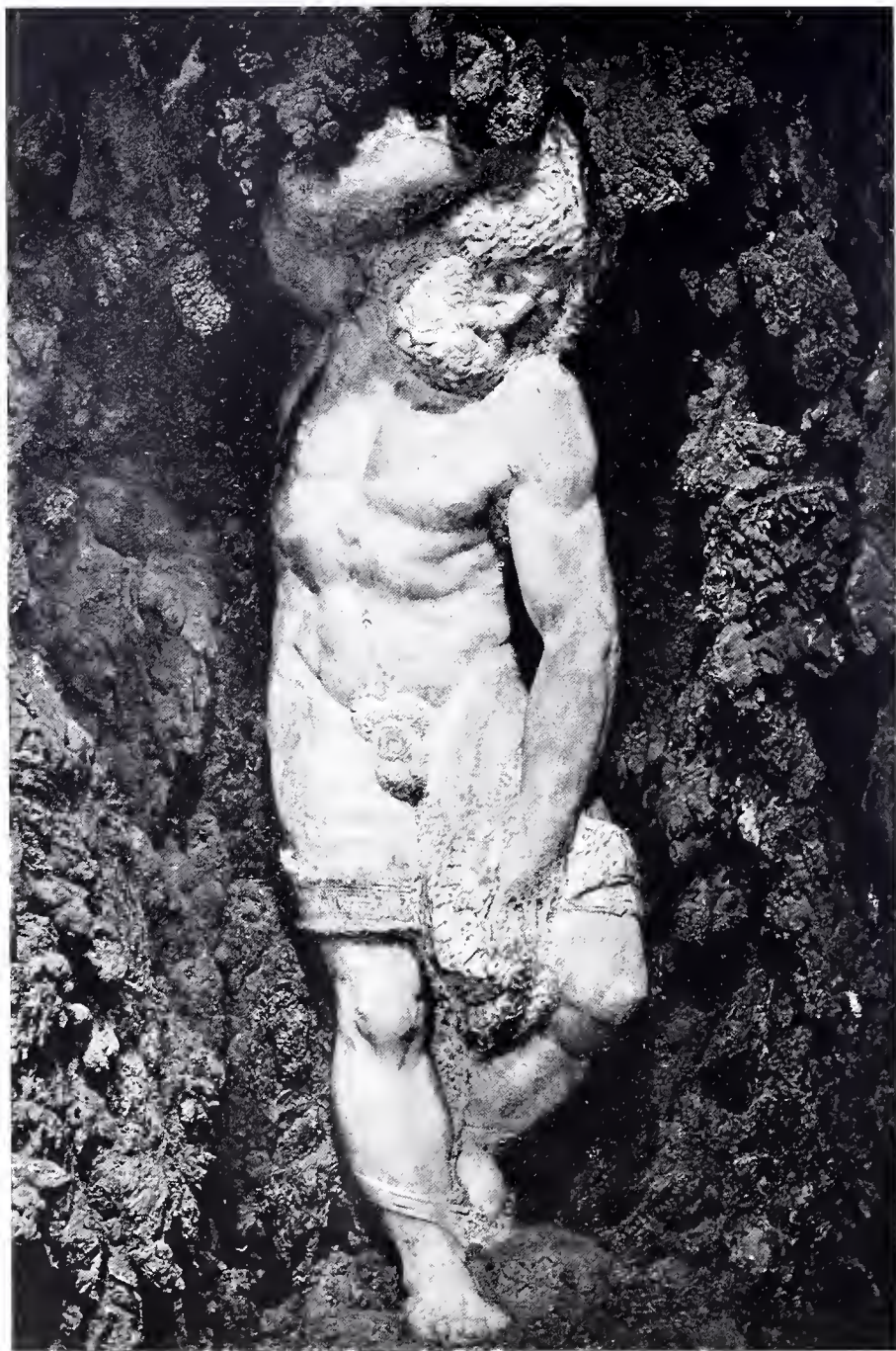
MOSAIC OF ST. SEBASTIAN.



TOMB OF POPE JULIUS II.



MICHAEL ANGELO.—A SLAVE.



MICHAEL ANGELO.—A BOUND CAPTIVE.

II.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Delivered on May 28th, 1913.

BY PROFESSOR HENRI BERGSON.

Authorised Translation by H. Wildon Carr, D.Litt.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

Let me say at once how much I appreciate the great honour you have done me in electing me President of your Society. It is an honour I am conscious I have done nothing to deserve. It is only by reading that I know anything of the phenomena with which the Society deals; I have seen nothing myself, I have examined nothing myself. How is it then that you have come to choose me to succeed the great and eminent men of science and letters who have occupied in turn the presidential chair, most of whom, while universally recognised for their knowledge and ability, have also been men whose minds were particularly pre-occupied with the study of these mysterious phenomena? If a jest on such a subject may be allowed, I might say that here is a case of telepathy or clairvoyance;—you felt from afar the interest I was taking in your researches, you perceived me, across the two hundred and fifty miles of space which separated us, attentively reading your *Proceedings* and following with keen curiosity your work. The ingenuity, the penetration, the patience, the tenacity you have shown in the exploration of the *terra incognita* of psychical phenomena appear to me truly admirable. But still more than the ingenuity and the pene-

tration, still more than the unwearied perseverance with which you have continued your course, I admire the courage which it required, especially during the first years, to struggle against the prejudices of a great part of the scientific world, and to brave the mockery which strikes fear into the boldest breast. This is why I am proud—prouder than I can say—to have been elected President of the Society for Psychical Research. I have read somewhere the story of an inferior officer whom the chances of the battle,—the death or wounds of his superiors,—raised to the honour of the command of his regiment; all his life he thought of it, all his life he talked of it, the memory of those few hours suffused his whole existence. I am that inferior officer, and I shall always pride myself on the happy chance which has set me—not for a few hours, but for some months—at the head of a valiant regiment.

Whence come the prejudices which for so long a time we all have had, and which some have still, in regard to psychical studies? Why is it that men of science, who consider it quite natural that under their direction we should pursue apparently insignificant laboratory investigations, and who think, with good reason, that there is nothing insignificant in science, yet manifest such repugnance towards researches like yours, and even hesitate to regard them as scientific? That is the point on which I wish to speak. Far from me is the intention of criticising their criticism for the sake of criticising. It seems to me that in philosophy the time given up to refutation is generally time lost. Of the many attacks directed by so many thinkers against one another, what remains? Nothing, or next to nothing. That which counts, that which lasts, is the positive truth we bring out; the true affirmation itself displaces the false idea, and without the trouble of refuting any one, proves to be the best refutation. But quite another thing is here in question than either refuting or criticising. I want to show that behind the prejudices of some, the mockery of others, there is, present and invisible, a certain metaphysic, unconscious of itself, unconscious and therefore inconsistent, unconscious and therefore incapable of continually remodelling itself on observation and experience as every philosophy worthy of the name must do,—that moreover this metaphysic is natural, due to a bent

contracted long ago by the human mind, and on that account our whole interest is to search it out behind the criticisms or the mockeries which conceal it, in order to put ourselves on guard against it : we shall thus prevent it from acting on ourselves, prevent it from raising artificial obstacles on our own path. But before I enter on that question which is concerned with the subject-matter of your studies, I wish to say a word on the method you follow, a method which I can well understand is disconcerting to a certain number of men of science.

There is nothing more displeasing to the professional student than to see applied to a science of the same order as his own a method usually confined to subjects of a quite different order. He holds to his methods as the workman to his tools. It was William James, I think, who defined the difference between the professional and the amateur by saying that the latter interests himself especially in the result obtained, the former in the way in which we obtain it. Well, the phenomena with which you are occupied are undeniably of the same kind as those which form the subject-matter of natural science, whilst the method you follow, and that you are obliged to follow, has often no relation with that of any of the sciences of nature.

I say they are facts of the same kind. I mean by this that they are subject to laws, and that they are capable of being repeated indefinitely in time and in space. They are not facts like those, for instance, with which the historian deals. History does not repeat itself. The battle of Austerlitz was fought once and it will never be fought again. It being impossible that the same historical conditions should ever be reproduced, the same historical fact cannot be repeated ; and as a law expresses necessarily that to certain causes, always the same, there will correspond an effect, also always the same, history strictly speaking has no bearing on laws, but on particular facts and on the no less particular circumstances in which they were brought to pass. The only question here is to know if the event did really take place at such and such a definite moment of time and at such and such a determinate point of space, and in what way it was brought about. On the contrary, a veridical hallucination,—

the apparition, for instance, of a dying man to a relation or friend hundreds of miles, it may be, separated from him,—is a fact which if it is real, is unquestionably the manifestation of a law analogous to physical, chemical and biological laws. Suppose, let us say, that this phenomenon was due to an influence exercised across space by the consciousness of one of the two persons on the consciousness of the other ; suppose, in other words, that the two human consciousnesses were able to communicate without visible intervention, that there was what you call “telepathy.” If telepathy is a real fact, it is a fact that is capable of being repeated indefinitely. I go further, if telepathy is a real fact, it is very possible that it is operating at every moment and everywhere, but with too little intensity to be noticed, or else it is operating in the presence of obstacles which neutralise the effect at the same moment that it manifests itself. We produce electricity at every moment, the atmosphere is continually electrified, we move among magnetic currents, yet millions of human beings lived for thousands of years without having suspected the existence of electricity. It may be the same with telepathy. But that matters little. What is indisputable in any case is, that if telepathy is real, it is natural, and that whenever the day comes that we know its conditions, it will no more be necessary to wait for a veridical hallucination in order to obtain a telepathic effect than it is necessary for us now, if we wish to see an electric spark, to wait until the sky gives us a display during a thunderstorm.

Here then is a phenomenon which it would seem ought, by reason of its nature, to be studied in the manner of a physical, chemical or biological fact. But not at all : you are obliged to begin with an entirely different method, one which stands midway between that of the historian and that of the magistrate. Did the veridical hallucination take place in the past ?—You study documents, you criticise them, you write a page of history. Is it a fact of to-day ?—You proceed to a kind of judicial enquiry ; you examine the witnesses, confront them with one another, and weigh the value of their evidence. For my part, when I bring to mind the results of the admirable enquiry you have conducted continually during more than thirty years, when I think of all the precautions you

have taken to avoid error, when I see that in most of the cases you have retained an account had been given to one person or to more than one, often even noted down in writing by them, before the hallucination was recognised as veridical, when I take into account the enormous number of the facts, and especially their resemblance, the family likeness between them, the agreement of so many witnesses independent of one another, all examined, their testimony weighed and submitted to criticism,—I am led to believe in telepathy, just as I believe in the defeat of the Invincible Armada. My belief is not the mathematical certainty that the demonstration of Pythagoras' theorem gives me, it is not the physical certainty that I have of the law of the fall of bodies, but it is at least all the certainty that we obtain in a historical or judicial matter.

But it is just this which is disconcerting to so many minds. They find it strange that we should have to treat historically or judicially facts which, if they are real, surely obey laws, and ought then it seems to be amenable to the methods of observation and experiment used in the natural sciences. Arrange for the fact to be produced in a laboratory, they will receive it gladly; till then they hold it suspect. Just because "psychical research" cannot for the present proceed like physics and chemistry, they conclude it is not scientific; and as the subject of that research has not yet taken that simple and *abstract* form which opens to a fact access to the laboratory, they are pleased to declare it unreal. Such, I think, is the "subconscious" reasoning of some men of science.

I discover the same feeling, the same disdain for the concrete, at the root of the objections that are raised against such and such of your conclusions. I will cite only one example. Some time ago I was at a dinner party at which the conversation happened to turn on the phenomena which your Society investigates, more particularly on the facts of telepathy. There was an eminent physician present, one of our leading men of science. After listening attentively for some minutes, he joined in the conversation, expressing himself as nearly as I remember in these words: "All that you are saying interests me very much, but I ask you to reflect

before drawing a conclusion. I also myself know an extraordinary fact. And of this fact I guarantee the authenticity, for it was related to me by a lady who is very intellectual and whose word inspires me with absolute confidence. The husband of this lady was an officer. He was killed in the course of an engagement. Well, at the very moment at which the husband fell, the wife had the vision of the scene, a clear vision, in all points conformable to the reality. You may perhaps conclude from that, as this lady did, that it was a case of clairvoyance or of telepathy? . . . You will forget one thing only, and that is that it has happened many times that a wife has dreamed that her husband was dead or dying when he was quite well. We notice cases in which the vision turns out to be true, but take no count of the others. Were we to make the full return, we should see that the coincidence is the work of simple chance."

The conversation turned off in I know not what direction; there was no question of serious discussion, it was neither the time nor the place for it. But when we left the table a very young girl who had been listening attentively came and said to me, "It seems to me that Doctor X. . . . argued wrongly just now. I do not see what the fallacy in his argument was, but there must have been a fallacy." Yes, indeed, there was a fallacy! The young girl was right and the learned doctor was wrong. He shut his eyes to what was *concrete* in the phenomenon. He argued thus: "When one dreams that a relation is dead or dying, either it is true or it is false; either the person is actually dying or he is not dying. And consequently, if the dream proves true, it is necessary in order to be sure that it is not an effect of chance to compare the number of cases in which it has proved true with the number of cases in which it has proved false." He did not see that the apparent force of his argument rested on the fact that he had substituted for the description of the concrete and living scene,—the officer falling at a given moment in a definite spot with such and such soldiers around him,—this abstract and dead formula:—"The lady in dreaming was dreaming what was true and not what was false." Ah, if we accept this transposition into the abstract, we must then indeed compare *in abstracto* the number of true cases with the number

of false ; and we shall find perhaps that there are more false than true and our doctor will be right.

But this abstraction consists in neglecting that which is essential in it,—the *picture* that the lady perceived, and which was found to be identical with a scene very distant from her. Do you suppose that a painter portraying part of a battle on his canvas, and trusting to his fancy, could be so well favoured by chance as to find that he had produced the likeness of real soldiers, present that day at a battle, in which they had stood in the attitudes he had portrayed ? Evidently not. The calculus of probabilities to which the doctor made appeal would in this case show that it is impossible, because a scene in which definite persons take definite attitudes is a thing unique of its kind ; because a human face, even taken alone, is already unique of its kind ; and consequently each personage—much more the scene which includes them—is decomposable into an infinity of details all independent of one another ; so that there must have been an infinite number of coincidences in order that chance should make a fancied scene the exact reproduction of a real scene : in other words, it is mathematically impossible that a picture drawn from the painter's imagination should portray part of a battle such as it is. Well, the lady who had the vision of a part of a battle was in the situation of that painter ; her imagination executed a picture. If the picture was the reproduction of a real scene it must, by every necessity, be because she was in communication with that scene, or with a consciousness that had the perception of it. I do not need to compare the number of “ true cases ” with the number of “ false cases ” ; statistics have nothing to do with it ; the unique case which is presented to me is sufficient when I consider it with what is concrete in it. That is why, if it had been an occasion to discuss with the doctor, I should have said to him : “ I do not know if the story which was told you is exact ; I do not know if the lady of whom you speak had the vision of the actual scene which was going on at the time far away from her ; but if this was proved to me, if I could be sure that even the countenance of one soldier unknown by her, present at the scene, had appeared to her such as it was in reality,—then, even if it should be proved to me that there had been thousands of

false visions, and even though there had never been a veridical hallucination except this one, I should hold the existence of telepathy,—or of a cause, whatever it be, able to make us perceive objects and events situated beyond the normal portal of our senses,—to be strictly and definitely established.”

But enough on this point. I come to the deep-seated cause which, in directing the activity of workers in science exclusively in another direction, has until now retarded the progress of “psychical research.”

I have heard persons interested in your works express surprise that modern science should have so long neglected the facts with which you deal, when it ought in virtue of its experimental character to be interested in researches which may some day give rise to a host of new experiences. But we must understand what it is that we call the experimental character of modern science. Modern science has created the experimental method; so much is certain; but it does not follow that it has enlarged the field of experience which existed before it. Quite the contrary, it has often narrowed it; and moreover it is in that that its force lies.

When we read the ancient writers we are struck by seeing how they had observed and even experimented. But they observed by chance and in it mattered not what direction. In what did the creation of the “experimental method” consist? Simply in taking certain processes of observation and experiment which already existed, and instead of applying them in all possible directions, making them converge on to one single point, *measurement*,—the measurement of such or such a variable magnitude of which we suspect that it may be a function of such or such other variable magnitudes, equally measurable.

“Law” in the modern sense of the word is rightly the expression of a constant relation between magnitudes which vary. Modern science is the offspring of mathematics, begotten on the day when algebra had acquired sufficient force and pliability to be able to enfold reality, to draw it into the net of its calculations. First appeared astronomy and mechanics under the essentially mathematical form that the moderns have given them. Then was developed physics—a physics equally mathematical. Physics gave rise to chemistry, this also being

founded on measurements, on comparisons of weights and volumes. After chemistry came biology, which without doubt has not yet taken the mathematical form and is not near doing so, but which seeks none the less by means of physiology to bring the laws of life under those of chemistry and physics,—that is to say, indirectly under those of mechanics. So that, in short, our science always tends to the mathematical form as to an ideal. It seems essential to it to measure, and wherever calculation is not yet applicable, wherever it must limit itself to a description or to an analysis of its object, it arranges to set before itself only that side of the object capable of one day becoming measurable.

Now, it is of the essence of mental things that they do not lend themselves to measurement. The first movement of modern science was bound then to be to find out whether it was not possible to substitute for the phenomena of the mind, phenomena which are measurable, and which could be their equivalent. We see, as a fact, that consciousness is bound in some way or other to a brain. So modern science seized upon the brain, took hold of the cerebral fact,—the nature of which, indeed, we do not know, but we do know that it must finally resolve itself into movements of molecules and atoms, that is to say, into facts relevant to mathematics,—and determined to consider the cerebral as the equivalent of the mental. All our mental science, all our metaphysics, from the seventeenth century until the present day, is penetrated with the idea of this equivalence. We speak of thought and of the brain indifferently; either we consider the mental a simple “epiphenomenon” of the cerebral, as materialism does, or we put the mental and the cerebral on the same level, regarding them as two translations, in different languages, of the same original. In short, the hypothesis that there is a strict *parallelism* between the cerebral and the mental appears eminently scientific. Instinctively, philosophy and science tend to cast aside whatever would contradict this hypothesis or fit ill with it. And this at first sight appears to be the case with the facts which “psychical research” deals with, or at least it might be so with a good number of them.

Well, the moment has come to consider closely this hypo-

thesis, and to see what it is worth. I will not insist on the difficulties, the theoretical absurdities, which it raises. I have shown elsewhere that, taken literally, it is a self-contradiction. I add that, *prima facie*, it is contrary to all likelihood that nature has indulged in the luxury of repeating purely and simply in the language of consciousness what the cerebral cortex accomplishes in the form of atomic or molecular movement. A consciousness which is only a duplicate, which does not intervene actively, would doubtless have long since disappeared from the universe, supposing it had ever been produced. Do we not see that our actions tend to become unconscious in the measure and degree that habit renders them mechanical? But I will not insist on these theoretical considerations. What I claim is that the facts, looked at without any prepossession, neither confirm nor even suggest the hypothesis of parallelism.

There is one function of thought, indeed,—one only,—that experience has been able to prove is localised in a certain region of the brain: I refer to memory, and more particularly to the memory of words. We have not the least reason to suppose that judgment, or reasoning, or any other faculty of thought, in the strict sense of the word, is attached to such or such determinate cerebral processes. But maladies that affect the memory of words, or, as they are called, cases of aphasia, on the contrary do correspond with definite lesions of certain cerebral convolutions: so that it has been thought possible to consider memory as localised in the brain, and the visual, auditory and motor recollections of words as deposited inside the cortex,—veritable photographic plates which preserve old luminous impressions, veritable phonographic disks which are registers of sound vibrations. If, in short, we examine narrowly all the facts alleged in favour of an exact correspondence and of a kind of *adherence* of the mental to the cerebral life (I set aside, it goes without saying, the case of sensations and movements, for the brain is certainly a sensori-motor organ), we see that these facts reduce themselves to the phenomena of memory, and it is the localisation of aphasia, and that localisation alone, which seems to bring a beginning of experimental proof to the support of the parallelist doctrine.

Now, a more profound study of the various cases of aphasia shows decisively, in my opinion, the impossibility of considering the recollections as plates or as records deposited in the brain, and the impossibility of admitting that it can really be in the brain that recollections are preserved. I cannot enter here into the details of the criticism that I have made elsewhere of the current interpretation of aphasia, a criticism which appeared paradoxical at a time when a certain conception of aphasia was accepted as a dogma, but which pathological anatomy has itself come forward to support in these last few years (I refer to the works of Professor Pierre Marie and of his pupils). I will confine myself to recalling to you my conclusions. What appears to me to stand out clearly from an attentive study of the facts, is that the characteristic cerebral lesions of the various forms of aphasia do not touch the recollections themselves, and consequently that there are not recollections stored in such and such regions of the cerebral cortex, which the malady would destroy. Those lesions really make the *evoking* of recollections impossible or difficult; they concern the mechanism of recall, and that mechanism only. More exactly, the function of the brain in this case is to give the mind, when it has need of such or such a recollection, the power of obtaining from the body a certain attitude, or certain nascent movements, which offer to the recollection sought for an appropriate frame. If the frame is there, the recollection will come of its own accord to insert itself into it. The cerebral organ prepares the frame; it does not furnish the recollection. That in my view is what an attentive study of the maladies of word-memory proves, and it is also what the psychological analysis of memory in general would lead us to expect.

But if we now examine the other functions of thought, the hypothesis of a strict parallelism between the mental life and the cerebral life is not at all what the facts most naturally suggest to us. On the contrary, in the work of thought in general, as in the particular case of memory, the brain appears to us to be charged with the task of impressing on the body the movements and attitudes which *act* what the mind thinks, or what the circumstances invite it to think. I have expressed this elsewhere by saying that

the brain is an "organ of pantomime." And that is why, as I have also said elsewhere, "If any one were able to look inside a brain in its full activity, to follow the going and coming of the atoms, and to interpret all that they were doing, he would doubtless know something of what was going on in the mind, but he would know very little. He would know only just what can be expressed in bodily gestures, attitudes and movements,—what the state of the soul might contain of action in course of accomplishment or simply nascent; the rest would escape him. As regards the thoughts and feelings which were being unrolled within the consciousness, he would be in the situation of a spectator seeing distinctly all that the actors were doing on the stage, but not hearing a word of what they were saying." Or yet again, he would be like a person who could only know a symphony by the movements of the conductor directing the orchestra. Indeed, the cerebral phenomena are to the mental life just what the gestures of the conductor are to the symphony: they outline the motor articulations, they do nothing else. In other words, we should find nothing of the operations of the mind, properly speaking, inside the brain. Except its sensorial functions, the brain has no other part than to *play* the mental life.

I recognise, however, that this "pantomime" is of primary importance. It is by it that we insert ourselves in reality, that we adapt ourselves to it, that we respond to the call of circumstances by appropriate actions. If consciousness is not a function of the brain, at least the brain maintains consciousness fixed on the world in which we live; it is the organ of attention to life. That is why a cerebral modification, even a slight one,—a passing intoxication by alcohol or opium, for example, (all the more a lasting intoxication like those which no doubt most often cause insanity,) may involve a complete perturbation of the mental life. It is not that the mind is there directly affected. It is not necessary to believe, as we often do, that the poison has sought out such or such a mechanism in the cerebral cortex which is the material aspect of reasoning, that it has deranged this mechanism, and that it is on that account that the patient raves. But the effect of the lesion is that the mechanism is thrown out

of gear, and thought can no longer insert itself exactly in things. An insane person, suffering from the delusion that he is being persecuted, can still reason very logically; but his reasoning is out of line with reality, outside reality,—as we reason in a dream. To direct our thought towards action, to bring it to prepare the act that the circumstances call for,—it is for this that our brain is formed.

But in doing this it canalises, and also it limits, the life of the mind. It prevents us from turning our eyes to right and left of us, and it prevents us also as far as possible from turning to look back; it would have us look right before us in the direction in which we have to go. Is this not already clear in the operation of memory of which we have just spoken? Many facts seem to indicate that the past is preserved even down to its slightest details, and that there is no real forgetting. You know it is related that persons resuscitated after drowning or hanging declare that in some few seconds they had the panoramic vision of the totality of their past life. I could cite other examples, for the asphyxia has nothing to do with the phenomenon, although it has been said that it has. An Alpine climber slipping on a precipice, a soldier round whom all at once a hail of bullets falls, will sometimes have the same vision.

The truth is our whole past is there always, and to perceive it we have but to look back; only, we cannot and we must not look back. We must not, because our end is to live, to act; and life and action look forward. We cannot, because the cerebral mechanism is fashioned to this work,—to mark from us the past, to let at each moment only that pass through which can throw light on the present situation and favour our action: it is by this very obscuring of all our recollections, except only that which is of interest and which our body already outlines by its “pantomime,” that it *recalls* this useful recollection. Now should the attention to life grow weak for a moment (I do not mean voluntary attention, that which depends on the individual, but an attention imposed on the normal man, what may be called “racial attention”) then the mind which has of force been kept till then looking forward, lets go the tension and by that turns itself to look back; the totality of its past appears to it. The

panoramic vision of the past is due, then, to a sudden *disinterestedness of life* produced in certain cases by the menace of a sudden death. Until then the brain, so far as it is the organ of memory, has been keeping the attention fixed on life,—narrowing usefully the field of mental vision.

But what I say of memory is equally true of perception. I will not enter here into the details of a proof that I have given elsewhere. It will be enough if I repeat that everything becomes obscure and even incomprehensible if we regard the cerebral centres as organs capable of transforming material vibrations into conscious states; that, on the contrary, all becomes clear if we see in those centres (and in the sensory nerve-endings with which they are connected) instruments of selection charged with choosing, in the immense field of our virtual perceptions, those which are to be actualised. Leibniz said that each monad, and therefore *a fortiori* each of those monads that he called spirits, carries within it the conscious or unconscious representation of the totality of things. I should not go so far; but I think that we perceive virtually many more things than we perceive actually, and that here once more the part that our body plays is that of shutting out from the field of our consciousness all that is of no practical interest to us, all that does not lend itself to our action. The sense organs, the sensory nerves, the cerebral centres, canalise then the influences from without, and thus mark the various directions in which our own influence can be exercised. But in doing so they narrow the field of our vision of the present, just as the cerebral mechanisms of memory limit our vision of the past. Now, just as certain useless memories, or “dream” memories, may slip into the field of consciousness, availing themselves of a moment of inattention to life, may there not be around our normal perception, a fringe of perceptions, most often unconscious, but all ready to enter into consciousness, and in fact entering in in certain exceptional cases or in certain predisposed subjects? If there are perceptions of this kind, it is not only psychology in the strict meaning of the term that they concern; they are facts with which “psychical research” could and ought to concern itself.

Let us not forget, moreover, that it is space that creates the sharp divisions, the exact distinctions. Our bodies are external to one another in space; and our minds, in so far as they are attached to those bodies, are external to one another. But if they are attached to the body only by a part of themselves, we may conjecture that for the remainder of them there is not also this sharp separation. Far am I from thinking that personality is a simple appearance, an ephemeral reality, or a dependence on cerebral activity! But yet it is very possible that between various personalities there are continually taking place changes, analogous to the phenomena of endosmosis. If such endosmosis exists, we can foresee that nature will have taken every precaution to neutralise its effect, and that certain mechanisms must be specially charged with the duty of throwing back into the unconscious the presentations so provoked, for they would be very embarrassing in everyday life. One or another of these presentations might yet, however, at times pass through as contraband, especially if the inhibiting mechanisms were functioning badly; and these again would be facts with which "psychical research" would be concerned.

The more we become accustomed to this idea of a consciousness which overflows the organism, the more natural and probable we find the hypothesis that the soul survives the body. Were, indeed, the mental moulded exactly on to the cerebral, were there nothing more in a human consciousness than what could be read in a human brain, we might have to admit that consciousness must share the fate of the body and die with it. But if the facts, studied without any prepossessions, lead us on the contrary to regard the mental life as much more vast than the cerebral life, survival becomes so probable that the burden of proof comes to lie on him who denies it rather than on him who affirms it; for, as I have said elsewhere, "the one and only reason we can have for believing in an extinction of consciousness after death is that we see the body become disorganised; and this reason has no longer any value, if the independence, however partial, of consciousness in regard to the body is also a fact of experience."

Such, briefly stated, are the conclusions to which an im-

partial examination of the known facts leads me. That is to say, I regard the field open to psychical research as very vast, and even as unlimited. This new science will soon make up the time lost. Mathematics goes back to the ancient Greeks; physics has existed now for three or four hundred years; chemistry dates from the eighteenth century; biology is nearly as old; but psychology dates from yesterday, and psychical research is almost contemporary.

Must we regret the time lost? I have sometimes asked myself what would have happened if modern science, instead of setting out from mathematics to turn its direction towards mechanics, physics, and chemistry, instead of bringing all its forces to converge on the study of matter, had begun by the consideration of mind,—if Kepler, Galileo, and Newton, for example, had been psychologists.

We should certainly have had a psychology of which to-day we can form no idea, any more than before Galileo we could have imagined what our physics would be: a psychology that probably would have been to our present psychology what our physics is to that of Aristotle. Foreign to every mechanistic idea, not even conceiving the possibility of such an explanation, science would have enquired into, instead of dismissing *a priori*, facts such as those you study; perhaps "psychical research" would have stood out as its principal preoccupation.

The most general laws of mental activity once discovered (as, in fact, the fundamental laws of mechanics were discovered), we should have passed from mind, properly so called, to life: biology would have been constituted, but a vitalist biology, quite different from ours, which would have sought, behind the sensible forms of living beings, the inward, invisible force of which the sensible forms are the manifestations. On this force we have to-day taken no hold just because our science of mind is still in its infancy; and this is why men of science are not wrong when they reproach vitalism with being a sterile doctrine: it is sterile to-day, it will perhaps not be so always, and it probably would not have been so now had modern science at its origin taken things at the other end.

Together with this vitalist biology there would have arisen

a medical practice which would have sought to remedy *directly* the insufficiencies of the vital force ; it would have aimed at the cause and not at the effects, at the centre instead of at the periphery ; healing by suggestion might have taken forms and proportions of which it is impossible for us to form the least idea. So would have been founded, so would have been developed the science of mental activity.

But when this science, following the manifestations of mind step by step from higher to lower, passing life and living matter, had come at last to inert matter, it would then have stopped abruptly, surprised and dismayed. It would have tried to apply its accustomed methods to this new object and it would have obtained no hold on it, just as to-day the processes of calculation and measurement have no hold on the things of the mind. It is matter and not mind which in this case would have been the realm of mystery.

Suppose, then, that in an unknown land—let us say America, but an America not yet discovered by Europe—there had been developed a science identical with our actual science, with all its mechanical applications. It might then have happened that from time to time some fishermen, venturing far out from the coast of Ireland or Brittany would have seen, far off on the horizon, an American ship moving at full speed against the wind,—a steamship, let us say. They would have come and told what they had seen. Would they have been believed ? Probably not. They would have been mistrusted just in proportion as those to whom they told the tale were learned and imbued with a science which would have been psychological in direction, the reverse of physics and mechanics. And it would have been necessary to constitute a Society like yours—but in this case a Society for Physical Research—which would call witnesses before it, judge and criticise their tales, and establish the authenticity of the “ Apparitions ” of steamboats. And then, as this Society would have been able for the moment to use only this historical or critical method, it would not have been able to overcome the scepticism of those who would have challenged it—since it believed in the existence of these miraculous boats—to construct one and make it work.

This is a dream in which I indulge at times. But whenever

I do so, quickly indeed I wake from it and say to myself : no, it was neither possible nor desirable that the human mind should have followed that direction. It was not possible, because mathematical science was already in existence at the dawn of the modern era, and it was therefore necessary to begin by drawing from it what it had to give for our knowledge of the world in which we live : we do not let go the prey to grasp what may be only a shadow. But supposing it had been possible, it was not desirable, even for psychological science itself, that the human mind should have applied itself first of all to it. For though without doubt, had there been expended on psychological science the amount of work, of talent and of genius, which has been consecrated to the sciences of matter, the knowledge of mind would have been pushed very far ; yet something would have been always lacking, something of inestimable price and without which all the rest would lose much of its value : the precision, the exactness, the anxiety for proof, the habit of distinguishing between what is simply possible or probable and what is certain.

Do not think that these are qualities natural to intelligence. Humanity did without them for a very long time ; they would perhaps never have appeared in the world at all had there not existed formerly a small people in a corner of Greece for whom *nearly so* was not enough and who invented precision. Mathematics—that creation of the Greek genius—was it here the effect or the cause ? I do not know ; but undoubtedly it is by mathematics that the need of proof has been passed on from intellect to intellect, taking more and more place in the human mind as mathematical science, through mechanics, has embraced an ever greater number of the phenomena of matter.

The habit of bringing to the study of concrete reality the same requirements of precision, of exactness, of certitude, which are characteristic of the mathematical mind is, therefore, a habit we owe to the sciences of matter and that we should never have had without them. That is why science, had it been applied in the first instance to the things of mind, would probably have remained uncertain and vague, however far it might have advanced ; it would, perhaps, never

have distinguished between what is simply plausible and what must be definitely accepted. But to-day that, thanks to the sciences of matter, we know how to make that distinction and possess all the qualities of mind that it implies, we can adventure without fear into the scarcely explored domain of psychological realities. Let us advance therein with a prudent boldness, disencumbering ourselves of the bad metaphysics which cramps our movements, and the science of mind will yield results which will surpass all our hopes.

SUPPLEMENT.

REVIEW.

Personal Experiences in Spiritualism (including the official account and record of the American Palladino séances). By HEReward CARRINGTON. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd., Clifford's Inn, London, N.D. Pp. 274. Price, 7s. 6d. net.)

THAT indefatigable enquirer, Mr. Hereward Carrington, has given psychical researchers another valuable work. Like a former book by the same author, *The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism, fraudulent and genuine*, it falls into two parts. Part I. deals with the author's personal experiences in the domain of physical "mediumship" with mediums other than Eusapia Palladino; Part II. deals exclusively with the latter. The results recorded by the author in Part II. are chiefly positive; in Part I.—with one doubtful exception—exclusively negative.

The following is a brief summary of the cases and experiments described in Part I.:

(Pp. 2-19.) The Windsor (Nova Scotia) Poltergeist. A palpable fraud and easily proved to have been such. Trickery confessed without hesitation by all the persons concerned, with the exception of Judge X. of the Probate Court, who was the first to reveal the case to the world at large, and who refused to believe in trickery, even after Mr. Carrington had sent him his report fully stating the facts. Of course, such incidents are familiar to us.

(Pp. 20-45.) Experiments in the Lily Dale camp. Fraud throughout at sittings with Norman ("spirit-photography" and slate-writing), Mrs. M'Coy and Mrs. Pemberton ("trumpet-mediums"), Joseph Jonson, Mrs. Moss and Nichols, materialising mediums. Note this interesting remark in connection with an incident at a materialisation séance:

"The curtains were pulled aside and I [Mr. Carrington] put

my face close to the opening, since it was so dark I could see nothing. And there in the dim twilight of that séance room I beheld one of the most ghastly, most truly terrifying faces I have ever seen. . . . I regarded the face intently and it was gradually withdrawn into the shadow of the cabinet, and the curtains pulled over it. *I am certain that, had I been in an excited and unbalanced frame of mind at that moment, I should have sworn that the face actually melted away as I looked at it. . . .* I can now quite easily see how investigators can swear to the melting away of a face before their eyes after my own experience." (Pp. 31, 32.)

Some space is then devoted to Keeler's slate-writings, which Mr. Carrington feels bound to admit "are the most puzzling phenomena of their kind" he has "ever witnessed, and justly bear out the contention that Keeler is far and away the cleverest slate-writing medium in America" (p. 35). Subsequently, however, Mr. Carrington obtained proof of his trickery also (substitution of slates and pellets). Analysis of the contents of his slate-writing messages at any rate shows that he—or his "guides"—will take up any hint dropped by the sitter whether corresponding with actual fact or not. For the sake of impartiality it should be noted, however, that Mr. Carrington confesses he is "quite unable to explain many stories which have been told" him "by apparently good observers of Keeler's slate-writing." "All that I can say is that my own sittings were certainly fraudulent, that competent investigators unite in thinking his mediumship fraudulent, and that he has been seen resorting to trickery on several occasions" (p. 48). I think this will be enough ground on which to base an opinion.

Pp. 57-69 are devoted to "phenomena witnessed in private circles"—with equally unsatisfactory results. The following remarks, however, are curious :

"It is probable that most striking and peculiar manifestations have been witnessed in this manner, such strange phenomena indeed that I cannot relate them in this place for fear of ridicule. No one knows precisely what takes place in certain spiritualistic gatherings ; but I am inclined to believe that some very strange things happen at such times—phenomena which even the average spiritualist is unaware of. But this is only an intuition, for which I can offer no proof" (p. 57).

I do not much believe in "intuition," and I think such remarks

are misplaced in a serious work. Moreover, Mr. Carrington expresses himself too diplomatically. Does he *believe* these “very strange things” genuine, or is he simply puzzled by them, or what?

(Pp. 70-75.) Account of a fraudulent materialisation séance with De Witt Hough.

(Pp. 76-94.) The Bangs sisters. Mr. Carrington’s experience corroborates that of the Rev. Stanley Krebs, who exposed their chief method (so far as “direct writing” was concerned) in the *S.P.R. Journal*, Vol. X., pp. 5-16. On the other hand their “direct” pictures or paintings have also been explained and duplicated, first by Mr. David P. Abbott; then by Mr. William Marriott (“Dr. Wilmar”), both well-known professional conjurers.

Pp. 95-124 are devoted to the so-called “great Amherst mystery,”—a notorious Poltergeist case—again in Nova Scotia. The occurrences in question happened in 1878 and 1879. They formed the subject of a book by Mr. Walter Hubbell, now out of print, bearing this title. In 1908 Mr. Hubbell revisited Amherst and obtained from the surviving citizens of the town a document bearing sixteen signatures, “which certainly has some historical value and seems to support the authenticity of the phenomena to a great extent” (p. 103). Mr. Carrington also collected additional information in the shape of personal interviews with the “medium,” Esther Cox (still living), and her sister, Mrs. Teed. He seems on the whole to have been favourably impressed, though he cannot help remarking (p. 120):

“It may be objected to all this, of course, that I give the confirmatory evidence of only one person and that person the sister of the medium, one who would naturally wish to shield her younger sister against all charges of fraud or imposture.”

I confess I think the objection a serious one. Still the case is interesting; and the thanks of all “psychical researchers” are due to Messrs. Hubbell and Carrington for having done so much to improve the evidence. IF ever “Poltergeist phenomena” are finally acknowledged to be a “fact in nature,” “the great Amherst mystery” may certainly fairly claim to be a good specimen of it. It all depends on the “IF”!

Part II. of the book deals with Eusapia’s American séances. Extracts from the accounts of some twenty-seven sittings are given, many, in fact most, of these accounts being stenographic. Some of the incidents described look interesting, and this obser-

vation applies chiefly to the table-levitations. But on the whole the impression produced on the reader's mind is of the vaguest possible kind. I do not even specially refer to the undoubted fact of Eusapia having been repeatedly caught in the act of deception. No; but the character of the performances is unfortunately such that the question of genuineness does not move one inch further towards solution. And this is especially true in regard to the kind of control admitted. *Conditions of control again and again found to be unsatisfactory and unlikely ever to settle the question are used throughout.* And the margin of difference between the probably fraudulent and the possibly genuine is so narrow as to grow quite imperceptible. So one finally asks oneself: *Is it possible that "phenomena" so strikingly alike are due to causes so utterly different?*

In a short paper I contributed some two or three years ago on my personal experiments with Eusapia in Naples (S.P.R. *Proceedings*, Part LXII., pp. 59-63), I called special attention to the "cabinet phenomena" of the famous medium from the point of view of the unsatisfactoriness of the general conditions of control. Here I said "matters ought to be seriously mended before we investigate them further." And I am still of this opinion. The hand control Eusapia usually admits when "cabinet" phenomena occur "is practically non-existent." "She throws every obstacle in the way of this control. . . . She constantly changes the respective position of her limbs—both feet and hands. The latter especially are a regular *perpetuum mobile*. Now this circumstance is extremely important, for, as the conditions of control are perpetually and ceaselessly changing, illusions of memory as to the exact conditions under which something occurred are eminently apt to spring up."

I do not even think that the presence of a shorthand writer will *always* eliminate this very important source of error.

Apart from this we have some evidence—scanty evidence, it is true, but which ought not to be altogether neglected—tending to show that "mediums" are occasionally able to induce in the person controlling them (in one at a time only, I think) something like a negative tactile illusion or hallucination, which enables them to liberate one hand for a few seconds without the "controller" becoming aware of the circumstance. I refer especially to my wife's account printed in the same number of the *Proceedings*,

pp. 65-67, and, of course, to my numerous experiments in "chair-threading" with the late Sambor. But if so, it is plain that only those of Eusapia's cabinet phenomena should "count" in which both her hands are visible. Are there many such on record? Yes, I know there are; but were the medium's feet always satisfactorily controlled on such occasions? On p. 177 of his new work, speaking of séance xv., Mr. Carrington says:

"The greatest care was exercised in the control; yet several striking phenomena occurred. Of these perhaps the most noteworthy were the series of touches which occurred . . . on both controllers *at the same time, when both Eusapia's hands were held by the right controller.*"

Mr. Carrington italicises. I will also italicise:

How were the medium's feet controlled at the time? And what evidence is there that she did not produce these touches with her foot? We want also more precise details about the alleged simultaneity of these touches.

In view of these general remarks Mr. Carrington will, I hope, excuse my declining to discuss in detail the evidence he brings forward for the genuineness of Eusapia's American sittings. I consider that such evidence is in her case vitiated *ab ovo*. I am speaking at least of the "cabinet phenomena." As for the table levitations, I have already mentioned that they seem to me sometimes striking and deserving in general of renewed investigation, and this in spite of the crushing exposure in this domain also which fell to the lot of poor E. P. in the United States.

In a "Note on the sittings held at Columbia University" (pp. 216-222), Mr. Carrington blames the learned investigators for not carrying out a series of scientific tests planned by himself and Professors Wood and Trowbridge. Seeing, however, that, according to Mr. Carrington, these séances "were almost entirely blank, the fourth being of such a nature as to leave on the mind of Professor Wilson the strongest possible impression of fraud" (p. 220), and in view on the other hand of E. P.'s well-known dislike to the use of any paraphernalia not previously employed by her at the sittings—to her *misoneism* in short (to use the late Professor Lombroso's term)—such barrenness of results, nay, even such abstention on the part of the American scientists, does not at all astonish me. Mr. Carrington asks: "When such elaborate precautions had been made, how was it that no new experiments

were tried ? How was it that not one of the means we had devised . . . was actually employed and put into execution ? . . . The answer to these questions has never been forthcoming.”—Well, Mr. Carrington, I have just ventured to suggest one.

Chapter XII. (222-256) contains an elaborate “Theoretical discussion” which would be profoundly interesting and instructive, if (again !) we could but be sure that the phenomena are genuine ! It is true that the author assumes “that their genuine character is proved by the records themselves.” Well and good. It is certainly a very remarkable and instructive fact that, after all that has happened since the Naples séances of 1908, Mr. Carrington should still so strongly adhere to his belief in the genuineness of Eusapia. His opinion is entitled to the greatest consideration and respect. But I know many psychical researchers who, without being even now *a priori* prejudiced against “physical phenomena,” will think it very hard to follow him.

Let us look through a very interesting chapter nevertheless. On p. 225 Mr. Carrington says that he was inclined to believe at first that some of the “phenomena” were the direct result of the medium’s own will. Now he seems to think on the contrary that “she cannot control them, far less ensure their success” (p. 226). “The impression made upon the majority of the sitters is that the phenomena are due to some unrecognised force emanating from the body of the medium, and that they are not spiritistic in character” (p. 227). On the other hand, “it must be acknowledged that the longer any one group of experimenters sits with Eusapia, and the more satisfactory the conditions, the more startling do the phenomena become and the more indicative of an external intelligence.” On the whole “we have not advanced at all in the comprehension of the phenomena” (p. 229): a satisfactory conclusion !

On p. 230 the author discusses the question why, “when the sitters on both sides of Eusapia are touched simultaneously, they are touched in about the same place.” The explanation Mr. Carrington suggests is the following :

“Both sides of the medium’s body are practically alike in their anatomical structure. If, therefore, there be an externalisation of vital force, it seems probable that this externalisation would take place from both sides of the body (*i.e.* from the same nerve ends on both sides) simultaneously, because of the correspondence

and sympathy between the two sides. If a nervous current originated in the brain or spinal cord, and was shot outward to the periphery, it would pass along the nerve tracts on both sides, and (granting that externalisation takes place at all) would consequently be externalised on both sides in the same manner and about at the same time. Upon such a theory, *one wonders why simultaneous touchings are not recorded more frequently, and it must be admitted they are comparatively rare.*" (The italics are mine.)

I confess I have another explanation to offer, but perhaps some people will think it a too simple one!

On p. 234 the question, "Why use a cabinet at all?" is discussed. Mr. Carrington states "frankly" (why does he require particular frankness in this case?) that "a cabinet is generally employed by mediums to facilitate fraud." But with Eusapia the case is different: "she does not sit inside the cabinet, but, on the contrary, outside—a foot or more distant from the curtains behind her, held hand and foot [?], and there is no apparent contact or connection between her and the cabinet during a large portion of the séance."

Against such a representation I feel bound to protest. And I hope the reader will not object to my quoting again what I wrote on this very subject some years ago. In discussing M. Courtier's report in Vol. XXIII. of our *Proceedings* (p. 588) I said:

"To return to Eusapia: a light séance of hers with the curtain is, I think, evidentially at least equivalent to a totally dark séance. When first introduced this curtain was supposed to serve a reasonable purpose: it would ensure for part of the room the necessary condition of darkness whilst allowing the medium to remain in full view. As a matter of fact it simply complicates matters, hampers investigation, and generally speaking plays a part which—with all due respect to the medium—I may be permitted to call simply disreputable!"

And again in a foot-note to the same page:

"It has in particular a certain way of being thrown over the table and covering the medium's hands which may very well serve a certain purpose, only it will not be the purpose of scientific research. When its lower end is thus spread over E. P.'s hands she will still keep on moving them, at times showing one or both, at times concealing them again. And while this is going on, 'phenomena' will occur now and then, and it requires a certain

straining of attention to note whether *both* hands were visible simultaneously with such and such ‘manifestations’ or not. At times a hand will also appear between the two halves of the curtain; and as the result of all this hand-moving the sitters may very easily be led to believe that they saw all the three hands at once, whilst in fact they did not. At some sittings with E. P. in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1898 I specially noticed that this was just the case; and yet at least one other sitter was found to believe and assert the contrary, until I positively assured him that he was mistaken. In the present instance, therefore, light engenders an error for which there would have been no room in the dark.”

To this view I still emphatically adhere.

On pp. 235-240 Mr. Carrington deals with “the second great objection to these phenomena”—darkness. Here I agree with him a good deal. I do not think that, provided that all other conditions are eminently satisfactory, the fact of a séance taking place in the dark is an insuperable objection. No: I even prefer an honestly dark séance to some *soi-disant* “light” ones. For I greatly value unpretentiousness. Let us have even totally dark sittings, provided all the other conditions are strict “test-conditions” (I mean this seriously); and wait for a real medium to turn up. I am afraid we shall have to wait a long time.

The fact is that absence of light is by no means the only condition demanded by mediums; there are many others and—strange to say—all these conditions are invariably such as to facilitate fraud. If after all genuine phenomena exist, such a coincidence is nevertheless extremely unfortunate and extraordinary.

On p. 247 Mr. Carrington describes the following incident which he thinks “most instructive”:

“The question of ‘control’ had come up, and Eusapia was protesting that her controllers did not hold her securely enough. She said in effect: ‘Do hold me securely, do hold me tightly, because, if you don’t, I am liable to do these things myself; I have a tendency to do them, and I want you to prevent that tendency from becoming active and permitting me to produce these phenomena. I beg of you, therefore, to control me securely, for I warn you that, if you do not, I am likely to perform certain actions automatically, when in trance, which will be interpreted as fraudulent.’ I think this statement is most significant.”

Has it never occurred to Mr. Carrington that it might have occurred to E. P.—who is undoubtedly a very intelligent and shrewd woman—that such statements of hers, *if supposed by her hearers to have been made in all earnestness*, might prove very useful in the way of exonerating her from suspicions of *conscious* fraud? There is nothing very improbable in such a supposition.

Mr. Carrington notes that “as regards personal idiosyncrasies, it may be said that in many respects Eusapia is entirely different from almost every other medium. . . . For example, most mediums can obtain better results for an individual who is more or less ‘mediumistic’ or ‘psychic.’ Eusapia does not.” “Again it is usually believed that better results can be obtained for women than for men . . . but Eusapia says that in her case it makes no difference at all” (pp. 249, 250). We have a saying in Russian which runs thus: “*Vsiakiy molodetz—na svoi obrazetz*,” which may be translated somewhat as follows: “Every fellow acts in his own fashion”; and this saying will fit the mediumistic tribe admirably. The variety of the “conditions” supposed to be required by the “phenomena” almost surpasses the variety of the phenomena themselves! Conditions alleged to be absolutely necessary in one case are altogether wanting in another and only partly present in a third one. And yet in all this boundless variety one uniform feature is, it is true, conspicuously present throughout: *the conditions are such as the medium, not the sitter, desires*.

Mr. Carrington’s book ends with an Appendix devoted to the “need of a psychical laboratory.”

It begins, on the other hand, with a Preface containing a quotation from Count [*sic*] Aksakoff’s *Animism and Spiritism*, which may appropriately close this review. Says M. Aksakoff (pp. xi-xii):

“In the decline of life I ask myself sometimes, ‘Have I in truth done well to have devoted so much time and toil and money to the study and the publication of facts in this domain? Have I not struck into a blind road?—followed an illusive hope? Have I not wasted my experience, with no result to justify all my pains?’ Yet always I seem to hear the same reply: ‘A life on earth can have no higher aspiration than to demonstrate the transcendental nature of man’s being—to prove him called to a destiny loftier than the phenomenal existence he knows.’ I cannot, then, regret that I have devoted my whole life to the pursuance of this aim; although it be by methods which science shuns and spurns—methods

which I hold far trustier than any other which science has to show. And if it be in the end my lot to have laid one stone to that temple of the Spirit, upbuilt from century to century by men of true heart, this will be the highest and the only recompense which ever I strove to gain."

Mr. Carrington seems to agree entirely with this optimistic attitude. May I add that I do so but partially? Certainly, the more I advance in age, the more I am inclined to think that the road is blind indeed and the hope illusive. I wish I had spent the energy I have devoted to investigation in the domain of Spiritism on some altogether different aim. I think the results might have been somewhat more fruitful.

But such reflections are, perhaps, inappropriate in a review dealing with *Psychical Research*: I had therefore better stop, not, however, without first thanking Mr. Carrington for the pleasure a perusal of his very interesting work has afforded me.

PEROVSKY-PETROVO-SOLOVOVO.

THOUGHT-TRANSFERENCE—EXPERIMENTAL.¹

BY JOHN E. COOVER, PH.D.

*(Fellow in Psychological Research, Leland Stanford Jr. University,
California.)*

THE question of thought-transference curiously remains open in spite of the reports in these *Proceedings* and elsewhere of decidedly favourable experimental results. It will be remembered that Mrs. Henry Sidgwick found that two hypnotized reagents² made, on good days, 14.1 per cent. and 11.4 per cent. right guesses on Lotto-Blocks, as against a probability of 1.23 per cent., in 354 and 263 experiments respectively ;³ and that Richet, from 789 successful cases out of 2927 guesses on playing cards by eleven normal reagents, as against a probability of 732, concluded that "suggestion mentale" is to a small degree a common human capacity.⁴

Perhaps reluctance in accepting such results as final is founded largely upon statistical facts. The 11,130 guesses of digits, by 27 normal reagents, collected by the American S.P.R., yielded but 10.17 per cent. right cases as against the probability of 10 per cent. ;⁵ and Preyer showed by the records of the *Sächsische Lotterie* that inductive probability removes

¹ This *résumé* covers part of the work in Psychological Research conducted in the Department of Psychology at the Leland Stanford Jr. University, California, during the year 1912-1913, which will be more fully reported elsewhere. The research was endowed by Thomas Welton Stanford, of Melbourne, Australia.

² Throughout this article, the words "experimenter" and "reagent" are used as equivalent respectively to what in the publications of the S.P.R. are always called "agent" and "percipient."—ED.

³ *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. VI. (1889-1890), pp. 128-170.

⁴ Richet : "La suggestion mentale et le calcul des probabilités," *Revue Philosophique*, 1884, Vol. XVIII., pp. 609-674.

⁵ *Proceedings of the American S.P.R.*, Vol. I. (1885-1889), p. 28.

the basis of Richet's contention.¹ Theoretical considerations, however, also stand in the way: the psychological law of the sensorial gateway for all impressions from the outer world demands that facts contradictory of it shall be carefully and repeatedly scrutinized. Evidently those successful experiments need repetition under the control of the psychological laboratory.

The object of the following experimentation was (1) to further test Richet's supposition of a common "suggestion mentale," or to find a "norm" for normal people, (2) to acquire in the course of experimentation statistical material suitable for establishing a "practical" probability with which to check the application of theoretical probability to experimental results, (3) to rigorously control the experimentation to the end of discovering among regularly varied factors the conditions of success, and (4) to analyse the subjective processes to the end of determining what elements of experience contribute to certainty in making a guess, and, in the case of success, of learning if the impression upon which a judgment is based is in the same sense-mode as that entertained in the mind of the experimenter.

Three series of guessing, aggregating 5000 experiments, were made.

General Method.

The reagent sat comfortably with his back to the experimenter and closed his eyes to avoid visual distraction during the interval of impression; after each experiment he recorded his guess, and noted introspections in a tabulated form under the following headings: (1) Was the mind in a thoroughly receptive mood? (2) Imagery: (*a*) Kind, (*b*) Vividness (grade from A to D), (*c*) Temporal course (occurring at beginning, middle, end, quickly, slowly, persistent, intermittent), (*d*) Spatial attributes (to the right, left, back, front, — metres); (3) Certainty of guess: (*a*) Grade (from A to D, and use "pure guess"), (*b*) Why? (if the grade is high).

Before each experiment the experimenter shook a dice-box and determined by the spots whether the card should be "imaged" or "not imaged," and if the former, in what way

¹ Preyer, W.: *Die Erklärung des Gedankenlesens.* Leipzig: Grieben, 1886.

it was to be entertained in his mind; after drawing his card or block by chance, he gave one tap on his chair to signal to the reagent the beginning of the experimental period of 15 to 20 seconds; in case the material was "imaged," he made this imagery as vivid as possible and assumed a determined attitude of will that the reagent should get the impression; he gave two taps to signal the close of the experiment, and after the reagent had recorded the guess he recorded the card or block, and indicated in what kind of imagery, if in any, it was held. From 25 to 50 guesses were made on one day.

I. "The Feeling of being Stared at." ¹

Some years ago Titchener ² found the belief in "the feeling of being stared at" to be common in his junior classes in Psychology, proved it groundless in experiments in the laboratory, and suggested general psychological reasons for it. With students in our beginning courses in psychology the belief is also common:

Women.		Men.	
No.	%	No.	%
78	74	68	60
77	91	61	80
44	86	51	86
55	96	65	80

Ten students who commonly experienced this feeling and had confidence in its reliability, were chosen from a class in general psychology for experimentation. They made 100 guesses each. Right cases varied from 43 to 56; per cent. of the grand total was 50.2, as against a probability of 50.

The feeling was experienced in the laboratory, and judgments were delivered with five degrees of certainty (decreasing from A to "pure guess") over which they were distributed as follows:

	A	B	C	D	"Pure Guess."	Total.
Number	15	332	264	61	36	708
Per cent. Right	67	50	48.8	54.1	61	50.8

¹ A more detailed report of this experiment will be found in the *American Journal of Psychology*, Oct. 1913, Vol. XXIV., pp. 570-575.

² *Science*, 1898, Vol. VIII., p. 895.

Analysis of introspections shows that a feeling of certainty is contributed to the guess by (1) some attribute or content of the imagery, such as vivid imagery of the experimenter, staring; vividness, liveliness, persistence of this imagery, etc.; (2) Kinaesthetic sensations or images, such as an almost irresistible impulse to turn around, uncomfortable sensations localized at the back of the neck, feeling of the eyes drawn toward an imaged line of connection with the experimenter, etc.; (3) Inferences from sound impressions resulting from the experimenter's manipulation of the apparatus, such as the rustle of clothing, lengthened interval before the tap, etc.

These factors make up the essential process at work when the reagent has the "feeling of being stared at," and are responsible for the reagent's confidence in the reliability of the feeling.

Apart from supposed verification of the belief, therefore, psychological ground for it consists in *attributing an objective validity to commonly experienced subjective impressions in the form of imagery, sensations, and impulses.* From this common tendency spring Hallucinations and Motor Automatisms.

II. *Guessing of Playing-Cards.*

Thirty students (12 of them men), favourably inclined toward telepathic phenomena, well representative of normal people, taking their special work in 15 different departments in the university and registering from 14 different States, made 100 guesses each, with the following result:

	"Not Imaged."				Total guesses.
	Card.	Colour.	No.	Suit.	
Right cases	37	731	119	377	1454
Per cent. Right	2.5	50.3	8.2	25.6	
Probability	2.5	50	10	25	
	"Imaged."				Total guesses.
	Card.	Colour.	No.	Suit.	
Right cases	42	748	157	378	1546
Per cent. Right	2.7	48.4	10.2	24.5	
Probability	2.5	50	10	25	

Guesses given with a high degree of certainty do not correlate with Right cases, and do not occur more often in the

“imaged” than in the “not imaged” experiments, nor does the imagery contributing to that certainty correspond to the kind of imagery or impression the experimenter held in his mind; analysis of introspections indicated elements common to subjective experience as responsible for the higher grades of certainty; but as to those elements the reagents varied: 19 depended dominantly upon visual imagery, 3 upon kinaesthetic, 3 upon kinaesthetic-auditory, 4 upon mixed imagery, and 1 upon almost no imagery.

III. *Guessing of Lotto-Blocks.*

One reagent, trained in laboratory work and favourable toward the telepathic hypothesis, made 1000 guesses with the following results:

	Whole No. Correct.	Tens Correct.	Units Correct.	Tens for Units.	Units for Tens.	Trans- posed.	Total Guesses.
“Not Imaged”	1.18%	11.1%	9.1%	7.4%	8.0%	0.8%	502
“Imaged”	1.00	12.8	10.2	6.6	6.0	1.23	498
Probability	1.23	12.5	10	6.9	6.9	0.85	

Highly graded guesses again do not correlate with Right cases, and do not occur more frequently in the “imaged” than in the “not imaged” experiments, nor does the imagery correspond to the imagery or impression held in the mind of the experimenter.

Introspections show that impressions came in four different kinds of imagery: Visual, kinaesthetic, auditory, kinaesthetic-auditory. The higher grades of certainty were contributed by (1) Vividness of the imagery, (2) its early appearance, (3) flashing out, and (4) persistence.

The research will be continued with normal people in the hope of finding the beginnings of whatever capacities are later found in working with “sensitives,” upon whom experiments are now being made.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXIX.

JULY, 1914.

I.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND PSYCHICAL
RESEARCH :

A PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS,

Delivered on June 29th, 1914,

BY F. C. S. SCHILLER, D.Sc.

It was with no little hesitation that I accepted the great honour to which the Council of our Society has this year elected me. For I am not at all sure that a philosopher ought to be called upon to preside over a Society which has scientific exploration for its aim, the more so when its researches are as arduous and prolonged as ours. For the philosophic temper seems to be contemptuous of the minute details which count for so much in science, and impatient of the slow but unceasing advances which constitute the normal progression of a science. They contrast too much with the procedure of

the speculative method, with its spectacular flights, gorgeous guesses, and hazardous predictions, which it flatters itself can be guaranteed by reasoning *a priori*. But the more I see of philosophic interventions in scientific questions, the more sceptical I become about their value, and the more doubtful whether irrefragable proofs that a thing must be so render it in the least more likely that it is so in fact. The deductive arguments from general principles, to which philosophers are addicted, therefore, seem to be, not only useless, but positively mischievous. They always assume what we none of us know, to wit, where the limits of the possible are laid down.

But amid such doubts I take heart again when I think of the grand succession of philosophers who have presided over the destinies of our Society before me. Henry Sidgwick, William James, and Henri Bergson rank with the greatest names in the philosophy, not only of our day, but of all time.

And they have all served us nobly. Henry Sidgwick was a chief among our founders, our first and most essential President, who nursed the Society through the perils of infancy. Well do I remember those days, though it is now over thirty years ago, when to profess an interest in Psychical Research meant to incur an imputation of insanity. We should hardly have lived down the unreasoning prejudices that poisoned the social atmosphere, had we not been guided so long by the counsels of a man, whose genius for common-sense stood between us and almost inevitable condemnation for crankiness, and whose stainless candour shielded us against attacks both from within and from without in the pursuit of an enterprise in which fraud and self-deception are a perpetual danger.

To William James we owe, not only the claim which the support of the greatest psychologist of all time has given us upon all succeeding investigators of his science, but also the discovery of Mrs. Piper and a number of most brilliant and inspiring papers.

About Henri Bergson, the first metaphysician who has radically challenged the stupid old tradition, which has come down from the Eleatics, that time is unreal and change impossible, I will say nothing for the moment. You must

all have read the charming Address which delighted and instructed us so much last year, and I mean to take up one or two of his points later.

It is clear therefore that our Society has been most fortunate in its philosophers. And this is the more surprising because one does not usually associate the patronage of scientific adventures with philosophers. When they are not 'speculating' on their own account, they seem as a rule to play for safety, and to content themselves with *ex post facto* 'reflection' on the work of others. This conception has been classically formulated in Hegel's famous comparison of philosophy with the owl of Minerva, which takes flight only at nightfall.¹ He meant, presumably, that it loves obscurity, gets on the wing when the day's work is done, and pursues its prey in the dark. I am afraid this is only too true of much philosophy, and it explains why men of affairs and men of science as heartily despise the *ex post facto* explanations of philosophers after the event as they suspect their *a priori* dogmatism before.

But it is not true of *all* philosophy, and was not true of the great philosophers who have supported us, and of whom I may claim to be not only a successor, but also in some measure a follower. There is another and a truer philosophy, which by way of contrast with the philosophy of the owl we may call that of the Lark. It conceives the duty of philosophy to be, not *a priori* speculation and *ex post facto reflection* merely, but the preliminary *exploration*, which heralds man's conquest of new realms of knowledge. So it rises above the common clods of earth and soars carolling to the sky, pointing out to men the upward and onward way. Or, in less poetical language, it is possible, and at times even essential, to prepare the way for science by ingenious guessing, and this is why so many of the successful scientific conceptions have originated with philosophers. I will remind you only of Anaximander's anticipations of Darwin, of the Atomism of Democritus, of Heraclitus's discovery of the Universal Flux, of the Stoic doctrine of the periodical conflagrations of stellar systems, of Descartes's adoption of the Mechanical Theory, of Berkeley's Immaterialism, of Kant's Nebular Hypothesis. There was

¹ Preface to the *Philosophy of Right*, s.f.

nothing owlsh about these guesses ; if they erred, it was from excess of daring.

There is lastly the philosophy of that self-sacrificing bird the Pelican, which does not selfishly seclude itself in the contemplation of the eternal and immutable and indifferent, but tries to be useful and beneficial to men. And the Pelican is, I am proud to remember, the totem of my own College.¹ But the Pelican must follow in the wake of the Lark. For there is need of Daring in intellectual, as in warlike, adventures, and we particularly need the spirit of the lark, if we would rise above our actual horizon and explore the undiscovered country.

But in what direction is it best worth exploring at present, and to what points can your attention be most usefully directed ? These were, of course, questions I had to consider. It seemed to me that in our present era of incipient exploration of the psychic *terra incognita* I could best serve the cause by discussing some problems of our proper logical equipment, and by clearing away certain metaphysical obstructions which beset the minds of many. I hope however you will not be terrified by hearing that I am going to talk both logic and metaphysics, and will not make up your minds in advance that I am going to be unintelligible. Logic is, I know, universally respected, though no one reads it ; while those who read metaphysics mostly do so, one feels, not to be enlightened so much as to have their sense of the inscrutable mystery of everything stimulated and augmented. We, however, as scientific pioneers, must go armed with a logic that we can use as an instrument to cut a clear path through the wilderness, and must not be afraid of bogies, metaphysical, or otherwise. Indeed it may be that by going ahead boldly we shall not only advance our own subject but perform a notable service both to metaphysics and to logic.

Let me start, therefore, from an important and interesting fact to which Prof. Bergson has directed our attention.² The evidence of psychic phenomena, which we collect, is primarily *historical*, and has to be ascertained according to the canons used by the historian and the lawyer, rather

¹ Corpus Christi—though we also own to the owl.

² *Proc.* Vol. XXVI., p. 464 f.

than by the methods of the laboratory experimenter. Now this profoundly true remark indicates the great gulf which exists between our procedure and that, not only of the exact, but also of the experimental, sciences. For you see a historical event occurs once, and is not to be repeated. History *never* repeats itself. Julius Caesar was assassinated only once, and if we wish to know how, and how large precisely was the rent the envious Casca made, we must get the historical eye-witnesses to record their evidence accurately and at once, and compare and criticize their several accounts. That too is essentially what we have to do with our ghost stories, etc. If we are lucky, and get hold of the story while it is still fresh and the witnesses are still alive,—and this, I am glad to note, we are being allowed to do much oftener than formerly—we can proceed to strengthen our historical evidence by applying the methods of the law-courts. We can question our witnesses and cross-examine them to a certain extent. But we cannot, as a rule, *repeat the experience*. We cannot summon spirits from the vasty deep at will, and cinematograph their performances, in order that if they do anything we did not observe closely enough, we can make them do it over again slowly. In short, we can *experiment* not at all, or hardly at all. Consequently we cannot multiply our evidence at will, nor crush our critics by its accumulating weight.

But worse remains to be confessed. Our evidence does not accumulate in the strict sense at all. The longer we keep it, the worse it gets, and that through no fault of its own. It wastes insensibly away through the mere efflux of time, and, so far from growing greater with the growth of interest, our scientific capital is composed of wasting assets.

The reason is quite simple. The strength of our evidence depended on our securing first-hand records from trustworthy witnesses and getting them competently examined and criticized by honourable investigators. So long as our witnesses and our investigators are *alive*, therefore, they can confront the hostile sceptic in person, and will have the support of those who know them and believe in them. But as the original witnesses and investigators pass away, their evidence inevitably undergoes a serious and progressive loss in value. Coming generations have nothing to go by but a paper record, and a record of its

recorders. They can know neither the witnesses nor the investigators personally, and hence the value of the evidence may shrink incalculably. Whoever wants to disbelieve it has merely to get up and say the witnesses were liars or lunatics. 'Why don't these marvels happen now? Certainly they seem well attested; but what if the records were biased or fraudulent? Anyhow they are not up to modern scientific standards.' Nor can any one refute him. At present even those of us who have discovered nothing at first hand (and their numbers are regrettably large) can yet reply 'such insinuations are absurd; we have known Edmund Gurney and Henry Sidgwick and Frederic Myers and Richard Hodgson, and William James, and they were all honourable men, in whose integrity and intelligence we could safely put our trust.' But will any one be able to feel this as strongly 100 or 1000 years hence? Surely we must recognize that however fully and carefully we record our cases now, it is simply a question of time for them to become as inadequate for scientific purposes and as unconvincing to our successors as the records of similar events in the past had become to us. In other words we must recognize it as an intrinsic limitation of historical evidence that it can hardly ever be, and can never remain, scientifically adequate, and that therefore our evidence also can never be made scientifically cogent, so long as it remains historical.

We labour, then, under a serious disability. But is it incurable? The answer must be, *yes* and *no*. Yes, in so far as we continue to depend on crude evidence: for the crude evidence is always historical, even in the sciences. All scientific discoveries are in the first place historical events. That Newton had the law of gravitation suggested to him by the fall of the apple, that he made certain calculations and predicted the orbit of the moon, that his predictions failed at first because his data were wrong, and afterwards, when he had got hold of better ones, succeeded (approximately), are, or are believed to be, historical facts, without which our law of gravitation would not have come into being.¹ Nor

¹ Of course if some one else than Newton had subsequently propounded the same formula, there would still have been a set of historical circumstances conditioning the discovery.

does our recognition of it as an 'eternal' truth exempt it from dependence on such facts. If it is to remain 'true,' it needs a continuous supply of historical verifications; its predictions must continue to come true and never fail. If at any time a gravitating body should be observed to move unpredictably, a question would arise about the truth of Newton's law, and it might have to be amended. Even the best established laws of nature, therefore, rest in fact on a *finite* number of historical observations, and in the case of laws which can be verified only with difficulty, or at long intervals, that number is by no means large. It takes seventy-eight years (more or less) to verify the orbit of Halley's comet, and it would seem that at most about forty reappearances of this luminary are on record. The atomic weight of some of the rarer metals has probably not been calculated more than three or four times, and finally there are whole sciences (like palæontology) in which important conclusions repose upon single historical observations as to where a bone was found in a bed. Thus the name and fame, nay the very existence, of *Pithecanthropus erectus*, the 'Missing Link,' depend on the truthfulness and competence of Dr. Eugene Dubois's assurance that he had found a cranium sufficiently near a thigh bone for both to be attributed to the same creature. In all these cases any source of error in the historical data may radically vitiate all the beliefs that are built upon them.

So far then our evidence does not differ from that on which all science ultimately rests, and it is a mistake to imagine that crude historical evidence can be dispensed with. Even the sciences that predict most boldly and successfully rest on historical evidence and individual witnesses, and depend on confirmation by experience. Nor do the mathematical sciences form a real exception. For though in their case we seem to be free to make what assumptions we please, and to work them out as consistently as we please, the only thing that guarantees to our procedures any relevance or applicability to the course of real events is that we should have happened to hit upon assumptions which turn out to be serviceable idealizations of reality. However enthusiastic therefore we may be about the exactness and apriority of *pure*

mathematics, we must leave the truth of *applied* mathematics essentially empirical. There is nothing in the number-system to secure that it shall always be supplied with things that can be numbered, nothing in any geometry to guarantee a supply of shapes that can be treated *as if* they were geometrical. Thus it is their actual application to reality which raises the value of mathematics above that of difficult games with imaginary counters.

Nevertheless it is *not* true that the sciences are wholly dependent on truthful records of events. Their truths are historical, but not merely historical, and herein lies the real difference between their materials and ours. This difference consists essentially in the extent to which the data can be controlled. Where there is control enough to experiment, there is always a possibility in theory, and usually in fact, of indefinitely repeating and multiplying the evidence, on which the truths of the sciences rest. If, therefore, there is any dispute about the evidence, it is possible to *repeat* the experiments questioned, with special attention to the doubtful points, or, better still, to devise such new and improved forms of them as will meet the objections urged. Thus, though the evidence is historical and its amount may actually be small, more can be manufactured on demand, and it is therefore scientifically adequate.

The existence, therefore, of such experimental control revolutionizes the logical situation. It justifies an entirely different method of discussion and an entirely different notion of proof. It puts 'dialectical' disputation and logic-chopping out of court altogether. When a doubt arises whether a phenomenon has been correctly observed, it is no longer necessary to go into the *pros* and *cons* of a historical record, and to dispute about the honesty and competence of the observers with critics who may be bitterly prejudiced for all sorts of reasons that are not revealed—not because a good case cannot often be made out in their favour, but because it is no longer worth while. It is much simpler and more satisfactory to repeat the experiments, and so to make fresh evidence. Thus when in the early days of wireless telegraphy the Marconi Company first claimed to have transmitted a signal across the Atlantic, and this claim was disputed, there did not arise

a literary controversy as to what exactly happened on this particular occasion. The company simply went on perfecting its apparatus until it got through so many messages of such importance that it was no longer worth the captious critic's while to dispute its achievement. In short, where there is experimental control the decisive appeal is to facts, and not to dialectical reasoning and argument, though it has taken mankind a long time to learn this, and some philosophers may still behave like the Aristotelians who refused to look through telescopes, lest they should see the satellites of Jupiter revolving round their primary and behold a visible refutation of their master's astronomy.

It follows that in Psychological Research also we should aim, not so much at establishing that any particular 'super-normal' event, say a message from the departed, did veritably happen at a particular time, but at getting such a grasp of the conditions of such events that they can become predictable and 'normal.' We live in a beleaguered city that is hedged round and beset by death: it is no great relief, even if we can believe it, that from time to time a sporadic message should get through the blockading lines; what we need is to be assured of a free line of communication with our friends without, that will render our life the outpost of a larger scheme. That the real 'G.P.' or Frederic Myers communicated through Mrs. Piper on this occasion or that, we shall never be able to establish to every one's satisfaction; but we may perhaps learn so to regulate the conditions of trance, automatism, and other forms of so-called 'mediumship,' that they will yield results, as in the natural sciences, which progressively increase in value and trustworthiness, until they cease to be laboratory experiments, and enter into our ordinary practice and outlook upon life. How *in fact* that is to be achieved I cannot, unfortunately, tell you; for that would be the *real* discovery, and one of the most momentous men could make. But we are far more likely to make it, if we make it clear to ourselves that it is the discovery to aim at.

Experimental control similarly changes the notion of 'proof.' It liberates us from the illusion, which still vitiates so much of the argument on both sides in Psychological Research, that it is in our power or duty to contrive a single

unexceptionable and final experiment or observation which will constitute an absolute and coercive proof of a disputed belief once and for all, and silence sceptics for ever after. Once we capitulate to this logical superstition, we are not only bound to reject much valuable and scientifically suggestive evidence that for one reason or another does not come up to this standard of 'proof,' and to engage upon a wildgoose chase of an impossibly perfect case, but we are also committed to endless arguments as to whether a particular observation does or does not reach the standard. But a really experimental science does not allow its progress to be impeded in this way. It says to the objector—'you don't think our evidence good enough. Well, I will not dispute with you about case A, which you reject; but here are also cases B and C, and D, and so forth to any extent, which, though not one of them is ideally perfect, are not subject to the same objections as A.' Thus, by the indefinite accumulation of evidence, even the strongest prejudices are slowly overpowered.

It is possible therefore for a science, *i.e.* a systematic interpretation of a number of facts, to become certain and indisputable, even though none of its constituent facts are *per se* beyond cavil. And conversely, if a scientific investigation is put into a position in which its evidence is *not* allowed to accumulate, it can never be secured against cavils, and remains exposed for ever to attacks which experimental control would justify it in ignoring.

It follows moreover that much of the criticism to which our evidence is subjected is mistaken and rests upon bad logic. It is assumed that proof must rest upon absolute certainties, and cannot accrue from a confluence of probabilities. It is then shown that no part of the evidence *taken piecemeal* is absolutely unexceptionable. It is, thereupon, rejected as inconclusive, and it is inferred that nothing has been proved. But this is really to imply that evidence must never be allowed to accumulate, that probabilities have no logical value, and that the sort of evidence on which most of the sciences rely is worthless. It would clearly be inept on our part to acquiesce in a procedure which first requires us to prove scientific novelties by one single historical case, and then condemns us for failing in this impossible attempt.

It is evident then that experimental control would not only give us power to amass evidence to our hearts' content, but would enormously improve our logical position. If we had such control, even to a slight extent, we should no longer need to waste time and ingenuity in arguing with sceptics about the precise weight of particular pieces of evidence or to strain after one single invulnerable *pièce de conviction*. We could calmly let the evidence accumulate for what it was worth, and devote our energies to the extension and improvement of that control, convinced that in the long run it is not possible to deny the status of truth to knowledge which has shown itself to be real, by proving itself useful and by becoming a power in the world.

It seems then that in Psychological Research also we cannot convince others, nor in the end perhaps ourselves, that our discoveries are real, unless they conform to the type which the pragmatic philosophy assigns to all genuine knowledge, *i.e.* unless they increase our power over the course of events. Indeed I do not know of any case which bears out more strikingly the correctness of the pragmatic analysis of knowledge. What other case is there of alleged knowledge which is as ancient, as important, as passionately defended and attacked, as the occult and mysterious occurrences which our Society has for the first time in human history essayed to subject to systematic investigation? And about what alleged knowledge also have disputes raged so interminably? Why? The testimony to the genuineness of this whole realm of knowledge is doubted and repudiated, because those who claimed to possess such knowledge have never been able to show that it could stand the pragmatic test, that they had the phenomena under control, and that it yielded them real power. Hence the world has never been willing to acknowledge that they possessed real knowledge.

Let me illustrate this point from a delightful book which exhibits a rare combination of philosophic and spiritual insight, Prof. L. P. Jacks's *All Men are Ghosts* (pp. 4-7).

Turning the tables upon us, one of his characters declares that "Ghosts who believe in the existence of human beings often regard them as idiots. To communicate with such imbeciles is to court an insult, or at least to expose the

communicating spirit to an exhibition of revolting antics and limited intelligence. From their point of view, men are a race of beings whose acquaintance is not worth cultivating." By the majority of ghosts "belief in the existence of beings like yourself is regarded as betokening a want of mental balance. A ghost who should venture to assert that you, for example, were real would certainly risk his reputation, and if he held a scientific professorship or an ecclesiastical appointment he would be . . . made the victim of some persecution. . . . The ghosts have among them a Psychical Research Society which has been occupied for many years in investigating the reality of the inhabitants of this planet.

"A friend of mine, who is a Doctor of Science, and extremely scornful as to the existence of spirits, is actually undergoing examination by the ghosts. . . . Some assert that he is a low form of mental energy which has managed to get astray in the universe. Others declare that he is a putrid emanation from some kind of matter which science has not yet identified, without consciousness, but by no means without odour. They allege that they have walked through him. . . ."

"By the vast majority of ghosts the proceedings of the Society are viewed with indifference and the claim, which is occasionally made, that communication has been established with the beings whom we know as men is treated with contempt. The critics point to the extreme triviality of the alleged communications from this world. They say nothing of the least importance has ever come through from the human side, and are wont to make merry over the imbecility and disjointed nonsense of the messages reported by the mediums, for you must understand that there are mediums on that side as well as on this. Some time ago, two questions, purporting to come from this world, reached the ghosts. One was 'What will be the price of Midland Preferred on Jan. 1, 1915?' The other, 'Will it be a boy or a girl?'"

Why do you laugh at these questions? Are they not psychologically natural questions for us to ask, and questions about what it concerns men greatly to know? Nay, are they not logically good test questions, and would not correct answers to them unquestionably be convincing? Could any one persist in disbelieving the genuineness of supernormal

communications if they conveyed information bearing so directly on his vital interests? And if he did, should we not confidently expect one who was blind to the advantages of such valuable information to be speedily eliminated by natural selection? Whatever, therefore, may be the idiosyncrasies of individuals, the race has to be empirically-minded enough to believe whatever is enforced by a long course of successful and valuable prediction. You may convince yourselves of this by an illustration taken from an ingenious tale, by Mr. H. G. Wells, if I remember rightly, of a race of men congenitally blind, in whose midst by some freak of atavism a child was born gifted with sight. Being a seer, he became of course a prophet; *i.e.* he was able to predict, *supernormally*, a vast number of events which duly came to pass. He could foretell to his blind fellows that if they walked on so many yards in a certain direction they would run into a rock or encounter a bull, and would of course himself avoid many dangers he could see approaching. At first, of course, his claim to be possessed of an additional sense and a consequential extension of his means of knowing would be scouted, and fraud, coincidence, or lying be alleged in explanation of his feats; but in the end the regular success of the seer's predictions and the superior adaptations which they rendered possible, *i.e.* the *practical value* of his endowment, would force the reluctant blind to admit the existence of a sense they did not possess. And if they reflected intelligently on this result, they would perceive also that here was one way in which practical value could establish 'theoretic' truth.

Why then are questions of the sort that Professor Jacks satirizes felt to be absurd? Their absurdity lies in their naïve assumption that they are *equally interesting* to the denizens of another world, to whom they are supposed to be addressed, and are not merely natural questions for us to ask, but also for them to answer. They presuppose a community of interests between the two worlds, which seems to us presumptuous and absurdly unlikely.

Yet there is nothing in itself absurd in presuming a community of interests. Unless we can find or make such a thing, we can hardly hope to establish any effective communication. It is no use trying to ring up any one on the telephone who

does not want to converse with you, because he knows you will bore him with your personal affairs in which he takes no interest.

The flaw in these questions lies in the one-sidedness, blindness, and egotism of the standpoint from which they are asked. If we want to enter into communication with other worlds, we must endeavour to ask, not only questions to which the answers would be of value to us, but also questions which will seem worth answering to those we address. And this I think we have so far failed to do. Whether we conceive them to have been addressed to angels, devils, spirits of the departed or 'elementals,' our questions must have seemed intolerably silly, and (as a rule) the answers have paid us out in kind. It may well be, therefore, that the value of the responses we have elicited has been so small, because we have been so stupid; it would be unscientific to infer from our failures either that no communication is possible or even that it has not occasionally in some measure been achieved. But, as a rule, the few who have not been too engrossed in mundane affairs to interest themselves in such attempts have asked for information either about spiritual spheres, and got descriptions that were humanly quite unverifiable, or about such of their earthly affairs as could hardly be subjects of interest and competence to the denizens of other worlds. They have not contrived questions of interest to *both* sides, which would yield evidential answers.

I do not, however, wish to imply that the fault is wholly on our side. It may well have been that the only common interest to which we could hitherto appeal was precisely the personal one, viz. the desire to get through a message of greeting and consolation to those whom death had left bereaved. That certainly, rather than the purely scientific desire to extend our knowledge, has been the driving force in such researches as there have been on our side. And why not also on the other? Such personal messages have not infrequently convinced those for whom they were intended. But, unfortunately, they can rarely be made to appear evidential to the world at large, which cannot judge the facts, and naturally suspects the bias of those who can.

Success in *Psychical Research*, therefore, seems to need not merely systematic and continuous effort on our part,

organized with much larger resources both in men and money than the world has yet placed at our disposal, but also intelligent *co-operation* in what, for purposes of reference alone, I may call the 'spirit' world. And on both sides the efforts made will have to be prompted largely by a scientific desire to break down the barriers that evidently exist between the different phases of being. These barriers, if a 'spirit' world exists at all—and I have elsewhere shown that there are no reasons, scientific, philosophical or theological, why there should not be one¹—are probably mainly *psychological* in character, and no more substantial than the flimsy fences that restrict the grazing of the Alpine cow.

In other words we need a S.P.R. on the other side as well as on this. And if we may trust the gradually hardening convictions of those who have most intimately and laboriously studied at first hand the complicated evidence of Cross-Correspondences, we seem to be getting something of the sort, as more and more of those who were devoted to Psychological Research in a lofty scientific spirit join the majority. But I fear that the obstacles in the way of Psychological Research must be even greater on the other side than on this. For a variety of reasons, largely discreditable and therefore unavowed, Psychological Research is far from popular on earth. There are pretty good reasons why it should be even more unpopular in the beyond. For the conditions are much less favourable. No one can seriously and honestly contend that it is a good thing that *we* should know nothing about what death means to what, again for the purpose of provisional reference, I must call the individual soul, and about what may befall it after that—for I greatly doubt whether the sentiments of those who say that knowledge would destroy the merit of faith have been interpreted aright. But it is easy to conceive that, once the ordeal of death is passed, it may seem in a high degree repugnant, unnecessary, and degrading to allow one's thoughts to dwell on the dreadful past and to attempt to resume relations with a world like ours. It would at any rate demand some leisure and a high degree of unselfishness and independence of a social sentiment which would doubtless

¹ Cf. *Riddles of the Sphinx*, Ch. XI.; *Humanism*, Ch. XVII.-XIX.; *Studies in Humanism*, Ch. XX.

denounce communication with our earthly sphere as disgustingly 'bad form,' and make its reprobation felt in appropriate ways. So it would accord with what we know of human nature that, if we survive death, we shall continue to live for the future rather than in the past, and to be sensitive and submissive to social sentiment.

We have come then upon a number of grave intrinsic obstacles to Psychological Research: (1) In trying to establish communications with other worlds we are probably dealing with forces which are not seriously interested in us, or nothing like as much as we are in them; (2) At present these forces are beyond our control.

(3) We have scarcely any more control over the forces at our end of the line, which we could use as instruments of exploration. For the 'physical' forces, which we have learnt to some extent to control and use, seem to fail us here. There seems to be very little analogy, and an almost absolute difference of kind, between the 'physical' and the 'psychical.' And though I quite believe that in the end, when we have made as serious and sustained efforts to understand the psychical as we have the physical, and considered the whole antithesis in a philosophic manner, this difference will turn out to be as arbitrary and fictitious in fact as it historically was in origin, it is at present unfortunately true that psychologists have not yet succeeded in making the methods which are effective in the physical sciences work in the psychical.

Nor have they succeeded as yet to any important extent in devising any methods which are distinctively psychical. Hence psychology at present seems to concern itself chiefly with the multitudinous rivalries of alternative descriptions of the psychic processes or data, all of which rest on arbitrary abstractions and fictions, and none of which exhibit any decisive superiority by working better than their competitors and showing themselves more extensively applicable to the life of psychic beings.¹ In other words, psychology at present stands

¹ Perhaps these remarks do not apply quite so definitely to the descriptions of 'functional' psychologies as to 'structural,' nor to the hypnotic and 'psycho-analytic' methods of practical psychologists like Morton Prince, Boris Sidis and Freud, which have to some extent verified themselves by yielding actual cures.

the pragmatic test hardly any better than Psychical Research. Some day it may supply us with real knowledge about the 'soul,' which we can apply and act on; but that day is not yet.¹

(4) This inadequacy of psychology and of its knowledge of the 'soul' brings me to the last point to which I can draw your attention to-day, viz. the general inadequacy of the conceptions with which we have to operate in analysing the phenomena that are offered us.

That our notions should be inadequate is not of course astonishing in itself. For the conceptions in use everywhere embody merely the knowledge on record, and nothing more can be extracted from them than was put into them by the researches which consolidated their 'meaning.' Consequently it is the regular and normal experience of every progressive science to find that its initial conceptions were inadequate and have to be extensively modified as its knowledge increases. History also attests that many centuries of groping often precede the discovery of suitable conceptions that will effectively analyse and handle the phenomena a science studies. The palmary example occurs in the history of physics. From the beginnings of Greek science the human intelligence strove for over 2000 years to hit upon conceptions that would lead to a fruitful treatment of physical phenomena. Men naturally took their first cues from the apparent sensible qualities of bodies, and laboured perseveringly to explain their behaviour by assuming the antitheses of 'hot' and 'cold,' 'heavy' and 'light,' 'thick' and 'thin,' 'rest' and 'motion,' etc., and the elemental character of 'earth,' 'water,' 'air,' 'fire,' and sometimes 'ether.' But all these efforts proved vain, and it was not until Galileo and Descartes in the seventeenth century that physics arrived at mechanical conceptions that would really work. After that progress was assured, not because 'absolute' truth had been attained and nature was wholly (or even in part) 'mechanical,' but because the mechanical conceptions gave the physicist the experimental control which enabled him progressively to

¹ Teachers are often found to make similar complaints of existing psychology. For they too desire to use it, and find that psychological speculations have not yet come down to the concrete mental life, while psychological experiments presuppose conditions that are too remote from those of their problems.

improve his weapons. The physical conceptions now in use—‘atoms,’ ‘ether,’ ‘electrons,’ ‘quanta,’ etc.—are not such as would impress themselves on an *a priori* philosopher as self-evidently true, or even reasonable, and they would have appeared incredible and absurd to primitive man; but they work so well that they silence our prejudices.

In Psychological Research, I venture to think, we are still in the groping stage. As Prof. Bergson has pointed out so lucidly, the Psychological is only just becoming a subject of scientific interest. Man’s first preoccupation (of natural necessity) was with the outside world; what study of the psychological there was devolved upon magicians and priests. But the magicians, not being endowed, pursued it in a narrowly commercial spirit with an eye only to their personal power and profit; the priests, though endowed, were so on the wrong lines, and evolved an intolerance and conservatism that was even more deleterious scientifically than the impostures of the magicians: neither, moreover, had any conception of the need for scientific progress.

The net result is that we not only have no suitable conceptions even for preliminary use in psychological researches, but have had our minds thoroughly confused by the vagueness and ambiguity of the current terms and obstructed by various inappropriate notions that spring from applying to the psychological false analogies from the physical world.

The peculiar badness of our initial notions here seems to be largely due to the fact that they are forced upon us by an unnatural conspiracy of common-sense and metaphysics. Common-sense normally looks only to the immediate need, and devises notions adequate to the practical purposes of ordinary life, and in this it usually succeeds. Metaphysics, ideally, should however criticize the limitations of these notions, and open our eyes to wider possibilities. But in this case it has not fulfilled its proper function, but merely reduced the common-sense notions to uselessness and absurdity, while so infecting common-sense with its paradoxes that it is hard to disentangle its original meaning.

From lack of time I will exemplify these strictures from two only of the notions we have to use, those of ‘soul’ and of ‘reality.’

(I.) The conception of 'soul,' as we have lately been reminded by Mr. McDougall's admirable book on *Body and Mind*, is one of immemorial antiquity, and enormous elasticity. It embraces and expresses, in varying proportions, the notions of a principle to explain life, consciousness, spontaneous mobility, breathing, sleeping, dreaming, and possibly others. It is conceived as material or immaterial, as simple, multiple, or both at once, as the real man, or as a shadowy reflex, as separable from its body and capable of inhabiting others, usually as surviving death and often as pre-existing birth. Needless to say, it is a pretty slippery conception to handle, and hard to pin down to any definite formula. But on closer examination it will be found that every one of this bewildering variety of functions assigned to the 'soul' by primitive thought is intended to solve a real problem, and that the conception of soul is never otiose. Primitive man is not *learned* enough to construct purely verbal problems and to pay himself in words; common-sense therefore always conceives the 'soul' as a principle of real explanation.

But when we turn to metaphysics the situation is greatly altered for the worse. The great philosopher of the soul is Plato, and in him most of the primitive notions about the soul jostle each other with little or no attempt to unify them. But, animated by an ascetic dread of the sensible world, Plato proceeded to invent also the attribute of immateriality and the notion of pure spirit, which have ever since had a *succès fou* in philosophic circles. He thus paved the way for the philosophic elaboration of the soul into a 'spiritual substance,' absolutely different in kind from the body, which could be proved to be *immortal a priori*, because it was *simple* and therefore *indissoluble*, and could support all its changing 'accidents' as an *immutable substratum*. The intention of all this metaphysical defining was of course to demonstrate the soul's immortality without recourse to any laborious interrogation of experience. But the actual effect was not only to fail to do this, but to render the notion of soul scientifically useless, and unintelligible, even as metaphysics, because incapable of performing the function assigned to it by definition. As conceived by philosophy, therefore, the soul became a meaningless principle.

To justify this briefly, I may point out—(1) that the ‘immateriality’ ascribed to the soul, so far from facilitating a genuinely idealistic interpretation of the world, really contravened it. A genuine idealism has to try to conceive all reality as existing for spirit, and as in some sense ultimately spiritual. It must hold, therefore, that the external world also is spiritual in its nature, and cannot admit that there is any real incompatibility between apparent materiality and real spirituality. This, however, leaves the ‘immaterial’ functionless. Idealism has no need to postulate with Plato an immaterial world to be the true home of an immaterial soul which has inexplicably fallen from its high estate and is yearning to return to it: nor need it chill the aspirations of the natural man with the uncomfortable and unimaginable institutions of ‘heavens’ compounded according to the Platonic *recipe*. It can argue rather that if it is not inconsistent with the spirituality of reality to reveal itself as a sensible and material world now, it need not ever be so, and can infer that the heavenly Jerusalem is a forecast of perfection logically sounder, as well as more agreeable, than the thinly-veiled negations of non-sensible being out of space and time.

(2) However verbally invulnerable *a priori* proofs of the soul’s immortality might be, they could never demonstrate that the metaphysical definitions of the notion were *empirically applicable to reality*, and that ‘souls’ coming up to their specifications were in fact possessed by anybody. This unavoidable defect, which clings to the method of *a priori* reasoning everywhere, renders real proof of matters of fact essentially empirical and takes all the effectiveness out of the philosophic arguments about immortality.

(3) As a matter of fact these verbal ‘proofs’ of the soul’s immortality were far from invulnerable, and Kant had no difficulty in pointing out their obvious gaps and flaws. A ‘simple substance’ cannot indeed perish by dissolution into ‘parts,’ which it has not got; but that need not save it from fading out completely. Nor is the soul properly called ‘simple.’ Rather it is ‘one’ for some purposes and ‘many’ for others,¹ and its unity embraces an infinite complexity. A really

¹ Even the philosophers who most strenuously insist on its ‘unity’ cannot manage without ascribing to it ‘parts’ and ‘faculties.’

simple soul-atom would be perfectly useless theoretically, and perfectly intolerable practically. It is moreover undiscoverable in psychic life, as Hume proclaimed, and if it could be found, could certainly *not* be identified with our true self.

(4) But the most maladroit blunder of all was to conceive the soul as 'a substance,' taken in the sense of an immutable substratum. For in the first place this notion of substance was inappropriately modelled upon the common-sense notion of 'things,' which serves us so effectively to group together the changing appearances of the external world. But the course of inner experience flows very differently. Nothing, even remotely, thing-like appears in it, nothing requiring to be hung upon the peg of 'substance.' A 'soul' is composed of 'processes,' not of 'things,' and even its 'permanence' is that of a stream and not that of the rock it carves into. It is in unceasing change, and neither immutable, nor required to be so. For an immutable soul would be incapable of learning by experience, and no one wishes to have such a stupidly ineducable soul.¹ What we want is to change and yet to be 'the same,' to preserve our 'identity' in changes (preferably for the better), and the only spot in the universe where the possibility of this feat seems to be revealed to us is in our personal experience. And even if we overlooked these differences, the notion of substance does *not* explain even the nature of 'things.' No one has ever been able to conceive how a 'substance' functioned, how its 'attributes' 'inhered' in it, or how an immutable substratum could guarantee to 'things' their identity and permanence. For the changes which pass over the 'thing' do not touch its 'substance,' nor can the 'substance' exercise any influence on the course of the changes. There is not even an imaginable connexion between the 'substance' and its 'accidents'; and there are no means of knowing what is happening to the former, because *ex hypothesi* all we ever know is the behaviour of the latter. The truth is that this notion of 'substance' is not functional at all, and explains nothing either about 'things' or about 'souls.' It is no wonder therefore that modern psychology has no use for a metaphysical soul of this sort.

¹ Except, apparently, some philosophers (as Schopenhauer), for whom time is 'unreal,' and therefore learning illusory.

It should be clear by now that we must get a better notion of substance, before we can get a helpful notion of soul, that will enable us to attack the complexities of our psychic nature as they are beginning to reveal themselves in the phenomena of multiple personality, trance, automatism, and what we have ventured to label 'telepathy.' Unfortunately I have no time on this occasion to suggest the positive developments of the notion of soul that might advantageously be tried.¹

(II.) The defects and ambiguities of the term 'reality' are still more mischievous. For they enter into and vitiate all inquiries into the reality of anything; so that, even if we had succeeded in meaning something definite by 'soul,' we could hardly discuss whether 'souls' were 'real' until we had settled what we meant by 'reality.'

The particular point however I want to make to-day is that in Psychical Research we are specially concerned with the ambiguities of 'reality.' We are continually endeavouring to test 'facts' of sorts, which lay claim to 'reality' in some sense, and to assign their proper sense to each, and in this process we may often have to revise or modify the classifications of realities which are good enough for the purposes of ordinary life and even of the sciences, and in the end may even have to declare thoroughly shallow and inadequate beliefs which are almost universally accepted. For example, if there is anything about which ordinary persons, philosophers and scientists may be said to agree it is that the simple and proper answer to the question 'How many real worlds are there?' is 'One!'; and yet it is impossible to concern oneself at all seriously with psychical phenomena without feeling that this answer is, so far, quite an unwarranted piece of simplification.

The first sense of 'reality' is the *merely formal* sense to which formal logic restricts itself. It constitutes anything an object of discourse, and must be possessed by anything talked about, however nonsensical and absurd it may be. But as this sort of reality is presupposed in every real inquiry, it may perhaps be dismissed as unimportant.

We next find that the other senses of 'reality' are derivative

¹ Some hints, however, together with a reconstruction of the conception of substance, will be found in *Humanism*, Ch. XII.

from two main sources. To the first, which we may call the *psychological*, anything is 'real' that is experienced, and moreover *as it is experienced*, and nothing is unreal that any one can be got to experience. It follows that errors, illusions, hallucinations, dreams, etc., are all possessed of this sort of reality. The 'imaginary' pains of hysterical patients also are real in this sense.

The second main sense we may call the *pragmatic* and explain by saying that for it *the 'real' is the important*. Its classical description by James declares that "whatever things have intimate and continuous connexion with my life are things of whose reality I cannot doubt."¹ In this sense 'reality' is clearly a value, and admits of gradations, and is essentially relative to purposes and their order of importance. It is this sense which dominates our sciences and our ordinary life. The common-sense beliefs of ordinary life have an indefeasible reality, because they are undeniably important. So are the realities of ethics and politics, and the other opinions which have social currency.

The realities of the sciences are less universally impressive : for though the objects of every science are of course real *for it*, however fictitious and abstract they may seem to common sense, like *e.g.* the realities of mathematics, and however little interest we may take in them, many of us manage to avoid any very intimate contact with the realities of many sciences. Yet even in such cases we have to concede that, in so far as the sciences are important for life, the reality of the 'realities' they posit must be admitted.

It is however to be noted (1) that all the realities mentioned are (or are supposed to be) *common*, *i.e.* to be shared by many, and not to be in their nature objects only for a single percipient. The one exception to this which common-sense allows is the reality of pleasures and pains. We are willing to admit that our fellow creatures have feelings, although we can never apparently feel them. But the pragmatic reasons which compel us to make this exception are so obvious that it only confirms our contention that the 'real' is the important.

(2) All these positive values which we call realities are haunted by negative counterparts, variously named 'errors,'

¹ *Principles of Psychology*, Vol. II., p. 298.

'failures,' 'unrealities,' etc. Neither our science nor our public opinion is actually infallible, though it is often contended that ideally they should be. We try to put the blame for such failures on the fallibility of individuals, and label them 'subjective,' although most errors are collective and popular, and every truth starts its mundane career as the discovery of some unhappy wight who is sure to be persecuted by all the authorities for making it.

Nevertheless, we cannot, by attaching a stigma to these 'unrealities,' deprive them of *psychological* reality (in the first sense); we only lump them together with such 'subjective' realities as 'dreams' and 'hallucinations.' By coalescing with these they form a formidable host, capable of very seriously upsetting the conventional beliefs both of ordinary life and of the sciences. Ordinarily, however, little attention is paid them; they are flung out on the rubbish heaps, and officially their existence is denied.

Now this is where *we* come in, and come across them. Both for the reason that they are 'subjective' and because they are suspected of error and illusion, they concern us nearly. For all the subjects we investigate seem to have a reality which is largely of the sort called 'subjective'; indeed there is usually a question whether they have any other. They are also peculiarly subject to error and illusion. We are bound, therefore, to become expert in dealing with perplexing material of this sort, and to fit ourselves to work over the rubbish heaps of all the sciences for residual products of value.

Now when we do this we cannot but note two facts. (1) Though in a general way the sort of reality which the various objects of our interest have has become pretty plain, yet there is always a fringe of disputed cases. No sphere of interest is sharply defined, and each gets shadowy at the edges. *E.g.* we feel quite confident that in general the science of astronomy does not deal in illusions, and yet at the present moment we must say that the 'canals' of Mars may be only 'optical' phenomena. Again, while the N-rays have been relegated to the realm of illusion, the synthesis of elements is *either* a great physical discovery *or* an error of experimentation. The subjects whose scientific place in reality is thus ambiguous vary of course from time to time, but there always are such

puzzles, and in any decision of them psychology must always have a large part; the case therefore runs closely parallel to our own problem in dealing with the supernormal: in both cases the alternative explanation is illusion, and psychology is relevant, if it is understood as the psychology of actual minds, and not as a mere juggle with abstractions.

(2) We note that though our ordinary classification of realities usually stands, yet realities which do not normally rank high in the scale do become valuable upon occasion, and force us to take them seriously by the importance they acquire. This is particularly true of such things as dreams, trances and visions, which have not infrequently turned the course of history. The visions of Jeanne d'Arc, for example, decisively checked the English conquest of France, and force us to choose between a recognition of their supernormality and the alternative that 'delusions' may be the really important and dynamic forces in human life—a view ill calculated to enhance the rationality of human history.

But does not this occurrence of valuable realities in unlikely quarters cast an extensive doubt on the correctness of the classifications which common-sense accepts as final because they usually suffice? When we combine these anomalies with the general presumption of the fallibility of all our knowledge, are we not driven to inquire whether the distinction between the 'real' and the 'unreal' is as rigid and absolute as we commonly assume? As a matter of fact the real and the unreal seem to interpenetrate in the subtlest fashion, and to be separable only in the roughest way for the most coarsely practical purposes. So may there not lurk in 'dreams' and their kin far more valuable revelations than we have yet extracted from them, while on the other hand the multitudinous abstractions, theories and fictions, of which the sciences proclaim the 'reality' so loudly, and even those common-sense realities which so irresistibly obtrude themselves in practice, may in very sooth turn out to be but fashionable modes of 'dreaming'?

These suggestions seem to me worth dwelling on, both directly and for their own sakes, as opening out what may prove profitable lines of investigation, and indirectly, as abating our excessive trust in the reigning 'truths,' and

compelling both the man of science and the man in the street to face the fact that the foundations of their ordinary interpretation of experience are by no means as assured and stable as they find it convenient to believe. Let us marshal, therefore, in a progressive series the doubts that should save us from premature dogmatizing about the 'real' and the 'unreal.'

(1) So long as we restrict our regards to the ordinary routine of everyday life, the realities we encounter seem solid and assured enough. On the level of common-sense, on which we spend our days (if not our nights), we live as animate bodies amid other bodies which we distinguish as animate and inanimate, feeling, moving, changing, acting upon them, and interacting with them, finding them hard, rough, cold, noisy, malodorous, unpalatable, or their opposites, in various ways and degrees. This common-sense view of reality imposes itself upon all in their actions, whatever the over-beliefs they may privately add to it in their philosophic or religious cogitations.

(2) But even the ordinary man does not live wholly by routine, and most men are extraordinary when you can really probe into their souls. So the 'realities' of common-sense do not satisfy them. Indeed they are not entirely satisfactory objectively, as men discover after a time. In order really to understand this world of sense and common-sense we have to devise a multitude of sciences, which enormously enhance our power over the real. But in so doing they abrogate the realities of common-sense and substitute constructions of their own which are very different. For none of the sciences is the sensible world really 'real,' and more than a starting-point for conceptual experiments. It is as vain to appeal to physics as to geometry to substantiate the visible, audible, tangible 'thing' our matter-of-factness loves to embrace as a solid fact. Geometry deals only in immutable, immaterial shapes in an ideal space in which no thing could possibly move or live. Physics deals only in creatures like 'molecules,' 'atoms' and 'electrons' that possess neither temperature, colour, nor solidity, but move with incredible velocities in a space and a time that are wholly relative through a mysterious 'ether' which has been expressly invented as a vehicle for the

paradoxical qualities which the science of the time finds it convenient to attribute to the *physically* 'real.'

(3) Not only do our sciences thus disavow our senses, but they are mostly not on speaking terms with each other. In the name of scientific specialization they claim the right to make incompatible assumptions, which, when they meet (as officially they never need do), simply cut each other. But what is a concrete human being to think when *e.g.* he learns, in physics, that a colour is a definite rate of vibration in the ether, and, in psychology, that it is a 'simple sensation'? Must he not infer from the difficulty of finding anything to mediate the transition from the one to the other of these modes of regarding his 'sensible quality' that both are pragmatic conveniences for scientific purposes, and that in the end it is *his* experience and *his* needs that both are catering for?

(4) The 'realities' the various sciences assume do not merely conflict with each other: they also administer a severe shock to what might otherwise be dangerously plausible pretenders to reality. I mean the accounts of ultimate reality given by the various philosophies and religions. For, in the name of scientific method, they insist that these accounts shall be susceptible of verification, and to this pragmatic test neither the metaphysics nor the theologies seem willing to submit. Hence the modern mind seems to be inclining more and more to the conclusion that the philosophies express little beyond the idiosyncrasies of their authors, while the religions all suffer not only from the badness of the historical evidence to which they appeal, but also from incapacity to see that historical evidence never suffices to establish scientific truth.¹ When in addition the irreconcilable varieties and incompatibilities of these masses of speculation are noted, it is no wonder that they are growing more and more 'unreal' and tending to be classed with 'dreams.'

(5) Variability, however, is no reproach to address to the results of uncritical speculation alone. It occurs also in the

¹ I do myself not hold that this condemnation is altogether just in either case. But I cannot help noting the trend of thought, and the responsibility for it of the expounders both of the religions and of the philosophies. Both mostly labour to estrange their beliefs from life, and the living retaliate by letting them alone to fossilize to their heart's content.

finest products of science. Indeed it occurs more constantly. For while in the former case it is more or less accidental and restricted by the influence of conventions and traditions, in the latter it is a matter of principle, inherent in scientific method. For the sciences must all conceive themselves as *progressive*. Hence they cannot regard their 'truths' as final, but must continually labour to improve their statement and to extend their sway. In this process the 'realities' the 'truths' reveal may undergo the weirdest transformations. When therefore we have sufficiently recovered from the shock of its novelty, we shall realize that revolutions which the electric theory of matter has recently occasioned in our view of physical 'reality' are normal incidents in scientific progress, even though their occurrence can never be predicted. It should be noted, however, that there is no necessary correlation between the improvement in scientific value which a new theory effects and the change in our beliefs about 'reality' which it demands. Quite a slight improvement in the interpretation of scientific facts may entail a complete revolution in our conception of reality, as was exemplified by the substitution of the Copernican for the Ptolemaic explanation of the succession of day and night.

(6) Similarly what are theoretically quite easy emendations may enormously alter the bearing of scientific truths upon our life. Quite a small improvement in petrol engines removed flying from its proud position of proverbial impossibility. The perception by Darwin of biological facts, as easy as the egg of Columbus, has profoundly modified our conception of our place in nature. And whereas but a few years ago we were taught to look forward to a gradual chilling of the earth as the sun's furnaces burnt out, we have now a choice of sudden deaths, according as we prefer to believe that radio-activity, heating up the earth's interior to the explosion point, or a collision of the solar system with a dark nebula, is destined to terminate our earth's career.

(7) In no way then and for no purpose is there an escape from the uncomfortable uncertainties of science. Nowhere can even stable illusions be found to lull our doubts to rest. And seeing that we cannot in any proper sense be said to live only in *one* 'real' world, what attitude is it reasonable to

take up towards the chaos of 'realities' that surround us? It is clear that we cannot admit the claims of all alike; we must *select*, to get anything like order into them. But does not this mean that the source of unity and order in our scheme of realities will be 'subjective,' will be precisely that very personal subjectivity which at first we strove to represent merely as a principle of insecurity and error? The individual soul, which science seemed to abstract from and philosophy despised, is after all the principle of unity and order, because it is the only available agency of selection. It stands at the core and centre of the cosmos and occupies the sole point at which all the various sorts of reality intersect, the sole position from which they can be controlled and unified. How that may be it is still premature to guess; but the indications do not at present favour any more 'objective' unification of all that claims 'reality.' It does not, for example, seem at all likely that all the 'dreams,' errors and delusions of every one can be made to fit together into a real cosmos; but how many worlds we may thus, actually or potentially, inhabit remains to be explored.

The central position of the individual soul does however fully warrant, I think, a resolute refusal on our part to neglect the significance of the 'realities' we have called 'subjective.' They certainly lie very near the centre of affairs, and no limit can be set to their influence: they pervade, and, if you will have it so, taint, all our 'truths.' Indeed, no truly comprehensive view of reality can ever allow us to grow oblivious of the most extensive of our doubts, which I have saved up for the last, because in the end it may prove the most consoling. We have no means of proving that our whole life, with all the 'truths' it supports and all the 'realities' it attests, is not itself a 'dream,' and consequently death itself, when we come to it, may appear like awakening from a nightmare. This suggestion is an old one and there is much to be said in its favour, while no serious reply to it has ever been forthcoming. But as the representatives of established 'orthodoxies,' scientific, religious and philosophic, will not face so big a thought, it is all the more incumbent on adventurers and explorers like ourselves to bear it conscientiously in mind. For even practically it may be that the difficulties

of communicating with other planes of being is essentially that of transmitting a message to (or from) a man asleep.

To conclude then, let me say that I hope I have shown that we cannot in *Psychical Research* complain that we have a subject which is trivial, hackneyed, or devoid of the most varied connexions with life, science and philosophy. On the contrary we have a task of such magnitude and complexity that only an age which has had such abundant experience as ours of the triumphs of science, and of the progress of knowledge could have been emboldened to attempt it and to discredit the old prejudice that knowledge is evil and that the particular sort we seek is forbidden to man and the devil's own preserve. Success in our enterprise is not of course assured : but if we are vigilant and worthy of our opportunities, and can obtain social support at all commensurate with the importance of our quest, I can see no reason why the methods of science should not vanquish difficulties which do not differ in kind from those of all knowing, and so illumine the darkness that broods over the destiny of man.

II.

SOME RECENT SCRIPTS AFFORDING EVIDENCE
OF PERSONAL SURVIVAL.¹

BY THE RIGHT HON. GERALD W. BALFOUR.

THE evidence I propose to lay before you in this paper in favour of personal survival, and in support of the belief that communications may and do reach us from those who have passed out of the body, is based upon four passages from Scripts of different dates produced by the automatist who is known to members of the Society under the pseudonym of Mrs. Willett.

In the *Proceedings*, Vol. XXV., pp. 113-217, will be found a careful and exhaustive discussion by Sir Oliver Lodge and Mrs. Verrall of certain scripts written in February, 1910, by Mrs. Willett, and purporting to convey the answer of Myers to the question: "What does the word *Lethe* suggest to you?" These scripts, now generally referred to as "the *Lethe* scripts," were of a very remarkable character.

The writers of the papers in the *Proceedings* contended:

(1) That there were interconnexions between the Willett scripts and the scripts of other automatic writers (with some of which, at least, Mrs. Willett was wholly unacquainted), that clearly indicated a supernormal origin;

(2) That the classical and literary knowledge exhibited in the scripts was beyond what Mrs. Willett normally possessed, and again pointed to a supernormal origin;

(3) That the simplest and most probable hypothesis to account for all the facts of the case was that the *Lethe* scripts had really been inspired by the surviving personality of the scholar and man of letters from whom the scripts showing

¹ This paper was read to a meeting of the Society on March 27, 1914.

interconnexions with them also claimed to come, namely, F. W. H. Myers.

I believe this reasoning to have been in the main sound, even if not conclusive. Probably its weakest point lay in the difficulty of proving that the classical and literary allusions were beyond the normally-acquired knowledge of the automatist.

The case I am about to lay before you differs in some respects from the Lethe case. On the one hand it involves no cross-correspondences or interconnexions with the scripts of other automatic writers, but is self-contained. No doubt this will come as a relief to many members of the Society for whom cross-correspondences have grown to be somewhat of a weariness of the flesh. On the other hand the subject-matter in the present case seems to me to be more clearly outside the range of the automatist's normal knowledge than in the Lethe scripts, and, in this respect, to be more evidentially compelling.

To facilitate the task of exposition, I will first quote from the four scripts by Mrs. Willett such extracts as are relevant to the case. The scripts cannot be given in their entirety for reasons of a private nature. But the relevant passages are in every case easily detachable from the remainder of the script; and I am able to assure you that neither their interpretation nor their evidential value is in any way affected by separation from their contexts. I will ask you to note particularly the date of the first script, as this is important.

EXTRACTS FROM MRS. WILLETT'S SCRIPTS.

(A) (*Script of July 6, 1912.*)

Does she remember the passage in which there's a reference to a river? A traveller looks across it, and sees the inn where he wishes to be; and he sees the torrent and is torn both ways, half disliking to battle with the current, and yet desiring to be at his destination.

Should it be possible to identify this passage, the matter would prove interesting.

What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind to make the connection clear.

The passage is not from Christina Rossetti; but I want to say that too:

Yea, beds for all that come—
You cannot miss that Inn.

After an interval of more than a year, three Willett scripts in succession return to the subject, and a humorous impatience is exhibited at the delay which had occurred in tracing the passage.

(B) (*Script of August 13, 1913.*)

Some one indignant at the delay calls out

HAS THE PASSAGE

been identified about the traveller looking across a stream; dips his staff in, fears to wade, takes a run, heart misgives him (Here Mrs. Willett said out loud, "Some one is laughing so."—*Note by Sitter*), longs to be over and done with

Faith and
Hair
in a Temple.

(*Drawing of a wheel*) Wheel.

Pilgrim.

There was a reason for the CHOICE, if you find the passage alluded to, it will be clear.

Have this seen to, for he swears he will not here exercise any patience whatsoever. Not even about

Lavender or Lub.

(C) (*Script of August 17, 1913.*)

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

But it is of another one I want to write. I said Pilgrim. Now write this—

Not a one-horsed dawn, but a two-horsed chariot, though one-horsed in a way might fit, because as compared to another

charioteer's exploits his were but a one-horsed affair. It is a poem I am alluding to

A man who drove two horses in a less ambitious manner. His predecessor—

Does God exact day labour, light denied ?

That ought to make it clear.

Hair in a temple was said.

(D) (*Script of September 8, 1913.*)

(Written in the presence of Mrs. Verrall.)

He of the little patience demands now this 3rd time whether the Pilgrim has been understood.

Now if I say Passionate Pilgrim, I know all sorts of connotations will be dragged in. But think of the passages twice inserted,

The River and he who would be across.

Letting I would not wait upon I would.

That seems jumbled up somehow, never mind.

A passionate Pilgrim but

NOT H.S.'s

one.

What moves the stars and all the heavenly bodies ? Dante makes it clear.

Then again I will repeat and will continue to repeat until you are all sick and tired of the subject

HAIR IN A TEMPLE.

That belongs.

You will observe that all these extracts refer to a " passage " in some written work. What this passage was long remained a mystery to the little group of researchers who were studying the Willett scripts. It had indeed from the first been supposed to be connected in some way with the late Dr. Verrall. The script of July 6, 1912, contains two lines from a poem by Christina Rossetti called " Uphill," the subject of which is Death. Now Dr. Verrall had died only a few weeks before (on June 18, 1912). Though Mrs. Willett knew him but slightly, she was a friend of Mrs. Verrall ; and this being

the first script she had written since Dr. Verrall's death, it was natural to expect that reference to him would be made in it. Moreover, a phrase in this same script "does she remember" was reminiscent of similar phrases in which "she" clearly alluded to Mrs. Verrall. To this extent, then, we had correctly interpreted the script of July 6, 1912, as the later scripts have conclusively proved. But the "passage" to which allusion was made in it completely baffled us. None of us, Mrs. Verrall herself as little as the rest, could remember anything in literature, whether ancient or modern, which satisfactorily corresponded to the description of the Timid Traveller.

It may be convenient to state at this point that throughout the period covered by the printed extracts we were careful to keep all our conjectures and conclusions to ourselves. For instance, Mrs. Willett was never told that we believed her script of July 6, 1912, to contain allusions to Dr. Verrall; and to this day (March 27, 1914) she has no idea of the interpretations to which we have ultimately been led and which I shall presently have to submit for your consideration.

The subject had been almost forgotten, when, as we have seen, it was unexpectedly revived in three successive scripts of August and September, 1913. Of these three scripts the two first confirmed our impression that the mysterious passage was in some way connected with Dr. Verrall, but did not otherwise seem to advance the solution of the problem. The September script, on the other hand—the only one written with Mrs. Verrall present—contained the important statement that "Dante makes it clear."¹

This was evidently a clue worth following up, and it soon led to fruitful results. What is the link between Dr. Verrall and Dante?

In the spring of 1913 was published a collection of *Literary Essays, Classical and Modern*, contributed by Dr. Verrall at various dates to various magazines and periodicals. Among the Essays are three Papers dealing with the interpretation

¹The sentence "What moves the stars and all the heavenly bodies?" which precedes the words "Dante makes it clear," is an allusion to the last line of the *Divina Commedia*:

"L'Amor che muove il Sole e l'altre stelle."

of passages in the *Divina Commedia*. One of these, on "The Birth of Virgil," does not concern us here. The other two are occupied with a historical problem concerning the Latin poet Statius, an imitator of Virgil, who lived and wrote in the second half of the first century A.D., and whose reputation stood a good deal higher in Dante's time than it does to-day. His principal work was the *Thebaid*, which described the legendary War of the Seven against Thebes. Readers of Dante will remember that he and Virgil on their pilgrimage through Purgatory meet the soul of Statius, which happens at that very moment to have completed the Purgatorial expiation assigned to it, and is therefore free to accompany the two other poets on the remainder of their journey up the Mount.

Now to place Statius in Purgatory was to make him out to be a Christian, which there is no ground in any record or tradition to believe that he was. Dante, however, goes yet further. Not only does he make the bold historical assumption that at some time or other in his life Statius became a convert to Christianity: he has "the audacity"—to quote Dr. Verrall's words—"to date the event, the baptism, by a particular passage, a definite point in the *Thebaid*, which no one familiar with the poem could fail to recognize. 'I had received baptism,' so he makes Statius say, 'before, as a poet, I had brought the Greeks to the rivers of Thebes.'" What justification could Dante have had for taking this strange liberty with accepted history?

This is the question which Dr. Verrall sets himself to answer in the two essays to which I have referred, and which have for their respective titles "To follow the Fisherman" and "Dante on the Baptism of Statius."

You will perhaps think I am wandering from the subject of my Paper, and wonder where I am coming to. But wait a bit and see. I shall be very much disappointed if before I have finished I have not succeeded in convincing you that in "Dante on the Baptism of Statius" is to be found the elusive passage of which we are in search.

In order to make this fully intelligible, I shall have to follow rather closely part of the argument of this Essay, and even to quote from it at some length. Indeed I would strongly

advise those of you who may be interested in the subject of my Paper to read for yourselves both the Essays. Taken together they form one of the most brilliant and ingenious pieces of literary criticism that I can call to mind; and the Essay on the Baptism of Statius in particular is so characteristic of its author, that if his individuality still persists, and, being wishful to communicate with those yet in the body, he had elected to refer to this essay in proof of his personal survival, I doubt whether a more appropriate choice could have been made.

First let me quote the passage from the *Purgatorio* round which the whole discussion turns. Statius is giving an account of his conversion to his two fellow-poets. His first impulse towards Christianity arose, he explains, from his study of the famous Messianic Eclogue of Virgil.

Through thee (he says, addressing the latter) I was a poet, through thee a Christian, but that thou mayest see better what I outline, I will put forth my hand to fill in colour. Already the whole world was big with the true belief, sown by the apostles of the everlasting kingdom; and thy words, touched on above, harmonised so with the new preachers, that the habit took me of visiting them. They then became so holy in my sight, that when Domitian persecuted them, their wailings were not without tears of mine. And while by me yon world was trod, I succoured them, and their righteous lives made me despise all other sects; and ere in my poem I had brought the Greeks to Thebes' rivers, I received baptism, but through fear I was a secret Christian, long time pretending paganism.¹

The translation I have given you is taken from what Dr. Verrall calls "the faithful prose of the *Temple Classics*," and may be accepted as a correct version of the passage as generally understood. But Dr. Verrall, seizing upon two linguistic refinements, has managed to invest Dante's lines with a completely new significance.

In the first place he contends that the words *mentre che di là per me si stette*, translated in the version I have just read to you "while by me yon world was trod," cannot properly bear this meaning. A literal rendering of the words would

¹ *Purgatorio*, XXII., 73-91.

be "while I stayed on the other side"; but the peculiar linguistic form used implies that the staying was in some sense the voluntary act of the stayer; so that we should be nearer the true meaning in translating them "while I *lingered* on the other side." Moreover, if the phrase means nothing more than "while I lived" or "before I died," the effect is to put into Statius' mouth the strange statement that he had become favourably disposed towards Christianity before he died, and actually a Christian before he wrote a certain line in the *Thebaid*, *i.e.* six years or more *prior to his death*. The greater includes the less; and if Statius *became a Christian* six years prior to his death, it is, to say the least of it, unnecessary to tell us that before he died he had become *favourably disposed* to Christianity. *Mentre che di là per me si stette*, according to Dr. Verrall, can have, in the context in which it occurs, one meaning and one meaning only. It must signify "while I abstained from joining the Church."

In the second place Dr. Verrall points out that the rendering "ere in my poem I had brought the Greeks to Thebes' rivers, I received baptism," ignores the emphasis which the order of the Italian words lays on the pronoun "I." "Ebb' *io* battesimo" is what Dante writes; and the more correct translation would be "Ere in my poem I had brought the Greeks to Thebes' rivers, I *myself* received baptism."

Starting from these premises, Dr. Verrall arrives at an interpretation of the passage as a whole which I must give in his own words:

The question arises, by what thought or metaphor Dante is led to describe the delay or hesitation of the convert, his abstention from the decisive step of receiving initiation, as a staying "on the other side." On the other side of what? The context again furnishes the answer, about which indeed we could hardly doubt, even if we were left to conjecture. The comparison of baptism to a river is, for obvious reasons, so well established and familiar, that, in this connexion, it would be almost sufficiently signified by "on the other side" itself. But Dante explicitly gives us the "river"—

"e pria ch' io conducessi i Greci ai fiumi
di Tebe, poetando, ebb' io battesimo:"

“ And before, as a poet, I brought the Greeks to the rivers of *Thebes*, I had *myself* received baptism.” The emphasis on *of Thebes*, given by the position of the words in the verse, and on *myself*, given by the inversion “ebb’ io,” imply an antithesis or comparison between Statius and the Greeks of the poem, between the “rivers” to which they came and that to which he came, the *river*, according to the familiar figure, *of baptism*. *This river he long hesitated to pass; he “halted on the other side,” as a man, who was no hero, might, when to be baptised was to be in danger of death,—though, as he tells us, the delay cost him centuries of expiation upon the purgatorial mountain. But before he brought his Argives to the Asopus, he himself had made his passage.*¹

I do not think we need go further afield in quest of our Timid Traveller, and of the river which he is afraid to cross. The timid traveller is Statius himself, and the river is the metaphorical river of baptism into the Christian faith. Indeed Dr. Verrall goes so far as to maintain that Dante plays upon the name of Statius, interpreting it to mean “the stationary one,” the “Stayer” or “Hesitater.” Already in his own day Statius appears to have incurred the censure of the critics for his excessive dilatoriness in getting to the avowed subject of his poem. The *Thebaid*, I may remind you again, is an epic poem describing the expedition against Thebes by the famous Seven Chieftains. It consists of twelve books, and at the end of the sixth book the Argive host has not yet entered the enemy’s country. It is not until the seventh book that Statius brings the invaders to the bank of the Theban river, in the line which Dante quotes as marking the period of his conversion to Christianity. The poet’s full name was Publius Papinius Statius, and Dr. Verrall suggests that Dante took “Statius” to be no part of his original name, but a literary nickname applied to denote this characteristic of dilatoriness in his poetic compositions, and no less applicable to his delay in entering the Christian Church.

Dr. Verrall may be right or he may be wrong in this as in his other conclusions. That really does not concern us; nor do I pretend to have done justice to the whole argument of the Essay. The point for us is that the passage we have

¹ The italics in the last two sentences are my own.

been looking for is to be found in an essay written by Dr. Verrall himself; though, as we shall see, not one readily accessible to the general public till nine or ten months after the first script that refers to it was produced.

I am afraid you may think I have been almost as long, in proportion, in bringing you up to the brink of my river as the poet was in bringing his Greeks to the banks of the Asopus. Perhaps I have justly laid myself open to this reproach. But as the whole superstructure of the subsequent argument rests on the identification of the "passage" which the script bids us search for with that which I have just read from Dr. Verrall's essay, it was necessary for my purpose to establish the foundation as firmly as possible.

The fact that this essay brings into conjunction Dr. Verrall himself, Dante and a traveller or pilgrim who hesitates to cross a river, is to my mind almost convincing proof that it contains the passage we are looking for. But any doubt that may still remain will vanish, I think, before one decisive consideration.

When Statius, in the lines of which I have already read a translation, says to Virgil "Through thee I was a poet, through thee a Christian," he adds "*but that thou mayest the better see what I outline I will put forth my hand to fill in colour.*" Dr Verrall quotes these lines, and explains them to mean that Dante himself felt that his account of the manner and date of Statius' conversion rested on an imaginative interpretation of the passage in the *Thebaid* on which he was relying, and went considerably beyond its literal meaning. Now turn to the printed extract from the Willett script of July 6, 1912: "*What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind to make the connection clear.*"

We have here an unmistakable paraphrase of the very words that Dante puts into the mouth of Statius! And what I will again ask you specially to note is that this crowning proof that the passage has been correctly identified occurs in the earliest of the four scripts that refer to the subject. The importance of this will become clearer in the sequel.

Having successfully traced our mysterious passage to its source, our next task must be to enquire what evidential

value the references to it in Willett Script possess. Are we entitled to conclude from them to the continuous existence of a personality that has survived the grave ?

On this question I cannot expect unanimity ; but I will endeavour to state my own view.

Let me point out to begin with, that whatever intelligence may be responsible for the scripts, it can hardly be doubted that we have in them a deliberate attempt to produce at least the semblance of evidence of survival. And it is a remarkably clever attempt too. The intelligence must certainly have possessed something more than a mere superficial acquaintance with Dr. Verrall's essay. The boiling down of the whole complicated case into the description of a traveller or pilgrim who would fain cross a certain river, but hesitates through fear to make the plunge, and still more perhaps the direct paraphrase of the two relevant lines from the *Purgatorio*, prove this incontestably. Could the intelligence have been that of the automatist, and could she have acquired the requisite knowledge normally and consciously ? If so, she must have read the essay, and read it with care and attention. Towards the end of October, 1913, I sent to Mrs. Willett herself the following questions, without however telling her my reason for putting them :

(1) Have you read an essay by Dr. Verrall contained in his *Literary Essays, Classical and Modern*, and entitled " Dante on the Baptism of Statius " ? If so, when did you read it ?

(2) Did you ever hear of this essay before the lately published volume came out ?

(3) The essay originally appeared in the *Albany Review* in 1908. Have you ever seen or heard of the *Albany Review* ?

To these questions I have received answers in writing—the answers being in every case in the negative. The volume was sent to Mrs. Willett as a present from Mrs. Verrall in May, 1913. She had glanced through the Memoir at the beginning of the book ; but was positive that neither then nor since had she read any of the essays contained in it. Of this particular essay Mrs. Willett was certain she had never even heard until she received my set of questions. Nor had she ever either seen or heard of the *Albany Review*.

If we accept Mrs. Willett's evidence as valid, these statements are conclusive on the points with which they deal. If we decline to accept it as valid, and still suppose that the knowledge shown in her scripts was acquired normally and consciously, then she must either have forgotten the fact or be fraudulently concealing it.

No one who knows Mrs. Willett will believe her to be capable of deliberate deception. The matter is not one to argue about with those who do not know her. I can only say that this alternative possibility does not trouble me personally. I simply reject it, and with absolute conviction.

There remains the possibility of forgetfulness. Mrs. Willett may have read the essay and afterwards lost all recollection of it so far as her ordinary consciousness was concerned. I am not prepared to deny that this is possible. Hidden memories undoubtedly do sometimes re-appear in scripts without being recognized as memories by the writers. In such cases we must suppose that they still lie preserved in what is commonly called the subliminal self, or at least are recoverable by it; and we *may*, if we like, suppose that the subliminal can use them on its own account, and for its own purposes, if it has any, just as if it were an individual consciousness distinct from the supraliminal.

But consider what the hypothesis implies in the present instance. It requires us to assume, first, that at some time Mrs. Willett must have read this essay of Dr. Verrall's and read it with care and understanding; secondly, that, having done so, she forgot all about it; thirdly, that her subliminal self waited its opportunity and in due course, a few weeks after Dr. Verrall's death, proceeded to manufacture out of the knowledge so acquired an elaborately evidential case of a fraudulent character in favour of survival. If we are willing to go as far as this, we shall no doubt be inclined to go further, and suggest that it was the subliminal self that prompted Mrs. Willett to read the essay, and afterwards inhibited her from remembering that she had done so.

I repeat, such a hypothesis is *possible*. It *is* one of the alternative explanations we have to bear in mind. I do not myself think it *probable*; and the improbability in this case is greatly added to, and the evidential value of the case itself

increased, by a consideration of dates. As regards the three latest scripts we have to recognize that Mrs. Willett had an *opportunity* of reading the essay before they were written, because the volume containing it was in her hands in May, 1913, and these scripts were written in the following August and September. The first script, on the other hand—that of July 6, 1912—was not only produced many months before she received the volume, but many months before it was published. If, therefore, she had read the essay before this script was produced, she must have read it in the *Albany Review*, in which it originally appeared. That takes us back to August, 1908, before Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Willett became known to each other. I do not know if many persons among my readers are acquainted even with the name of the *Albany Review*. It was quite new to me until I began to study this case last autumn; but I understand it was a magazine conducted largely by a few Cambridge men, which had an ephemeral existence, and came to an end two or three years ago. I think it extremely unlikely that Mrs. Willett should ever have seen it, and equally unlikely that she should have got to know about the essay from any other source. Such purely literary questions have no sort of interest for her. Both Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall are confident that they never spoke to her on the subject.

Looking, then, to this first and most important of the four scripts—important by reason of its date, and also by reason of its containing that clinching paraphrase of the two lines from Dante already referred to—I claim that our verdict on any explanation which requires us to assume that at some time prior to July 6, 1912, the essay was read by Mrs. Willett, must be “Not wholly impossible, but in a very high degree improbable.”

What then? If the knowledge shown by the scripts was not normally obtained, it must have been obtained supernormally—that is, it must have been telepathically derived from some consciousness distinct from that of the automatist. What kind of consciousness? Incarnate or discarnate?

Again, design is manifest in the scripts, inasmuch as they use their material, whencesoever derived, to serve a definite purpose. Who was responsible for the design? Was it the

subconscious self of the automatist, or was the automatist little more than an instrument played upon by the same independent consciousness which supplied the material of the scripts ?

Here are two pairs of alternatives. Taken together they give four possible combinations, any one of which might be put forward as the true account of what actually occurred.

Thus the really active and planning intelligence may have been :

- (1) Mrs. Willett's subconscious self, drawing its material from some other embodied consciousness ;
- (2) Mrs. Willett's subconscious self, drawing its material from the spiritual world ;
- (3) The mind of some other living person acting on the mind of the automatist ;
- (4) Some discarnate spirit using the automatist as a medium of communication.

It is the last case alone that points unambiguously to the doctrine of personal survival ; for the second case, in which we suppose the planning intelligence to be Mrs. Willett's subconscious self drawing its material from the spiritual world, while not inconsistent with personal survival, would be equally satisfied if the source of the supernormal knowledge were some spiritual reservoir of pooled memories, such as has been suggested by William James.

I am not prepared to affirm *a priori* that any of these explanations is so intrinsically improbable as to be straight-way ruled out of court. All of them, so far as I can judge, involve a root-and-branch reconstruction of many present-day psychological orthodoxies : and yet one or other of them, it would seem, must be admitted, wherever we accept evidence of design in the scripts combined with supernormally acquired knowledge.

Which of the four explanations fits the present case best ?

I am afraid it is not possible within the limits of this Paper to give the question an adequately reasoned answer. A special case cannot be properly discussed in all its bearings without an examination of many other more or less similar cases, nor without some attempt to estimate the value and significance of the automatist's script generally.

There are, however, some circumstances in connection with the case before us which are not immaterial and may help towards forming an opinion.

Mrs. Willett writes her scripts sometimes alone, sometimes with a sitter present. There was a sitter present on July 6, 1912, the date on which the first reference to the subject appeared. When an automatist is supposed to have derived information telepathically from the mind of another living person it is naturally on the sitter that suspicion first falls. But the sitter on July 6 was myself; and I can positively aver not only that I had no idea at that date, or indeed for a whole year afterwards, who the Timid Traveller might be, but that even the bare fact of Dr. Verrall's having written on the subject of Dante and Statius was completely unknown to me.

There remain Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall—for I cannot think of any other living person whose mind Mrs. Willett can plausibly be supposed to have tapped.

That one or the other or both of these ladies should have been the source whence Mrs. Willett drew her information, is a possibility which I do not deny, and which ought not to be ignored. If, however, we go further and suppose them to have been *intelligent agents in the production of the scripts*, the difficulties become greater. I doubt whether any actual facts can be brought forward tending to show that evidential cases have been "engineered" by the subliminal self of some living person other than the automatist without the normal consciousness of that person being in any way aware of what was going on. Yet this is what the hypothesis compels us to assume. Moreover, the particular case we are considering offers special difficulties of its own. Neither Mrs. Verrall nor Miss Verrall had seen Mrs. Willett for nearly two months before July 6, 1912; they were separated from her by more than a hundred miles when the script of that date was written; further, Miss Verrall's acquaintance with Willett Scripts is practically confined to the very few that have appeared in the *Proceedings*; and Mrs. Verrall was so innocent of any conscious understanding of the allusion to the Traveller and the River which he wished to cross, that she had not the faintest inkling of the interpretation now placed on the scripts until she was

shown the first sketch of this Paper in November of last year (1913).

I hope these observations may have helped somewhat to narrow the issue ; and there I must leave it so far as argument is concerned. If, however, you care to hear a dogmatic expression of my own personal opinion, I am willing to tell you frankly what I think.

The scripts which we owe to the group of automatists of whom Mrs. Verrall, Miss Verrall, and Mrs. Willett are the chief, go back for many years now, and require to be considered together and as a whole. A long and laborious study of them carried on from this point of view has brought me slowly but surely to a conviction that there is much in them that cannot be satisfactorily explained except upon the spiritistic hypothesis.

Of course such a conclusion must in its turn affect one's judgment concerning any particular episode in the scripts. And my own sincere belief is that in these allusions to Dr. Verrall's essay on "Dante on the Baptism of Statius" we have at least the echoes of the voice of one who "being dead yet speaketh."

A few subsidiary points in the scripts still remain to be considered. Though of secondary importance they are by no means without interest ; and their collective effect is to confirm and reinforce the results already arrived at.

At the end of Extract (B), from the script of August 13, 1913, a curious phrase occurs :

Have this seen to, for he swears that he will not here exercise any patience whatsoever ; not even about
Lavender or Lub.

"Lavender or Lub" came in a script of Mrs. Verrall's written on Jan. 13, 1908. That script had been seen by Mrs. Willett, which no doubt accounts in part for its appearance here. So much I was aware of ; and I also knew that its original source was some comic verses in *Punch*. But I was unable to form any conjecture respecting its meaning or appropriateness in this place until light was thrown on the subject by Mrs. Verrall herself. She was shown the script for the first

time on November 10, 1913; and on the 15th of that month she writes:

“Lavender or Lub” is a quotation from a poem which appeared many years ago in *Punch*, where several variations were made on the alternative name for the fish, Chavender or Chub. The lines were exceedingly familiar to my husband, and some of the phrases had become household words with him, displacing the proper terms: during many years, for instance, the mention of bathing invariably produced the lines

“And when I take my Tavender,
My Tavender or Tub.”

“Lavender or Lub” is presumably introduced to serve as an identifying symbol connecting Dr. Verrall with the script by a link the significance of which was outside the normal knowledge of the automatist. For although Mrs. Willett knew that “Lavender or Lub” had come in a Verrall script, she certainly did not know that the phrase had become a standing jest in the intimacy of the family circle.¹

Another cryptic but ingenious reference to Dr. Verrall will be found in the next extract, marked (C), from the script of August 17, 1913:

Not a one-horsed dawn, but a two-horsed chariot, though one-horsed in a way might fit, because as compared to another charioteer's exploits his were but a one-horsed affair. It is a

¹ There is nothing in Mrs. Verrall's Script of Jan. 13, 1908, to suggest any connection between Dr. Verrall and the phrase “Lavender or Lub.” To make this quite clear, I give the Script in full:

“Everard not not that name. Begin again. Lavender is a word that will fit into the scheme much better.

Lavender or Lub.

Ask Helen when she thought of that last— write and ask her this at once—and now write for me.

Vagatur extra muros in præsentī sed mox intra circuitum penetrabit. Bene.

Ibi invenimus et inventum nobiscum in domum invitabimus. Bene, immo optime.

Nomen rogamus, quod cum declaravit, en aenigma solvitur.

Euge eu eu.”

poem I am alluding to—a man who drove two horses in a less ambitious manner. His predecessor—

Does God exact day labour, light denied ?
That ought to make it clear.

“A one-horsed dawn” will doubtless recall to many here an experiment in telepathy in which Dr. Verrall was concerned, and which was described at length by Mrs. Verrall in Vol. XX. of the *Proceedings*. But what follows is a riddle not so easy to read until the clue is supplied, when all becomes as clear as daylight.

The clue is to be found, as the script hints, in a poem—Gray's *Ode on the Progress of Poesy*. I will quote the passage and you will at once perceive the application :

Nor second He, that rode sublime
Upon the seraph-wings of Extasy
The secrets of the abyss to spy.
He passed the flaming bounds of place and time ;
The living Throne, the sapphire-blaze
Where angels tremble while they gaze
He saw ; but blasted with excess of light,
Closed his eyes in endless night.
Behold where Dryden's less presumptuous ear
Wide o'er the fields of glory bear
Two coursers of ethereal race,
With necks in thunder clothed, and long-resounding pace.

Gray is comparing Dryden with Milton. The lines,

“He saw ; but blasted with excess of light
Closed his eyes in endless night ”

refer of course to Milton's loss of sight—a reference which the script recalls by quoting from Milton's *Sonnet on his Blindness*

“Does God exact day-labour, light denied ? ”

Milton is Dryden's “predecessor” ; and the “man who drove two horses in a less ambitious manner” is Dryden himself :

“Behold where Dryden's less presumptuous ear
Wide o'er the fields of glory bear
Two coursers of ethereal race.”

A neater or more convincing example of the deliberately round-about method of the scripts it would be difficult to find. The last work on which Dr. Verrall was engaged before his death was a set of lectures on Dryden, in the course of which this very passage from Gray's *Ode* was quoted. The object of all these elaborate literary allusions I take to be the identification of Dr. Verrall as the "communicator" in a way that would be apparent to an interpreter of the scripts, while unintelligible to the normal consciousness of the writer of them. It is possible also, though not certain, that the allusions show supernormally-acquired knowledge. Mrs. Willett doubtless knew that Dr. Verrall was giving lectures on English Literature. She told me, in answer to a question, that she was not aware that he had been lecturing on Dryden; and she certainly did not know that the passage from Gray's *Ode* had been quoted in the lectures. But it is quite possible she may have heard or read that he had been lecturing on Dryden without consciously remembering it; and the reference to Gray in the scripts may have been a chance coincidence. The lectures themselves were only published in the present year (1914).

Another point: What is the meaning of "Hair in a Temple"? Some importance is evidently attached to the allusion contained in these words, for they are found in every one of the three later scripts, and in the last of all with reiterated emphasis:

Then again I will repeat and will continue to repeat until you are all sick and tired of the subject, HAIR IN A TEMPLE. That belongs.

It is, I think, a fair assumption that the expression "Hair in a Temple" relates to some story or poem belonging to classical times. There happen to be two, and, so far as I know, only two classical poems to which it can refer. One of these is a well-known poem by Catullus, called "The hair of Berenice." The other is a poem less well-known, and less deserving to be well known, whose author is none other than our friend Statius. That Statius should have written a poem to which "Hair in a Temple" might appropriately serve as a title is certainly curious: and it may be that here

we have the explanation of which we are in search. "Hair in a Temple" may simply be intended as a hint that Statius is in some way connected with the main topic of the script.

But while not wholly rejecting this explanation, it is only right I should tell you that I do not believe it was what the intelligence responsible for the scripts had primarily and principally in mind. I think we were meant to interpret the scripts as alluding to the Hair of Berenice, which, according to the story, she cut off by way of sacrifice for the safe return home of her husband, and dedicated in a temple; whence it was transferred to the heavens and became the Constellation known to this day as *Coma Berenices*.

What, then, is the connection between Berenice and the hesitating Pilgrim?

Here I am in a difficulty, and must bespeak your kind indulgence. I must ask you to accept from me that there is a connection, but one which I have to leave unexplained, because it involves a reference to private matters which I am not at liberty to disclose. Unfortunately this difficulty is one that frequently occurs in dealing with Willett Scripts, and diminishes their evidential utility, even when it increases their intrinsic evidential value.

I can only tell you that "Berenice" is, as a matter of fact, connected by very definite intermediate links with Dr. Verrall's essays on Dante and Statius, and that this explanation has the additional merit of explaining why the drawing of a wheel appears in the script of August 13, 1913. The intermediate links have nothing to do with Dr. Verrall himself, and could only be understood by the small group who have been studying the scripts of Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall, as well as those of Mrs. Willett. I am sorry I cannot say more on the subject.

One additional puzzle and I have finished. It will be noticed that the "Traveller" of the script of July 6, 1912, is spoken of in the script of August 13, 1913, first as the "Traveller," and then as the "Pilgrim." In the two latest scripts he appears either as the "Pilgrim" or as the "Passionate Pilgrim." What is the significance of the epithet "Passionate" thus applied to him?

It is true that it is only applied in a half-hearted and almost

apologetic way ; and care is taken to guard against the associations, literary or otherwise—for instance, those connected with Shakespeare's poem—which may have gathered round the combination of "Passionate" with "Pilgrim" :

The Passionate Pilgrim. But it is of another I want to write. I said Pilgrim.

and again :

if I say Passionate Pilgrim, I know all sorts of connotations will be dragged in . . . a Passionate Pilgrim, but not H.S.'s one.

"H. S." stands for Henry Sidgwick ; and "H. S.'s one" must be taken to refer to an early script of Mrs. Verrall's (Jan. 17, 1904)¹ in which "the Passionate Pilgrim" occurs in a passage afterwards connected by her with Professor Sidgwick. This passage was published, together with Mrs. Verrall's interpretation of it, in Volume XX. of the *Proceedings*, and had been seen by Mrs. Willett.

But what does "Passionate" mean *here*, if these associations are excluded ?

It may perhaps be nothing more than an unauthorised contribution on the part of the automatist, the "Pilgrim" of the communicator having suggested to her mind the "Passionate Pilgrim."

Another explanation, however, seems to me possible, and even probable. It is that the passage describing the hesitation of the Pilgrim to cross the river carries with it a personal reference to the communicator. The communicator in some sense identifies himself with the Pilgrim ; and the mock indignation and impatience which he professes at our failure to discover the passage for which he bade us search, is humorously carried on into the description of him as a *Passionate Pilgrim* :

Some one indignant at the delay calls out HAS THE PASSAGE been identified ?

and again :

Have this seen to, for he swears he will not here exercise any patience whatsoever, not even about Lavender or Lub.

¹ See *Proc.* Vol. XX., p. 289.

Similarly in the last extract: "He of the little patience demands now this 3rd time, etc."

Who then is "he of the little patience"? About this there can, I think, be no doubt. It is clearly Dr. Verrall himself; and if my interpretation of the *Passionate Pilgrim* is right, there must be some sense in which the autobiographical references discovered (according to the view of the essay) by Dante in the lines from Statius' *Thebaid* about the crossing of the river, must have a personal application to Dr. Verrall as well. He must be representing *himself* as in some way a Statius, or Stayer on the brink.

I think, too, the words in the script of August 13, 1913, which I have just quoted confirm this idea: "Have this seen to, for he swears that he will not *here* exercise any patience whatsoever." "Not *here*" seems to signify that during life in the body patience *was* exercised; and the word "Faith" occurring in the same script may be intended to denote the subject with which the exercise of patience was concerned.

Could the River which the Pilgrim was afraid to cross, and which for Statius was the River of Baptism, have been for Dr. Verrall the River of Faith in a life hereafter, and in the reality of communication from "the further shore"?

The suggestion here made receives some support from a statement which Mrs. Verrall prepared for me, and which I am permitted to reproduce:

My husband's interest in Psychological Research was mainly due, as has been said by Mr. Bayfield in the recently published *Memoir*, to his desire to "encourage every investigation which gave promise of tangible fruit"; and for many years after the development of my faculty of automatic writing he deprecated as premature any attempt to frame even a "working hypothesis" to account for what seemed difficult to attribute to telepathy between living minds. But he was greatly impressed by some of the more recently recorded phenomena;—in particular by the evidence of classical knowledge shown by Myers_P in the sittings of Mr. Dorr with Mrs. Piper during the spring of 1908, as suggestive of the identity of the supposed communicator and so pointing to what may be briefly called the "spiritistie hypothesis." This impression was deepened on his receipt of a "message" claiming to come from a personal

friend, recently dead, in a Willett Script of Oct. 29, 1911, which was sent to him within a few days of its production, and was further confirmed by a talk which he had with Mr. Gerald Balfour in January, 1912, of which he spoke to me at the time, and to which he often subsequently referred.

His interest in the subject was further shown by his choice for reading in March, 1912, first of William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*, which he had not read when it appeared and which filled him with admiration for what he called James's "magnificent candour," and later of Mrs. Sidgwick's Paper in an early volume of the *Proceedings* (Vol. III.) on the *Evidence collected by the Society for Phantasms of the Dead*.

The question of his personal opinions was not at this time discussed between us, but some months ago, after his death, an intimate friend of his told me that something which my husband said made the hearer think that he believed in the continuance of existence after death.

Let me say in conclusion that, in suggesting that an analogy is intended between Dr. Verrall's personal attitude and that of the pilgrim who shrinks from plunging into the stream, I do not wish to insist unduly on this reading of the script, or to have it regarded as in any way essential to the main contention of my Paper. It may be that, like Dante's Statius, I have "put forth my hand to fill in colour," and done so without sufficient warrant. But I cannot help feeling "se non è vero, è ben trovato"; and that the interpretation is one which puts a finishing and as it were artistic touch to a message which must in any case take high rank among the evidences provided by automatic writings of the reality of communication from the departed.

III.

NOTE ON THE SAME SCRIPTS.

BY THE REV. M. A. BAYFIELD.

IN a closely reasoned and characteristically lucid argument Mr. Balfour has shown good grounds for his belief that the late Dr. Verrall is the original source of the scripts which are here brought to our notice. For this conclusion there are yet other reasons. They were present to Mr. Balfour's mind, but as he said at the meeting at which he read his paper, he did not enlarge upon them because he thought they would come better from some one not the author of the paper, who might be thought to be unduly influenced by a desire to make out a case. The imputation is one to which no one could be less liable than he, but personally I regret his abstention the less since it has given me an opportunity of contributing something to the discussion of a communication which I, too, believe to have come from my oldest and dearest friend. Also, having at various times for some years past expressed in these pages doubt and hesitation as to the proof of communication with the spirit world, I venture to seize the occasion and here make formal recantation of those doubts. The present scripts, following on Miss Johnson's recently published elucidation of the cross-correspondence entitled "Alexander's Tomb," have furnished this "timid traveller" with a bridge by which to cross the stream.

These additional reasons for assigning to Dr. Verrall the scripts which we are examining can, I fear, be fully appreciated only by those who knew him somewhat intimately, for they consist in the exhibition in the scripts of two traits of his personality which, highly characteristic though they are, would not be likely to come under the notice of an ordinary acquaintance, or be known by hearsay to a stranger. Since

many readers of the foregoing paper can only have known Dr. Verrall by repute, this note is appended, at Mr. Balfour's suggestion, in the hope of further assisting such readers to form an independent judgement on the whole matter.

It will be convenient to begin by repeating Mr. Balfour's important statement that Mrs. Willett's acquaintance with Dr. Verrall was very slight. It was, in fact, limited to a visit of three days in the late summer of 1910, when she first met him, another of two days in 1911, and an interview of a few minutes in 1912; and Mrs. Verrall is sure that she could not at these visits have discovered either of the first two points discussed below. Mr. Balfour, who was very intimate with Verrall in old days when they were young together, and who is also personally acquainted with Mrs. Willett, is equally certain that nothing said by him to her could account for the impersonation presented in the scripts.

For the last fifteen years of his life Dr. Verrall suffered from arthritis. The disease gradually increased in severity, depriving him more and more of the use of his limbs, and after the spring of 1910 he was unable to walk; fresh loss of power in the hands followed, and he could now with difficulty turn the leaves of a book. These painful and steadily increasing physical disabilities he bore with an uncomplaining patience which excited the amazement and admiration of all who came in contact with him; he did not even allow them to interfere with the continuance of his literary work. Now, it was just when this exhibition of fortitude was most remarkable that Mrs. Willett first met him, and it cannot be doubted that his extraordinary patience would have been the characteristic by which, either at this time or later, a visitor would be most impressed. This, my own independent opinion, is confirmed by Mrs. Verrall, who writes, after seeing a draft of this note: "Mrs. Willett's own normal impression of A. was, I know from what she has said, mainly the patience with which he bore his disqualifications and sufferings, and of the way in which he was 'Captain of his soul.'" But the scripts describe him as showing a considerable degree of *impatience*, and the peculiar kind of impatience indicated was, in fact, in the earlier days of health and high spirits, a noticeable feature of his character. It signalises a Verrall very different from the

one Mrs. Willett knew. It was not the impatience of irritation, but that of eagerness and keen interest; there was nothing querimonious about it. It emerged in all sorts of circumstances and in all sorts of ways, and especially in a conversation or discussion (with intimates only, for with others he was always courtesy itself) when your thought did not travel so quickly as his own, or with the rapidity which he expected of you. Or it would be evoked when, as in the scripts, he had reason to fear that something which could and ought to have been done at once had not been done; or again, when he was anxious to have some preliminary point settled and cleared out of the way in order that the talk might get on to the main issue. The thing I mean does not readily lend itself to definition, but it was eminently characteristic, and no one who had engaged with him in intimate talk could fail to be struck by it. A number of examples would perhaps make it clearer, but for that there is not space here, and it must suffice to say that all the specimens in the scripts are typical:

“ HAS THE PASSAGE

been identified about the traveller looking across a stream;” etc., in (B); “That ought to make it clear,” in (C); “Now if I say Passionate Pilgrim I know all sorts of connotations will be dragged in” (a peculiarly Verrallian remark); and “Then again I will repeat and will continue to repeat until you are all sick and tired of the subject

HAIR IN A TEMPLE ”

in (D). All this is Verrall's manner to the life in animated conversation. On the other hand, the terse completeness of the description in the first paragraph of (A) is equally in his carefully ordered style when stating a case, and the phrase “and yet desiring to be at his destination” is an admirable illustration of his somewhat stately way of putting a simple fact in a considered exposition. When I first read the words quoted above I received a series of little shocks, for the turns of speech are Verrall's, the high-pitched emphasis is his, and I could hear the very tones in which he would have spoken each sentence. The *crescendo* at the end of (D) was perhaps the most startling instance: I can see the amused smile on

his face and the merriment flashing from his eyes as he shouts out with all the *gaminerie* of a mischievous child,

“HAIR IN A TEMPLE.”

During the discussion on Mr. Balfour's paper at the meeting at which it was read, both he and Dr. Leaf—also an intimate friend of Verrall from undergraduate days—concurred with me as to this impression made by the language and tone of the scripts; and after the meeting a niece of Dr. Verrall told me she had had a similar experience. Mrs. Verrall has since written that she is altogether in accord with us, and doubtless many others would testify to the same effect.

Since Mrs. Willett, before writing scripts (B), (C), and (D), had read the *Memoir* prefixed to the volume of essays to which Mr. Balfour has referred, it is important to state that no mention is there made of this salient trait of intellectual impatience, though it was vividly present to my mind when I wrote, “Easily roused though he was even to excitement when holding forth on some matter which greatly interested him, his usual manner was extremely gentle.” Verrall's natural gaiety and love of fun are indeed dwelt upon at some length, but nothing is said of the particular point with which I now proceed to deal,—“Lavender or Lub.”

As a mark of identification, the reference to “Lavender or Lub” is as convincing as the impatience. Verrall had a rare and always alert sense of the comic (see Script B), and his fine appreciation of the noblest in literature did not prevent his deriving the keenest delight from clever nonsense, and especially from humorous or frankly nonsensical verse. He is the only man I ever met who enjoyed it quite in the same way and to the same extent as myself,—that is to say, an extent which seems to permit of no increase without danger of disintegration. If we were together and one of us read aloud something very good after its kind—something in which the combination of rhythm and assonance and rime and sense (or nonsense) left nothing to be desired, there would be no interruptions for the expression of our enjoyment, but like two connoisseurs sipping a wine of choice vintage, we would merely exchange a series of rapturous winks. When a contributor to *Punch*, having found the full designation of the fish commonly

known as the chub to be "the chavender or chub," published the little poem in which he properly sought to extend this delicious type of synonym—writing of "lavender or lub, gravender or grub, pavender or pub," etc., etc., the idea was immediately recognised as one of great merit, and from that time onward, until he ceased to be able to walk (January, 1910), Verrall habitually described his bath, the taking of which had become a serious effort, as his "tavender or tub." Now, as has been said, Mrs. Willett did not make Verrall's acquaintance until the late summer of 1910, and Mrs. Verrall is quite sure that all allusions to "lavender or lub" ceased after her husband's serious illness in the early part of that year; jokes had become very rare, and she doubts whether Mrs. Willett ever heard him laugh. It appears to be an irresistible conclusion that no one but Verrall himself, who, as we have seen, is unmistakably delineated throughout the scripts, could have furnished this peculiarly ingenious touch.

Both the points which we have been considering may be further illustrated by the narration of an incident which occurred about the year 1906. Verrall, who was on a visit to us, was sitting by himself on the lawn, looking through old volumes of *Punch*, when he caught sight of me coming from the house. "Oh, Bayfield," he cried (and the voice was so urgent that I began to quicken my pace), "come here! Come here and listen to this!" He had found "THE THREE JUDGES. A song of the Parnell Commission. Air—'The Three Ravens,' " (vol. 97, p. 194), and when I got to him, chuckling with delight so that he could hardly go on, he read through the whole poem, of which the following is the opening verse:

There were three Judges sat on a bench,
 Down a down, hey-down, hey-down;
 And from their task they all did blench,
 With a down.
 And one of them said to the others,
 "Oh, here's a bore, my learned Brothers;
 With a down derry, derry, derry down down."

The point which, judging by myself, I think tickled him most, the *Derry* and the *Down*, he brought out with ever increasing emphasis until at last it became a shout (see end of Script D).

It remains to mention one more point which also impresses me strongly. We have here an extraordinarily faithful representation of Verrall in respect of a peculiar kind of impatience and a habit of emphasis which he had in conversation, and of his playfulness and sense of humour. In what way are these life-like touches of character introduced? How are they worked into the essential matter of the scripts? Have they the air of being inserted by an ingenious forger (the unprincipled subliminal of some living person) *with a purpose*, in order to lend convincing *vraisemblance* to a fictitious impersonation; or do they give us the impression of being spontaneous and genuine? Unless I am inexcusably mistaken, no one accustomed to estimate the internal evidence afforded by a document of doubtful origin could hesitate as to the answer. Note how simply and naturally the first hint of the impatience which we have been discussing emerges at the beginning of Script (B): "Some one indignant at the delay calls out," etc. Surely this is the language of sincerity,—of one who, so far from lying "with malice aforethought," is honestly describing what he has before him, what he actually sees and hears. Nor can I find in all that is said by the "some one indignant" throughout the scripts any touch that betrays artificiality, any 'fault' in the close contexture of matter and manner. Nowhere is there any slip which would justify the suspicion that in reality we have to do with a cunningly masquerading 'sub.' Neither the impatience, nor the emphatic utterance, nor the playfulness has anywhere the appearance of being 'put on,'—of being *separable from the matter of the scripts*. "Assume a virtue, if you have it not," is no doubt a motto which an enterprising subliminal would not forget, but to me at least it is incredible that even the cleverest could achieve such an unexampled triumph in deceptive impersonation as this would be if the actor is not Verrall himself.

IV.

A FURTHER STUDY OF THE MAC SCRIPTS.

BY HELEN DE G. VERRALL.

MR. and Miss "Mac," it will be remembered, were two of the automatists who took part in the cross-correspondence on "Sesame and Lilies" (see *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 264 *et seq.*). The present paper is concerned with some later scripts of theirs and with certain connexions between these scripts and some written by Mrs. Verrall and myself. The circumstances under which the earlier cross-correspondence on "Sesame and Lilies" occurred are worth recalling here, because they add to the interest of other phenomena connected with Mr. and Miss Mac.

Mr. and Miss Mac are not members of the S.P.R. and were quite unknown to my mother and me until in September, 1908, Miss Mac sent my mother the records of some planchette writing obtained by herself and other members of her family, chiefly her brother. This she did in consequence of definite and repeated injunctions given in the planchette writing to "send the messages to Mrs. Verrall." These records showed a definite correspondence of topic with scripts recently produced by my mother and me. Since that time my mother has occasionally corresponded with Miss Mac, but we have never met either Miss Mac or her brother. The additional interest which the earlier phenomena derive from the fact that Mr. and Miss Mac were complete strangers to the other automatists concerned, extends, therefore, in a measure, to these later phenomena.

The scripts involved are (*a*) four scripts of my own written between January and March, 1911, sent to the Rooms of the S.P.R. and not seen by Mrs. Verrall till August 20, 1911, (*b*)

three scripts written by Mrs. Verrall in June, 1911, and (c) five scripts written by Mr. and Miss Mac in July and September, 1911, of which the first three were received by Mrs. Verrall on July 12, 1911, and the remaining two on September 12, 1911. I did not see either Mrs. Verrall's scripts of June, 1911, or the Mac scripts of July and September, 1911, till October 6, 1912. The connexions of thought constituting the cross-correspondence are to be found chiefly in the Mac scripts and mine, the part contributed by Mrs. Verrall's scripts being slighter and less definite. It will be noticed that between the last of my scripts and the first of the Mac scripts there is an interval of more than three months, but this interval may be to a great extent discounted, because July 7, 1911, was the first occasion for more than a year, upon which Mr. and Miss Mac obtained any script purporting to come from Henry Sidgwick, the only one of their supposed controls who has ever been associated with the production of cross-correspondences. The other scripts written by them during 1911—not a large amount—are of a totally different character, and we may for our present purpose ignore them, and regard the script of July 7, 1911, as the first script produced by Mr. and Miss Mac after my scripts of January and March, 1911. That being so, no great importance need be attached to the interval of time.

I will first quote four scripts of my own, written on January 25, February 28, March 10 and March 14, 1911.

(*H. V. script of January 25, 1911.*)

Cloth of gold—the king's purple

'Twas a royal train put forth to sea

But the tale can be told by none but me.¹

The wild waves wist²

And apple—the apple of discord. the fruit of the tree—fruit

A barred gate nothing more.

no sound was heard

A leaf couch—in the depths of the forest—and in green under-wood and cover blossom by blossom the spring begins³

¹ Rossetti, *The White Ship*.

² Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, I. 2.

³ Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon*, first chorus.

golden grain for the harvest. a rich harvest—gather up the sheaves.

What went ye forth for to see ?¹

The winding of the thread the whirling spindle.

9 times 9 and again 9.

(*H. V. script of February 28, 1911.*)

Salvator cupidine

[A saviour—with desire.]

The early dawn—the first awakening

the first fruits of Time—*ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος.*

[All things long unnumbered Time.²]

look back where that was written before³

strength to resist but more to yield

The garden of Eden.

master of the murmuring courts—⁴

the end and the beginning

A charm a philtre—nectar and dew the drink of the gods

the spinning wheel

Enough.

(*H. V. script of March 10, 1911.*)

The tune—the old tune—once again

I cannot hear in the depths

then when the end comes

a faded flower memories live

the best and the worst⁵

God be thanked the meanest of his creatures boasts two soul sides⁶

the worst and the best⁵

I cannot get it clear.

¹ *Matt.* xi. 7-9 ; *Luke* vii. 24-26.

² Sophocles, *Ajax*.

³ This quotation occurs in the *H. V.* script of December 16, 1909, which is not discussed here.

⁴ Rossetti, *Love's Nocturne*.

⁵ Cf. Swinburne, *Triumph of Time*, "For me that know not of worst or best."

⁶ Browning, *Men and Women : Epilogue*.

(*H. V. script of March 14, 1911.*)

Quarto decimo die [On the fourteenth day].

Ask not—ask me no more¹—no that is wrong—the pensive lily—the water lily—the rose was awake all night for thy sake.²

The triumph of Time

It is not much that a man may save

In the straights [*sic*] of Life on the shoals of Time

Who swims in sight of the great third wave

That never a swimmer may cross or climb.³

We have tried to get at this idea before.

A solemn music—harmonies of ancient days—a broken lute.

No more no never more.⁴

The objection is sometimes made in regard to the evidence for cross-correspondences that the scripts, in which they are said to occur, have been chosen arbitrarily out of a large mass of irrelevant matter. That objection cannot be raised in this instance. In the first place the whole amount of material to be considered is small. Between November, 1910, and March, 1911, I wrote only seven pieces of script, which are divided from the rest of my script by an interval of two months on one side and four on the other, so that they may be regarded as constituting a group by themselves. Moreover, the four scripts of this period, which I quoted just now, are not arbitrarily selected. Quite apart from the question of whether they give evidence of supernormal connexion with the script of other automatists, they can be shown to have a normal connexion with one another through the recurrence of the same or closely similar ideas and phrases. These ideas and phrases, which they share with each other, they do not share with the other scripts of this period, so that we are

¹ Tennyson, *Princoess* : Last Song.

² Tennyson, *Maud*, I. xxii.

³ Cf. Swinburne, *Triumph of Time* :

“It is not much that a man can save,
On the sands of Life, on the shoals of Time,
Who swims in sight of the great third wave,
That never a swimmer shall cross or climb.”

⁴ Cf. Shelley, *O World, O Life, O Time*, of which the last line is “No more, oh never more.”

justified on internal evidence alone in regarding these four scripts as a distinct sequence,—distinct, that is to say, from the other scripts of this period. In order to make my meaning clear, I must analyse the four scripts which I have quoted above.

The script of January 25, 1911, the first in the series, contains the phrases :

the apple of discord—the fruit of the tree . . .
no sound was heard
A leaf couch—in the depths of the forest—

and later,

The winding of the thread the whirling spindle.

This last phrase and the allusion to the “fruit of the tree,” link it with the second script on February 28, 1911, which alludes to a spinning wheel and to the garden of Eden.

The third script, on March 10, 1911, has :

I cannot hear—in the depths,

which recalls

no sound was heard . . . in the depths of the forest.

The first script, therefore, has points of connexion both with the second and with the third.

The second script, moreover, contains the words :

the first fruits of Time, *ἀπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος*. [All things long unnumbered Time]

The Greek words are a quotation from the *Ajax* of Sophocles ; the passage runs : “ All things long unnumbered Time brings to light when they are hidden, and hides when they are manifest ” ; and might be briefly paraphrased as describing “ the triumph of Time.” The second script is therefore closely linked to the fourth script on March 14, 1911, which has :

The triumph of Time

It is not much that a man may save, etc.

The fourth script also contains the phrases :

A solemn music—harmonics of ancient days—a broken lute.

No more no never more,

which we may compare with the opening words of the third script :

The tune—the old tune—once again.

Moreover the phrase “No more no never more,” being an almost exact quotation from Shelley’s poem *O World, O Life, O Time*, contains another implicit allusion to Time.

There is a further connexion of thought between these scripts, which did not become apparent until some time afterwards.

The first script on January 25, 1911, opens with the words :

Cloth of gold—the king’s purple
’Twas a royal train put forth to sea
But the tale can be told by none but me.

These lines are a quotation from Rossetti’s ballad *The White Ship*, in which he tells the story of the drowning of Henry I.’s only son on his way back from France.

This quotation appears once again in my script on September 25, 1911, which begins :

’Twas a royal train put forth to sea
But the tail [*sic*] can be told by none but me
Youth at the prow and pleasure at the helm.¹
atrox incubat cura [Fierce care oppresses.]
the uncertainty of human fate
that is one idea I want to get—now the other—it is a parallel
passage
a sunless sea—write that it will help

This script may be paraphrased thus : the quotation from *The White Ship* and the idea expressed by it,—which is repeated in the quotation from Gray and summed up in the words “the uncertainty of human fate,”—are to be compared with a parallel passage, and the words “a sunless sea” will in some way help to identify this passage.

¹ Cf. Gray, *The Bard* :

“In gallant trim the gilded vessel goes ;
Youth on the prow, and Pleasure at the helm ;
Regardless of the sweeping whirlwind’s sway,
That, hush’d in grim repose, expects his evening prey.”

The Latin words in this script, *atrox incubat cura*, are an unmistakable, though inaccurate, allusion to the famous passage in the Odes of Horace, in which he speaks of *black care sitting at the horseman's back*,¹ *atra cura*, not *atrox*. The quotation is familiar to me, and I should not normally misquote it, as I do in the script. Nevertheless the same misquotation appears in another of my scripts (and only in that one other) on April 15, 1912. Thus :

Atrox eura [Fierce care.]
 imminente luna² [When the moon hangs overhead.]
 non ebur neque aureo³ [Not ivory nor with gold]
 nemesis—the mills of God grind slowly
 Swinburne—a parallel
 It is not much that a man can save—
 Within the compass of a hand.

The three Odes of Horace, to which this script refers, all turn upon the subject of Nemesis, or, as it was expressed in the earlier script, the uncertainty of human fate, and these quotations lead up to the words :

Swinburne—a parallel
 It is not much that a man can save.

This script is linked to the script of September 25, 1911, by the misquotation *atrox cura*, and therefore there is no doubt, I think, that in its quotation from Swinburne (“ It is not much that a man can save ”) we have the “ parallel passage ” to which the earlier script as follows refers :

(*H. V. script of September 25, 1911.*)

the uncertainty of human fate
 that is one idea I want to get—now the other.—it is a parallel
 passage
 a sunless sea—write that it will help.

It may fairly be said that the words “ a sunless sea ” will “ help ” towards identifying the passage required, because

¹ Horace, *C.* III. 1.

² Horace, *C.* I. 4.

³ Cf. Horace, *C.* II. 18 ; “ Non ebur neque aureum.”

not only does the particular verse from *The Triumph of Time*, which is afterwards quoted, refer to the sea, but this idea is prominent throughout the whole poem, as it is in so much of Swinburne's work. In the first verse we have :

“Time swift to fasten and swift to sever
Hand from hand, as we stand by the sea,”

and later :

“I will go back to the great sweet mother,
Mother and lover of men, the sea.”

and again :

“There lived a singer in France of old
By the tideless dolorous midland sea.”

The two poems, *The White Ship* and *The Triumph of Time*, present several possible points of comparison, and the quotations given in the script clearly bring out one of these points.

In Swinburne we have :

“It is not much that a man can save
On the sands of life, on the shoals of Time,
Who swims in sight of the great third wave,
That never a swimmer shall cross or climb.”

and in Rossetti :

“By none but me can the tale be told,
The butcher of Rouen, poor Berold.
(*Lands are swayed by a king on a throne.*)
'Twas a royal train put forth to sea,
Yet the tale can be told by none but me.
(*The sea hath no king but God alone.*)”

Rossetti's sea is the real sea ; Swinburne's is metaphorical, the sea of Time ; but both are represented as forces against which human beings strive in vain.

I have thought it worth while to discuss these later scripts of mine for two reasons. In the first place, they show that there is a closer connexion of thought between the earlier

scripts than would otherwise appear. The first script of the series, on January 25, 1911, begins :

Cloth of gold—the king's purple
 'Twas a royal train put forth to sea
 But the tale can be told by none but me.

The last of the series, on March 14, 1911, has :

The triumph of Time
 It is not much that a man may save, etc.

The statements found in the subsequent scripts make it very probable that the idea of drawing a parallel between Rossetti's poem and Swinburne's was already latent in the scripts of January and March, 1911. Moreover, the date at which my script returned to this idea is worth noting. It was on September 25, 1911, that my script opened with the words :

'Twas a royal train, etc.

and it was on September 25, 1911, that Mrs. Verrall, after reading the various scripts discussed here, completed the notes from which this paper has been written. To the opening words of my script of January 25, 1911,

Cloth of gold—the king's purple
 'Twas a royal train put forth to sea

she appended a note :

Cf. Swinburne, *Triumph of Time* : “Drowned gold and purple and royal rings.”

At that time and for many months afterwards I knew nothing of the Mac scripts of July and September beyond the fact that they had been written and sent to my mother. I did not see the scripts, or my mother's notes on them, until October 6, 1912, *i.e.*, some months later than any of the scripts discussed here.

My second reason for discussing these later scripts of mine is that they afford a good illustration of one of the characteristics of automatic writing, or at least of some automatic writing, the way in which a train of thought may be persistently evolved

in the script, in a fragmentary way, perhaps, and at considerable intervals of time, but so that it can be traced by following the clues afforded by the script itself.

So far, then, I have tried to establish on internal evidence that there is a close connexion of thought linking together four scripts of mine written between January and March, 1911. I turn now to the scripts contributed by Mr. and Miss Mac.

On July 5, 1911, Miss Mac received the then recently issued number of the *Proceedings* of this Society, Part LXIII., and at once read the papers on Mrs. Willett's and Mrs. Holland's scripts, in which she was specially interested, because they contained some references to her own earlier scripts. On July 7, 1911, for the first time for more than a year, she and her brother obtained script purporting to be from Henry Sidgwick. They had made several attempts to obtain script earlier in the year, but on almost all these occasions, the only one of their supposed controls who purported to communicate was "Bell," who is thus described by Miss Mac :

. . . . Ellen Bell seemed to be a perfect lunatic, as indeed the other controls said she was. . . . She has her own line of riddles, epigrams, Limericks, etc., . . . She draws clever caricatures of our acquaintances . . . she appears to be quite subliminal and varies in character with the various writers.¹

Once or twice a little "Italian" script was obtained which Miss Mac describes as "rather like an intermediate stage between Bell and H. S."

As the script of July 7, 1911, was obtained immediately after reading Part LXIII. of the *Proceedings*, and probably to some extent at least in consequence of the stimulus thus given, it becomes a matter of interest to consider what were the contents of the articles read by Miss Mac and whether they had any perceptible influence on the scripts produced. But it will be more convenient to discuss this question after I have dealt in detail with the contents of the scripts.

There are five Mac scripts in this period, a group of three on July 7, 8, and 9, 1911, and two more on September 2 and 6, 1911. I will first quote the three July scripts.

¹ See *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXIV. p. 265.

(*Mac script of July 7, 1911.*)

Sidgwick

I am that I am.¹

(*Drawing of hands and piano keys.*)

P—— saw one moon flower fair

fair flower of foam endures when the rose withers whose flowers are put to scorn² roses and lilies too.—You see, scribe, it is I.

I return for a little with a gathered flower when the air is green with summer.

Thus in the green growth of hedge and coppice

(*Drawing of horse-chestnut leaf on long stalk.*) Rest.

H.S. finished feast and the light vanishes and the dancers ar [*sic*] left in the gloom.³

They are very alike those two with the moon-eyes from behind a cloud I think and the Lethean souls perched about the white lilies⁴ like bees in summer.

All.

All.

(*Mac script of July 8, 1911.*)

(*H. S. control.*)



a gate

The meaning I want is the gate which I have hinted.

There is an end of joy and there shall be no more weeping.⁵ But the garden is gone to seed and forsaken⁶ I am thinking of Swinburne. As the heart of a ded [*sic*] man the seed plots are dry.⁶

¹ *Exodus*, iii. 14.

² Cf. Swinburne, *A Forsaken Garden*, "For the foam flowers endure when the rose-blossoms wither."

³ Cf. E. Dowson, "When the feast is finished and the lights expire . . . dancing."

⁴ See *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXV. p. 137. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* VI. 707 ff.

⁵ Cf. Swinburne, *Garden of Proserpine* (recognised by Mr. Mac and Miss Mac), "We are not sure of sorrow, And joy was never sure."

⁶ Swinburne, *A Forsaken Garden*.

No more joy no more thrall¹

(*Drawing of a gate as above*) I have important words.

Think of Swinburne and it all comes what the others are all getting at. It is him. About dead fancies and spoilt rimes² and lost faces and sad farewells

about Time about ruined rimes²

a broken song spoilt music a ruined rhyme²

I know how he feels now

(*Drawing of hills*) hills and crushed fruit moon

all

(*Mac script of July 9, 1911.*)

(*H. S. control.*)

I am he that endureth³

(*Drawing of a gate*)⁴

The beginning is here ; the end is not yet.⁵

The beginning of years⁶

Whoso knocketh

They are not long the weeping and the laughter

Love and desire and hate.

I think they have no portion in us after

We pass the gate.⁷

May voices

The pæan of spring Atalanta and the hounds of the hunter⁸

I found this fair to see.

¹ Cf. Swinburne, *A Match*, "If you were thrall to sorrow, And I were page to joy."

² Cf. Swinburne, *Triumph of Time*, "A broken blossom, a ruined rhyme."

³ *Ps.* ix. 7 ; cii. 12, etc.

⁴ The drawing was so interpreted by the automatists. It is very fragmentary but resembles the drawing of a gate on July 8, 1911.

⁵ *Matt.*, xxiv. 6 ; *Mark*, xiii. 7 ; *Luke*, xxi. 9.

⁶ Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon*, second chorus : "Before the beginning of years there came . . . Time."

⁷ E. Dowson.

Cf. Swinburne, *Atalanta in Calydon*, "When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces."

This is wrong but it connects on to the other. I think they will piece it toge

Lord if it L

I have spent my days and nights in love who tarrieth but a little

(*Reynold control.*)

Send all this on to Mrs. V. *at once*

Reynold.

The first thing to notice in these scripts is that they are full of allusions to Swinburne. There are seven certain referenes to his poems, and one that is doubtful. Of these allusions the most important is in the script of July 8, 1911 :

Think of Swinburne and it all comes what the others are all getting at. It is him. About dead fancies and spoilt rimes [*sic*] and lost faces and sad farewells

about Time about ruined rimes

a broken song spoilt music a ruined rhyme

There is no doubt that the script is here alluding to the same verse from *The Triumph of Time* which is quoted in the H. V. script of March 14, 1911. The verse runs :

“It is not much that a man can save,
On the sands of life, on the shoals of Time,
Who swims in sight of the great third wave,
That never a swimmer shall cross or climb ;
Some waif washed up with the strays and spars,
That ebb-tide shows to the shore and stars.
Weed from the water, grass from a grave,
A broken blossom, a ruined rhyme.”

The two scripts are complementary, because, whereas the H. V. script quotes the first four lines of the verse, the Mac script refers to the last line.

It should also be noted that this passage in the Mae script is definitely claimed as a cross-correspondence ; thus :

Think of Swinburne and it all comes what the others are all getting at.

This point is important, in view of the fact that the Mac scripts of this period are full of references to Swinburne. If the claim to a cross-correspondence were not made here—and only here—it might be said that there was no reason for singling out this allusion to Swinburne rather than any of the others.

Here, then, we have the closest and most definite point of connexion between the Mac script and mine, but there are several other connexions still to be considered, which afford interesting corroborative evidence of design in the choice of topics.

In the Mac script of July 9, 1911, there are two allusions to Swinburne's poem *Atalanta in Calydon*. There is first a quotation from the second chorus :

The beginning of years,

the context of which is interesting. The chorus runs :

“ Before the beginning of years
There came to the making of man
Time, with his gift of tears, etc.”

The script, therefore, is still harping on the notion of *time*.

Then later in the same script we have :

The pæan of spring Atalanta and the hounds of the hunter.

Taking into consideration the fact that we have here an undoubted allusion to the first chorus of *Atalanta* :

“ When the hounds of spring are on winter's traces,”

I think there is probably an attempt to quote from it in the script written two days before, on July 7, 1911 :

I return for a little with a gathered flower when the air is green with summer.

Thus in the green growth of hedge and coppice.

This last phrase recalls the lines from the first chorus of *Atalanta* :

“ And in green underwood and cover
Blossom by blossom the spring begins.”

The line in the script is very clumsy, but it is metrically equivalent to Swinburne's line, having four principal accents. We *might* read :

Thus in the green growth of hedge and coppice,¹
Blossom by blossom the spring begins.

and "the *green* growth of hedge and *coppice*" certainly suggests an inaccurate recollection of

"green underwood and cover."²

The point is interesting when we remember that the H. V. script of January 25, 1911, the first of the four scripts which I have quoted above, has :

A leaf couch in the depths of the forest—
and in green underwood and cover blossom by blossom the
spring begins.

The mere fact that the same poem is quoted in two scripts is hardly enough to constitute a cross-correspondence between them, but the H. V. script of January 25, 1911, has another point of connexion with the Mac script of July 9, 1911, the script, that is to say, in which there is an explicit allusion to the first chorus of *Atalanta*.

Just before the quotation from this chorus, the H. V. script has :

A barred gate nothing more.

The Mac script of July 9, 1911, begins :

I am he that endureth
(*Drawing of a gate.*)

Allusions to a gate run all through the Mac scripts of this period. The drawing of a gate, reproduced above, p. 260,

¹ Cf. another line in the chorus :

"Fills the shadows and windy places."

² It has been suggested that the phrase "the green growth of hedge and coppice" may be a reminiscence of a line from Swinburne's poem *The Garden of Proserpine*, "No growth of moor or coppice";

or perhaps the phrase is due to a mental fusion of this line and the line from *Atalanta in Calydon*, quoted above.

appears first at the beginning of the script of July 8, 1911.¹
The script goes on :

The meaning I want is the gate which I have hinted. . . .

(*Drawing of a gate*) I have important words

Think of Swinburne and it all comes what the others are all getting at.

Then follows the allusion to *The Triumph of Time*.

The script of July 9, 1911, begins :

I am he that endureth

(*Drawing of a gate.*)

. . . Whoso knocketh

They are not long the weeping and the laughter

Love and desire and hate

I think they have no portion in us after

We pass the gate.

“The gate” is also referred to in the Mac script of September 6, 1911 :

Many that enter by my gate shall proceed further.

Mr. and Miss Mac produced two scripts in September, 1911, and both present points of interest in regard to the subject of this paper. I will therefore quote these two scripts.

(*Mac script of September 2, 1911.*)

(*H. S. control.*)

Light only light the laughter of the sage where—house of shades

Ever busy (?) sprite

Come here on tripping feet that scorn the grass

Welcome ! s

from the sea.

And the sea parted and the way was made clear for the children of Israel.²

Month by month loves [*or lover*] of men

my mother

¹ It should be noted that the drawing is here labelled “gate,” so that there is no doubt as to how it should be interpreted.

² *Exodus* xiv.

Good (?) Mark

A match (?) of the house.

We nailed love up to a tree ¹

hood

More lest you remember when I forget.

More—my

Two things perchance he has left us yet

All sad and ‡ [sic]

And then to die! ²

more

Universe of his love that he giveth you

the sea green mirrors of your eyes ³ the sea

wan from the waves I the mark that is missed ⁴ lips kissed

All H. S.

(*Mac script of September 6, 1911.*)

(H. S. *control.*)

[The script opens with an allusion to a picture by Bramley, called *The Hopeless Dawn.*]

The hope I have cherished through long years of oppression.

You do not and you never will know. The writing is for a long period. It continued uninterrupted by the presence of a third person.

In the night where your moonlike eyes make thy garden seem like a sleepy heaven there.⁵

[Then follows a statement about the conditions, under which the script was written.]

Many that enter by my gate shall proceed further

(*Drawings of ring, R. F. (?) and of hands, left hand with ring on third finger.*)

The Ring is here of which you have written ⁶ as Swinburne :—

Strange raiment clad thee like a bride

With jewels to wear on hands and feet.

With clasps of gold on either side.

Wine made thee glad and thou didst eat

¹ Cf. Swinburne, *Satia Te Sanguine*, "Your hands nailed love to the tree."

² Cf. Swinburne, *Félice*. ³ Swinburne, *Félice*. ⁴ Swinburne, *Hertha*.

⁵ Cf. Mae script of July 7, 1811, "the moon-eyes."

⁶ There had been no previous reference to a ring in the Mae script.

Honey and pleasant choice of meat.¹

H. S.

A. C. S. Ring (?) (*Drawing of ring.*)

Three things I give with you

These three ~~Faith~~ [*sic*]

Hope

² ~~Charity~~ [*sic*]

(*Drawing of a harp with one string.*)

G. F. Watts.

You remember greeny blue.

I find the grey seas notes of green

The green seas fervent flakes of blue

More fair than you.³

(*Drawing of hand apparently holding handle of whip.*)

Then winter came

The wind was his whip

One choppy finger was on his lip ⁴

(*Drawing of finger on lips.*)

The moving finger writes

And having writ—⁵

La fleche (*Drawing of an arrow.*)

Rosy fingered dawn.⁶

It is clear but she will miss it may be

The first is not clear your hand is imperfect.

Why the worlds mine oyster which I with sword will open.⁷

There's straw in my hair.

(*Drawing of a circle.*) I sit astride

o' the world

There's straw in my hair

Blaw in blaw oot

Blaw the hale hoose about.

¹ Cf. Swinburne, *Aholibah* :

“Strange raiment clad thee like a bride
With silk to wear on hands and feet
With plates of gold on either side ;
Wine made thee glad and thou did'st eat
Honey and choice of pleasant meat.”

² Cf. 1 *Cor.*, xiii. 13.

³ Swinburne, *Félice*.

⁴ Shelley, *The Sensitive Plant*.

⁵ Fitzgerald, *Omar Khayyam*.

⁶ Cf. Homer, *Od.*, *passim*.

⁷ Shakespeare, *Merry Wives*, II. ii.

EUROPA

Paseppe

Such as I have do I give unto you freely.¹Freely I have given unto you freely take.²

Much laughter begets weeping

Take hands and part with laughter³

T

Come unto these yellow sands

And then take hands⁴

All

H. S.

The latter part of this second script may be summarised as a series of allusions to hands and to Shakespeare, culminating in a quotation, which combines these two ideas, the opening lines of Ariel's song :

"Come unto these yellow sands
And there take hands."

Having reached this point, the script ceases, which suggests that the earlier allusions were all leading up to this by a series of associated ideas. The various stages of this process are interesting.

The idea of hands first emerged in several drawings of hands and rings and a quotation from Swinburne's *Aholibah* in which the word *hands* is underlined. Then after a digression the script returns to the idea in the quotation from *The Sensitive Plant* :

"The wind was his whip
One ehoppy finger was on his lip."

The same idea is persistently emphasised in the quotation from *Omar Khayyam*, "the rosy-fingered dawn," and "your hand is imperfect." Then we get the first suggestion of Shakespeare in a quotation from *The Merry Wives*. The next phrase "there's straw in my hair" was associated by the automatists with Shakespeare, as they believed it to be a quotation from *King Lear*. The words do not occur in the

¹ Cf. *Acts*, iii. 6.² Cf. *Matt.*, x. 8.³ Swinburne, *Rococo*.⁴ Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, I. 2.

play, but they might naturally be associated with it, straw in the hair being a conventional sign of madness.¹

I sit astride o' the world

is perhaps a reminiscence of the phrase from *Julius Caesar*,

“bestride this narrow world”

suggested by the previous allusion to Watts' picture of Hope, who is represented as sitting on the globe. Then, after another short digression, we find a quotation from the *Acts*, leading by a natural association of ideas to an inaccurate reminiscence of a passage in *St. Matthew*. The context of these two passages shows an even closer connexion between them than is apparent in the script :

“Silver and gold have I none ; but such as I have, give I thee.” (*Acts*, iii. 6.)

“Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither gold nor silver nor brass in your purses.” (*Matt.*, x. 8.)

The reminiscence from *St. Matthew* introduces for the first time the word *take*. This, followed by an allusion to laughter, leads to the quotation from Swinburne :

“*Take hands* and part with laughter,”

and this again to the quotation from Shakespeare :

“Come unto these yellow sands
And then *take hands*.”

We find in the script three separate streams of thought, “hands,” “Shakespeare,” “take,” successively introduced and finally combined. It is worth noting that in the quotation from *St. Matthew* the word *take* has been substituted for the word *give*, thereby completely altering the sense of the passage and throwing a special emphasis on to this word. There are several instances in automatic writing of misquotation used for emphasis, *e.g.* the substitution of “hope” for “passion” in the quotation from *Abt Vogler* (see *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXII., p. 63).

There is evidence, therefore, in the script of September 6, 1911, that the emergence of the quotation from *Ariel's Song*

¹ Cf. Sheridan, *The Critic*, in which the mad Tilburina has straw in her hair.

was the result of a persistent effort to give this quotation, and this evidence is strengthened by the fact that there seems to be an attempt to refer to the *Song* in the previous script on September 2, 1911.

This script begins :

Light only light the laughter of the sage where—house of shades
 Ever busy sprite
 Come here on tripping feet that scorn the grass
 Welcome ! from the sea

In her original copy of the script Miss Mac put a note to “Ever busy sprite,” saying that “it suggests *The Tempest* and Ariel.” The actual phrase does not occur in the play, but the description is obviously appropriate to Ariel, and several times Prospero calls upon Ariel to “come,” *e.g.*: “Come with a thought,” “Come away, servant,” “Ariel, come,” and he habitually calls him “spirit,” “my tricky spirit,” etc. Moreover, the automatists’ interpretation of the phrase as referring to Ariel is an important point, whether the interpretation be thought correct or not, since it shows that the association was in their mind.

Then again, at the end of the same script we find :

wan from the waves I the mark that is missed
 lips kissed

Ariel’s *Song* runs :

“Come unto these yellow sands
 And there take hands ;
 Curtsied when you have and kissed
 The wild waves whist.”

The introduction of the words “waves” and “kissed,” taken in conjunction with the probable allusion to Ariel at the beginning of this script, may be due to a confused attempt to quote from the *Song*, which definitely emerges at the end of the next script.

It may therefore be said, I think, that these two scripts contain more than a casual allusion to Ariel’s *Song* ; they give evidence of repeated attempts to allude to it, and as soon as the attempt has been successful, the script ends.

This point is interesting, when we remember that a quotation from Ariel's *Song* occurs in the H. V. script of January 25, 1911, the first in the series of four, with which this paper deals. Thus :

Cloth of gold the king's purple
 'Twas a royal train put forth to sea
 But the tale can be told by none but me.
 The wild waves wist.

To sum up, then :

(a) There are four H. V. scripts written between January and March, 1911, connected one with another by the repetition of various phrases and ideas and by the fact that the first of these scripts contains a quotation from *The White Ship*, and the last a quotation from *The Triumph of Time*, these two quotations being closely associated with each other in subsequent H. V. scripts.

Of these four scripts the first on January 25, 1911, combines with the quotation from *The White Ship* a quotation from Ariel's *Song* in *The Tempest*, an allusion to a barred gate, and a quotation from the first chorus in Swinburne's *Atalanta*; the second on February 28, 1911, has a Greek quotation, which might be paraphrased as "the triumph of time"; the fourth on March 14, 1911, has a four-line quotation from Swinburne's *Triumph of Time*, combined with a statement that an attempt has been made to give this idea before.

(b) There are five (and only five) scripts written by Mr. and Miss Mac from July 7 to September 6, 1911, inclusive.

In the first, on July 7, 1911, there is probably an attempt to quote one of the two lines from Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* quoted in the H. V. script of January 25, 1911; in the second script, on July 8, 1911, there are two allusions to a gate, which is described as important, followed by a quotation from the same verse of *The Triumph of Time*, which is quoted in the H. V. script of March 14, 1911, and a statement that a cross-correspondence is aimed at; in the third script, on July 9, 1911, there is another allusion to a gate, followed by a quotation from the second chorus of *Atalanta in Calydon* and an allusion to the first chorus; the automatists are also enjoined to "send all this to Mrs. Verrall"; in the

fourth script, on September 2, 1911, there are two probable allusions to Ariel; and in the fifth script, on September 6, 1911, there is an allusion to a gate, followed at the end of the script by a quotation from Ariel's *Song* :

“Come unto these yellow sands,
And there take hands.”

Or, to put it in another way, in the H. V. script of January 25, 1911, we find a quotation from *The White Ship*, a quotation from Ariel's *Song*, a reference to a gate, and a quotation from the first chorus of *Atalanta in Calydon*; in the Mac script of July 8, 1911, there is a reference to a gate combined with a quotation from *The Triumph of Time*, afterwards associated in the H. V. script with the quotation from *The White Ship*; in the Mac script of July 9, 1911, there is a reference to a gate combined with an allusion to the first chorus from *Atalanta in Calydon*; in the Mac script of September 6, 1911, there is a reference to a gate combined with a quotation from Ariel's *Song*.

I turn now to the consideration of some scripts written by Mrs. Verrall during the same period. In June, 1911, she produced three scripts closely related to one another, in which there appear to be attempts to indicate Swinburne's initials. These attempts were not recognised by Mrs. Verrall (and no one else had examined her scripts) until, on July 12, 1911, she read the three Mac scripts of July, the statements in which led her to search her own scripts for cross-correspondences on the subject of Swinburne.

The three scripts in question are as follows :

(Mrs. V.'s script of June 27, 1911.)

Σ Σιγμα ὡσαύτως καὶ τᾶλλα. γραφε συ—εἰ μὴ μετὰ συννεσεως—σὶν τάχει. τὰ μέλλοντα καρτέρωσ μένει· ᾧ συμπράσσομεν ἀριστεΐει· δεχου καὶ συ.

Gnome καὶ δὴ
mneme

ἄλις τῆδε· αὔριον ἄλλη γλώσση χρῆσθαι.

[Sigma thus also the other things. Write, if not with under-

standing, with speed. What is to come stands firm. Combined action is best. Receive you also.

Mind and also memory.

Enough to-day; to-morrow use another language.]

(*Mrs. V.'s script of June 28, 1911.*)

In a garden of cucumbers—a lodge.¹ Write both letters large A. L. lodge. The first initial is now right—never mind the name.

A c c i d e n t e c e s p i t o s a i n c a e s p i t e [By accident (?) turfy on the turf] what is upon the turf? The Turf.

(*Mrs. V.'s script of June 29, 1911.*)

The white swan—my white swan—and Browning's poems. Would it were I—not you.²

It really is important to get the clear record clear to-day—but she does not understand.

Try again—swan wings beating—the swan's nest and little Ellie³ Why so pale and wan fond lover⁴

An apple showed the law to Newton's mind

An apple was the aim of William's bow

An apple caused the fall of human kind

An apple made the maiden's feet run slow.

A was once an apple pie

Now you have it part was said last night.

The first script, on June 27, 1911, opens with the Greek letter S. The rest of the script is rather obscure, but it clearly implies that there is more to come, that some other person is to play a part, and that Mrs. Verrall is to write again next day.

In the second script, on June 28, 1911, we find the words :

A. Lodge. The first initial is now right—never mind the name.

¹ Cf. *Isaiah*, i. 8.

² Cf. Browning, *The Worst of It* :

“Would it were I had been false
Not you! . . . my swan . . .
. . . wonder of white.”

³ Mrs. Browning, *Ellie and the Swan's Nest*.

⁴ Sir John Suckling, *Encouragements to a Lover*.

This clearly implies that the first initial is A, and that the name is not Lodge.

In the words that follow :

A c c i d e n t e *cespitosa* in *caespite*,

we find the initial A repeated and followed by what may be an attempt to represent Swinburne's second initial C. Puns and assonances are a fairly common feature of Mrs. Verrall's script.

The script of June 29, 1911, was written, Mrs. Verrall notes, in consequence of an impulse which came to her, whilst she was copying the script of the preceding evening, and it evidently carries on the same train of thought, concluding as it does with the words :

A was once an apple pie

Now you have it—part was said last night.

The way in which the letter A is gradually approached is interesting. The script opens with a reference to a swan. Then after a short digression the word "swan" recurs, followed by a quotation containing the word "wan," followed again by four lines of verse each beginning with the word "an," giving the sequence swan, wan, an, A.

Thus we find in these three scripts definite allusions to the letters A and S and a possible allusion to the letter C. It should also be noted that in the script of June 28, 1911, the emphasis laid on the letter L in the words, "A. Lodge," may have been suggested by Swinburne's first name, Algernon.

The script of June 29, 1911, presents several other points of interest in connexion with the H. V. scripts of the preceding February and March, which Mrs. Verrall had not seen when she wrote it.

The script opens with a quotation from Browning's *The Worst of It*, which may be compared with Swinburne's *Triumph of Time*. In both poems the speaker is a lover whose mistress has proved unfaithful, though the point of view of the two lovers is widely different. In particular we may contrast the concluding lines of *The Worst of It* :

"I knew you once ; but in Paradise

If we meet, I will pass nor turn my face."

with the concluding lines of *The Triumph of Time* :

“Shall I lose you living and vex you dead ?
I never shall tell you on earth ; and in heaven
If I cry to you then, will you hear or know ? ”

Possibly the H. V. script is groping after an allusion to *The Worst of It* on March 10, 1911, in the words :

the best and the worst
God be thanked the meanest of his creatures
boasts two soul sides ¹
the worst and the best
I cannot get it clear.

The explicit allusion to Browning makes this interpretation more probable.

Mrs. Verrall's script of June 29, 1911, has a further point of connexion with the H. V. script of January 25, 1911, which has :

And apple—the apple of discord—
the fruit of the tree

followed almost at once by the quotation from *Atalanta in Calydon* :

And in green underwood and cover
Blossom by blossom the spring begins.

Compare in Mrs. Verrall's script the lines :

An apple caused the fall of human kind
An apple made the maiden's feet run slow

The first of these latter lines refers to the fruit of the tree of knowledge and the second to Atalanta, who was beaten in the race because she stopped to pick up the golden apples which Milanion let fall.

It only remains to consider how far the contents of these scripts may be accounted for by the normal thoughts of the automatists at the time or by any habitual tendencies observed in their automatic writing. To consider my own scripts

¹ Browning's *Men and Women*, *Epilogue*.

first, there had been very few allusions to Swinburne in my script before January, 1911,—three certain allusions (all to *The Garden of Proserpine*), and one doubtful allusion to *The Triumph of Time*, not to the verse quoted on March 14, 1911. I am fairly well acquainted with Swinburne's poems, having at one time or another read the greater part of what he has written. With a few poems, including *The Triumph of Time*, I am more familiar, but Swinburne is not a poet for whom I have a special admiration, and I do not read his poems very often. So far as I know, there had been nothing to turn my thoughts towards them in the early months of 1911.

There are seven allusions to Swinburne in the Mac script before July, 1911. They all occur between May and July, 1909, and are probably due, in part at any rate, to the fact that Swinburne died in April, 1909, so that he might naturally have been in the automatists' minds about that time. Mr. and Miss Mac are familiar with Swinburne's work, as might be inferred from the number of more or less correct quotations occurring in the script. But the predominance of Swinburne in the scripts of July and September, 1911, is very marked, and quite unlike the brief, fragmentary allusions in 1909. About half the whole amount of script produced in 1911 (and attributed to Henry Sidgwick) consists of quotations from Swinburne. I have already referred to the fact that immediately before the July scripts were written, Miss Mac had read the articles on Mrs. Willett's and Mrs. Holland's script in *Proc. S.P.R.*, Part LXIII., and the allusion to lilies and bees in the script of July 7, 1911, can be directly traced to this source. The question will naturally be asked: can any other part of the scripts and especially the allusions to Swinburne be explained in the same way? Both in the article on Mrs. Willett's script and in the article on Mrs. Holland's script, passages from Swinburne are discussed at some length.¹ Passages from several other poets are discussed even more fully; but, if the case for a supernormal connexion between the Mac scripts and mine depended solely, or even mainly, on our both alluding to Swinburne, it would be seriously weakened by Miss Mac having read Part LXIII. But I hope that I have already made it clear that the case

¹ See *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXV. pp. 206 ff. and 234 ff.

rests on a much surer foundation, and some further considerations will make this point still clearer.

The poems by Swinburne which are discussed in Part LXIII. are *The Garden of Proserpine*, *Itylus*, and the third chorus from *Atalanta in Calydon*, which has an obvious association with *Itylus*. It contains the lines :

“The brown bright nightingale amorous
Is half assuaged for Itylus,”

which are the lines referred to in Part LXIII.

On the other hand, none of these poems is mentioned in the Mac script (the allusions to *Atalanta* are to the first and second choruses), and the only passage which is claimed in the script as a cross-correspondence is one from *The Triumph of Time*. It is not unlikely, I think, that from reading Part LXIII. Miss Mac's mind received an initial impulse, which, by association of ideas, greatly facilitated the emergence of certain latent impressions ; but this initial impulse can hardly be considered sufficient to account for the particular course followed by the script. Why is it that, whereas the poems discussed in Part LXIII. are *The Garden of Proserpine*, *Itylus*, and the third chorus from *Atalanta in Calydon*, the emphasis in the script is thrown on to *The Triumph of Time* ? Moreover, the curious way in which the Mac scripts are linked together by references to a gate cannot be explained by anything in Part LXIII., whereas the probability of a supernatural connexion with my script of January 25, 1911, which also refers to a gate, is thereby increased.

Although the scripts as a whole show remarkably little connexion with the normal, contemporary thoughts of the automatists, yet there are cases in which it is clear that a normal train of thought has formed the starting-point of a script. It is almost inevitable that this should be so, seeing that the mind of an automatist during the production of script is not divided by any hard and fast line from the same mind at other times. I should not think it worth while to dwell on this point, if it were not that some critics seem to think that if they can trace the influence of any normal association of ideas either in the connexion of the scripts with the normal thoughts of the automatist, or in the connexion of one

part of a script with another, they have thereby removed any ground we might have for supposing that the scripts have been influenced by some force external to the mind of the automatist. That is a confused and misleading way of stating the problem. The relation between the scripts and the normal thoughts and knowledge of the automatists is, of course, an important question, but the crucial point to be determined is this: how definite are the connexions between the scripts of one automatist and those of another, and how probable is it that these connexions are due to chance-coincidence? That may be a very difficult question to determine, and, as Mrs. Sidgwick has pointed out, in her reply to Dr. Maxwell, it is one upon which individual judgments will differ. Nevertheless, in the answer to this question lies the solution of the problem.

But admitting, as most students of psychical research do, that there is evidence in these automatic writings for the influence of some supernormal agency, it becomes a matter of psychological interest to trace the workings of an automatist's mind, as it is reflected in the scripts. It is especially interesting, I think, to notice the part played by the ordinary laws of association, as in the case of the Mac scripts of September 2 and 6, 1911, where a certain goal is reached in a way suggesting that it has been deliberately sought, because, assuming that some telepathic force has been at work on the automatist's mind—whether it is telepathy from the living or the dead matters nothing to the present argument—it seems *a priori* probable that the effect of this telepathic force will be not to thrust a human mind entirely out of its natural channels, but to turn the stream of ideas a little this way or that, and thus to exercise a choice as to which amongst a hundred possible associations shall actually emerge.

V.

EXPERIMENTS IN THOUGHT-TRANSFERENCE.

BY CLARISSA MILES AND HERMIONE RAMSDEN.

[Most of the experiments recorded in this paper have already been reported in the *Journal*, see Vol. XIII., pp. 243-262, and Vol. XIV., pp. 392-399. Their publication in the *Proceedings* was postponed, because it was hoped that further experiments by the same ladies would be tried, the results of which might be added to these. Only a few results, however, have been obtained since and those hardly successful enough to be worth publishing; and as there seems no immediate prospect of further experimenting by them in this direction, it has been thought desirable to publish these series now.

All the original records have been put into our hands and the postmarks, etc. verified by us.—*Ed.*]

I.

EXPERIMENTS BY MISS MILES.

THE experiments here described are a continuation of those which were previously brought before the Society and published in the *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 60-93. As before, I was the agent and my friend Miss Ramsden the percipient. Miss Ramsden on each day sent me a postcard describing what her impressions—which were generally rather numerous,—had been, and I noted each day on a postcard sent to her what the idea was that I had tried to transmit.

On receiving her card I noted what facts in my experience had corresponded with her impressions.

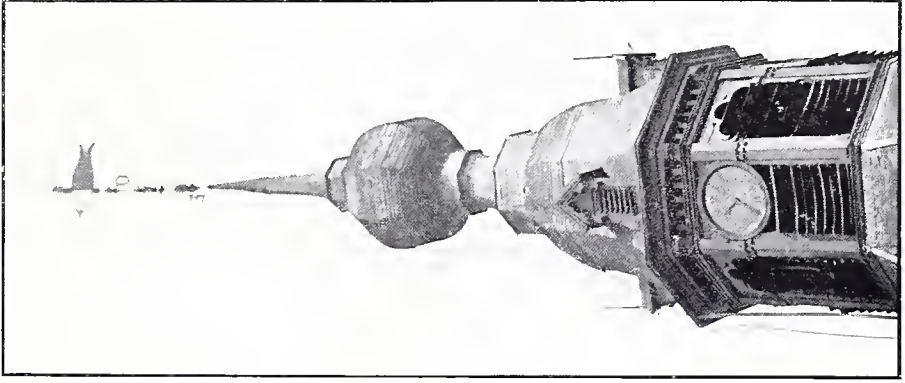
As in the previous account in *Proceedings*, (a) indicates my postcard written at the time of the experiment; (b) Miss Ramsden's postcard recording her impressions at the time; (c) my comments, made after receiving her postcard, as to points in her description that seemed to correspond to what had been happening to me; (d) corroboration of the latter by my friends.

Some of the experiments failed altogether, and in most of them Miss Ramsden had other impressions besides those that were more or less correct. These unsuccessful cases are omitted here; but as all the experiments are numbered consecutively, the proportion of complete failures is shown. In the record of the more or less successful cases, the portions omitted are indicated by asterisks.

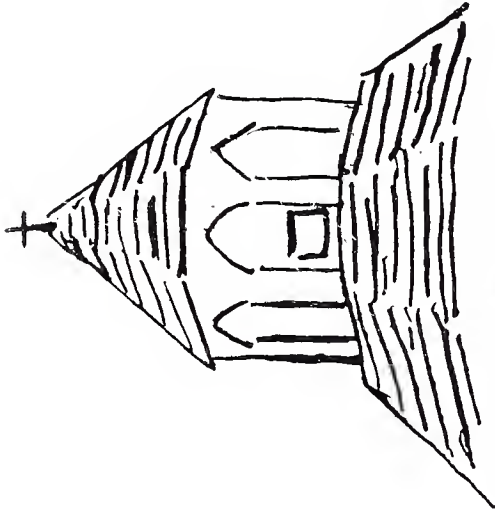
During these experiments I was on a tour with Lady Guendolen Ramsden in the Ardennes, where Miss Ramsden had never been. She only knew my address, so that she could post the cards. I went to Namur and joined Lady Guendolen there on the 13th of July, 1907, and did not begin the experiments till July 21st.

EXPERIMENT I.

Miss Ramsden on July 21st sent a sketch of a well which she had been thinking of on the 18th and 19th several times in connection with me. It will be seen that this has some resemblance to a photograph which I took from our hotel window, and part of which is reproduced in Plate I., showing a tower, which was the most conspicuous object from the hotel garden: when there, we could not look up in any direction without seeing the tower outlined against the sky; but the weathercock and round ball beneath shown in the photograph would not be visible to us, for the garden being situated exactly at the foot of the tower, we were too much underneath it.



PHOTOGRAPH OF TOWER.
Face page 280.



MISS RAMSDEN'S SKETCH.

EXPERIMENT II.

The following is my postcard, written on the first day that I attempted to transfer an idea to Miss Ramsden :

(a) Hotel d'Harscamp, Namur, July 20th [really 21st.]
[Postmark, Namur, 22. VII. 07. 10.17.]

We went to Huy by train and spent the afternoon there, I wanted you to see the fine view of citadel. The hill beyond covered with trees, boats in foreground and a fine bridge spanning the Meuse. C. M.

(b) Miss Ramsden's next postcard, written from Ardverikie, Kingussie, has the postmark "Kingussie, 12.45 p.m. Jy. 23. 07" and has nothing on it except the sketch here reproduced.



MISS RAMSDEN'S SKETCH.

Miss Ramsden adds later :

This was seen as a hypnagogic illusion just before going to sleep. I drew this on Monday after the post had gone (8 a.m.). That is why it was not posted until the 23rd. I saw it in colour ; the distance was a lovely blue. H. R.

(d) Lady Guendolen Ramsden writing to her daughter later of this occasion, sends the following sketch :



Lady Guendolen adds :

[On] the day we went to Huy, Clarisse sat under a tree on the bank of a garden overlooking the Meuse. She said, "I'll draw the bridge ; M. may get an impression of the arehes." So you did,—only yours were more like a viaduet. . . . This sketch is from memory, showing where Clarisse sat to draw. There was a large tree on whose roots she sat : lots of boats everywhere. . . .

The next two experiments were failures.

EXPERIMENT V.

(a) Bruges, July 24th [probably should be 28th, as postmark is " Bruges, 29 Juillet, 07 "].

We stopped at Ghent on July 23rd [27th] on our way here. Had lunch. Then saw the Cathedral of St. Bavon. The Van Eyck picture " Adoration of the Immaeulate Lamb " interested me much, details so wonderful. . . . C. M.

(b) Saturday, July 27th, 1907. 10.45 p.m.
[Postmark : Kingussie 10.30 a.m. Jy. 28. 07.]

An Arab or Indian wearing a turban on his head. . . .

H. R.

(c) In the "Adoration of the Immaculate Lamb," by Van Eyck, one of the principal groups in the foreground is composed of oriental figures, many of whom have turbans on. We had been looking specially at one of these. We were given glasses to inspect closely the wonderful finish and technique of the painting.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT VI.

(a)

Sunday, July 24th [28th].

[Postmark : Bruxelles, date illegible.]¹

We went to Church in the morning. Then I walked to the Grande Place and saw the tournament of the Toison D'Or. Ladies on horseback with quaint head-dresses, men tilting with long lances, horses caparisoned and shining armour, made a dazzling picture of colour. Clowns juggled and tumbled at intervals. The giant and the dwarf gave signals of when the jousts were to begin.

C. M.

(b)

Sunday, July 28th.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.30 p.m. Jy. 29, 07.]

A spider ; but the chief impression is *Swallows in flight*. Then a nest full of eggs. A new moon. A nurse with a red cross on her arm. Prancing horses, wooden ones ; perhaps it is a merry-go-round. . . . It seems scarcely fair to describe Bruges, as I have heard so much about it and read about it—I don't know how much is telepathic. I see a stone bridge with three arches. Poverty-stricken houses rising straight up out of the water, clothes and rags hanging from the windows. A belfry which dominates the town. Did you go to see the bell ?

H. R.

(c) The Grande Place where the Tournament is held is just at the foot of the High Belfry Tower which dominates the town. It was facing me all the afternoon. Numbers of swallows were flying about everywhere. A few of the people in the Procession had crosses on their costumes. The clowns had a sham joust on wooden horses, with lances made of thick brown paper like round poles. It was very comic, and amused me much. It looked so absurd to watch the ridiculous antics of these clowns, after the

¹ Some Bruges letters go *via* Brussels ; there is the hotel mark [Grand Hotel de Commerce, Bruges] on the postcards.

prancing horses, the shining armour and rich accoutrements of the real tilters with their lances.

Bruges was *en fête*, decorated everywhere ; flags and banners were flying from every window. Bruges is noted for its bridges.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT VII.

(b)

Ardverikie, Monday, July 29th.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.30 p.m. Jy. 30. 07.]

4.45 p.m. I was not thinking of you, when I suddenly began to see Church windows, and realised that you were inside a Church, perhaps sketching. The following was a most vivid impression.

11.30 p.m. You both sketched, my mother sat with her back to the altar and drew the door with its curious old carving. There was a priest in white before the altar, I think you drew that. Outside the Church were many steps, and people selling postcards, and penny toys—windmills with paper sails for children. You bought a postcard in case I should see this, and you thought of me. The Church is much higher up than I had imagined. It is several hundred feet above the sea. There is an open space round it and, standing on the steps, you get a fine view of the town with its tiled roofs, and the sea beyond. There are fishing boats to be seen, and the sun was setting.

H. R.

These impressions had no connection with what was attempted to be transferred on this occasion, but applied appropriately to some of the events of the day. Thus :

(c) On Monday, July 29th, we were in a Cathedral just about the time Miss Ramsden saw the Church windows. We had no time for sketching. But Lady Guendolen said to me : “ What a fine head that priest has, how much I should like to draw him.” There was also a Priest in white standing in front of the altar. The Church is on a level with the town, not above it. We bought many postcards. A variety of fishing boats were to be seen. They looked most picturesque against the setting sun. Children were swarming everywhere, bringing penny toys, flying paper kites and round air balls, blowing trumpets, thoroughly enjoying the gay and festive season of the Tournament, which has brought people to Bruges from all parts of the World.

C. M.

(d) Lady Guendolen Ramsden writes :

We were in church at the time, 5.30, but not drawing I did say to Clarisse, "Look at that priest resting (in a common chair like a visitor). What a fine grey head! I should like to draw him."

EXPERIMENT VIII.

(a) August 1st, Hotel de L'Univers.

[Postmark : Bruxelles, 2 Aout, 07.]

We took a drive in the afternoon near the park and saw the large Colonne de Congr e and the Cathedral. Made several purchases, cards with dogs and cart amongst the number. I could not get into any telepathic state to send you impressions. I am just leaving for Montreuil. C. M.

(b) Thursday, August 1st.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.45 p.m. Au. 2. 07.]

A statue—bust of a man Nothing at all vivid except the statue. H. R.

(c) The Colonne de Congr e is a very tall column with a bronze statue of the King on the top. A.D. 1831. See p. 96 of B edecker's *Holland and Belgium*.

EXPERIMENT IX.

(b) Ardverikie, Friday, August 2nd, 11.45 p.m.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.45 p.m. Au. 3. 07.]

A stone bridge. Quai Berthel t or some name like that.

* * * * *

H. R.

(c) This is another instance of what happened several times in the earlier experiments ; a name obtained more or less correctly by Miss Ramsden. In this case the name "Quai Berthel t" was like that of two places we saw,—the Tour de la Reine Berthe and the Chapelle Sainte-Austreberthe.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT X.

I next went to Montreuil-sur-Mer in the North of France, to join a sketching class organised by Mr. Townsley, Director

of the London School of Art, tuition to be given by Frank Brangwyn, A.R.A.

(a) Hotel de France, Montreuil-sur-Mer, August 5th.
[Postmark : Montreuil, 7.8.07.]

I drew all the morning on the ramparts, trees and cottages. In the afternoon we all went to the Studio and painted the same girl. Mr. Brangwyn gave us a criticism. C. M.

(b) Ardverikie, Monday, August 5th.
[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.45 p.m. Au. 6. 07.]

. . . Trees with overhanging branches, very low so that you would have to stoop to pass under them, and fields of long, wet grass, like uncut hay ; a calf. Is it raining hard, so that you cannot sketch ? I feel nothing happening,—so dull.

H. R.

(c) The place where the model poses is outside the ramparts on a knoll. The trees are low, with overhanging branches. There is a quantity of long, wet grass about half cut. It is let to a woman in Montreuil for feeding her goat, which is always browsing close to us while we paint, but there is no calf.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT XI.

In the next case the interesting point is that Miss Ramsden gets names associated, not with the place where I was, but with another place of the same name.

(b) Byram, Tuesday, August 6th, 1907. 10 p.m. posted 7th.
[Postmark : Ferrybridge, Au. 7. 07.]

A fragment of sculptured marble, it might be a column or a chimney piece that you are sketching. Then a distant view of a farmhouse surrounded by an orchard. A cart horse. The following names : *Rue de Lafayette*. *Malesherbes*. *Buisson*. It seems like an attempt at some name with a rural meaning. H. R.

(c) Mr. Brangwyn settles on a certain street or place for his weekly criticism, and we all go and choose a suitable spot for our work. On a certain day Mr. Brangwyn gives a correction to each student. This week I understood the place chosen was the village La Madeleine, and I had a little difficulty in finding it. The

village is seen from the ramparts and is quite close to Montreuil ; but I had to ask my way there, as there are two or three gates to pass outside the fortifications. When I arrived I chose a row of cottages with a farmhouse in the distance, surrounded by trees, as a subject for my sketch. It is very curious that two of the names Miss Ramsden thought of, namely, Lafayette and Malesherbès, are connected, not with this village La Madeleine, but with the well-known Church of La Madeleine in Paris. I lived for two winters in Paris in La Rue Caumartin close to La Madeleine, so I am well acquainted with the whole neighbourhood, and the names of these streets must be subliminally associated in my mind with the name La Madeleine.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT XII.

The next seems to be an instance in which Miss Ramsden obtained in a dream an impression of a conversation which I was having the evening before.

(b)

[Postmark : Ferrybridge, Au. 8. 07.]

An aggressively modern house, built upon the ruins of an old fortress, looking small and insignificant compared to the fortifications by which it is surrounded. The Church is also modern. Seen in a dream, night of August 7th-8th, 1907.



MISS RAMSDEN'S SKETCH.

This is my third attempt to draw it ; it isn't quite right. I particularly noticed this low and curiously-pointed hill. I think this is all the same thing as the other postcard [viz. the one quoted in Experiment XIII.]. This may be a hospital, it looked more like a château, what we call a villa, and stands surrounded by an orchard of young trees. Saint Cloître or Saint Croix ?

H. R.

(c) On Wednesday, August 7th, Mr. Baxter, an artist, in course of conversation at dinner, described to me the interesting objects in the neighbourhood of Montreuil. We talked especially about the Chartreuse. I had walked round the ramparts ; which command an extensive view of the whole neighbourhood, but the Chartreuse had never been pointed out to me as an object of special interest.

It is a monastery from which the monks were expelled about five years ago. It has remained unoccupied ever since. Quite recently it has been bought by a man who is intending to turn it into a Sanatorium, and it is now called Sanatorium on picture postcards. Mr. Baxter's own account of our conversation is as follows :

(d)

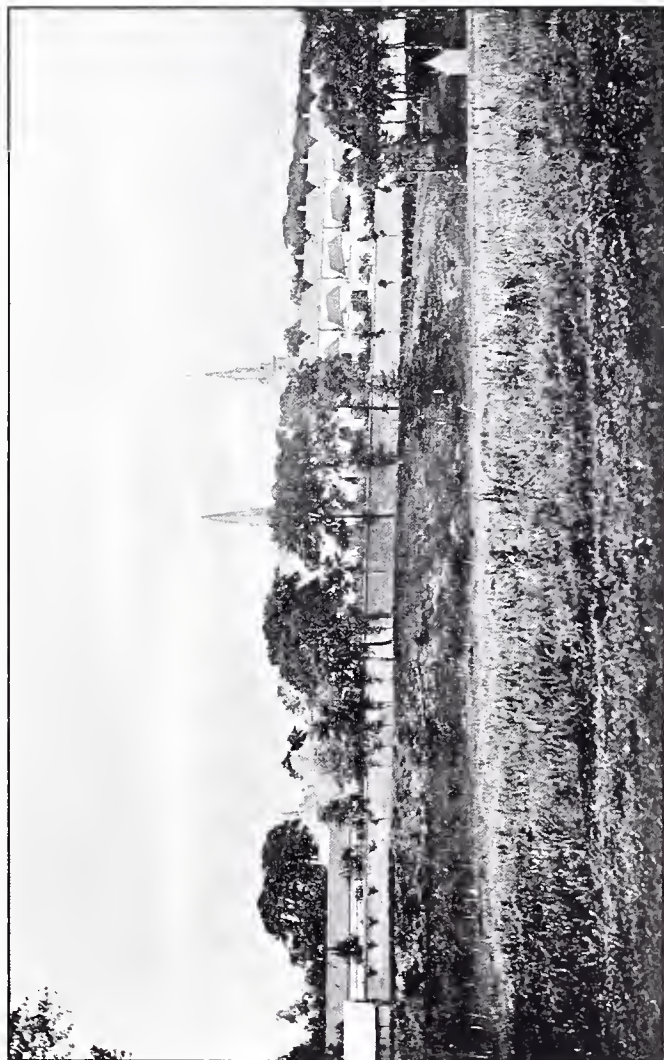
December 18th, 1907.

La Chartreuse, near Montreuil-sur-Mer, is not a very interesting building, being quite modern and containing little more than the bare walls. I understood an attendant to say that it had been built on the site of a more ancient building ; also that the celebrated Chartreuse liquor had not been made there for a great number of years. I fancy the same man said there was talk of turning the place into a Sanatorium. The foregoing, I think, is all I mentioned to you on the 7th August, when speaking of my visit.

C. H. BAXTER.

Plate II. is a reproduction of an illustration of La Chartreuse in a French guide-book.

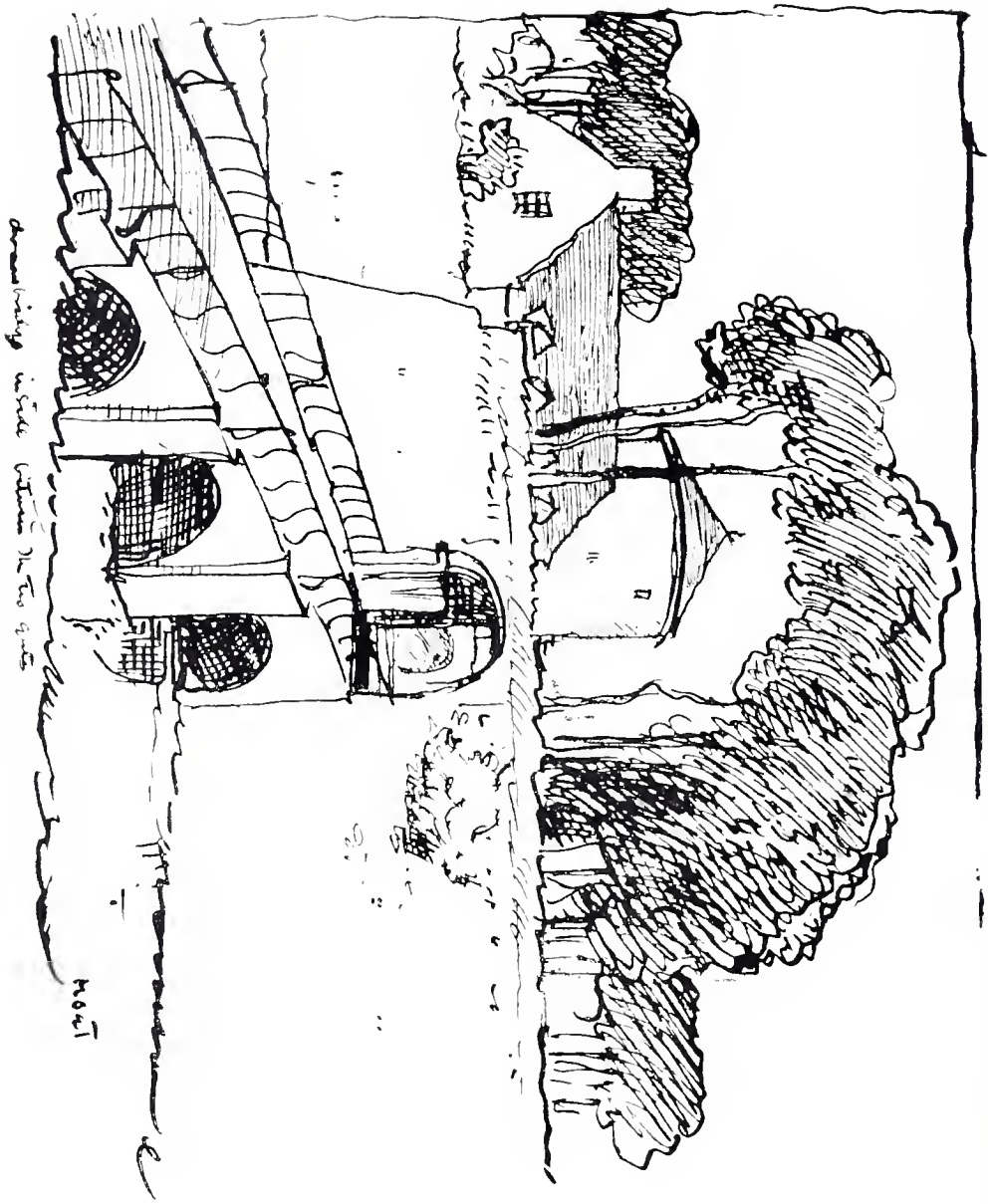
PLATE II.



CHARTREUSE DE NOTRE-DAME-DES-PRÉS.

EXPERIMENT VII.

Face page 288.



Viewing inside (from the gate)

MR. BRANGWYN'S DRAWING.

EXPERIMENT XIII.

(b) Byram, Wednesday, August 7th, 1907, 11 p.m.
 [Postmark : Ferrybridge, Au. 8. 07.]



Is it a drawbridge ? It may be stagnant water, but I do not think that it is a river ; it may be a road. The roof has red tiles, there was a chimney and windows.

You have met an interesting man to-day, a doctor, from a place called Saint Cloître or Saint Croix.

You have been to see a fortress with big bare rooms not used now-a-days ; big oak chairs and large fireplaces. Perhaps the man was Governor of this fortress. There was a Church tower with these windows.

* * * * *

H. R.

(c) Mr. Brangwyn, A.R.A., informed me there was a Doctor who lived as Governor of the Tower by the bridge which connects one part of the fortifications of Montreuil with another. This doctor with his family used to dine every evening at our Hotel. I remember seeing him but I never heard anything of his history at the time. A copy of a drawing by Mr. Brangwyn of this tower and bridge is reproduced on Plate III.

I imagine that the " fortress " mentioned by Miss Ramsden is the place of which she dreamt that night (see previous Experiment) and which I identify as the Chartreuse.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT XIV.

I then left Montreuil-sur-Mer and went to stay at Laburnum Villa, Wickham Heath, near Newbury, to have painting lessons from Mr. Pittman. I should say that he lives at Hoe Benham with his friend, Mr. Waud.

(b) Wednesday, October 30th.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.45 p.m. Oct. 31. 07.]

Archways—entrance to a building. It may be only trellis work in the garden, or the pattern on your fender, but the impression was very persistent.

E. N. H. Y. A name : Ellen Hay or Henry. A very high-heeled Shoe. . . . H. R.

(c) The drawing of arches on Miss Ramsden's postcard has some slight resemblance to the windows of Mr Waud's studio, the whole side of which is one large long window. Mr. Waud writes :

(d) Hoe Benham, Newbury.

Miss Miles has been down to Hoe Benham several times for painting, and had never seen the Studio before, as it had only just been erected and consequently it would be very much impressed on her mind. She worked in it every day and found it so extremely convenient.

The large shoes mentioned very much resemble mine. I always wear sabots to go down to the Studio, which is at the bottom of the garden. I wore them all the time Miss Miles was here. They have caused many comments.

I take great pride in my garden and the garden is full of green posts and arches, with roses growing on them. At the present time there are some still in flower.

REGINALD WAUD.

EXPERIMENT XV.

(b) Thursday, October 31st, 1907.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.30 p.m. No. 1. 07.]

First I saw dimly a house, but I think that you wish me to see a little girl with brown hair down her back tied with a ribbon in the usual way. She is sitting at a table with her back turned and

seems very busy indeed ; I think she is cutting out scraps with a pair of scissors, she has on a white pinafore, and I should guess her age to be between eight and twelve.

H. R.

(c) This is the description which my landlady Mrs. Lovegrove gives of her child, who had not been at all well. I was much interested in this child :

Laburnum Villa, Wickham Heath.

I have a little girl aged eleven, with brown hair, tied with a ribbon in the usual way ; she wears a pinafore and, being ill, often amuses herself cutting out scraps. I took her to the doctor's on the 30th October, and had a long talk with Miss Miles on the 31st October.

LAURA LOVEGROVE.

The 16th Experiment will be described below ; the 17th was a failure.

EXPERIMENT XVIII.

My sister Lady Tennant was going to marry Mr. Geoffrey Lubbock, and her wedding, as Miss Ramsden knew, was to be on November 13th.

(a) Friday, November 8th.

I lunched with Marguerite Tennant. . . . After lunch I went to Mr. Pavitt's and ordered a talismanic bit of jewelry for my sister to wear, on her wedding day. Her house is Taurus ruled by Venus.¹

C. M.

(b) Friday, Nov. 8th, 1907.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 12.30 p.m. No. 9. 07.]

[After some drawings of a Church Miss Ramsden draws another figure which she describes as follows :]

A ring, and in the midst of the ring an eye emitting rays of light like the sun.

You have been to see somebody to whom you have just received an introduction : it was very interesting and weird and strange.

¹ Consequently the design of the pendant was the circle with horns symbolising Taurus, and enclosing the symbol of Venus, a circle surmounting a cross. The former was composed of a single turquoise in a thin gold band, turquoise being the stone of Venus.

There is some art or symbolism connected with some strange religious cult. It may be somewhere near Regent's Park. . . .

H. R.

(c) The strange religious cult I think refers to the astrological symbols in the pendant.

C. M.

EXPERIMENT XIX.

(a) 59 Egerton Gardens, Sunday, Nov. 10th.

[Postmark: Chelsea, 1.30. p.m. 12 Nov.]

. . . . We took a turn in Kensington Gardens and looked at the Ducks on the Round Pond. Mr. and Mrs. Hunter were going shortly on a visit to Taormina. We talked a great deal about Sicily, I pictured Mount Etna and that lovely view over the Straits of Messina. I know it well, having been there yachting in former years.

C. M.

(b) [Postmark: Kingussie, Nov. 11, 07.]

A row of houses that remind me of Chalfont St. Peter, because there is a duck-pond in front.

[Picture of a mountain with two peaks.]

the Alps. Shipley.

H. R.

EXPERIMENT XX.

This last experiment is the only one in which I was percipient.

(a) 59 Egerton Gardens, December 15th.

[Postmark illegible.]

I first of all get the impression of a red glow, bright colours. I think there was a lovely sunset, or brilliant coloured flowers. The most lasting impression is a candlestick, an old-fashioned one with a flat bottom and large handle, probably made of brass. . . .

C. M.

(c) After the first impression I went on for some time seeing wherever I looked a sort of after-image of it, which was shining and circular in shape, with a great variety of colours in it, like those seen at first, but much more subdued in tone. The whole

effect resembled a polished brass shining disc like the bottom of an old-fashioned flat-bottomed brass candlestick with a bright light reflected from it.

C. M.

(b) Sunday, December 15th, 1907. Raith, Kirkcaldy, N.B.

[Postmark : Kirkcaldy, 12.45 p.m. De. 16. 07.]

* * * *

Went to Church this morning, the sun shone very brightly through a stained window above the organ. It was this shape :

[Drawing of circle, with six small semi-circles round its edge.]

I wished you to see it.

* * * *

H. R.

(e) The sun was shining straight into my eyes during the whole time I was in Church. we sat in the gallery and the round window was on a level with our eyes. The glare of light was almost unpleasant. There were flowers painted on the window, and in the centre a lamb with a halo round its head. The colours were very bright.

H. R.

EXPERIMENT XVI.

This experiment involves a complicated story of supposed hauntings near the village of Hoe Benham, and is therefore described last.

Laburnum Villa, where I was staying, is about three minutes' walk from the cottage and studio where Mr. Pittman and Mr. Waud live. They had been here for about four years. I have been down there three or four times before for painting lessons and have always stayed at Laburnum Villa, which belongs to Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lovegrove. This autumn for the first time here, I began to try thought-transference with Miss Ramsden.

This is Mr. Pittman's description of what happened on November 2nd, 1907 :

Hoe Benham, Newbury.

On November 2nd, 1907, I was painting in the Studio with my friend Reginald Waud ; the model was our servant dressed as a widow, and we were waiting for Miss Miles to join us. At 10 o'clock I knew the milkman had come by the dogs barking in the

cottage at the top of the garden. So I said, "I will take the milk in," and went up to the cottage. After putting the jug in the pantry and shutting the cottage door, I looked up the road and saw Miss Miles coming down with her easel and paint-box. Following quite close behind her was a large white pig, with a long snout. I went down to the Studio and said to Waud, "What do you think Miss Miles is bringing down with her this morning, instead of her Chow? A large pig!" We roared with laughter, and he said, "Call out and tell her not to bring her friend in, and to be sure to shut the gate, as we take a great pride in our garden." The moment Miss Miles appeared I opened the window and shouted out, "What have you done with your companion?" She was very surprised and said, "My companion, what do you mean?" Then I told her what I had seen following her. She immediately said, "If a pig were trotting behind me, I must have heard it. Besides, there is a very easy way of finding out, for I passed the milkman in the lane and he must have seen it, but I shall go and look for myself." When she came back she said: "There is no trace of a pig anywhere." We made enquiries all over the village; no one had seen a stray pig. There is only one white one in the place, and this one, its owner assured us, could not possibly have got loose without his knowing it. At the present time there is a notice out forbidding owners to allow pigs to stray, under penalty of a fine, as there have been cases of swine fever. We enquired of the milkman next morning. He remembered passing Miss Miles, as he usually met her about the same time. He most emphatically said there was no pig to be seen anywhere on the road.

(Signed)

OSMUND PITTMAN.

REGINALD WAUD.

CLARISSA MILES.

LOUISA THORNE.

I chose this pig for the subject of experiment with Miss Ramsden, and wrote on my postcard:

(a) Laburnum Villa, Saturday, November 2nd.

[Postmark: Newbury, 6.30 p.m. No. 3. 07.]

I wished you to see a stuffed pheasant or you may have seen the flying phantom pig.

C. M.

(b)

November 2nd, 1907.

[Postmark : Kingussie, 10.30 a.m. No. 3. 07.]

* * * * *

You were out of doors rather late, a cold raw evening near a railway station; there was a pig with a long snout, and some village children; it was getting dark. H. R.

As to whether there could have been a real pig on the road, this is the evidence of the milkman, who passed me that morning :

Westbrook Dairy, Boxford.

I have been asked by Mr. Pittman and Miss Miles to say whether I saw a large white pig following Miss Miles on November 2nd, 1907, at 10 o'clock in the morning, as I met her walking down to the cottage carrying her painting things. I can honestly say that I saw no such thing, there was no trace of a pig to be seen anywhere. E. CARRELL.

Mrs. Thorne wrote :

I had a talk with the children playing on the road. They had seen Miss Miles go by and they told me they had been there all the morning, but they had seen no pig anywhere.

LOUISA THORNE.

On February 4th, 1908, I returned to Laburnum Villa to finish one or two paintings I began last autumn. I also wished to get further evidence of the strange animal forms that are supposed to haunt this lane, as I was told last November, after the episode of the phantom pig, that so many of the villagers had been witnesses of these remarkable apparitions under different forms, such as a cat, a dog, or a rabbit, or other animals. Mr. Pittman and Mr. Waud had never seen anything weird or out of the ordinary till I came down last autumn and began thought-transference with Miss Ramsden; they had only heard quite casually very vague accounts of something strange that had been seen years ago, to which they had paid but little attention. The villagers are very reticent and will not talk much for fear of being laughed at, but the history of the phantom pig overcame all difficulties on that score as regards my enquiries.

The villagers all tell the same story to account for these apparitions. They put them all down to "Tommy King." He was a farmer, who lived over a hundred years ago. He hung himself in an outhouse, and his spirit is supposed to haunt the spot, appearing in these strange shapes and making uncanny noises. The farm buildings and outhouses were all demolished on the occasion of the sale of the property by Mr. Dreweatt to Sir Richard Sutton in 1892; only a cottage remains, which is still called King's cottage, and a disused well close to the lane, which is called Tommy King's chalk well. In former years they used to dig out chalk from the side of the hill. I have looked at the Register of the Parish Church and there are entries of the deaths of two Tommy Kings, one in 1741, the other in 1753, so it must be one of these two.

At the corner of the lane stands an old-fashioned inn, called the Halfway, because it is halfway between London and Bristol and sixty miles from each. It is on the main road, and in the olden days all the coaches stopped here to change horses. The lane to Hoe Benham branches off here, going up a hill called Pound Hill. King's cottage and the well are situated to the left of the lane. The well is close to the road, but only a hole in the bank indicates the spot. At the top of the hill about ten minutes' walk brings you to the Church, then there is a short, sharp decline and the straggling village of Hoc Benham is reached. After Benham Hill is mounted a cluster of cottages is seen nestling on the side of the hill, one of them belonging to Mr. Pittman and Mr. Waud. Their cottage is about a mile from the Halfway, and it is all along this lane that the apparitions have been seen.

The following are accounts which I obtained from some of the villagers. I wrote down what they told me as nearly as possible in their own words, and afterwards got their signatures to the accounts.

Hoe Benham.

In the beginning of January, 1905, about half-past seven in the evening, I was walking up from the Halfway. I suddenly saw an animal that seemed to be like a large, black dog appear quite

suddenly out of the hedge and run across the road quite close in front of me; I thought it was the dog belonging to the curate. I was just going to call it to send it home, when it suddenly changed its shape and turned into a black donkey standing on its hind legs. This creature had two glowing eyes, which appeared to me to be almost as big as saucers. I looked at it in astonishment for a minute or so, when it suddenly vanished. After that I hurried home, for the sight of this creature with the large shining eyes gave me a shock. The evening was a light one for the time of year.

(Signed) WILLIAM THORNE.

At Michaelmas, 1897, seven o'clock in the evening, I met a friend, John Barrett, on Benham Hill, and we stopped to have a chat. At this spot there is a gate on either side of the road. Whilst we were talking a curious looking animal, snowy white, crossed the road quite slowly from one gate to the other close to us. John Barrett said, "What was that?" The animal seemed too large for a cat, more the size of a terrier with a fluffy coat. I went and stood on the gate and watched it as it trotted half way across the meadow, when it disappeared. The strange whiteness of the creature's coat struck me as being so uncommon.

(Signed) WILLIAM THORNE, Hoe Benham.
JOHN BARRETT, Wickham Heath, Newbury.

About three or four years ago in the autumn about five o'clock, sort of between the lights, but I could see everything, I was walking to Stock Cross and got to the last handing post. All at once, I heard a buzz, like the whizz of leaves, and a rattle on the ground. I cast my eyes down, and saw summat in the shape of a calf knuckled down. It seemed about 2 ft. 6 in. high and 5 feet long with large glowing eyes. It regularly startled me. My hat waved over my head. I kept my eyes on't, but I never saw the goings on't.

(Signed) ALBERT THORNE, Hoe Benham.

This is the story told me by John Barrett and his wife Polly. He is 63 years of age. About 50 years ago when he was a lad, he was returning with seven or eight men in a waggon from Halfway after a day's haymaking. The team

of horses went quite quietly until they reached Pound Hill, when suddenly without any warning,

The team began a-snortin' and a-blowin' and a tramplin' agen one side of the road to another. They were likes to turn round. Carter jumped down to their heads and began pattin' them, when he said, "Look! Them horses ean see more than we. Look at that white thing a-bobbin' up and down over their heads." We all looked and saw what he was pointing at. This white thing kept on a-bobbin' and a-bobbin', and the horses continued a-snortin', and a-snortin' until we came to a gate just before the Chureh, when the white thing vanished through the gate, and the team became quite quiet.

Later on, I beame assistant to Mrs. Flower. She kept a baker's shop, and I had to lay the leaven for the bread every evening. Sundays Mrs. Flower always had supper with her mother at Wiekham Heath. For this she had to go up Benham Hill. One evening she returned as white as a ghost and lay on the sofa as if she were going to die. She said, "I be all of a shake and a tremble. I did see summat white on the gate at the hill. Never shall I go to supper agen with my mother of an evening." And she never did. I replied, "I never seen nothing there on that hill; I have been up and down all hours of the night." I remember the date, it must have been on a summer's evening about 35 years ago. [Polly Barrett chimed in and said, "Quite right, you were a courtin' and you told me."] A few days after, between nine and ten in the evening, I was a-comin' down Benham Hill. Between the two gates, I heard a rattle on the stones as of an animal pawing the ground. I looked to see what it was. I saw summat like a sheep. I went to ^vpoke un with my stiek when it vanished away.

Another time me and my brother George were walking late near Perris Cottage. We heard summat that made such a rumpus like stones tipped down from a eart. We groped about and walked to and agen to and agen, and waited to hear summat more, but could not make out nothing, so we just walked home. My father always told me these apparitions were put down to Tommy King.

(Signed) JOHN BARRETT, Wiekham Heath.
POLLY BARRETT.

The following were my own experiences at Hoe Benham :

On Sunday, February 16th, 1908, I arranged to join Mr. Waud and go to the Church with him at Hoe Benham to 3 o'clock service. All the morning I felt in a weird, trance-like state, the condition I get into when I have visions of coming events, changes likely to affect my future. I described these sensations both to Mr. Pittman and to Mr. Waud. After Church I felt compelled to walk towards Tommy King's chalk well, as I wished to see the road along which the team of horses came, which were so terrified at the white thing bobbing up and down over their heads. We thought we would go and have tea with Mr. and Mrs. Le Mesurier, who live at the end of the lane just opposite Halfway Inn. To reach them from Hoe Benham we always take a short cut across the fields. I looked over the old inn, and the proprietor showed me where the old stables stood, where the bell was always rung to get the horses ready for changing teams. I take a great interest in all coaching matters and horses, for I have hunted all my life, and my father was a splendid whip, also one of the finest heavy weights of his day across country. After tea, Mr. Waud and I walked back. On passing Tommy King's well an overpowering sense of suffocation seized me, I felt the presence of some awful being. This evil spirit seemed to follow me up Pound Hill. I felt it longing to do me some bodily injury, there was such deadly malice and hate in the air. I described all this to Mr. Waud. We constantly looked around but could see nothing. These sensations continued all the way back, but grew worse as we walked up Benham Hill. After the cottage was passed a shiver went down my back and spine, the same kind of shock I experience when dowsing and walking over water. Suddenly quite close to us on the road the stillness of the evening was broken by an unearthly scream which seemed to end in a moan. As the sound seemed so very close to us, we both looked round to see if anything was near which would have produced it, but nothing whatever was visible. We both were speechless for a minute,—the effect was so awful. We hardly spoke till we reached Laburnum Villa, the time being about six o'clock. It was only the next day, in comparing notes, that we found this dreadful wailing cry was heard on the exact spot where the phantom pig was seen by Mr. Pittman following me on November 2nd, 1907.

Two evenings after, on February 18th, I walked to Tommy King's chalk well with Mr. Pittman to try if any more strange phenomena could be seen. It was a brilliant moonlight night. No evil beings were there to disturb the stillness of this evening, all was calm and peaceful. I tried automatic writing, and two sentences were written twice over; they came with such lightning speed, no human hand could have written that pace alone. The words were, "I am in hell, pray for me, I am in hell, pray for me"; nothing more. On walking back we looked around and across the lane a white band of light appeared;—the same sparkling effect I have sometimes seen at sea, from the deck of a yacht on a dark night, shimmering on the ocean. It was of a quite different quality from the moonlight. This luminous effect undulated up and down, backwards and forwards, and seemed to come towards us, till it appeared to be only five yards away; it was about a foot from the ground; it then receded and disappeared. We both saw it; most strange and mysterious it appeared in the brilliant moonlight. Another evening a little later I walked down with Mr. Pittman but nothing of special interest occurred. But the pencil wrote automatically, "I am happier."

On Benham Hill where so many strange apparitions have been seen, one evening when it was half daylight, half dark, I distinctly saw a white shadowy form which appeared like drapery standing against the gate. No one else saw this.

On Thursday, February 27th, my last evening at Hoe Benham, I dined at the cottage, and Mr. Pittman and Mr. Waud walked back with me. We were laughing and talking. Suddenly our conversation was interrupted by this unearthly moaning cry, which came wailing across the stillness of the evening. This doleful sound seemed to come over our heads from the roof of the Chapel which is exactly opposite Laburnum Villa. We all heard it. It was a repetition of the groan Mr. Waud and I heard the other evening preceded by that awful scream.

(Signed)

CLARISSA MILES.
REGINALD WAUD.
OSMUND PITTMAN.

Mr. Waud adds :

On Monday, February 24th, whilst Pittman and I were taking tea in the cottage, two distinct taps were heard on the door just

behind us. Both dogs started barking. I got up, thinking some one had called. I went to both doors and not a sign of any one or anything was to be seen. It was about 6.15.

REGINALD WAUD.

I tried later a series of experiments with Miss Tamara Statkowski, a Russian lady, who was at the time living in England. From Oct. 1, 1908, to Nov. 20, 1909, twenty experiments were tried, the three most successful of which are given here.

EXPERIMENT VI.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Miles to Miss Statkowski.*

Tuesday, January 28th.

[Postmark : Chelsea, S.W. 1.30 p.m. 29 Jan. 1909.]

I went to an Artists' fancy dress ball at the Grafton Galleries. Met Mrs. Brangwyn there. She was dressed as a Roman peasant, black velvet skirt and bodice. I lent her the costume and long ear-rings. I was in a fortune-telling dress, brilliant red scarf and head dress, the rest a mixture of green and all sorts of colours. There were some excellent dresses. At the end every one walked round in procession, and prizes were given. I attended the meeting of the S.P.R. at five, and Mr. Baggally told me of some of the marvellous phenomena they had witnessed with Eusapia.

C. M.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Miles.*

Thursday eve. 28th Jan.

[Postmark : London, W.C. 4.15. p.m. Jan. 29, 09.]

A triangle very clearly cut.

An arch. The Arc de Triomphe, or else the Arc de Titus in Rome. An Italian pine tree. A very blue bay—a pointed mountain on the other side. Can't make out whether palm tree or pine tree—whether Vesuvius or a pyramid.

T. S.

Here the percipient's impression of Italy, and in particular

of Rome and Naples, seems to correspond to what was attempted to be conveyed.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Miles.*

I only spoke to Mr. Baggally for a very few minutes, about the wonderful experiences he had had in Naples with Eusapia.¹ They made a very great impression on me at the time. I suppose my thoughts were concentrated all the evening on South Italy as well. For I went afterwards with Mrs. Brangwyn to the Fancy Ball given by the Artists in the Grafton Gallery. She was dressed as a Roman Peasant. I had bought the dress long ago in Rome when we were yaehting in the Mediterranean, and lent it to her for the occasion.

Note by Mrs. Brangwyn.

Temple Lodge, Queen Street, Hammersmith.

I went to a fancy dress ball given by the Artists in the Grafton Gallery on Jan. 28th, 1909.

I was dressed in the costume of a Roman peasant. Clarissa Miles joined me there.

L. BRANGWYN.

Note by Mr. Baggally.

March 11th, 1910.

At the meeting of the S.P.R. on the 28th Jan. 1909, I spoke to Miss Miles and related to her some of the experiences I had had recently with Eusapia Palladino in Naples.

W. W. BAGGALLY.

EXPERIMENT XIV.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Miles to Miss Statkowski.*

59 Egerton Gardens, Saturday, June 19th.

[Postmark : Chelsea, S.W. 12.15 a.m. 21 Jun. 1909.]

I saw Peggy Tennant, aged ten, in bed in a home. She had undergone treatment for her tonsils. I took her toys. In the afternoon Nesta and I went to the White City. We saw Indians juggling. The Dahomey Village, natives cooking, one woman with a baby tied on to her back. The mountain railway. Afterwards I went to the evening Church Pageant. The Coronation

¹ See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIII., pp. 309-569.

of King Edward VI., and the beheading of Archbishop Laud were most effective. Also the last scene where the crowd were all massed together with flaring torches.

C. M.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Miles.*

20 June, Sunday morning.

[Postmark : London, W.C. 4 a.m. Ju. 21. 09.]

A sort of fairy-tale king with a big crown on his head. [*Drawing of man's head, with crown on.*] A drive with rows of trees, the boughs meeting overhead, and a long line of carriages going through it to the front of a white country house. Looks like a wedding.

T. S.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Miles.*

The Coronation of King Edward VI. made an immense impression on me. I was thus able to have a glimpse of how these ceremonies were conducted in ancient times and compare it with the Coronation of King Edward VII., whom I had seen crowned in Westminster Abbey.

The scene is described in the programme of the Pageant as follows :

The Coronation Procession of King Edward VI. from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, 20th February, 1546-7.

The Coronation ceremonies of a King of England anciently began with a great procession, in which the King, accompanied by his great officers of State, rode bareheaded from the Tower of London through the City to his palace at Westminster, and thus offered himself to be seen by his people.

The next day the King came down into Westminster Hall, where he was met by the prelates and nobles of the realm, and lifted up by them into a marble chair set upon the King's bench.

The King, having thus been elected and enthroned by his peers, was conducted from his palace to the Abbey Church.

It is this procession which is represented by the scene. The order of it is taken from a contemporary manuscript in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

EXPERIMENT XVIII.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Miles to Miss Statkowski.*

Sunday, November 14th, 1909.

[Postmark : Chelsea, S.W. 5.15 p.m. 15 Nov. 1909.]

I was at Bulstrode with Lady Guendolen Ramsden. In the morning I looked out at the wintry scene, snow falling and the bare barren look of the trees, and all the ivy cut off the tower. The pigeons looked so disconsolate. The scene so different from when I painted it in the summer. I psychometrised for Lady G. in the afternoon, and we talked much of Mr. W. We also looked at dolls and a Teddy bear.

C. M.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Miles.*

Monday, Nov. 15th, 1909.

[Postmark : London, W.C. 1.15 p.m. Nov. 15, 09.]

A lot of yellow trees.

Something large and dark, like some big animal. A large brown bear.

The iron bars of a cage.

T. STATKOWSKI.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Miles.*

I painted the view of the garden, ivy tower. Pots of Hydrangeas in the foreground and the trees just turning yellow in the month of September, from Lady Guendolen's sitting-room. Arranging the Teddy bear for the picture was a great amusement.

Note by Lady Guendolen Ramsden.

Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.

Dec. 11, 1909

On Sunday, the 14th November, I showed some dolls and a Teddy bear to Miss Miles. I wanted to paint a picture, and the Teddy bear was to be in the middle. Miss Miles helped me to group the dolls and bear for the picture and we talked a good deal about it, particularly about the Teddy bear. Miss Miles left next day.

GUENDOLEN RAMSDEN.

A photograph of the picture painted by Lady Guendolen Ramsden shows the Teddy Bear seated on a couch as the principal figure in the centre.

II.

EXPERIMENTS BY MISS RAMSDEN.

IN the following series, Miss Ramsden was the agent and Miss Tamara Statkowski the percipient. During the period September 8 to December 12, 1908, twelve experiments were tried. As a rule, both agent and percipient recorded their impressions on post-cards, so that the postmarks might attest the dates on which they sent information to one another, and all the original records from which this account is compiled were put into our possession. In each case we quote first: (*a*) the agent's statement of what she intended to transfer; then (*b*) the percipient's statement of her impressions; and finally (*c*) the agent's notes or comments made after receiving (*b*).

Before the first experiment, Miss Ramsden, writing to Miss Statkowski from Bulstrode, Gerrards Cross, Bucks., said "I go on Monday [Sep. 7] to Morton's House, Corfe Castle, Dorset, and on Friday to Rushmore, Salisbury." This note was posted on Monday, Sep. 7, 1908, and received by Miss Statkowski, who was then staying at Westerham, Kent, on the following day.

EXPERIMENT I.

(*a*) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Morton's House, Corfe Castle, Dorset., Sep. 8.

[Postmark: Corfe Castle, Sp. 8.08. 8.30 p.m.]

This is the landscape which I am trying to make you see to-day, and the same when I arrived yesterday.

H. R.

(*b*) *Letter from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Sept. 8th, 1908. Tuesday, 7 o'clock p.m.

First—an electric light hanging from the ceiling, in a plain green shade, like the lights in offices. Then the electric ball inside came

forwards and slowly changed into a white lily, something like that [*rough drawing of flower*] on a stem with long green leaves. Then nothing at all for some time.

Then a white shapeless thing which grew square, and looked like Chinese work in ivory; it changed; two towers, between them the high curve of a bridge with a landscape inside, framed in between the two towers and the curve, a large tree and water; all that "sculpté en bas relief" in ivory—not Chinese at all any more—but quite European, mediaeval looking. Then the tree grew very green, stood out, and its branches spread in a Gothic vault, like a church. I fear it is altogether rather a muddle. I wonder if it's anything. Green and white seemed the principal impressions of the whole. Then a lady, with a white front on the bodice of her dress, sort of white cloth "revers" and white silk inside. . . .

Were you sitting in a deep armchair with your hat on, a round, broad hat, shady? I thought of you like that, I don't know why.

TAMARA STATKOWSKI.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Ramsden.*

Morton's House, Corfe Castle, Dorset.

Tuesday, Sept. 8th, 1908.

I had been admiring the tall white lilies in the garden here. At 6.30 p.m. I went out on purpose to get a good view of Corfe Castle to impress on you. I walked down the village and across the bridge; then discovered that I was too much below the castle to get a good view of it, so I returned to the garden here. (There are three bridges, trees and water, not a river, to the right on enclosed postcard.) I then went to the end of the garden, where there is a stone seat, roofed over.¹ There I sat till past 7 p.m.; my hat was navy blue, round, broad, and shady. It was almost dark and the moon was rising. The castle looked very dark grey against the sky. It was once a square tower, which has been rent in two; from where I sat it looked like two towers.

My cousin was wearing a white silk blouse and grey coat and skirt.

¹ It was from this point of view that the picture post-card reproduced on Plate IV. was taken.



CORFE CASTLE.



TEMPLE IN THE GROUNDS, RUSHMORE PARK.



BRONZE STATUE OF CESAR AUGUSTUS IN THE GROUNDS AT RUSHMORE.

Face page 307.

EXPERIMENT II.

September 10. A failure. Details not recorded.

EXPERIMENT III.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Rushmore, Salisbury. Sat. Sept. 12th.

[Postmark: Salisbury, Sp. 12.08. 10 p.m.]

I am sorry I sent nothing yesterday, Friday, but will try again to-night.

Yesterday I was busy talking at 7 p.m. in a round room with a lot of windows. Drove from station here in motor. . . .

H. R.

(b) *Two Postcards from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Westerham, Kent. Sep. 11th, 1908.

[Postmarks: Westerham, Kent, Sp. 11.08. 8 p.m.]

An arch with a statue in it. The arch changed into an arched sort of cloister, Italian, viewed in perspective, with little columns to the right, where there was a walled-in square garden with grass.

A niche with a statue in it, statue of Roman Emperor, full figure, in armour, with wreath of laurels on his head, right arm stretched out holding a spear. Very clear and persistent—the Emperor.

A little girl in an apron with white kerchief on her head and a broom in her hand. A sweet face, rosy and white, a girl's, with plait of hair put all round her head.

Somebody on a bed, turned into a square mediaeval tomb, with lying statue on it. Low arch above, and frescoes above the arch.

A very low stumpy palm tree—changed into a bush, in the same square walled-in garden, seen at first.

A man's head, with big, white curly wig, something like Louis XIV.—le Grand Roi—on his portraits.

A woman's neck with thin black velvet round it, with a bow of it at the back, and Watteau costume.

Such a lot of things!

T. STATKOWSKI

We reproduce on Plate V. a print of a temple in the grounds of Rushmore Park, with a statue of Augustus (a copy of that

in the Vatican Museum) which stands in front of it. These seem to correspond with Miss Statkowski's first impressions.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Ramsden.*

Sept. 9th. No attempt.

Sept. 10th. Failure.

Sept. 11th. No message, but the percipient saw a great deal. I arrived at Rushmore 6 p.m. and drove close to this temple, when the thought crossed my mind: "That would be a good subject for telepathy, I will try it to-morrow!" I saw the statue of the Roman Emperor in the distance, from behind, but did not notice it, and did not discover the likeness to this description until the 13th. The garden here is square with a hedge round it, but I had spent the whole morning in "a walled-in square garden with grass," at Morton's House, Corfe Castle; there was a little girl aged six, but she had no white kerchief or broom. At Rushmore there was a girl as described. The rest is wrong.

HERMIONE RAMSDEN.

EXPERIMENT IV.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Rushmore, Salisbury. Sat. Sept. 12, posted 13th.

[Postmark: Salisbury, Sp.13.08. 9.30 p.m.]

7 p.m. After tea I sat for a long time, thinking of you as I looked at this temple. There was a statue of Japanese storks on an island in the pond. There were many impressions: several temples,—one with a statue of Buddha over doorway,—but this was the prettiest of all seen through a vista in the trees.

H. R.

The picture referred to is entitled "View of the Temple, Larmer Grounds, across the Dell." It shows in the foreground a pond with a little island on which the two Japanese storks are standing, and beyond a flight of steps leading up to a small round Temple, in the midst of trees.

Miss Ramsden afterwards added an enlarged view of the pond, entitled "Japanese Storks in Larmer Grounds," showing the island covered with plants and the two storks standing upright on it, with closed wings. On this picture Miss Ramsden noted; "The stones of which this island is built are now

plainly visible." The Larmer Grounds are part of the Rushmore estate.

(b) *Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Westerham, Kent. Saturday, 12th.

Nothing at all for a long time. Then, very clearly, a big bird, with outspread wings, sitting on a stone, like an eagle. Big, pink clouds. A wild landscape of high mountains. Fir-tree in front. Rush of waters, cascade, or the fall of a river, rocks and the eagle again.

A girl in white muslin frock with dark hair down her back.

TAMARA STATKOWSKI.

It will be seen that the impression of a big bird sitting on a stone has some resemblance to the storks on the stone island.

EXPERIMENT V.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Rushmore, Salisbury. Sunday, Sept. 13th, 1908.

[Postmark : Salisbury, Sp.14. 08. 10 p.m.]

A distant view from a high common, low blue hills in the distance. Remains of an old Roman village, only mounds of earth to be seen, and deep holes, fenced in.

Some horses in a field came up to be patted and talked to.

There were pink clouds at sunset. H. R.

(Posted 14th.)

Just got your card of 12th. Glad you saw the birds.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Westerham, Kent. Sunday, 13th.

[Postmark : Westerham, Kent. Sp.14. 08. 10.15 a.m.]

Very unsatisfactory.

Something very pale, whitish blue like a streak of moonlight. Changed into a silvery pale blue silk dress. Clouds, or rather very thick smoke, clustering white and grey. A barn with trees on some high ground behind. Nothing more.

Forgot carriage and pair, coachman and groom in black, horses gray.

T. STATKOWSKI.

(c) Subsequent Note by Miss Ramsden.

On Sunday, Sept. 13th, I wore a pale blue silk dress with silver trimming; it was hanging over a chair at 7 p.m. when I sent this message.

There was a barn and some cottages and trees on the common. Carriage wrong. Village called Woodcuts.

EXPERIMENT VI.

(a) Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.

Monday, Sept. 14. Rushmore.
[Postmark: Salisbury. Sp.15.08. 10 p.m.]

I spent the afternoon at the Museum looking at skeletons and the skulls of ancient Romans dug up near here.

Also some carved figures and a great deal of pottery. I am trying to make you see a skull.

I return home to-morrow 15th. (Posted Sept. 15th.)

H. R.

(b) Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.

Monday, Sept. 14th. Westerham, Kent.
[Postmark: Westerham, Kent. Sp.14.08. 8 p.m.]

A white flower, like a white narcissus or an anemone. A glass house—a green house with rows of flower pots without flowers. Beds of cyclamen and violets, the leaves only. A lot of empty flower pots.

The sea very blue, dark blue. A desolate, dry, hilly shore. Negroes or some sort of savages moving about the shore, very black, half dressed. One of them has a big ring in his ear, and he is eating something with gusto. TAMARA STATKOWSKI.

(c) Subsequent Note by Miss Ramsden.

There were some flower beds in front of the museum. Room 8 has glass windows the whole way along the side, which give it the appearance of a green-house, at first I thought it was one. In one of the rooms there is a statue of an Egyptian, also a mummy. There are relics from all parts of the world, the object being to compare the primitive races of all countries with the ancient Britons and Romans. HERMIONE RAMSDEN.

EXPERIMENTS VII. AND VIII.

September 15 and 17. Failures. Details not reeorded.

EXPERIMENT IX.

(a) *Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Friday, Sept. 18th.

Boecklin's picture ealled "The Isle of the Dead."

P.S.—If this method of transferring ideas from pictures and books does not succeed, we had better stop for the present, as I am not seeing any new places, and up till now, it is only when I have been vividly impressed myself that I have succeeded in sending the thought of it to you.

The picture, as subsequently described by Miss Ramsden, is that of an island near Corfu, called by Boecklin "The Isle of the Dead." His picture is partly fantastic; he has imagined dark entrances to tombs in the rock. A boat bears a coffin through the narrow gateway, accompanied by a Greek mourner draped in white.

(b) *Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Friday, 18th, Westerham, Kent.

A railway train disappearing in a tunnel. At the mouth of the tunnel a large electric light just blazing up in the dusk. The round light changes into the white face of a clock which marks 10 past 10 o'clock. Again a railway line—"seulement les rails"—on a hill top, some white houses down below. The mouth of a grotto, or a cavern with a faint light inside. Capri's blue grotto came into my mind, but not the image of it. Again railway lines—and always railway lines. A white vase with maiden hair ferns planted in it. A woman in a garden or park in a grey tweed skirt playing diavolo with a little child, a boy, I think. A white horse, with a man on it, looks like a servant. Woods, woods, and again railway passing through.

T. S.

EXPERIMENT X.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Bulstrode, Monday, Sept. 21st. 11.30 a.m.

[Postmark : Gerrard's Cross, Sp. 21.08. 3.5 p.m.]

Picture of a wild buffalo which has just been shot with an arrow by a red Indian, riding a white horse. The Buffalo is the chief thing.

H R.

P.S.—Tuesday and Wednesday 12.30 ; on Wed. I shall be seeing something interesting at that time.

Plate VI. is a reproduction of the picture at which Miss Ramsden was looking. The two deer, one with large antlers, seen against the water, are more conspicuous in the original.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Queen's Square, London, Monday.

[Postmark : London, W.C. Sep. 21.08. 10 p.m.]

A bull in a field,—a frightful one. Horns—of deer and other animals. Wall covered with all sorts of horns, like in some sporting hunting place.

T. S.

Subsequent Note by Miss Statkowski.

Queen Square Club, 9 Queen Square, London, W.C.

Sept. 21, 1908.

I forgot to post my p.c. mentioning the bull and the deer's horns, and had it with me lying on the table, whilst I was playing cards. My three partners saw it before I got Miss Ramsden's p.c. about the buffalo, and kindly give testimony to it.

(Signed)

L. MATILDA FAGAN.

H. R. RATALLACK-MOLONEY.

F. ASHFORD EVE.



EXPERIMENT XI.

(a) *Postcard from Miss Ramsden to Miss Statkowski.*

Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks. Wednesday, Dec. 9th, 1908 ;
12 o'clock.

[Postmark : Gerrard's Cross, De. 9. 08. 7.30 p.m.]

"*June in Tyrol*" by MacWhirter. A coloured print of the picture in the Tate Gallery.

Pointed blue mountains with patches of white snow. A white church with a spire.

The entire foreground is a mass of blue and white flowers : bluebells and daisies. A woman in a blue apron and a white blouse is gathering flowers.

(b) *Postcard from Miss Statkowski to Miss Ramsden.*

Wednesday, Dec. 9, 1908. 12 o'clock.

[Postmark : London, W.C. Dec. 9. 08. 2.15 p.m.]

First a black umbrella and pair of goloshes.

Then a wooden cross like this near a road. A white building



at the back like a chapel with a white bell tower, like one sees in Tyrol. Changed into a large white building with one beautifully carved Gothic window.

T. S.

(c) *Subsequent Note by Miss Ramsden.*

I had just bought a large coloured print of this picture and was very pleased with it. I did not know that Miss Statkowski had ever been in Tyrol ; but the wooden cross, or wayside shrine, which she describes is closely connected with the Tyrol in my mind, as there are many of them at Berchtesgaden where I have been.

H. R.

EXPERIMENT XII.

Dec. 12, 1908. A failure. Details not recorded.

In July and August, 1911, Miss Ramsden tried a number of experiments with two other ladies, the Misses Tipping. In eleven cases, Miss K. Tipping was agent and Miss Ramsden (then at Ardverikie, Kingussie, N.B.), percipient. The amount of success in most of these seems hardly beyond what might have been obtained by chance, except in the last experiment, the record of which is as follows :

(a) *From Miss K. Tipping to Miss Ramsden.*

29 Alexander Road, Lowestoft, July 30, 1911.

[Postmark : Lowestoft, Jy. 30. 11. 7.45. p.m.]

Yesterday, 29th, 12 *mid-day*. A lighthouse, which had an arrow for a weather-vane ; upper part of tower painted white, lower part black. Very brilliant day. There was a staircase (outside) leading to it (the tower).

4 *o'clock*. A turquoise ring.

7 *o'clock*. Myself sewing something white.

I really intended sending gun-boats, but they had all disappeared.

K. T.

(b) *From Miss Ramsden to Miss Tipping.*

Ardverikie, Saturday, July 29th, 1911.

[Postmark : Kingussie, Jy. 31. 11. 12.45 p.m.]

Cannot post this till Monday morning.

I only got your letter at 5 p.m. to-day. I did not feel your message at any time during the day ; but now, at 11.30 p.m., I get these impressions of your surroundings.

A thing like the Eiffel Tower. A lift from the town to the beach (I have never been to Lowestoft).

An immense number of ships, sailing ships without sails. One has a red flag. There are also smaller boats. It looks like manœuvring and yet they are not warships. Shooting or fire-works.

Large numbers of men (no women) on the sands, which are very extensive. They look like soldiers or sailors practising. There are tents on the sands; it might be the Boys' Brigade? But they look grown-up. I am puzzled as to what it can be. Very vivid impression.

H. R.

(c) *From Miss K. Tipping to Miss Ramsden.*

[Postmark: Lowestoft, Au. 1. 11. 7.45 p.m.]

I wanted to send a warship and submarines which I saw Friday night; on going to the spot Saturday, they were gone. There were six submarines, just the conning tower showing, one cruiser and another vessel (I don't know the technical name). Several men were looking at them and one kept talking about the target; probably that accounts for the shooting. They were not on the sands, which are very extensive, or rather reclaimed sands. There are tents there, which I believe are Boy Scouts', though I am not sure. In the morning I saw immense numbers of sailing ships without sails and smaller boats.

K. T.

Later some experiments were tried with Miss Ramsden as agent and Miss L. Tipping as percipient. The most successful of these was recorded as follows:

(a) *Miss Ramsden to Miss L. Tipping.*

Tuesday, August 22nd, 1911.

[Postmark: Kingussie, Au. 23. 11. 12.45 p.m.]

We motored to Fortwilliam in the afternoon to the Lochaber Games,¹ but arrived too late, we only saw some sailors dancing the hornpipe, pipers playing bag-pipes, *Irishmen in green coats and scarlet waistcoats dancing an Irish jig.* (This I particularly wanted you to see.) Men running races round the course and two men ran in sacks afterwards. Crowds of people sitting on the ground and on reserved seats. A tent in which we had tea. A lovely day, very hot sun.

¹Miss Ramsden sends us an extract from her diary of the same date (August 22), in which she writes that she "went to the Lochaber Games at Fortwilliam, starting at 20 min. to 2, but got there, alas! too late to see the Sword Dance, but saw an Irish jig and the Hornpipes."

(b) *Miss L. Tipping to Miss Ramsden.*

29 Alexander Road, Lowestoft. August 22nd, 1911.

[Postmarks of letter : Lowestoft, Au. 22. 11. 8.15 p.m. ;

Kingussie, Au. 24. 11. 6 a.m.]

6 o'clock till 7 o'clock.

I see you very plainly, smiling and speaking to some one. I get a large number of pines growing on rising ground. I feel chilly, as if the air was cold and damp ; it may be raining, I rather think it is. A large space of grass comes now, a house, —grey stone—square in shape. I get a strong feeling of people moving ; some are in kilts, green plaids, and you are looking on at a scene. It makes me think of a stage scene,—people in kilts twirling about, as if at play, or dancing ; great rapidity of motion ; they have staves or swords,—the latter, I believe,—and I feel I must dance ! I see swords or staves on the ground, as if they were hopping over them ; it seems only men in kilts going in for this rapid motion. I can't help feeling rain, or showers are spoiling things. Are these men I see soldiers, because I can't see them without swords [rough drawing of a sword] like I have drawn ? I think it must be some kind of performance out of doors, and you are looking on. I see many spectators.

Now I'm seeing people in old-world dress performing in the open ; is it a pageant you are looking at ? I get people in varied colours forming a group of some kind.

The strongest feeling I get is my first, viz. : the men in kilts with swords, or staves. The last impression is much fainter, but I'm putting down what I feel.

L. TIPPING.

(c) *Miss Ramsden to Miss Tipping.*

Ardverikie, Kingussie, N.B. August 24th, [1911].

It was a great success ! But the funny thing is that what happened to you is exactly what happened to your sister and me with the warships. I got the idea of warships manœuvring, though they were not there.

I arrived late at the Lochaber Games and missed *all* the Highland dances, and was very disappointed, because I wanted the children to see the *Sword Dance*, which I had been talking about.

But some of the details are curiously wrong. For instance, there were no pines,¹ but crowds of people sitting on rising ground. It was very hot, the sun scorched my back till I was afraid that my new mauve cloth dress would fade! Yet it was too scorching to take off my jacket. It did not rain at all, but motoring home between 6 and 7 it was decidedly chilly. We live high up in a different climate to Fortwilliam, which is by the sea on the west coast, and roasting hot.

A large space of grass—right; and a square grey stone villa overlooking the course; I said: "What a good view those people have!" There was a square platform in the middle of the field on which two pipers stood, all Camerons and Macphersons, kilts and plaids red, and some purple, but there may have been a green one; I forget. But the kilts did not dance, *that part we missed*. No soldiers, but sailors.

The "old-world dress" is very good for the Irishmen who danced the jig; they had curious old pointed coat tails, scarlet waistcoats, green velvet coats and knickers; at one moment there was a group of them and the pipers in kilts—Scotland and Ireland—and every one remarked on how picturesque they looked. . . .

The men dancing the jig had "staves,"—I believe they call them "shillelaghs,"—I never saw any Irish jigs before. The staves were like this [rough drawing] about 2 feet long, and they kept thumping them down on the platform and crying: "Hooch"!

HERMIONE RAMSDEN.

¹ *Note by Miss Ramsden, 1914.*—There are pines above where the people were sitting. I have been several times since this to Fortwilliam, and have taken special note.

VI.

TO CLEAR THE AIR.

BY THE REV. M. A. BAYFIELD.

He is a marvellous good neighbour, faith, and a very good bowler; but, for Alisander,—alas, you see how 'tis,—a little o'erparted.

Love's Labour's Lost.

IN the paper entitled *Some recent Scripts affording evidence of Personal Survival*, printed above, pp. 221 *et seq.*, Mr. Gerald Balfour has taken occasion to tabulate the alternative conclusions open to us to adopt in connexion with these scripts. He states them as follows :

“ Thus the really active and planning intelligence may have been :

- (1) Mrs. Willett's subeonscious self, drawing its material from some other embodied consciousness ;
- (2) Mrs. Willett's subconscious self, drawing its material from the spiritual world ;
- (3) The mind of some other living person acting on the mind of the automatist ;
- (4) Some discarnate spirit using the automatist as a medium of communication.”

The last is the conclusion to which Mr. Balfour has himself been led, and my own concurrence has already been expressed in the *Note* appended to his paper.

Since writing that note it has occurred to me that it may be not out of place, while Mr. Balfour's paper is fresh in our minds, to examine the claims of the first three alternatives. The inquiry may help us to clarify our ideas and to estimate with some precision the assumptions which, in the present

state of our knowledge, it would be necessary to make before any one of the three could be accepted as a probable explanation of the phenomena which the scripts present.¹ This, and this only, is the purpose of the present paper, which, as will sufficiently appear, is in no way intended to be a general review of the whole question of spirit communication,—an undertaking that would require an essay, if not a volume. My sole object is to show that, while it is easy and not unnatural to imagine the phenomena to be *somehow* explicable by telepathy between embodied minds, it is by no means so easy to work out in detail a coherent theory which would lend reasonable support to the supposition.

I take first the second alternative, which can be briefly dismissed. It offers two choices: Mrs. Willett's subconscious self, as the active and planning intelligence, may have drawn its supernormally acquired knowledge either from (*a*) a disembodied spirit, or (*b*) from memories stored in the spirit world independently of any surviving personality. The former supposition (*a*), which postulates the survival of human personality, need not be discussed at length. It presents practically the same difficulties as we shall find confronting us when we come to examine alternative (1). If, as will appear, it is unlikely that one incarnate mind can extract information from another without that other's concurrence and assistance,—can in fact *read* the other mind as one reads a book,—there is no reason to suppose that it would fare better in an endeavour to read the thoughts of a disembodied spirit. At any rate, the argument from analogy is all we have to go upon at present, and the point can well be deferred until the fact of communication between the living and the dead is so firmly established that the question, which of the two is the active factor, is the only one at issue. With regard to the second supposition (*b*), so far as I am aware, the notion of a "spiritual reservoir of pooled memories," though originated by one of the most brilliant of psychologists, is a mere imagination unsupported by any substantial evidence. Before leaving it, however, we may note that the evolving of this strange and really fantastic suggestion shows of itself how little satisfied William James was that telepathy between

¹ The scripts will be found on pp. 222 ff. *supra*.

the living would explain even the phenomena which had come to light in his day.

Let us consider the alternatives numbered (1) and (3).

What are the assumptions involved in (1)—that “the really active and planning intelligence may have been Mrs. Willett’s subconscious self, drawing its material from some other embodied consciousness”? I imagine them somewhat as follows. During the fortnight or so immediately preceding the production of the first script Mrs. Willett’s thoughts had been, as we know, specially attracted to Dr. Verrall by the news of his death, which occurred on June 18, 1912. Stimulated by her conscious thoughts, her subliminal, we conjecture, enters upon a series of activities which, though in effect productive of an imposture, may not have been fraudulent in intention. Possibly the fraud was deliberate, as I incline to think it was in the case of M. Til quoted in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXV., p. 470; but in Mrs. Willett’s case, being free to assume what I please, I prefer another supposition. We will suppose that her subliminal (henceforth for convenience referred to as ‘Z.’) dreams that Verrall’s spirit wishes to make a communication through her, and as happens in dreams, comes to identify itself, the dreamer, with him. Thus the dreamed wish has now become Z.’s own wish, and the train is laid for a pseudo-communication.

The next step is to find suitable material. Apparently Mrs. Willett did not herself possess any, for we have her own word for it that she had no conscious knowledge whatever of that which was actually used—Verrall’s essay entitled *The Baptism of Statius*. The subject-matter of the purposed communication must therefore be borrowed from the mind of some other living person, probably (according to our present knowledge) that of one of the small number of “sensitives” with whom she was in touch. Since, however, only two of these, Mrs. Verrall and Miss Verrall, had read the essay in question, it must have been in the mind of one of these two ladies that Z. found the thing it wanted.

But *how* did Z. find it? Shall we say, by *rummaging*, without invitation given or leave asked, among the millions and millions of memories stored in that mind (whose sub-

liminal consciousness we will, for convenience of reference, designate 'V.'), and selecting unaided the one that appeared likely to suit? And if we say this, have we at present any warrant for believing that a subliminal has the power thus to ransack another mind and abstract its latent thoughts, that other lending no assistance, but remaining passive and inert?

Our published records of experimental telepathy show that when a thought has passed from one mind to another, the former has always intended to effect the particular transference, or, as in some of the experiments conducted by Miss Ramsden and Miss Miles, has had the imparted thought consciously present to it at or about the time when the transfer was effected. This fact has not unnaturally led us to assume that in all cases of telepathy the person whose thought is transferred is the active factor in the actual process of transference, and for reasons given below I believe we are right. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in spontaneous telepathy there is no conscious intention to convey the particular impression which the percipient receives. Spontaneous cases, therefore, and indeed the majority of experimental cases, if they are regarded alone and other considerations are neglected, might seem to offer no obstacle to the contrary supposition,—that in ordinary telepathy, certain necessary conditions being favourable, the actively operating intelligence may be that of the percipient.

The question is further complicated by the fact that we do not know whether in telepathy between the living it is only the subliminal consciousnesses that come into touch with each other, or whether the essential immaterial intelligences of the two who are concerned somehow meet. In a case of communication from the spirit world I incline to take the latter view; and I should suppose that there is a more intimate fusion of mind with mind than could be effected by anything that could be called conversation:—

And all at once it seem'd at last
His living soul was flash'd on mine,

And mine with his was wound, and whirl'd
About empyreal heights of thought,
And came on that which is. . . .

Even so, there must, I should imagine, be a willingness on both sides and co-operation. But whatever may be the method by which a spirit communicates its thoughts to an embodied mind, the existing evidence, in my judgement, points to the conclusion that telepathy between the living does not need for its accomplishment more than the activity of the subliminal consciousness, and upon that basis this paper is written.

To return to the point which immediately concerns us— which of the two persons concerned is the active factor in ordinary telepathy—notwithstanding the admission made above, all the probabilities seem to me to point away from the supposition that thoughts could be literally *stolen*. I base this conclusion on several concurrent considerations. Firstly, on the broad ground that, thought being essentially an activity, one would expect it to pass to another mind by its own energy; it seems unnatural to suppose that it could be *read* like an inanimate piece of print. Secondly, in cases of spontaneous telepathy such as those in which an apparition of the dying is seen, and especially when the hallucination is experienced by more than one person, it seems perverse to seek the prime cause elsewhere than in the activity of the dying person's mind. And if this is so, analogy suggests that in other cases also of spontaneous telepathy,—as, for instance, when Mrs. Holland's script made reference to some furs recently purchased by Miss Verrall, the ostensible agent (here Mrs. Verrall or Miss Verrall) is really the active factor in the transference. Thirdly, while all experimental telepathy obviously suggests this view of its own *modus operandi*, I do not see how we can resist the evidence afforded by one class of experiments in particular; I mean those in which pain is suppressed or prevented by suggestion without the induction of trance. (Whether there is or is not in such cases some slight degree of hypnosis, is here immaterial.) In a valuable paper on experiments of this kind, published in *Proceedings*, Vol. XII., pp. 21 ff., Mr. C. M. Barrows writes (p. 25), "Mine is a silent suggestion. I use neither voice nor other means to convey its import to the patient through sensory adits. I find it possible to affect with these unvoiced suggestions one who does not know my

language, infants who have learned no language, and brute creatures. . . . More than this: I am not conscious of forming any statement of the message, even in thought, when I make the suggestion." Surely there is no room for doubting that Mr. Barrows' mind was the active factor in the numerous successful experiments which he made,—that there was no reading of his thoughts by the patient. If doubt were possible in some instances, the mention of infants, at any rate, is conclusive. I may add that the last quoted sentence has some bearing on what I have said a few lines above about the probable activity of the subliminal in cases of spontaneous telepathy. In any case, it is sufficient for my present argument to point out that the supposition that Z. might be able to read V.'s thoughts unassisted, rests at present upon no foundation, while the contrary view has much to be said for it.

We fare no better with the alternative supposition, that Z. does not play the thief, but is assisted by the co-operation of V., who obediently selects and gives over the thing demanded. This would seem to entail a little conversation between the two. If the commodity which is to change hands cannot be stolen, it must be asked for. But if Z. can 'speak' and V. can 'hear,' we must in fairness attribute the power of speech to V. and that of hearing to Z.; and that in that case V. would ask some questions, we cannot doubt.

We ask ourselves at once, can subliminals converse? "It mayn't be much to do, your Majesty, but can they *do* it?" The subliminal is certainly "a very good bowler," and may be counted on to get one 'wood' in even at long bowls; "but for Alisander—alas, you see how 'tis,"—at present we have no evidence of its ability to take part in dialogue. Nevertheless, for the sake of argument, let us *assume* that it possesses this indispensable faculty. We have next to ask, in what character does Z. open the negotiations? As the spirit it now believes itself to be, and expecting to be accepted as such by V.? Then, I suppose, something like this would be said: "I want to bring off an evidential communication through Mrs. Willett, *but can think of nothing to say. Do suggest something.*" The incredible confession would, I fancy, condemn our masquerading Z. out of its own mouth. The

first thought of V. would be (with a twist of Hamlet's meaning),

Thou comest in such a *questionable* shape,

and there would be, alas, no answer!

Shall we say, then, that, by a shifting of the dream-centre, Z. has for the moment reeovered its identity and speaks *in propria persona*, and that the colloquy proceeds thus: "I want a little material to make up into a pseudo-spirit-communication. Could you let me have something that would do?"—"Certainly; what do you think of this?" Or instead of a ready acquiescence, did the tempted subliminal show reluctanee and need persuasion, and when persuaded still perhaps express a natural misgiving as to success?

Macbeth.

But if we fail?

Lady Macbeth.

We fail!

But screw your courage to the sticking point,

And we'll not fail.

However the interview may have proceeded, neither is self-deceived; the two are engaged in planning a most nefarious conspiracy, and *both of them know it*. I will not deny that even these two subliminals *might* be morally capable of such an imposture, for I do not forget the shifts and evasions of Mrs. Newnham's, but it will be time enough to go into that when we have proof that subliminals are able to exchange their thoughts in conversation at all. Until the proof is forthcoming the assumption of collusion seems hardly more attractive than that of robbery, and we may hesitate to choose between them. However, let us not be daunted. If choice is difficult, let us refuse to choose, but assume that *somehow or other* Z. could get from V. the thing it requires.

We have now to ask, what it is that Z. gets. Clearly one of two things: either (a) the sum and substance of the essay, or (b) the ready-made confection that had perhaps only been waiting, by the happiest of coincidences, for some one to take and make use of it—the actual riddle, framed upon the essay, which is propounded in the script.¹

Our bold leap has brought us to the very heart of the

¹ See p. 222 *supra*.

matter ; let us consider the probabilities severally attaching to these two alternatives.

If (a), the whole essay, was the treasure trove, how did Z. apprehend it ? As a complete whole,—at one gulp, as it were, after the manner of a serpent swallowing an egg ? Before attempting to answer the question we must first ask whether it is probable that the essay subsists in V. as an agglomerated, individualized whole, if I may so put it. Let us suppose that in the mind itself, the centre of our intelligence, the whole essay *may* so subsist as an extremely elaborate complex concept ; then another mind might, we may equally suppose, apprehend such a whole by one comprehensive act. I do not know how far the first of these suppositions rests on any psychological probability, but the two taken together are useless for our present purpose, unless we identify the subliminal consciousness with the mind itself. But as I understand our terminology and the psychological view which it implies, the mind is one thing and the mind's consciousness (subliminal or supraliminal), although inseparable from it, is another ; and upon our present evidence at any rate, as I have already said, we are not warranted in believing that in a case of ordinary telepathy either of the two persons concerned brings into direct and immediate operation any more intimate part of his personality than the subliminal consciousness. We must therefore dismiss these suppositions, and seek further for an answer.

What is one's experience in ordinary acts of recollection ? It is true that when I myself think of the essay, I seem in a way to recall it as a whole, but do I really ? Do I not rather recollect first one of the ideas of which it is composed, and then successively, though with great rapidity, a certain number of others, one idea following on another by some mysterious association ? Consciousness, whether supraliminal or subliminal, appears to be no more than a manifestation of the mind's activity ; and the brain—the instrument both of conscious and subliminal thought, as hypnotic experiments show—would appear to be so constituted that it can only allow ideas to issue in a series of flashes, so to speak. At any rate one thing is certain,—in whatever form the essay subsists in my mind itself, the ideas of which it is composed

are never all present to my external consciousness at one and the same moment. And if ever I recall the sum and substance of the essay as a whole and by one act, am I not in reality recalling a new and complex concept formed in my mind upon reading the essay,—a complex peculiarly my own and differing from another man's, and one which, so far from being identical with the essay, lacks most of its details? I conclude, therefore, since the essay never emerges as a complete whole, nor any considerable part of it as written, that it is not present as a whole in the subliminal consciousness, and that accordingly Z. could not apprehend it from V. in this form.

Let us proceed on another tack, and consider in what form we can with greatest probability suppose the memories of the essay to be immanent in the mind itself of whose activity the subliminal consciousness V. is merely the expression. And since the argument will not be affected thereby, we will for the moment grant Z. liberty of access even to this very centre of intelligence.

As I am informed, if I understand my informant aright, the best supported view among psychologists is that memories are retained as a series of mutually interpenetrating concepts. Thus the memories of an essay would subsist in the mind as *a whole and not a whole*. The whole essay is there (assuming all its concepts to be retained), but not as an isolated body of memories; for the recovery of it as a logical whole there must be made a selective combination of all the concepts that belong to it, with rejection of all others. If this is so, it seems natural and reasonable to suppose that it is as a series of concepts that Z. apprehends the essay, whether by "reading" or by V.'s recital. What exactly is the manner of this interpenetration of concepts, no one, I imagine, could say; nor, accordingly, why when one of a given series emerges to my external consciousness others of the series have a tendency to emerge also, while some do not. Again one thing is certain,—I cannot evoke them all at will; I trace the associations successfully up to a point, and then break down. Is it, then, likely that Z., starting from one concept and unassisted by V., could trace out the whole series of which the essay is composed? (If we assume conversa-

tion between the two, we come in effect to Mr. Balfour's third alternative, which is examined below.) We shall be little helped if we show ourselves yet more generous to Z., and having endowed it with the power to apprehend at will some of the concepts in another mind, assign to it also the power of apprehending the mode of interpenetration by which concepts are connected. Our mental concepts have each of them several, and most of them countless associations; how then could Z., *ignorant as it is of the goal to be reached*, know which line of association to take? For what is its position? We may for our present purpose compare any given series of concepts (the essay) to a water-way, which is made up of a number of interpenetrating particles of water; and the mind to a sort of water-maze, of practically limitless extent and containing many millions of such water-ways, which continually intersect each other. Z., then, is in the position of a man who, exploring this maze, wishes to follow the route previously traversed by a friend, though he knows neither at what point his friend started nor what point he made his destination. It would be as much bewildered as our little friend who asked, "Which way am I to go now, please?" "Where do you want to go to?" replied the Caterpillar. "I don't know," said Alice. "Then it doesn't matter which way you go." We seem, in fact, to have set this subliminal a task "imagination boggles at."

Freely granting that, if Z. can grasp the whole essay, such a clever subliminal will have no difficulty in framing a little enigma in connexion with it, we will leave it to its task and go back to our second alternative (*b*):—Z. finds in V., ready-made and admirably suited to its purpose, the puzzle propounded in Script (A).¹ Still we are baffled, for all the difficulties which we have been examining continue to confront us, though on a smaller scale,—that is to say, in connexion with a more limited subject-matter. For although the riddle is of much smaller bulk than the essay, it must equally be apprehended as a whole or by some process of rehabilitation.

We have already discussed the difficulties attaching to each alternative; but the *form* in which the puzzle appears in the script presents yet another. If Z. could obtain from

¹ See p. 222 *supra*.

V. a knowledge of the gist of the essay at all, it might, we may perhaps say, have obtained this in a more or less rough form; here, however, we have a little picture in words, an episode in a story, neatly and compactly rounded off, and complete so far as it goes. It occupies four lines of print, and unites in logical connexion a considerable number of concepts. I cannot recall from our records of cross-correspondences any case in which it could be maintained that one living mind has received from another a similar *composition*. The transference of single concepts, simple or complex, would appear to be the limit of an incarnate mind's telepathic achievement. Many automatic scripts, it is true, contain connected writings of considerable extent, but we do not find them reproduced in the script of other automatists. Even in the case of Mrs. Piper (who may be regarded as a "sensitive" of at least equal capacity with Mrs. Willett, whether as giver or receiver of impressions) single ideas—words or phrases—are the utmost that we find appearing both in her script and in the script of others in identical form. Moreover, if one incarnate mind has this power of reading the thoughts of another *as connected in that other mind*, why, we may fairly ask, did not Mrs. Piper read and reproduce the translation of the Latin Message, which was vividly present to the minds of several persons, both sitters and others, during a considerable period of time? Her desire and her efforts to do so must have been far stronger than Z.'s in the present case.

It has been suggested to me that a performance of the medium Adèle Maginot (see *Proceedings*, Vol. XIV., pp. 61 ff.) should in fairness be mentioned here, as possibly an instance to the contrary of what has just been said. The sitter, M. du Potet, wished her to 'call up' M. Dubois, a friend of his who had died some fifteen months before. She proceeded to give an extraordinarily detailed and (save for four mistakes) accurate description of this friend's outward appearance, mode of carriage, walk, and gestures. If we regard this as a case of spontaneous telepathy, which it appears to be, we have clearly something very different from the transference of the logically connected composition of Script (A). I see no difficulty in supposing that the medium received successively from the sitter's mind, as he sat in front of her, a number

of separate concepts (say, twenty-one), or possibly one complex concept picturing the whole man. Two points which would not properly belong to such a pictorial concept in M. du Potet's mind were mentioned by the medium, but they were wrong. M. Dubois' action in the vision on hearing mention of the Jesuits, is obviously a complex concept of this kind.

If this analysis of Mr. Balfour's first alternative is sound, that alternative seems to involve for Script (A) the combination of a number of assumptions which are unsupported by our present knowledge and also in themselves improbable. It is obvious that the same difficulties attach to the neatly compacted problem contained in (C),¹ if we suppose that Z. was the active party in effecting its transference, in whatever manner or form, from another mind. Neither this script, therefore, nor either of the other two, since all three are intimately connected with one another and with (A), calls for separate discussion.

I must, however, advert briefly to one further difficulty which is presented by all the scripts when they are considered as produced by the method of this first alternative. Z. offers for our inspection four bricks—if a metaphor may be permitted—composed of a peculiar kind of clay, a species which we recognise as Verrallian. We find it difficult to understand how Z. could have obtained the clay; but on examination of the bricks our perplexity increases, for we find that the clay is bound together by a peculiar kind of straw, a kind which grows only in a certain district which we are sure was never visited by Mrs. Willett. The straw is the life-like characterisation of Verrall discussed in my *Note*. The difficulties which, as we have seen, would attend Z.'s search after the matter of the scripts must no less effectually defeat any efforts it might make to discover and reproduce these examples of Verrall's manner.

Let us turn to Mr. Balfour's third and, as most people will probably think, more attractive alternative: "the really active and planning intelligence may have been the mind of some other living person acting on the mind of the automatist."

For the sake of argument, we will say that the intelligence

¹ See p. 223 *supra*.

actively operating on Mrs. Willett's mind was that of Mrs. Verrall, though it should be noted in passing that, as a matter of fact, Mrs. Verrall was no more able than any one else to guess the enigma of Script (A) until the clue, "Dante makes it clear," was given fourteen months later in Script (D). If her subliminal had composed the problem, one would have thought it likely that the key to it would emerge at some time during this long interval.

Not long before his death (June 18, 1912), Dr. Verrall discussed with Mrs. Verrall and two friends the selection of certain of his essays for republication, and came to a decision as to which should be selected. The three essays on Dante were from the first included in the list, but the copy for the two volumes was not sent to the press until the following September. Now, while it is improbable that Mrs. Verrall consciously recalled the point in the *Baptism of Statius* which reappears in the script, either at the time of the selection of the essays or in the interval which elapsed before July 6, 1912, no doubt her subliminal may have done so. Let us suppose that it did; and let us further suppose that during the fortnight preceding July 6, and in some such way as that suggested above for Z., it conceived the idea of a pseudo-spirit-communication, and proceeded to concoct the little puzzle propounded in Script (A). Then, unless V. has some power of *selecting* a recipient, Script (A) is launched into the void, like a wireless message, to be taken in by any other subliminal that happens to be receptive at the moment, and is in fact received and recorded by Mrs. Willett. Indeed, we must suppose all four scripts (including the curious circumstance of the laughter, which perhaps betrays V.'s delight at the success of its enterprise!) to be so given out and received *verbatim et literatim*.

But whether the subliminal can or can not select a recipient, our telegraphic simile (and some such seems to be required) has carried us beyond the evidence. As an explanation of impressions received of persons *in articulo mortis* or in some other critical situation, it seems to be reasonable to suppose that such persons may have flashed forth an image of themselves—or, when the impression is auditory, a word or phrase—somewhat as a wireless message is given out. In such

cases, however, the pictorial image or phrase transferred is always, I believe, a *single* though perhaps complex concept, —a thing very different from any one of Mrs. Willett's scripts, each of which presents to us several *series* of concepts combined, both as individual concepts and as series or groups, in logical connexion. And the simple truth is that up to the present, at any rate, we have no reasonable ground for supposing that the embodied mind can either give out or receive, after the manner of the telegraphic instrument, long and logically connected messages such as are produced in the scripts. It may be that it can both give and receive messages of this character, and we may some day get proof of this power, but as I have already said, our present evidence points the other way.

If M. du Potet's case, referred to above, should again seem to suggest a different conclusion, I would repeat that the thing transferred was essentially different from the scripts; the vision was in fact one of the kind just mentioned as sometimes flashed from the dying. And though M. du Potet was in no critical situation and had no conscious intention to transfer his own mental impression of M. Dubois, we do not know what his subliminal was doing; his earnest desire to get into relations with his friend might well have stimulated it into becoming (according to what seems to me the more probable view of the *modus operandi*) the active factor in the transference. I find it very difficult to believe that the mental picture seen in the vision was not vividly present to M. du Potet's subliminal consciousness.

But, it will be said, it is precisely this power of conveying and receiving a connected message which believers in the establishment of communication with the spirit world attribute to the spirit and the automatist respectively. Why admit its exercise in the one case and deny it in the other? The point is a strong one, and perhaps the strongest that can be urged in favour of the telepathic and against the spiritistic view of the phenomena. The answer I would give is, firstly, that we must suppose a disembodied spirit to be free from many limitations which beset the embodied mind when endeavouring to effect a telepathic communication; and secondly, that the distinction appears to be warranted,

or rather demanded, by the evidence as a whole. It is the *content* of the messages which weighs. Some scripts embody, in the form of a connected composition, information which is outside the knowledge of any automatist in the group concerned, and at the same time profess to be messages from the spirit world. Clearly the internal evidence of genuineness in such cases is strong, and especially so if the content of the message is also characteristic of the alleged communicator, as in some of Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper. On the other hand, some scripts, also professing to be spirit communications and written in connected language, fail to exhibit these marks of genuineness. There is, I believe, no clear evidence or plausible ground for thinking that any such 'messages' emanate from some other incarnate mind; and if we prefer not to consider them genuine, the natural account of them would seem to be that they are products of the automatist's own subliminal. In many scripts this certainly seems to be the case. If it be further objected that such connected messages or communications may nevertheless be dictated by the subliminal of some person outside the ring of automatists and sitters, one can only reply that it *may* indeed be so, but that in the absence of evidence in its support, the suggestion cannot carry more weight than any other mere possibility.

The result of our examination appears to be that there is a lack both of positive evidence and of reasonable probability such as would warrant our accepting any one of Mr. Balfour's first three alternatives as an explanation of the phenomena presented by the scripts under discussion. In other words,—and it is the whole of the contention which this paper set out to maintain—though we leave it indifferent which of two mutually exclusive views is taken as to certain questions, psychological and other, which have emerged in the course of the discussion, it seems impossible, without ignoring the trend of our present evidence and knowledge, to construct any coherent and plausible theory of telepathy between the living which would account for the production of these astonishing scripts. If, as is only too probable, I have done the facts or the argument any injustice, due correction will no doubt be forthcoming. I shall kiss the rod.

VII.

THE HISTORY OF MARTHE BÉRAUD ("EVA C.").

BY HELEN DE G. VERRALL.

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MATERIALISATION,—the supposed creation of matter through the agency of some kind of psychical force,—has always occupied a conspicuous position amongst the physical phenomena with which psychical research is concerned. From the days of "Katie King" onwards many contributions have been made to the subject, of varying interest and importance,

but few are more worthy of consideration, either on account of the care with which the researches have been conducted, or the conclusions which the authors have reached, than the volume in which Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing describes his experiences during the last few years with the French medium, Marthe Béraud ("Eva C.").

Dr. von Schrenck's personal acquaintance with the case dates from the earlier half of 1909, but Marthe Béraud's career as a medium began in 1903, and before we turn to the consideration of Dr. von Schrenck's book, some account must be given of the medium's earlier history.

The first experiments with Marthe Béraud were conducted at the Villa Carmen in Algiers, the house of General and Madame Noël, who were in the habit of holding séances, in which various mediums, professional and otherwise, took part. Mademoiselle Béraud, at that time a very young girl of about seventeen, was a family friend and not a professional medium. Accounts of the phenomena observed at these séances were published in various spiritualistic papers, and in August, 1905, Professor Charles Richet went over to Algiers to investigate the case. He published an account of his observations in the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1905, pp. 649 ff.

The phenomena witnessed by Monsieur Richet consisted in the alleged materialisation of several spirits, in particular of an Arab chieftain, who gave himself the name of Bien-Boa, and showed in various ways that he possessed the attributes of a living human being. The problem therefore was to ascertain whether the part of Bien-Boa could possibly be played either by Marthe or by an accomplice. The conclusions to which Monsieur Richet came were that :

(a) at the sittings at which he was present, any action on the part of an accomplice was excluded and therefore, if there was fraud, it was practised by Marthe Béraud and, moreover, was deliberate ;

(b) the phenomena were almost certainly genuine, although Monsieur Richet did not commit himself to any definite theory to explain them.

I do not propose to discuss Monsieur Richet's article in detail, but one point is worth mentioning. Several photographs were taken at the sittings with a view to obtaining,

if possible, definite evidence to prove that Marthe and Bien-Boa were present simultaneously. These photographs show the bearded figure of Bien-Boa himself wrapped in a white garment of a nondescript character and wearing on his head either a turban or a sort of helmet. What appears to be a part of Marthe's form is also represented in these photographs, but in no instance are her hands or head visible. This fact suggests *prima facie* that what we see in the photographs is Marthe's blouse and skirt, stuffed perhaps and suitably disposed on a chair, whilst she herself is occupied in representing the Arab chief. Monsieur Richet himself is at some trouble to explain these photographs, and on one occasion accounts for the apparent emptiness of Marthe's sleeve by suggesting that "the phenomenon, so mysterious and almost miraculous, which we call 'materialisation,' is accompanied by a sort of disintegration of the pre-existing matter, so that . . . the medium *empties herself*, so to speak, to constitute the new being, which emanates from her, and which one cannot touch without injuring the medium."

On the other hand, Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing explains a somewhat similar phenomenon, which was observed by Monsieur de Fontenay at Paris, during Marthe Béraud's later phase, as being due to the "so-called transfiguration" of the medium, who "in a spiritualistic sense takes over the part of the spirit, and clad in materialised stuffs tries to represent dramatically the character which is at the moment in question." (See *Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 157.) According to Dr. von Schrenck, therefore, what Monsieur Richet probably witnessed at the Villa Carmen was a "transfiguration" of the medium, the supernormality of the phenomenon consisting in the "materialised" clothes worn by Bien-Boa.

Shortly after the publication of Monsieur Richet's report, several people came forward with statements to the effect that all the phenomena witnessed at the Villa Carmen were produced by an organised conspiracy of fraud, in which Marthe Béraud and several servants, employed by General and Madame Noël, were involved,—in particular the coachman Areski, who frequently took part in the sittings, although he had not been present on the particular occasions described in Monsieur Richet's report. It was alleged that not only Areski,

but also Marthe Béraud and her father, had confessed to complicity in the fraud. These allegations were all set forth in a series of articles by Dr. Rouby and Monsieur Marsault, and published in *Les Nouveaux Horizons*, 1906 and 1907. The most important part of the story for our present purpose is contained in a statement made by Monsieur Marsault, a lawyer living in Algiers, of which the following is a translation, considerably abridged (see *Les Nouveaux Horizons*, 1906, pp. 403 ff.) :

It was towards the end of the year 1900 that I made acquaintance with Monsieur and Madame Noël. . . . I was invited to the séances at the Villa Carmen and attended them regularly for several months. There was much talk at the time of an old medium Ahmed, a servant of Monsieur and Madame Noël, and of the strange phenomena obtained through his presence : the *apport* of a stone of seventy kilograms, the changing of tea into coffee. . . . One need only read, for example, a few numbers of the *Revue Scientifique et Morale de Spiritisme* of that date to realise the improbability and grotesque nature [of these phenomena.] . . . Bien-Boa already existed, but he had not shown himself in a materialised form. At that time he was only giving what I will call the current coin of spiritualism : movements of tables, lights, automatic writing, etc., and already promising future materialisations.

[Monsieur Marsault then describes how on two occasions he detected the fraudulent practices of a medium, who was performing at the Villa Carmen.] . . . A few days after this séance I received a letter from Madame Noël, politely requesting me, by reason of my inharmonious fluidic force, to stay at home, until the phenomena should have returned to their normal course. . . .

My banishment lasted four years. During that time I had maintained strictly courteous relations with Monsieur and Madame Noël, whose suspicions of me increased daily. They even came to believe that my advice was the cause of certain differences of opinion which had arisen between them and their son Maurice, who had become my intimate friend.

Maurice went off to the French Congo about July, 1900, as commercial agent in a large business enterprise, after engaging himself to Mademoiselle Marthe B—— whom he was to marry

when he obtained his first leave. . . . My unhappy friend was not destined to return from the Congo. . . . He died at Libreville in October, 1904. . . . My friend Monsieur Journau and I paid a visit of condolence to the Noël family. General Noël had just received a posthumous letter from his son, praising me and clearing away the misunderstanding which had existed between us for several years. Very loyally—and I thank him for it—General Noël recognised this misunderstanding, and our reconciliation was sealed. . . . No one therefore will do me the injustice of supposing for a moment that the attitude which I have adopted in regard to the Bergolia and Bien-Boa episodes was dictated by any animosity. . . .

My visit of condolence had re-established the cordiality of our relations. My friend Monsieur Journau and I were invited to a family supper at the Villa Carmen and to the séance for materialisation which was to follow

My friend and I received letters at that time from Madame Noël, informing us that a spirit, Bergolia, sister to Bien-Boa, was appearing in materialised form, “drinking tea with her, talking in the most feminine way imaginable, rummaging about in a box of sweets.” In one of these letters Madame Noël even said that their son Maurice had materialised, that he had kissed her, and that she had felt on her forehead the cold touch of his eye-glasses.

I paid a visit to Marthe B.’s family. I did not get to the bottom of the mystery, but Marthe B. spoke to me of a certain Ninon, who was then playing the part of medium at the Villa Carmen. I understood that it was Ninon who simulated the materialisation of Maurice Noël. Marthe B. added: “Ninon had better not simulate my *fiancé* before *me*, or I’ll jump at her face.”

. . . To return to Madame Noël’s invitation.

It was in November, 1904, about a month after the death of our friend Maurice Noël, that Monsieur Journau and I went to the supper and the séance, to which we had been bidden. At the end of the meal, Monsieur and Madame Noël went away for a few minutes, leaving my friend Monsieur Journau and me alone with Mademoiselle Marthe B.

She at once said to us, in some such words as these: “Do you want to have some fun? You know Bergolia is all humbug; my sisters and I will give you some fun.” Monsieur Journau was astounded. For my part, I had already been warned by Marthe B. that all these materialisations were non-existent, which I had

long suspected, but I had thought that for once Bergolia would miss her appointment. At this juncture, there arrived Marthe B.'s two young sisters. Ninon, who was expected that evening, did not come. . . .

We entered the séance room and sat down round a table in front of the cabinet reserved for the medium. A red lamp gave a very faint light, enough however to see outlines, light tones especially. We had hardly taken our places, when Marthe B. kept her promise. She rose from the table, entered the mediumistic cabinet and came out with a thin white shawl over her head and shoulders. She walked about the little room, carefully avoiding the better lighted parts, answering first in French to the questions which Madame Noël put to her about Bien-Boa and then at Madame Noël's request inventing a sort of language, which she said was Hindu. . . .

This little comedy lasted about twenty minutes. . . . Monsieur and Madame Noël, whose absolute good faith I have never doubted, believed blindly that the sister of their favourite spirit was present. To seek to undeceive them was utterly futile. All who have experience of spiritualists know that this is labour lost. . . . Moreover, Marthe B. was not a professional medium. Bergolia, I think, never did much harm to any one, not even to Monsieur and Madame Noël, who did not wait for her entry into our world to believe in materialisations. . . .

Such events would have left no room for doubt even in the mind of St. Thomas. Monsieur Journau and I had no doubt whatever. We did not attend any further séances at the Villa Carmen in spite of the pressing invitations which we subsequently received. This was, I think, the wisest course.

I come now to the critical point, namely, Bien-Boa as sanctified by the authority of Monsieur Riehet, Bien-Boa, turned into a public character, known to all. . . .

I had learnt that Monsieur Riehet had come to the Villa Carmen to study for the second time the phenomena of materialisation. Knowing what I have related above, I thought that no one could have the audacity or the simplicity to simulate before a great *savant* like Monsieur Riehet the materialisation of Bien-Boa. I was convinced that should this occur, Monsieur Riehet would discover the hoax. . . .

I leave to the imagination my amazement when I read in the

Annales Psychiques for December, 1905, Monsieur Richet's report on the materialisations at the Villa Carmen. . . .

In the fight against these trickeries, so often unmasked . . . no honest endeavour is to be despised. That is what I thought, when I determined to help so far as I could in the discovery of the facts. . . . I at once considered what was the best way to attain the proposed end. I put aside all idea of publicity. . . . I thought it best to act discreetly. This was the only method which could reconcile the interests of unrecognised truth with the peace of mind of my friends at the Villa Carmen, the reputation of a young girl of good family, and above all the susceptibility of a man of learning. . . .

When I reached this stage of my reflexions, I had learnt from Marthe B.'s father . . . that the observed phenomena were fraudulent and that *Marthe had done nothing but amuse herself*. . . . Monsieur B. was *very much surprised and troubled* at the *unexpected* publicity which had been given to the matter. . . . I expressed the opinion that he ought to confess the truth to Monsieur Richet and I strongly urged him to do this in the interests of all.

On my part, I wrote to Monsieur Richet, as follows :

“. . . For the last five years or so I have taken an interest in psychical research and during this time I also have known the Villa Carmen.

I think that I shall be serving the cause of truth and doing a wise and useful deed if I come to you and say that *I fear greatly that you have been deceived*.

My strong conviction is based upon the most serious grounds. If you are willing, whilst turning to your own use the statements I shall make to you, to promise me complete silence as regards both them and my name, I will tell you the grounds of my conviction. . . .”

My letter was well received by Monsieur Richet, who replied as follows :

“I am prepared to receive in absolute confidence any disclosures you may wish to make to me and you may accept my word of honour that your name will not be mentioned. . . .”

. . . On January 1, [1906], I went to see [Marthe and her father] at their house and met the whole family, Monsieur and Madame B. and their three daughters. During the three hours that I was there we talked only of Bien-Boa. With much volubility and a

certain humour Marthe related all the ins and outs of the story. She had been medium against her will, because Madame Noël found a mediumistic significance in her least gestures and saw spirits everywhere . . .

When Monsieur Richet came, she had long been established as a "great materialising medium." How was she to escape examination by this man of learning? She protected herself by asserting that she was not a medium at all and did not believe in spirits. But they pressed her with such insistence that at last she gave way and went back to the cabinet in the séance-room. . . .

Thus it was that little by little against her will she had been led to play her part. And what part? A secondary, almost a negative, part. There was a trap-door set between the bath and the wall, in the angle, through which, when the room had been darkened, a young girl was introduced, slim and dressed in black, a friend of Ninon's. . . . As to Marthe herself, her part was secondary; she remained passive and pretended to sleep. . . . She was very repentant at having set her hand to trickery, but put forward as her constant excuse, the compulsory rôle of medium which she had been obliged to play and the existence of the trap-door. *She pleaded extenuating circumstances.*

The publicity given to a farce which they thought trivial terrified Marthe and her family. I pointed out to them that the only way to put an end to the thing was to tell the truth quite frankly to Monsieur Richet. . . .

The next day I wrote to Monsieur Richet, as follows:

" . . . Monsieur B. and Mademoiselle Marthe B. herself have given me their confidence.

They have told me¹ that the whole affair was a sham, that there was a trap-door and accomplices. Everything was explained to me in detail.

If I am to believe¹ Marthe B., her part was rather slight, and almost negative; she remained passive. . . .

I have strongly urged her to open her mind to you frankly in conversation, since you have given her reason to hope for your return in a letter which she has shown me.

¹ *Note by Monsieur Marsault.* I draw attention to the two passages "they have told me," and "if I am to believe Marthe B." I have never therefore made *myself* responsible for the hypothesis of the trap-door, which people have foisted on to me as a means of attack.

If you come I will explain my story in greater detail and, if necessary, will provide you with evidence from some of my friends, who will make it their duty to act as I have done. . . .”

Monsieur Richet replied as follows :

“I have received your letter. It is quite possible that there was trickery that I was unable to discover. But the trickery must be proved.

You write to me of a trap-door and accomplices. Well! nothing is easier than to ascertain the existence of a trap-door in the summer-house at the Villa Carmen. . . .”

It was my intention to write to Monsieur Richet to point out to him that I did not believe in the hypothesis of the trap-door,—a convenient method by which Marthe might partly exculpate her self,—although I was convinced of the trickery . . . when, on January 11, I met Monsieur B. He told me that Marthe had had a letter from a lady in Paris telling her that a lawyer in Algiers had written to Monsieur Richet to inform him of the deception. . . . Monsieur B. inferred that the Algerian lawyer was myself. . . .

When I saw that my discreet intervention with Monsieur Richet was becoming everybody’s secret, I determined to write to Monsieur Richet no more. . . .

In the early days of March, Dr. Rouby of Algiers thought he had discovered the key to the trickery in the person of Areski, Monsieur Noël’s former coachman. . . . To destroy this hypothesis General Noël put forward the equivocal nature of Areski’s statements and wished to prove his inconsistency before witnesses. General Noël came to me on March 12 and asked me to be one of the witnesses. I agreed, on condition that Areski should be cross-examined in Dr. Rouby’s presence,—which I thought a reasonable suggestion. General Noël would not agree to this condition and in return I refused the favour he asked of me. . . .

Two days later I received a letter from Madame Noël, bitterly reproaching me for my behaviour. . . . I quote some interesting passages from this letter :

“I assumed that you were one of the ‘anonymous young men’ of whom the delightful Rouby spoke.

My opinion was confirmed by what you said to the General about Mademoiselle Marthe B. ; but she repudiates your statements utterly. . . . I think that an impartial person, having to choose

between your two assertions, would ask first: 'What interest could Mademoiselle Marthe B. have in acting thus, in running the risk of being thrust out in disgrace by a family who received her with open arms?' "

. . . Indignation, reproaches, or attacks trouble me little. Bien-Boa does not exist and has never existed.

I refuse to admit that the existence of Bien-Boa has been scientifically proved . . .

Monsieur Marsault's statements do not prove Marthe Béraud's guilt, any more than her repudiation of these statements proves her innocence. But considering the circumstances of the case, Monsieur Marsault's story certainly required an answer and a refutation. The most important part of the story, however, has never been answered at all. In an article contributed by Monsieur Riehet to the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques* (March, 1906), in which he is mainly concerned with disproving Dr. Rouby's contentions, the following passages occur:

. . . He [Dr. Rouby] relates that in the presence of two young men, who would not refuse to give their evidence, she [Marthe Béraud] played, for a joke, the part of Bergolia, Bien-Boa's sister. . . .

As to the so-called confession of Mademoiselle Marthe B. . . she is alleged to have said that everything was done by means of a trap-door, whereas in the first place she has not said so, and in the second place there is no trap-door. . . .

A foot-note is put to this last statement, as follows:

The existence of this notorious trap-door, about which a lawyer in Algiers wrote me an excited letter which some day I will publish, is disproved by the following affidavit: [the statement of the architect who examined the séance-room].

This is the only direct allusion to Monsieur Marsault which Monsieur Riehet's article contains, and it will be at once apparent that it leaves Monsieur Marsault's main contention quite untouched, because the latter is careful to point out that he takes no responsibility for the statement about the trap-door, and that the existence of this door is in no way essential

to his conclusions. If Monsieur Richet had reasons of his own for discrediting Monsieur Marsault's statement, why were they not given? The "impartial person," to whom Madame Noël appeals, will, I think, conclude that the whole episode is most unsatisfactory, and of a nature to arouse grave suspicions.

So much then for Marthe Béraud's early history.

In 1908 "Eva C.", as she is now to be called, came to Paris, and early in 1909 she began to give sittings for a small private circle formed under the auspices of Monsieur and Madame Alexandre Bisson. Monsieur Bisson was a well-known French playwright: he died in January, 1912. Madame Bisson is a sculptress of some repute. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing was introduced into this circle in May, 1909, and his observation of the phenomena has continued from then up to the present time.

Before turning to the consideration of these phenomena, something must be said with regard to the concealment of the medium's identity. In *Materialisationsphänomene* Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing describes "Eva C." as "a young girl of the middle classes who has already in other circles produced phenomena of materialisation." He is not permitted, he says, to give precise details as to her family and circumstances. Her identity with Marthe Béraud became known in December, 1913 (one of the earliest statements of it appeared in the *Matin* on December 29, 1913), and no attempt was made to deny it. In *Der Kampf um die Materialisationsphänomene*, a pamphlet recently published by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing in reply to various criticisms of his book, he minimises the importance of Eva C.'s identity by making light of the disclosures in regard to Marthe Béraud. "It is a long recognised fact (he says) that every report about mediumistic phenomena is speedily followed by a sensational account of exposure. Since statements in the newspapers have for many people the authority of a gospel . . . it is not surprising that such statements are more readily accepted than observations which are inconsistent with public opinion and scientific orthodoxy." He then dismisses Dr. Rouby's contentions as "gossip of the lowest sort"; with Monsieur Marsault's story he does not deal at all.

But Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's defence does not meet the objections of those who think that whether the accusations against Marthe Béraud were well-founded or not, students of her subsequent phenomena should have been given the opportunity of judging the case for themselves. The refusal of her family to allow her name to be published put Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing in a difficulty, no doubt; but, if this difficulty was insuperable, it would at least have been possible to insert a statement that she had not an absolutely clean record. The omission of any such statement would naturally be interpreted as implying that she had.

As regards the phenomena observed in the case of Eva C., they are of one kind only,—“materialisation.” The problem therefore resolves itself into two questions: (*a*) what is the nature of this “materialised” substance? (*b*) what possibility is there that the medium smuggles this substance into the sittings by some normal means not detected by the observers? In order to answer these questions, some account must now be given of the phenomena observed and of the conditions under which they occur.

During the production of the phenomena, the medium sits in a three-cornered “cabinet,” consisting of black cloth stretched over a wooden frame-work. The cabinet, which fits into one corner of the room, is completely closed at the top and bottom and on two sides; in front are two curtains (of black cloth) running on a rod. These curtains are usually under the control of the medium, who opens or closes them at her pleasure; at some of the later sittings, however, the curtains remained open or partly open during the whole time. The sittings always take place by artificial light, usually red light, but in some cases subdued white light was used. The light varied in intensity, and on this point, as on others, better conditions were gradually imposed; at the later sittings it was possible to read good print, standing at a distance of two or three yards from the light. Within the cabinet there was of course no light at all, except such as shone through the open curtains. One advantage of using red light was that the shutters of the various photographic apparatuses could then be left open, ready for use by flash light at a moment's notice. On many occasions several

cameras were used simultaneously and the phenomena were photographed from the front, from the side and from above. Interesting evidence was thus obtained as regards the dimensions of the phenomena; on this point more will be said later.

During the sittings the medium is, ostensibly at least, in a hypnotic trance, Madame Bisson being usually the hypnotiser. Doubts have been cast by some critics on the genuineness of the trance (a question which Dr. von Schrenck does not discuss at all), but compared with establishing the genuineness of the phenomena, the point is of secondary interest. It has also been suggested that the medium may be assisted by an accomplice, a suggestion arising naturally out of the suspicions cast upon her earlier performances. But there is no evidence in support of this hypothesis, and at many of the sittings strong evidence against it.

If complicity is suspected, suspicion will naturally fall on Madame Bisson, both on account of her close personal relations with the medium, who has for some years lived in her house as one of the family, and because she is the only person who has been present at all the sittings (with a few unimportant exceptions). I must apologise to Madame Bisson for discussing so frankly the question of her good faith; she will see the necessity of this course from a scientific point of view.

It should at once be said that Madame Bisson has no financial interest in the phenomena, and it is very difficult to see what motive could induce a woman of her standing to enter into a conspiracy for their production. But besides the absence of motive for fraud, there is, on some occasions at least, good evidence for the absence of opportunity. During the earlier sittings Madame Bisson was allowed to enter the cabinet during the production of the phenomena, and under these circumstances she might conceivably have supplied the medium with materials of some sort; but at many of the later sittings she did not enter the cabinet at all, no contact was allowed between her and the medium except during the process of hypnotisation, when she held the medium's hands for a minute or two under strict supervision, and on several occasions Madame Bisson herself was very thoroughly searched

before the sitting and dressed in clothes which had been carefully examined by the investigators. A detailed description of these conditions will be found, *e.g.*, on p. 320 of *Materialisationsphänomene*, in the report of a sitting held on August 15, 1912, and in *Der Kampf um die Materialisationsphänomene* (pp. 30 ff.) Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing quotes an account of this sitting by Dr. von Gulat-Wellenburg, who was present at it. The two statements are in agreement, and although Dr. von Gulat-Wellenburg has shown himself one of Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's keenest critics, he seems to have been quite satisfied with the conditions as regards Madame Bisson. It may therefore be taken as established, I think, that in some sittings at any rate, the sole agent in the immediate production of the phenomena was the medium herself.

The question as to whether she had any assistance in preparing the materials (assuming them to be prepared) is quite distinct. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, however, states that, without his knowledge, Madame Bisson and Eva C. were shadowed for eight months by the agents of a well-known Paris detective bureau. But the "anonymous employer" of these detectives did not succeed in obtaining "any evidence whatever of fraud, or in tracing the shop from which the materials required for the sittings . . . might have been obtained." (See *Materialisationsphänomene*, Introd. pp. vii and viii.)

It will be convenient at this point to give a brief account of the nature of the "materialisations," some of which I shall afterwards describe more in detail. Roughly speaking, they may be divided into two classes :

(a) Vague masses of no definite shape, sometimes more or less globular, sometimes ribbon-like, white or greyish white in colour and, on some occasions at least, semi-fluid.

(b) Objects having a definite shape. These are chiefly of two kinds, arms, including hands and fingers, and heads. The arms and hands are usually flat and look as though they had been cut out of some white material of a flexible nature. But there are two or three instances of "plastic" fingers, well modelled and showing the outline of the nails. The heads also are sometimes flat, and sometimes appear to be modelled in bas-relief. The ground colour of all these objects is white or grey. In the case of the heads the features

frequently present the appearance of being drawn in black on a white ground.

If these "materialisations" are fraudulently produced without the help of a confederate, they must either be concealed in the cabinet before the sittings begin, or they must be brought into the cabinet by the medium on her own person. The cabinet and the only article of furniture which it contains, the chair on which the medium sits, are always searched carefully before each sitting. The medium is not in the room during the search. At the sittings described in *Materialisationsphänomene* the chair, which was of wicker, was covered with narrow strips of black cloth, wound round the various parts of the chair, the reason given being that the reflexions from the polished surface of the wicker were confusing in the photographs. It has been suggested that small objects, *e.g.* rolls of paper, concealed between the chair and the cloth, might have escaped notice in the search. It is conceivable that fraud of this nature may have been practised on one or two occasions without detection, but the hypothesis appears quite inadequate to explain the phenomena as a whole, especially in view of the fact that in December, 1913, the cloth was stripped off, and the phenomena were not affected by the change. We are therefore forced back upon the other hypothesis, that, in some cases, at least, the medium conceals the necessary materials on her own person.

She also was carefully searched before each sitting, and wore clothes specially designed for the occasion,—tights of black stockinette (hose and stockings in one piece), reaching to the waist, and a loose black tunic fastening behind. The whole surface of her body was carefully examined by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing (and occasionally by other investigators), her hair, nose, mouth and ears were also investigated and sometimes (without any previous warning to the medium) a gynaecological examination took place. With one very doubtful exception, into which I need not enter here, nothing suspicious was ever observed. After the medium had been examined, the tunic was securely sewn to the tights at the waist; it was also sewn closely round the medium's neck and wrists, so that she could not get access to any part of her body, except her head and hands, without breaking the threads.

This method of procedure leaves only one of the natural orifices of the body free and accessible, namely the mouth, and this fact, taken in conjunction with certain characteristics of the observed phenomena, has led some critics to suggest, as an explanation of the whole case, that the medium possesses the faculty of "regurgitation." For this theory there is, *prima facie* at least, a good deal of evidence, and it deserves careful consideration.

The question is discussed in detail in *Moderne Mediumforschung*, a criticism of Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's book by Dr. Mathilde von Kemnitz and Dr. von Gulat-Wellenburg. "A 'regurgitator,'" says Dr. von Kemnitz (*op. cit.* p. 12) "is distinguished from other men, in that without any sensation of sickness, without retching or sound or trouble of any kind, he can at any time at will bring up into his mouth the contents of his stomach." Dr. von Gulat-Wellenburg (*op. cit.* pp. 63 ff.) gives an account of a remarkable case of "regurgitation" which came under his observation.

The subject, Hermann W., was a man who in 1913 gave public exhibitions, at which he swallowed as many as twenty living frogs and fishes, having first drunk a large quantity of water, held them in his stomach as long as he chose, and brought them up again alive, without any sound or visible symptom of vomiting. Hermann W. is sixty-three years old and in good health. He has had the power of regurgitation from babyhood and can usually inhibit it, although sometimes with difficulty. For many years his wife remained in ignorance of his peculiarity. Dr. von Gulat-Wellenburg tried several experiments with the man, making him swallow a long roll of chiffon, an india-rubber glove, and several pieces of thin paper, folded up. All these objects Hermann W. swallowed and brought up again without any difficulty. We have information of a family, several members of which have the same power and could probably develop it with practice such as Hermann W. has given to it.

There are several points in the evidence upon Eva C.'s phenomena which suggest "regurgitation," as Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing himself admits. (See *Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 355.) In the first place the materialised substance has frequently been observed to issue from the

medium's mouth. A particularly clear instance of this is described in the report of a sitting held on August 21, 1911 (see *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 179 ff.). The medium's hands and feet were controlled, and under these circumstances "a long shred of tissue, which appeared to be in direct connexion with her body, and to be guided by its movements, showed itself several times in the light." Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing asked that this material should lay itself in his hand, and after several attempts his wish was gratified, and a photograph taken of the phenomenon.

The tissue, which remained motionless for about six seconds, came out of Eva's mouth, as the stereoscopic print clearly shows, and ended in my hand. It appeared to be transparent in parts and flexible like india-rubber. The substance, which lay in my hand, struck me as heavy in proportion to its size and comparable to some heavy organic substance (Mesenterium?); it was damp, cold and slimy, and gave the impression of a long fibrous, irregularly-shaped piece of membrane, of a definite consistency and formation.

Later in the sitting a second photograph was taken :

We see . . . the medium's two hands holding the curtains and her head thrust out through the opening. . . . The front part of her face and the substance, issuing from her mouth and held by it, are outside the curtains.

This is only one of many occasions upon which the materialised substance was clearly seen to come from the medium's mouth, and the nature of this substance, as described by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing (he speaks of it as damp and slimy), is perfectly consistent with the hypothesis that it has been swallowed and brought up. Other evidence can also be adduced to support this contention. At a sitting held on September 8, 1912 (see *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 333 ff.) :

Strips of the material [were seen] on the bodice of the [medium's] dress. . . . We ascertained by repeatedly touching her dress, that the parts where the material had been observed were wet, as though moistened by a slimy substance. . . . An investigation of the dress [after the sitting] disclosed on the breast and lap a group of irregular, whitish-grey spots . . . and in particular a

long streak below the waist, . . . just where I [Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing] had seen the bright streak disappear [as described in the report of the sitting].

The substance of which these spots were composed, and several other very small quantities of the "materialisations," obtained at other sittings, were subjected to careful analysis (cf. *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 439 ff.). The general conclusion to be drawn from this analysis appears to be that the substance is of an organic nature, somewhat resembling saliva, but not identical with it. So far as the result of the analysis goes, there seems to be no trace of any substance which might not be produced by normal, or only slightly abnormal, secretions from the human body. But one of the unsatisfactory features of the case is that it has never been possible to obtain for subsequent analysis any fragment of what may be called the solid materialisations. Several attempts have been made (one of them forcible), but all that has been obtained is a few drops of the moisture by which these materialisations are frequently accompanied. It may be, as Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing maintains, that owing to the nature of the "ideoplastic" process (see below, p. 363) by which these phenomena are produced, it is impossible to seize the substance without the risk of serious injury to the medium. But the facts obviously lend themselves to a more sceptical interpretation. However that may be, the issuing of the materialised substance from the medium's mouth, and the nature of that substance so far as it has been ascertained, lend colour to the regurgitation theory.

Another point in favour of this theory for those who are not disposed to believe in the genuineness of the phenomena is that the medium would then be provided with an excellent hiding-place, in which she might conceal the materials required for her performance both before and after it. This is important, because the fact that careful searching has so far failed to reveal anything suspicious has been put forward as a strong point in her favour. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing calls attention to this in his introduction :

Since the special gift of Eva C. is confined solely to the sphere of materialisation, the only objection that can be raised is that

the materialised products are somehow fraudulently smuggled into the sittings. The problem of control is proportionately simple, since it is concerned only with preventing the introduction, piecing together, and removal of any substance. None of all the observers who have attended sittings during these four years has been able to show that previously prepared pictures or materials have been brought into the sittings and again removed after use. . . . The result on this point is and remains negative, that is to say, in favour of the medium.

The methods of search normally employed by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing and his fellow-investigators would, however, be quite useless on the supposition that the materials had been swallowed. But attempts were made on several occasions to detect or preclude regurgitation. At three sittings in May, 1913, the medium's head was enveloped in a net veil, which was firmly sewn to the neck of her tunic. At the first of these sittings, on May 2, 1913, a head was seen, which in its general character resembles phenomena obtained at earlier sittings, that is to say, the features present the appearance of being painted or drawn on some flat material, which is creased in several places and torn at the edges. Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing was not present at this sitting, which is only cursorily described in his book, so that one cannot draw any definite conclusions from it. At the next sitting on May 9, 1913, "at 10.14 p.m. a white strip, about half a yard long, came through the veil before our eyes and laid itself upon the upper part of her [the medium's] left arm." At 10.28 p.m. the phenomenon disappeared, but unfortunately no record was made as to the exact manner of its disappearance. A photograph taken at 10.17 p.m. shows this white material lying across the medium's left arm with one end in her lap. In general appearance it suggests a strip of very fine butter-muslin.

The third sitting, on May 16, 1913, is worth describing in some detail, as it presents one very curious incident. The medium was dressed on this occasion in a close-fitting knitted costume, made all in one piece and opening only at the wrists and from the back of the neck to the waist. Her head was covered with a black net veil sewn to the neck of her dress. "An attempt to force a way through at any point with a

sharpened pencil without breaking the stitches was unsuccessful." The mesh of the net was about $\frac{1}{12}$ inch square. The sitters present on this occasion were Dr. Bourbon, Monsieur de Vesme, Madame Bisson, and Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing. The general conditions were as usual (see above, p. 344). The sitting began at 9.5 p.m. and it is noted that the medium's hands remained visible throughout, holding the curtains. At 9.9 p.m. she changed the position of her hands, crossing the forearms, and then replaced them in the usual position, the right hand holding the right curtain, the left hand the left curtain. At 9.25 "a white substance appeared hanging out of her mouth like a great tongue and seemed to be making its way through the veil." Then a finger was seen at the end of this tongue and a photograph was taken, which is thus described by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing :

Eva's mouth is wide open. Part of the veil has been drawn a little way into the mouth-cavity. One sees plainly that along the whole width of the lower lip a broad mass . . . of a matted, skein-like nature, is hanging out of the mouth ; it appears to be issuing from between the tongue and the lower lip. At the end of this skein of threads hangs a finger of natural size, completely modelled and cut clean across at the middle of the first phalanx ; a thread is wound round the second joint uniting it to the mass [above], with which it is not otherwise connected.

This photograph is reproduced in *Materialisationsphänomene* (p. 418) and corresponds with Dr. von Schrenck's description, and a side view taken simultaneously is also shown. For several minutes after the photograph was taken, Dr. Bourbon and Monsieur de Vesme were able to observe this finger. Dr. Bourbon, who had the best view of the incident, thus describes it :

About 9.20 p.m. Eva leant forward towards us and we saw the "substance" coming out of her mouth and certainly on the inner side of the veil.

Very shortly afterwards I perceived that "something" was hanging out of her mouth and moving up and down on her breast ; it was a finger tied to a cord of the substance with which we are familiar. The finger touched me and in answer to a question from one of the observers I said that the finger felt dry. Again

the medium took my hand and placed it under the object ; I felt and now saw clearly and definitely a finger, which was damp and cold, fall into the hollow of my hand, where it rolled to and fro for a few moments ; its size appeared to be that of a full-grown finger.

The phenomenon vanished.

Eva then allowed me to feel the veil, which was quite wet through in the region of the mouth as though with saliva. Soon afterwards with practically no alteration in the position of the curtains the phenomenon was repeated, the hands remaining in full light throughout. I could now perceive the finger quite clearly ; it hung from a grey substance having two or three strands and moved up and down on the medium's breast. Two or three times the finger made distinct bending motions and then disappeared on the spot, as though it had ceased to be illuminated. This manner of disappearing on the part of the phenomena can often be observed.

Then Eva rested with her hands laid on her lap, holding the curtain open as often before. Suddenly I saw something white between her hands which were about ten centimetres apart. I pointed this out to my fellow-observers and we ascertained that we again had to do with a small finger, which lay parallel to those of the medium. Soon it stretched itself slowly and we perceived now that it lay on a mass of the above-mentioned substance, united by a cord with the medium's body. A few minutes afterwards the whole thing disappeared into the opening of the curtains and thereupon in spite of our wishes nothing more showed itself.

At the conclusion of the sitting Eva was searched and the veil examined. There were no holes in it and the stitches fastening it to the tunic were intact. The "finger," as the photographs clearly show, is cylindrical in form and about life-size ; in fact it does in shape very closely resemble a human finger, showing the slight indentation at the joints and the outline of the nail. It appears certain therefore that the "regurgitation" theory will not by itself suffice to account for this phenomenon. For if the finger came from the medium's mouth and therefore from inside the veil, it must have passed through the veil before it could fall into Monsieur Bourbon's hand. Taking into account the respective

dimensions of the finger and the apertures in the veil, it seems that the finger could not have passed through the veil by any normal means. We may assume, if we please, that it passed through by some supernormal means (and supposing the finger itself to be of supernormal origin there is no knowing what it might do in that way), but considering that it was never seen inside the veil, it is simpler to suppose that it never *was* inside. We must then dismiss the "regurgitation" theory as an explanation of this phenomenon and consider whether there is any other way in which it might have been fraudulently produced.

We have two hypotheses to choose from : (a) that the finger and the accompanying "substance" were concealed by the medium either on her person or in the cabinet, (b) that they were handed to her by some confederate at or after the beginning of the sitting. I have already discussed above the question of whether there is any reason to suppose that Madame Bisson plays the part of a confederate. Here I need only add that as Madame Bisson was not searched on this occasion, and held the medium's hands for a few moments during the process of hypnotisation, the possibility of her handing something to the medium was not wholly excluded. On the other hand it is only fair to repeat that neither on this occasion nor on any other is there a shred of positive evidence against Madame Bisson, and there is no doubt that some phenomena do occur without any complicity on her part. At the same time I would suggest the desirability from the evidential point of view of holding some sittings in which Madame Bisson did not approach the cabinet at all, or at least in which there was no contact between her and the medium. For it is a generally recognised principle in scientific experiments to vary all the known conditions, in order to discover which, if any, are essential to the production of the observed effects.

With regard to the possibility of the medium having concealed materials of some kind in the cabinet or on her person, it should be noted that these materials would have to be easily accessible and more or less ready for use. All the observers agree that her hands were continually under observation, holding the curtains. I do not think this statement can

be accepted without some reservations (for reasons which I shall presently explain); nevertheless it is hardly possible under the circumstances that she should have had the free use of the whole of either hand for more than a very short time, too short to admit of any complicated process of extracting or manipulating the materials. That being so, it is extremely difficult to see where she could have hidden an object as large as a human finger, so as to escape detection in the preliminary search. It should be noted that the dress she was wearing that day left no part of her body accessible except her head and hands. Supposing the phenomenon to be fraudulent, the finger was probably attached to the white mass which accompanied it, before the beginning of the sitting. This can be inferred from the argument which I have just put forward in regard to the very small opportunity, if any, that she had of using her hands.

Monsieur Bourbon in his report speaks of the "substance" coming out of the medium's mouth *inside* the veil. But since the veil had been caught up into her mouth, as the photograph shows, it would be extremely difficult in a rather poor light to be sure whether the substance was inside or outside. It is impossible to determine this point with any certainty from the photograph, and the fact of the veil being thrust into the mouth is in itself rather suspicious, because this proceeding would be necessary on the supposition that the medium, having extracted the material from some place of concealment, wished to make it appear to be streaming from her mouth, whereas one does not see why the veil should be caught up in this way, if the phenomenon is genuine.

It is interesting on this point to compare the phenomena obtained at the previous sitting. "A white strip," says Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, "about half a yard long *came through the veil before our eyes* and laid itself upon the upper part of her left arm." Some of the sitters thought they saw a finger, but Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing did not see it himself, nor does the photograph show it. At the conclusion of the sitting, about sixteen minutes afterwards, the veil was found to be dry. The photograph, as described above, shows the "white strip" lying over her left arm with the end in her lap. (See *Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 412.) The veil

is hanging down quite clear of her face. No one touched this object, and therefore there is only the evidence of the photograph to show the nature of the material of which it was composed. This material, as I have said, judging from the photograph, somewhat resembles white butter-muslin. The substructure is rather filmy in appearance, with coarser threads running through it. At one point there is apparently a rent in the stuff. Its position, as it hangs from the medium's arm to her lap, shows that, although limp, it can to some extent support its own weight and is not completely fluid.

It does not seem that any material presenting the characteristics above described could be forced through a veil, having a mesh $\frac{1}{12}$ inch square, by normal means without leaving obvious traces of its passage. If therefore we accept the statement that "the white strip came through the veil," it is difficult to resist the conclusion that we have to do here with some abnormal phenomenon. This statement is not open to the same objection that can be raised against the similar statement made in the report on the later sitting of May 16, 1913, because on this first occasion the veil was not caught into the medium's mouth. With the veil hanging loose, as in the photograph, it would be comparatively easy to determine whether the substance was coming from the medium's mouth or not.¹

At the same time, considering all the circumstances of the case, the conditions of light, etc., an observer might be mistaken on such a point, which brings us up against one of the inherent difficulties of judging a case of this sort on written evidence. To the actual observer the words "I saw it coming from her mouth" may imply many convincing details which they do not actually express. To some extent no doubt this difficulty is insuperable; but I think it might have been partly overcome by a greater precision in detail, especially upon certain crucial points. The

¹ A photograph taken by Dr. von Schrenk with another "materialising" medium, Stanislaw P. (see *op. cit.* pp. 465 ff.) shows a similar white substance issuing from her mouth through a veil. This substance certainly appears to be *inside* the veil as well as *outside*. In my opinion this is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for the abnormal nature of the substance which Dr. von Schrenk has yet published.

report of the particular phenomenon which we are now considering may be taken as a good example of what I mean :

10.14 p.m. A white strip about half a yard long comes through the veil before our eyes and lays itself upon the upper part of her left arm. . . .

10.17 p.m. The strip is lying over the medium's left arm and the upper part of her thigh. . . .

10.25 p.m. The strip visible again.

10.28 p.m. Eva feels that the phenomenon is about to vanish.

10.30 p.m. Close of the sitting.

It will be seen that between 10.14 p.m. and 10.17 p.m. the white strip changed its position considerably. Was there an opportunity for continuous observation during this period and if so, why are not the movements of the white strip more precisely described? Or were the curtains closed during any part of this time? At 10.25 p.m. it is said that the strip was "visible *again*," implying that there had been an interval during which it had not been visible. Was this due to the closing of the curtains? In many of the reports questions such as these are raised and left unanswered, which produces an unsatisfactory impression of vagueness on the mind of the reader. In a case where the whole value of the evidence depends upon accuracy of observation it is hardly possible to be too precise.

I have thought it worth while to discuss this particular group of phenomena in some detail, because they are fairly representative of the case, and the conditions under which they were observed make them especially interesting. They prove, as it seems to me, that regurgitation cannot have been used in all instances. If therefore these phenomena were fraudulently produced, the medium must have some other means besides regurgitation of obtaining access to materials not known to be in her possession, and whatever means were employed on this occasion may well have been employed on other occasions also. I have already indicated the chief difficulties in the way of supposing that the medium gets possession of the required materials by any normal means, and I shall return to this question later. Meanwhile it will be

convenient to consider what evidence there is as to the nature of the substance composing what I have called the solid materialisations. In discussing this question I shall take into account only those phenomena of which photographs are available.

These materialisations are of two types, flat and modelled, the latter being less common. The finger seen at the sitting of May 16, 1913, is a notable instance of this second type of phenomenon. A somewhat similar finger, similarly bound round the second joint with a cord-like substance, was observed on April 1, 1913. The two fingers, however, are not precisely similar, for whereas the finger seen on May 13, 1913, was almost completely extended, the finger seen on April 1, 1913, was bent at the second joint. In this connexion it should be noted that in his account of the sitting of May 16, 1913, Dr. Bourbon says that he saw the finger make "two or three distinct bending movements."

It is difficult to form any definite hypothesis as to what the substance could be, of which these fingers are made. They suggest white plaster casts, but evidently the substance is not hard, like plaster, because in the photograph taken on May 16, 1913, it can be seen that the outline of the finger has yielded a little to the pressure of the cord, by which it is suspended. Possibly the effect could be produced by some substance of the nature of plasticine in the hands of a tolerably skilful modeller.

A more frequent type of phenomenon consists in flat, white "pseudo-hands," which look as though they had been cut out of some material having the consistency of white leather. These "pseudo-hands" bear only a rude likeness to real hands and are often incomplete, having only two or three fingers. It is impossible not to be struck by the fact that they present exactly the appearance that might be expected of fraudulent materialisations, and there is evidence to show that, whatever their origin may be, they are used on occasion to perform a questionable function. In Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's report on the sitting of August 11, 1911, the following passage occurs :

Out of an agglomerate of the elemental substance, which kept shifting its position, there was formed in her lap a third clearly

visible flat hand [*i.e.* in addition to the medium's two hands which were holding the curtains]. Then I also observed about thirty centimetres above her head a more completely developed hand. When the phenomenon repeated itself several times and was again visible above her head I took a photograph, which is of a very remarkable character. For in the place of her right hand is the flat hand which I had repeatedly seen, three fingers and the greater part of the back of the hand being visible. . . . In the same photograph we may observe over Eva's head a remarkable four-cornered object, irregularly shaped below. We may easily suppose that the substance is supported by the medium's right hand held above her head. . . .

After the second photograph [*i.e.* the photograph described above] the phenomena continued. A strip of stuff about thirty centimetres wide and half a yard long was waved at us from behind the curtain, but immediately withdrawn. Finally there appeared coming from the left a hand fully developed in all respects with five fingers and a forearm (the medium's hand¹?) whilst Eva's two hands (the pseudo-hand¹?) lay visible on her lap. This appearance made a threatening motion, remained visible for four or five seconds and was then withdrawn. . . . The same hand touched the back of my left hand and pressed the tip of its finger against my skin so that I clearly felt the nail (obviously Eva's hand¹). . . .

Then the sitting ended. Considering the result of the photograph, the question must remain open whether one of the two hands which lay on her knees was not in these [last] phenomena also merely the appearance of a hand, so that on this assumption the frankly material character of the final phenomena was produced with the help of one of the medium's hands.

Two things are clear from this report. In the first place there can be little doubt that the phenomena on this occasion were at least partly fraudulent. The photograph shows that the pseudo-hand was very cunningly placed to simulate the real hand, and the curtain on that side is gripped together

¹ The words in round brackets are part of Dr. von Schrenk-Notzing's report; they were, I imagine, added in consequence of the disclosures made by the photograph, the passage without the bracketed words representing what was actually observed at the sitting. I draw this inference from Dr. von Schrenk-Notzing's words: "Considering the result of the photograph." (See above.)

(probably between the medium's knee and the arm of her chair) in such a way that in a rather poor light it would appear to be gripped by the pseudo-hand. Recourse was apparently had to this form of deception on at least two other occasions (see *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 275 and 313).

In the second place it is clear that until the photograph was developed, Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing did not clearly realise the deceptive nature of the phenomena. He was under the impression at the time of the sitting that the medium's two hands were "visible on her lap," when a third fully-developed hand was seen. It was this occasion that I had in view when I said that the statement as to her two hands being continually under observation could only be accepted with some reservations. She could not deceive the camera, but she could apparently deceive the observers. Taking all the evidence into account, and especially the more stringent conditions as to the control of the hands which were enforced at the later sittings, I do not think that this device can have been used at all frequently. But the fact that it was used once at least with partial success is damaging, as regards both the honesty of the medium and the trustworthiness of the evidence concerning her phenomena.

These pseudo-hands are frequently accompanied by shapeless masses of what Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing calls "the elemental substance." I have compared this substance to butter-muslin, but it is of a curiously variable character and presents one of the most perplexing features of the case. The most important advance that could be made in the evidence would be to obtain further knowledge as to the nature of this substance. But the investigators are seriously hampered by the fact that the medium strongly objects to any attempt to seize the materialisations or to handle them without warning, alleging,—whether truly or no,—that such attempts have a damaging effect upon her health. Nevertheless, one such attempt has been made, at a sitting held on August 30, 1912. Dr. Kafka thus describes the incident (*Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 345):

. . . Next a thin brownish strip appeared on the right side of her neck, hanging out of her dress. It was about three inches long

and recalled in its structure a coarse porous tissue. This strip did not change its appearance during the three or four seconds that the light [an electric torch] was on it. At Dr. von Schrenck's request I snatched at the substance; the medium cried out in protest and made violent movements of her whole body and especially of her neck, so that I seized nothing. I also felt no moisture under my hand.

This incident is interesting as far as it goes, but it is far from being conclusive. The materialisation seen on this occasion was very small, and, as Dr. Kafka himself suggests, the violent movements of the medium might easily have prevented him from laying his hand on it. The failure of a similar attempt to seize a large mass of substance would have afforded much better evidence of supernormality. I think that the efforts of those who are investigating these phenomena should now be mainly directed to seizing a portion of this substance, or at least to demonstrating, far more clearly than has been done yet, that it cannot be seized. The experiment made on August 30, 1912, did not apparently do the medium any permanent injury. Could not this experiment be repeated at intervals, especially at moments when a large mass of substance is visible?

Of all the phenomena associated with Eva C. the most sensational are the more or less realistic representations of human heads, which appear at the sittings, some being flat, others modelled in relief. In some cases it is difficult to be sure whether the head is flat or modelled, but on several occasions photographs were taken simultaneously from different positions, and the proportions of the materialised object thus demonstrated. (See *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 283ff. and 311 ff.¹) The heads are never completely modelled; they are masks in bas-relief, and the modelling shows as a rule very little technical skill. The features are often distorted, especially the nose. The most realistic of these modelled faces is the one which appeared at the sitting of November

¹By the courtesy of Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing I have also had the opportunity of examining some stereoscopic photographs, in which the dimensions of these heads can be more clearly seen.

22, 1911 (*Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 216). Even here there is distortion, but rather as though a good model had been roughly used and knocked out of shape.

The flat heads, on the other hand, display considerable skill in draughtsmanship; as Dr. von Schrenck points out himself, they present the appearance of "artistic" productions, drawn or painted on some thin pliant material, such as silk or linen. In at least one instance (the *Monna Lisa* of *Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 239¹) the lighting of the medium's face is inconsistent with the lighting of the materialised head, proving that the photograph shows us in one case the actual shadows caused by the magnesium flash by which it was taken. and in the other only a representation of shadows already existing as an integral part of the "materialisation." Many of the heads show clear traces of having been creased or folded, and in some cases the edges are torn.

These heads are chiefly interesting as affording evidence of a surprising and most suspicious nature as to the source from which some of them were derived. A photograph taken at the sitting of November 27, 1912 (*Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 367) shows the medium with a mass of some white substance fastened to one side of her face. On the back of this substance, as shown by a simultaneous photograph taken from inside the cabinet, there appear the letters M I R O in large capitals. The explanation of this curious phenomenon given by the medium at the next sitting is of the flimsiest. On the other hand, in a series of articles published in January and February, 1914, in the *Psychic Magazine*,² it is pointed out that these capital letters bear a very close resemblance to the lettering on the cover of the French illustrated paper *Le Miroir*, and that some of the heads seen at Eva's sittings are obviously derived from illustrations which have been published on the front page of *Le Miroir*. Two clear instances of this may be seen on pp. 386 and 402 of *Materialisationsphänomene*. With the first of these two photographs, taken at the sitting of January 19, 1913, may be compared the portrait of Presi-

¹ An enlarged and much clearer reproduction of this photograph appears in Madame Bisson's book *Les Phénomènes dits de Matérialisation*, p. 101.

² A periodical which, in spite of its English title, is French, and published in Paris.

dent Wilson, published in *Le Miroir* on November 17, 1912, and with the second, taken at the sitting of March 6, 1913, may be compared the portrait of President Poincaré, published in *Le Miroir* on April 21, 1912. In both cases the features have been to some extent altered or blotted out, but there can be no reasonable doubt (nor indeed is it denied by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing¹) that these "materialisations" are in some way derived from the *Miroir* portraits. On the other hand a careful comparison of details makes it clear that at least in some cases the "materialisations" do not consist of the actual paper sheets torn from *Le Miroir*, because there are slight discrepancies which no amount of "touching-up" will explain. (For the details of this evidence, which it is impossible to give here, see Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing's *Der Kampf um die Materialisationsphänomene*.) The heads at the sittings present the appearance of a rough tracing or copy of the *Miroir* portraits, deliberately botched in various ways.

Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing brings forward evidence to show that there are also discrepancies between the capital letters observed on November 27, 1912, and the *Miroir* title; but the evidence on this point does not seem to me conclusive, if allowances are made for the possible effect of perspective, slight crumpling of the paper, etc. Considering that the letters are on the back of the "materialisation," *i.e.* they were not visible to the observers, but only appeared in a photograph taken from inside the cabinet, it is natural to suppose, if we assume fraud, that they were there by an oversight on the part of the medium, and were not, so to speak, intended for exhibition.

To explain these phenomena Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing puts forward the theory of "idcoplasma." These heads are "materialised dream-images," "ephemeral. externalised and in some cases recognisable precipitates from the medium's psychical impressions and recollections." The medium, accord-

¹ See *Der Kampf um die Materialisationsphänomene*, p. 114: "It may be objected that the cumulative force of these pieces of evidence [*i.e.* the various points of resemblance between the "materialisations" and the *Miroir* pictures], corroborating one another, is too great to be explained by pure chance-coincidence; an opinion in which I must concur."

ing to this theory, has seen the *Miroir* portraits and out of the impression which they have left upon her mind she is able, by some strange creative process, to make material reproductions of her thoughts, which, when the creative force ceases to work, are reabsorbed into her body. It is useless perhaps to speculate as to how this obscure ideoplastic faculty might be expected to act, but it is surely remarkable that the medium's "materialised dream image" should adorn President Wilson with a black eye and an alien moustache, whilst reproducing almost exactly the pattern of his tie!

The burden of proof in regard to this ideoplastic theory, as in regard to all supernormal theories, is upon those who uphold it, and obviously a very broad basis of evidence will be required. But the evidence put forward by Dr. von Schrenk-Notzing is almost entirely negative: the medium could not have had the necessary materials in her possession; she could not have manipulated them in the necessary way (owing to the close watch kept upon her hands); the observed effects could not be produced by any of the normal processes, which the medium might be supposed to employ. That there is considerable force in Dr. von Schrenk-Notzing's contentions, no careful reader of his book will deny, but he has against him a dead weight of probability which is hard to move.

The case is very complex, and discussion of its various features might be indefinitely prolonged. But since the object of this review is to set before the reader, so far as is possible, an estimate of the evidence as a whole, I think that I shall best serve that object if I now briefly summarise what seem to me the chief points for and against the genuineness of the phenomena, and finally state the general conclusions to which the evidence seems to point.

THE CASE AGAINST THE PHENOMENA.

(1) Some of the heads observed during the sittings have been traced to a French illustrated paper, *Le Miroir*; these heads present the appearance of being drawn in black upon white paper or linen; upon two occasions a "rustling as of soft paper" was heard just before and just after the appear-

ance of a head (see *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 366 and 372). On one occasion the letters M I R O appeared, in a type closely resembling that which is used on the title sheet of *Le Miroir*.

(2) Except on one occasion no determined effort has been made to obtain any direct positive evidence as to the nature of the substance of which these heads and similar phenomena consist. This is explained by saying that attempts to obtain such evidence are injurious to the medium, but the chief authority for this statement is the medium herself, who, if her phenomena are fraudulent, has an obvious interest in making it.

(3) There is some evidence of attempted fraud on the part of the medium by the substitution of a faked hand for her own, which was thereby left free to play various tricks upon the observers. This fact, taken in conjunction with the medium's previous record, must awaken grave suspicions of her honesty.

(4) The sittings take place in a dimly-lighted room. The medium sits in a cabinet which is not lighted from within; the cabinet is closed in front by two curtains, which are usually under the medium's control. She can open or close them at her own pleasure. In many cases the curtains were opened only when the "materialisation" was fully "developed," and closed again immediately afterwards. These conditions obviously lend themselves to the manipulation of fraudulently prepared materials.

(5) It has been suggested that the medium possesses the faculty of regurgitation and that she swallows rolls of paper, muslin, etc., which she uses to produce the so-called materialisations. This theory is supported by various observations which have been made as to the nature of the materialisations and the conditions under which they are produced, especially by the fact that they are frequently seen issuing from the medium's mouth.

THE CASE FOR THE PHENOMENA.

(1) It is difficult to see by what normal process the medium could have prepared the various objects which have been seen at the sittings, especially those which are modelled in

relief. She has never been observed to make any suspicious purchases, nor have any suspicious materials been found in her possession.

(2) A deliberate attempt was made on one occasion to secure a piece of the materialised substance, but the attempt failed. It is suggested that the failure was due to the abnormal nature of the substance, which had been reabsorbed into the medium's body. Evidence of this kind might be of great value if it could be strengthened by repetition, but one cannot attach much importance to a single incident.

(3) At the later sittings the medium held the curtains with her hands all the time. Even when the curtains were closed part of her hands was visible. The observation of the hands was thereby made easier and the medium had proportionately less opportunity of using them for the production of phenomena. There seems no doubt that phenomena are frequently produced without the use of the hands.

(4) At a sitting held on September 11, 1912, the curtains remained open throughout and phenomena of an interesting and remarkable character were nevertheless obtained. This is an important sitting, to which I shall refer again.

(5) The regurgitation theory will not cover the whole case, because on three occasions (see above, pp. 351 ff.) the medium's head was enveloped in a veil and "materialisations" were nevertheless obtained *outside* the veil. Moreover, at a sitting held on November 26, 1913, with the express purpose of testing this theory, the medium was given an emetic immediately after the sitting and the contents of the stomach were analysed, but nothing suspicious was found. The circumstances are thus described by Dr. von Sehrenk-Notzing (see *Der Kampf um die Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 9 ff.):

The curtains were open when the phenomena began.

Between 9 and 9.10 p.m. a white substance issued with a flowing motion from the medium's mouth without any assistance from her hands or knees. . . . The length of the strip was about fifty centimetres, its width about twenty centimetres. It laid itself upon the breast of her dress, broadened out and formed a white head-like disc, of life size and with the profile to the right. Even after the magnesium flash (used for the purpose of taking a photo-

graph) the curtain remained wide open. At the same moment I turned an electric torch upon the image, which now formed a folded strip and went slowly back into the medium's mouth, which remained visible till the close of the sitting, 9.20 p.m.

The emetic was administered at once and took effect at 9.30 p.m. The contents of the stomach, which were analysed, showed no trace of anything but fragments of partly digested food. The medium's mouth was examined both before and after the sitting, so that it seems clear that the substance seen on this occasion came from her throat or stomach and was of a nature to be rapidly assimilated. None of the artificial products which it has been suggested that she may use, *e.g.* paper, silk, linen, etc., answer to this description, nor, judging by the appearance of the phenomenon on this occasion, does it seem to me necessary to suppose that any material of that kind was used. There is no question here of a clearly-defined "portrait head" but only of a "head-like disc."

I hesitate to put forward a theory which requires medical knowledge for its support, but it seems to me worth considering whether the case might not be explained by supposing that the medium is possessed of some abnormal power of bodily secretion (including probably the power of regurgitation), which she supplements by fraud. On this hypothesis I should say, roughly speaking, that whilst the more definite phenomena, heads, hands, etc., are fraudulent, the phenomenon witnessed at the sitting just described and the many similar phenomena witnessed on other occasions are to be explained by this supposed power of secretion.

There is, in fact, a good deal of evidence suggesting that the medium is able to secrete substances of various kinds from her body in an abnormal way. In particular, I would refer the reader to the sitting of September 11, 1912 (*Materialisations-phänomene*, pp. 339 ff.). Reports of the phenomena witnessed at this sitting (too long to quote here) are given not only by Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing, but also by Dr. Kafka and Count Pappenheim. Dr. Kafka's report is especially interesting, and suggests that the secretion issued not only from the medium's mouth, but also from her breasts. Reports of secretions from the navel and other parts of the body are

given by Madame Bisson (see *Materialisationsphänomene*, pp. 192, 220 ff), the medium being on these occasions completely naked. It is unfortunate that, as regards the evidence for these interesting and remarkable phenomena, we should be dependent on the report of a single observer. For obvious reasons the unsupported testimony of any one person can never be accepted without reservation, and moreover Madame Bisson, being a personal friend of the medium, and convinced of the genuineness of her phenomena, cannot be expected to regard them from an entirely critical and detached point of view.

In many cases we may suppose that the secretion is of a fluid and foam-like character; in others (as *e.g.* the sitting of November 26, 1913, see above, p. 366) we must assume that it may become partially solidified. I am aware that this theory is open to serious objections and I put it forward very tentatively. It has at least the merit that it would explain some of the most perplexing features of the case, without straining our credulity to the extent to which it must be strained, if we are to accept the supposed "ideoplastic" reproductions from the illustrated press.

There is very little *positive* evidence of fraud in regard to Eva C.'s phenomena (I have referred above to the occasional substitution of pseudo-hands); nevertheless, as regards the *Miroir* portraits and other kindred phenomena, the balance of probability appears to be on the side of fraud, although I must admit that I am quite unable to put forward any coherent theory as to the particular method or methods employed. But on the other hand, if we suppose that the whole case is purely fraudulent, we should be forced, as it seems to me, to make all the following assumptions:

(a) that the phenomena are ill observed and carelessly reported;

(b) that the medium possesses the faculty of regurgitation;

(c) that she was able on several occasions to elude the preliminary search and conceal materials of various kinds, either in the cabinet or on her person; and, almost certainly,

(d) that she had in some cases a confederate, at least in the preparation of the materials, if not in the actual production of the phenomena.

I have tried to indicate in a general way with what degree of probability these various assumptions may be made. But no review can enable any reader to form an independent judgment of the case ; for this a detailed study of the published reports, or personal observation of the phenomena, would be required.

Personally I incline to the opinion that there is evidence in this case of some abnormal faculty, round which have gathered fraudulent accretions of various kinds. I am aware that the theory of physical secretion which I have put forward above needs personal observation to substantiate it and may be wholly inadequate to explain the facts. I put it forward, as I have said, for consideration, because, after reading Dr. von Schrenck's report, I find myself in great perplexity,—unable to conclude either that the phenomena are wholly fraudulent, or that he has proved his case for the ideoplastic theory.

Before a solution of the problem can be reached, further investigation will be necessary under the most stringent conditions which the medium can be induced to accept. Indeed, unless she will accept more stringent conditions than have hitherto been imposed, I doubt whether any solution is possible. Meanwhile, a debt of gratitude is owing to Madame Bisson and to Dr. von Schrenck-Notzing for the patience and industry which they have devoted to a most laborious task.

SPECIAL MEDICAL SUPPLEMENT.

VIII.

RECENT EXPERIENCE IN HYPNOTIC PRACTICE.

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DURING 23 years in which I have employed hypnosis in medical practice, I have had experience of all classes of cases, and it seems to me amazing that medical men have such a power at their disposal which they never employ, and withal one that is so easy to use.

Take, for instance, a case of pneumonia with all the accompaniments of parched mouth, dry skin, sleeplessness, and pain. I have seen patients respond almost immediately to the suggestion of sleep, waking at regular intervals as instructed, to take their supplies of nourishment and medicine for which an artificial desire has been induced. They have looked forward to the nightly visits to receive suggestions, with a confidence unequalled in any other form of treatment. By the same means pain has been relieved and the skin moistened.

We are acquainted also with the benefits bestowed for the relief of drink and drug habits, neuralgia, asthma, obsessions, stammering, painful self-consciousness, hysteria, and a hundred other maladies in which suggestions are applicable.

As a conservation of work, hypnosis has been used in institutions for mental cases, where attentive rapport has been established between patient and attendant, so that on the smallest movement of the patient during sleep, the attendant quickly awakes, though unaffected by noises of a much more disturbing nature.

I had a somewhat amusing experience on these lines, in a lady patient who suffered from nervousness and insomnia.

I suggested ability to sleep soundly, but in order that a young and somewhat delicate child might not suffer from inattention, I included a protective suggestion of rapport, that whilst sleeping soundly through all other movements and noises, she would be alert to any movement that the child might make. The night following was broken by the boy developing an attack of croup, and true to the letter of my instructions, the mother awoke, but only to fulfil the duty of rousing her husband, and thereafter being content, she turned over and slept soundly through the remainder of the night.

In spite of the evidence in favour of the employment of psycho-therapeutic methods in selected cases, and even in some degree for many organic diseases, it still seems to be necessary to offer some sort of apology for its employment. It does not occur to us to justify the use of radiography, electricity, and other forms of treatment that are far newer. Is it because psychic treatment is produced by an agency that cannot be seen, and felt, and measured? Yet its results are not infrequently characterised by extreme brilliancy.

There is no doubt, however, that the old conservatism is rapidly dying down, and that medical men, though they may be slow to see that a case is a suitable one, and try every other means first, are nevertheless recommending patients in increasing numbers, and teachers are more and more acknowledging the merits of psychic healing in their clinics. The day is rapidly dawning when hospitals will not be considered complete without psycho-therapeutic specialists upon their staff.

I invite your attention to some interesting points occurring in three or four of my patients during treatment, but I would like it to be clearly realised that though I made some simple tests in the cases recorded, these are special instances, and that they have been done with the patients' full consent and knowledge. They are a few patients chosen from many, and it must not be inferred that a custom is made of thus experimenting. Patients must be treated, not tested, and this is a principle that I invariably adopt, for I am convinced that there would be no greater deterrent to patients accepting

treatment than the thought that they were destined to play a part in some entertainment.

The first case I shall record, I will refer to as E. P., a man of 47 years, whose employment was amongst horses.

I was asked to see him as a hospital patient.

As might be expected from his calling, he was a rugged type of man, and scarcely one who might be expected to develop neurotic symptoms, and less so, since there was no thought of compensation to accentuate his malady.

Two years prior to my seeing him he was thrown from a horse whilst jumping a hedge, and lay for some time untended in the ditch. He had some indefinite injury to the head, and pains in the hip which were probably of a rheumatic character from damp and exposure. Instead of improving, his symptoms increased, and perhaps the more because, as a well-known servant, he was frequently visited and sympathised with by his master's friends.

Finally he drifted into hospital, where he had been an inmate for two months before I was asked by the physician in attendance to see him, as the conclusion had been arrived at that his pains were chiefly of a functional nature. During all this time he had been confined to bed.

My interviews with him were in the X-ray room, to which he was carried in a lifting chair, and whilst still seated in the chair and with a ruby, cell-charging lamp for illumination, an attempt was made to induce hypnosis. This was successful to a deep degree, on the first trial, and after my suggestions were concluded, he was carried back still asleep, with instructions not to awake until the nurse came round to him with his dinner. He was much tickled on awaking to find himself back in bed with no memory of the transition.

Next day the process was repeated, with this variation, that he was now informed that he could walk back to the ward with light assistance. In this he was quite successful, negotiating on the way two flights of steps. This was the first time in two years that he had been upon his feet. His fellow patients exhibited keen interest in this experiment.

Although success had thus far met our efforts, the pain had not greatly abated, and I wondered if I could expedite recovery

by temporarily blotting out from consciousness the memory of the accident and attendant effects.

To bring about this end I created a dissociation by suggestion, and brought about a change of personality in which E. P., the man who had sustained injury and had lived in the hospital as a patient, had no part. The proposal was that he should become John Jones, who was engaged as a hospital attendant, who had no knowledge of E. P. and his accident. He continued to occupy the same bed, and understood that he was thus situated the better to assist in the ward duties. Meanwhile his case card was removed and letters bearing his rightful name were withheld. It was understood by all concerned that he was to be addressed as Jones, and work was to be found for him.

All went well for about six hours, and he worked quite industriously, but at five o'clock the same evening, when the house surgeon addressed him as Jones, he said: "You have been having a fine game with me; I know who I am now." At the same time he continued to assist in the ward work, though it was apparent that he limped, and he still complained of pain.

On the following morning I repeated my suggestions of altered personality, and again he responded. Realising that he returned to normal at 5 p.m. on the previous day, I rang up the hospital at that hour and had the man brought to the telephone, when I at once addressed him as Jones. The ruse was quite successful, and the response as unexpected. Asked how he was doing in his new place, he assured me that he was all right, but added, "What are you going to give me for this job?" I satisfied him on the point, and he then complained of pain in his hip as though he was then experiencing it for the first time, and offered as a satisfactory explanation that it was caused by looking after two pneumonia patients, whom he described as "them two lunatics," who had kept him awake all night. This was a self-imposed task, and was evidently a reason invented to account for what he believed to be a new pain.

As is well known, patients frequently invent reasons in this manner to account for phenomena which they cannot otherwise explain.

He was at this time wearing an old dressing-gown, and fearing that it might prove suggestive of invalidism to him, I told him that I wished him to wear a white coat, whilst on duty, like those worn by the house doctors. For this he demanded extra payment. His cupidity was growing apace. I kept him in this state for three days, at the expiration of which time I was obliged to resynthesise the dissociation for the peace of the administration. He had become so strict in his zealous attendance upon the pneumonia patients, that no one was permitted to speak above a whisper for fear of waking them, and a nurse was severely reprimanded for sneezing. So for the smooth working of the ward Jones had to become E. P. once more, and was allowed to receive letters and friends, but forgetfulness of the accident was still suggested.

A rapid diminution of pain ensued, walking became more certain and easy, and in fourteen days he was discharged from hospital, and during the next two weeks, prior to returning to work, he several times walked two miles from his home to visit me. In one month from the commencement of treatment he returned to a former employment, which consisted in breaking-in horses.

On the last occasion upon which I saw him, he complained of a blank period in his memory that had been produced since he had been under me. This was the state that I had purposely left when I restored him to his normal personality, so that his recovery might not be retarded by disadvantageous recollections. Now that the end had been gained, I released this inhibition and placed him at his case.

There was in this case a psychic trauma as well as the somatic one, the symptoms of the latter continuing to be reproduced as reverberations. No doubt I should have eventually succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory termination of the case by the use of simple suggestions, but I am satisfied that by causing a displacement of memory I was able to eliminate the pain more effectually, so that exercise might be encouraged with its concomitant improvements in circulation and muscular development, both of which were vital for recovery.

The next case I will refer to as Miss A., a dressmaker, aged 28.

It was one of conversion hysteria, the chief symptoms of which were spasmodic wry neck and spinal curvature, the muscular contractions being of a very coarse and distressing nature. Here, again, the duration was two years, with absolute confinement to bed in the last four months. Feeding and other attentions were rendered very difficult on account of the incessant movements of the head and shoulders, and a good deal of pain was experienced from the same cause.

Fig. 1, Plate A, shows how severe was the torticollis, but fails to show it at its worst, for with each movement the head was jerked still lower on to the shoulder. Life was a misery in spite of the unremitting endeavours of her medical attendant.

Treatment was commenced on April 16, 1912, and on the following day the first photograph was taken, at the patient's home. She was barely able to stand for the few moments necessary for this procedure, and the photograph was practically an instantaneous one.

On a first attempt, I was fortunately able to induce hypnosis to the fourth degree, and there were in all twenty-eight treatments, though after six or seven sessions the patient was able to go out and take short walks.

On the second day I made an attempt to resurrect the causative effect, and her mother being present, I induced a deep stage of hypnosis, and placed a pencil in her hand and a sheet of paper before her, and I instructed her to write answers to my questions, and for a facsimile of this writing the reader must refer to Plate A, Fig. 3.

In answer to my first enquiry, viz. what circumstance she associated with her first symptoms, she wrote "Fright."

Next, I asked who frightened her, and she wrote "Man." "When?" "Night, May, 1910." "How did he frighten you?" "Tried to take my life." "In what way?" "Poison."

I showed her this paper on awaking, and she expressed great relief. She felt freed from a burden, only the skeleton of which she remembered, and the details of which she had confided to no one, her mother not excepted. Free conversation was invited and various memories recalled.

It was, of course, a love affair, and the man showing mental symptoms the engagement was abandoned, and he tried to

take revenge by an actual attempt upon her life, and by other forms of persecution, all of which had been zealously kept secret.

This is a case that would doubtless have benefited by Freud's method of psycho-analysis, but fortunately I was able to obtain all the associations I needed by the quicker route, because she proved a good hypnotic subject.

So far as the case was concerned, my work was practically ended, and it only remained for me to continue my suggestions for a time, and to give some general directions for exercises designed to cure the scoliosis, in order to obtain the result as seen in Fig. 2, Plate A.

From the point of interest to this Society, however, the case is still of value.

Wishing to test the power of the unfettered sub-conscious mind to recall very early events, I hypnotised Miss A. and asked her to tell me of one of her earliest recollections. She recalled a circumstance which she told me occurred at the age of three years. She remembered a scene at a bridge under which a large volume of water flowed, and which she was afraid to cross. Her mother corroborated this, and supplied other details, such as the child's screams and the people who were attracted thereby.

I urged her to try further back, and I asked her what she could recall in connection with her second birthday. I had no reason for asking for this particular day, except that a birth date is a prominent day in a child's life, one that could be more easily remembered than any other date. After naming this day, I realised that the second birthday might be rather ambiguous, and might as easily refer to the first anniversary as the second, according to whether the actual birthday was included in the count or not, so I made the question specific by adding, the birthday when you were two years old.

She informed me at once that she was ill. Her mother subsequently recalled this fact. Giving her a pencil and paper, I asked her to draw a square to represent the sick room, and to place initials corresponding to fireplace, window, door and cot (Fig. 4, Plate A). The result is not a work of art, for the eyes were closed and the finish of the square did not correspond with the commencement.

If I had thought at that time that I was likely to publish the case, I should have allowed the girl to open the eyes, and make a more finished sketch, but still this was not a test of drawing ability, but of memory, the details of which were confirmed again by the mother. In the waking state the girl had no memory of these events, and had even no knowledge of the house she had then lived in.

I have since ascertained from Dr. Francis Scott that he had a case where memory was pushed back to the third month, and a pattern of the wall paper was sketched and afterwards verified to be correct. I have also met a girl in her early teens who can remember an incident in her first year, in her waking state. I nevertheless cite this for what it is worth, with the comment that there is a difference between the early memory of a child who has just entered her teens, and that of a young woman in her twenty-ninth year.

I next experimented with her for the post-hypnotic fulfilment of a suggestion to a specified number of minutes.

On June 14 (1912), at 11.45, I induced hypnosis, and suggested that she should come to my house in 4455 minutes.

She had never been tried with a time test, nor had she been to my house, though she was acquainted with the ferry-boats by which she travelled, and she knew what time to allow between the ferry and the Square in which I live.

The journey involved the following modes of transit. A walk to a tram-car occupying about fifteen minutes, tram ten to fifteen minutes, ferry-boat to Liverpool, change of steamers, and ferry-boat to Birkenhead, and finally a walk of five minutes' duration. The journey was therefore somewhat complicated, but nevertheless she was on my doorstep as the clock was striking two on June 17th, *i.e.*, exactly in 4455 minutes.

I presume there must have been an element of good luck in arriving exactly to the minute, since it would be impossible to judge the precise time that it would take to complete the journey. She must have been to a great degree dependent upon the timing of the steamers, and her only chance of lingering or making up time would be in the last five minutes' walk to my house. Her sister accompanied her, and they both stated that there was no special effort made to keep a scheduled time. She had a feeling that she must come about

that time, without having a specified hour in her mind. It seemed more a question of "beating time" than judging by a clock.

The question will naturally arise, was the command given in the presence of any one who would instruct and prompt her?

The mother was present at the time of the suggestion, but I had the assurance of both that no assistance was given, that nothing whatever was told the girl on waking. The mother was as interested in the experiment as I was, and, moreover, she is incapable of making a calculation in minutes which run into thousands, as is also the girl herself. The girl only knew at the completion of the test that she had come to me in response to a suggestion. No test had been given previously to guide her.

In this experiment I had purposely given a number of minutes which I had previously estimated would mature at a time when I would be at home to receive her, but in the next experiment I named the minutes at random.

Having hypnotised her in my Liverpool consulting room, on July 1st, 1912, I read a paragraph from a book which lay upon my table:—

"An old and loyal patient consulted me one morning. She complained of being run down and languid, and of troublesome indigestion. I prescribed a medicine and a course of treatment which I assured her would put her right."

I read it a second time, and told her that in 4910 minutes, no matter what might be occupying her attention at the time, she would write it down in full and then make a note of the time. To enable her to do this, I instructed her to carry a pencil and a piece of paper with her. I awoke her, and after she had left I made a calculation and found that the suggestion would fall due on the fourth night at 3.50. The sister was present on this occasion, but assures me that she gave no assistance, and, moreover, did not know herself when the calculation would work out.

On the fifth day the patient duly called upon me, bringing the slip of paper with the sentence written out almost word for word, and endorsed 2.20 a.m. The only variation in the wording is as follows: for "She complained of being run down and languid, and of troublesome indigestion," she had

written, "She complained of feeling tired, languid, and suffering from indigestion."

I will undertake to say that not one reader can repeat the first ten words of this sentence at this juncture, yet after four and a half days the paragraph on a first attempt is almost correct throughout. It will be observed that there is an error of 90 minutes between the estimated time and the actual completion of 4910 minutes. The experiment is wonderful enough as it stands, but it must be explained that the girl had no clock in her bedroom, and the question arises whether the sub-conscious reckoning was at fault, or the guess which the waking mind made of the time of carrying out the suggestion.

From the former experience I lean to the latter theory.

I questioned Miss A. and her sister, who sleeps with her, as to what occurred on that night. It appears that on retiring to bed that evening Miss A. took to bed with her the piece of paper and a pencil, it being the first time she had taken this precaution to provide a pencil, in the preceding four days, though she did not know why she did this. Both were soundly asleep, when the sister was awakened by Miss A. sitting up, and exhibiting a strange and confused demeanour. She complained of feeling cold and faint, but rose from bed, and in the dark fulfilled her task, when she at once became more comfortable, returned to bed and slept.

The next case is interesting as showing that when I started a train of thoughts, the movements that subsequently followed were self-devised in accordance with the subject's foreknowledge of what is usual under the circumstances.

The patient was a boy aged 11 years. He had been frightened by an infuriated bullock charging him, and for many months he had been afflicted with epileptiform convulsions of daily occurrence, in some of which the parents feared a fatal issue. Two or three sittings completely eradicated them.

One day, as he lay asleep, I put the suggestion to him that he was a cat. For some time he made no move, and did not seem to know what was expected of him, but when I explained that cats sat by the fire and washed themselves, he jumped down off the couch and proceeded to carry these occupations

into effect, and thereafter he invented new pastimes for himself. He purred and rubbed himself against my leg. He sought for mice in the dark corners of the room, played with cotton reels under the table, growled over small articles thrown to him as mice, pawing them in quite a characteristic manner. If told that a dog had entered the room, he arched his back and stiffened his muscles. At the call of "puss," he followed me about the house, and descended the stairs on all fours in a perfectly correct style. If awakened in any of these attitudes, he appeared embarrassed, but had no memory of his actions.

After a few such experiments I desisted, as I am of the opinion that such tests pushed too far are not in the best interests of the patient.

Mr. H., an organ builder, age about 48, came under my care last year on account of profound neurasthenia.

Being desirous of testing the depth of his hypnosis, I suggested a post-hypnotic inability to step over a tape which I had placed across the floor. On waking, he made two attempts to do this and failed. He thereupon sat down on the chair against which one end of the tape was placed, with his legs bent very awkwardly to that side of the tape on which he had been standing. Suddenly he gave a savage side kick to remove the obstruction, saying at the same time, "This thing annoys me." Thereafter he was able to walk through the gap he had effected.

Seeing his evident annoyance, I did not repeat this test, but tried a simpler one on his next visit. Looking around my room for a suggestion to make, and having in mind his profession, I was struck with the analogy which my desk bore to an organ. It is a roll top desk with columns of drawers down the sides, and on top of the desk stands a three-tier elastic bookcase. I suggested that when awake he would be impressed by the analogy, seeing in the tall lines of books a similarity to organ pipes, in the writing surface the keyboard, in the drawers at the sides, stops, and the pedal space underneath.

After awaking he approached the desk and examined the whole thing minutely, then said how irresistibly it reminded him of his work, indicated, with an upward sweep of his hand,

the likeness of the books to pipes, ran his fingers over the table top, and looked below for the pedals, which, however, were not represented, the space merely indicating them. Finally he opened the drawers down the side as though he was on the point of making a comparison, then his better knowledge coming to his rescue, he shut them with a vicious snap, and said, "You have got the stops in the wrong place; they should be here," and opened a little drawer inside the roll top.

I had made a false suggestion. His professional knowledge was too deeply ingrained for him to make such a mistake. And this has always been my experience. When it is attempted to alter a deeply rooted, or instinctive idea, there is too strong a counter resistance for it to succeed. In the same way I find it a most difficult task to accomplish a cure in traumatic neurasthenia when compensation is being paid under the Act. There is a strong auto-suggestion of unconscious contentment with the lot of the insured, acting against the treatment.

The case of Miss S. has been, and continues to be, my best case, just as she is my most responsive patient to suggestions carried out post-hypnotically, and it consequently deserves dealing with in greater detail.

She was a patient in whom I feared acute tubercular caries of the spine, but when I received the assurance of no less an authority in such matters than Mr. Robert Jones that there was no organic lesion, I entered on a course of treatment by hypnosis which has resulted in great improvement. Sleep was not induced until about the tenth sitting. So responsive has this patient become that a single utterance commands immediate sleep. With this patient's permission I have carried out a number of experiments, a few of which may be worth reporting in detail.

I can at any time carry out the experiment of selecting an envelope from a new packet, which being secretly marked inside the flap, is afterwards presented to her with the suggestion that there is a picture upon the face of the envelope. This is found and easily recognised again after the envelope has been thoroughly mixed with the others in the packet.

A propos of this, I lean to the opinion that the outline of the photograph is sub-consciously associated with fine points of dissimilarity on the surface of the paper, perceived through the induced hyperacuity of vision. I hold this view from the fact that I have repeatedly observed in this patient and others, that if the envelope is turned end for end, after it has been shown, and returned in this inverted position to the packet, the experiment is a failure. A test recently made to see if the envelope could be distinguished merely by the sense of touch met with no success.

In August, 1912, I was treating a patient who did not respond as readily as I wished to my suggestions, and hoping to help him by example, I showed him this patient, and used a test which proved more interesting since than at the time.

I instructed her that when she was awakened she would discover that we were alone, and that the gentleman who was in the room when she fell asleep had left, and further, that she would find her hat upon the stand in the corner.

The gentleman meanwhile stood in the corner, holding the hat upon his left hand, as though upon a peg, his right hand being similarly extended.

She awoke, and asked if the gentleman had gone, and quite unconcernedly she took her hat, and completing her toilet, she left, fully under the belief that he was no longer there.

So far there is nothing unusual in such a negative test.

When at home she remarked upon the new stand which I was supposed to have bought, and when next she came I asked her, when hypnotised, to draw it. This she did, and the result is seen in Plate B, Fig. 2. It is significant that in the waking state she is unable to make even an attempt at drawing a straight line, her efforts in this direction being represented in Plate B, Fig. 1.

Eleven months elapsed, when it occurred to me one day to ask her to draw the stand again from memory. In the meantime she had not seen the drawing. I had seen it myself many times, yet as I watched her draw the second one I had a sudden misgiving that she was going to make an error when I watched her commence the fourth row of pegs (Plate B, Fig. 3). Yet she was right and I was wrong. Even the

unevenness of the upper slopes correspond, the thick line at the base, the double lines in the mirror, and the transverse and longitudinal shadings are all correct.

I have pointed out these similarities on many occasions to my friends, and ought to be very familiar with every line of the drawing.

As a comparison, therefore, when writing this article, I took a piece of paper and a pencil and drew Fig. 4, Plate B to see how I could do it. With all the advantages which I possessed,—viz. ability to copy a drawing with some accuracy, and having seen both drawings at least a score of times, and particularly having pointed out details of likeness,—I could not remember just how the slopes were disposed, whether the double lines surrounded the whole of the mirror or lay only upon the left of it, and I was utterly at fault when I tried to bring to mind the outlines of the umbrella rails and, as the results show, I was quite wrong.

These details were of great interest to me, and speak volumes for sub-conscious accuracy of recollection after so long a period. To make my report a complete one, I must add that the gentleman who stood as a model for the stand was not, as I hoped he would be, made susceptible to hypnosis thereby, and I regard his case as one of my failures.

I have several times given this patient instructions to carry out complicated directions and she has never failed me. A specific instance will illustrate the kind of post-hypnotic fulfilment that I refer to.

I was asked to speak at a gathering where a question of Psychological Research was under discussion—the theme of the discussion being Sir W. F. Barrett's little book bearing the above title. Two weeks before the event was due to take place, I gave hypnotic instructions to Miss S. to present herself at the house of meeting on the date specified at 8 p.m. It was a part of the town that she had never visited before, so that all the routes and names were new to her. It involved a journey by two tram-cars, and a walk of rather more than half a mile. Her directions were supplied twice, verbally, with injunctions to ask for the hostess by name, and when ushered into the room she was to fall asleep immediately and remain in that condition until I needed her. No one was informed

of my intentions except the girl's mistress, whose permission had to be gained to permit her to leave.

This lady takes an intelligent interest in the experiments and co-operates with me heartily, so that there was no fear of prompting, in addition to which the lady was only supplied with the bare information that I wanted Miss S. on that day. It is probable that she knew the lady's name to whose house she was to proceed, but she did not know the locality of this house, the name of it, or the road.

As events transpired, the mistress also believed the appointment to be for the afternoon of that day, and as the afternoon wore on without the girl making a move, she came to the conclusion that the suggestions had miscarried.

All occurred punctually as described to the subject, and it was interesting to trace, step by step, how the impulses to act came to her, and how the names slipped into consciousness as each was needed. For instance, the name of the hostess only came into her mind as the maid answered her ring.

During the afternoon of this day she had asked permission to do her shopping earlier than usual. Consent was given, and as the afternoon went by her employer became uneasy that she had not asked to be released for what she thought was the time I needed her. Nevertheless she did not prompt her, and finally, seeing her linger over her work, she quite made up her mind that for once my influence had failed, and she afterwards gave up all idea of the matter.

During the waiting at table in the evening, the girl seemed absent-minded, and rather perplexed, but this was not then connected with my suggestions. An hour or so before the time for leaving the house the restlessness increased, and Miss S. stood for a long time at the kitchen door looking out into the garden, and finally asked to be allowed to go out.

This, under the circumstances of the household arrangement, was considered to be an unreasonable request, but was nevertheless somewhat reluctantly granted, and it was not until the matter was discussed, after she had left, that the light of understanding dawned upon the employers. They realised for the first time that it was an evening assembly and not an afternoon one, as believed up to that moment.

This explanation precludes the thought that a hint of assistance might have been given to my patient.

I have tried some simple tests in telepathy with this subject, under hypnosis, with fair success, but my experiments in this line have not been extensive, nor carried out with that care which would be considered necessary to eliminate all possibility of correct answers being given by other means. I was satisfied that she did not see, but in the absence of stricter methods I could not expect others to share that satisfaction, and for this reason the experiments are omitted.

I shall have one other experience to relate about the same subject in my next and last case.

Miss C., age 24. This was a case of very severe conversion hysteria, having its commencement about eighteen months prior to my introduction to the case. There appeared to be nothing special in the family history, other members of the family being normal people. The death of the father six months previous to the onset was supposed to have had some connection with the illness.

There was a small patch of dulness at the apex of one lung, but this did not give rise to any complications, and the definite evidence of tubercle was not established.

The main points in the symptoms were extreme wasting, the weight being but 4 st. 12 lbs. This was due to the persistent refusal of all food, only a little water ever being taken voluntarily. A few tablespoonfuls of milk were occasionally forced down, during twenty-four hours, under very great resistance, but at other times only as many teaspoonfuls were able to be given. Rectal feeding was equally resisted, and in spite of the frailness of the girl she was able to resist the attempts of two people to give nourishment by either route.

The eyes were closed except momentarily on rare occasions. Speech was equally obstinately withheld, and I believe absolutely so prior to my visits. The limbs were rigid and the legs were flexed and crossed. The eyes were invariably turned up out of sight when the lids were raised. That she was conscious was evident, as talk of feeding, or the preparations made for the purpose, were always the signal for crying and screaming.

After seeing the patient in consultation I made arrangements for her to be brought into residence as a private patient at the Liverpool Psycho-Therapeutic Clinic. This programme, arranged in her hearing, provoked the first words that she had uttered for months. Although she made no sign in my presence, she afterwards protested strongly against being moved. My attempts at persuading her to take food were unsuccessful, and she was accordingly fed forcibly, after which I tried to induce sleep. The sleep that supervened I thought to be the result of my endeavours, until I discovered that she invariably slept from exhaustion after each struggle to feed. Indeed I soon discovered that hypnotism was impossible, and equally so was the question of psycho-analysis.

Suggestions were therefore regularly given, though there was never a quiver of an eyelid to show that they were understood. As stated above, I was satisfied on this point by the patient's consciousness whenever feeding was spoken of, and preparations were in progress.

Later I tried suggestion by transference after the method described by the late Dr. Forbes Winslow in the May issue of the *Practitioner*, 1913.

My last-mentioned patient acted as the medium, and when hypnotised, her hands were joined to the patient, and I made an endeavour to tap the patient's sub-conscious mind by questions addressed to the medium.

For some strange reason Miss S. failed me for the first time, and offered stubborn resistance to all my attempts. Perseverance on my part, coupled with the plea that it was the only chance of saving the girl's life, resulted in an outburst of crying from my hypnotised subject. Further questions only increased the distress. I therefore took her into an adjoining room and left her with pencil and paper, and gave her instructions to write.

After an interval I returned and discovered her with her head on her hands, still sobbing, and with an incomplete sentence upon the paper, viz. : " I didn't want to do it, Don't tell Ona [intended for "Una," the girl's name], Come to what." No amount of coaxing would make her finish the sentence, so it had to remain incomplete and senseless.

To my question, if she had received any intimation not to

reveal what she had learned, she answered "Yes." It was evident that this interrogation was causing distress, and I therefore desisted, and suggested an amnesia for all that had occurred, and not to allow the circumstance to worry her. On the command to awake, she was immediately bright and smiling, with no memory of what she had passed through.

Before separating the patient's and the medium's hands, I made such suggestions as I thought would be applicable to the case, from the scant history supplied by the friends, and the general symptoms. The reason given, viz. the death of the father, I did not consider sufficient, partly for the reason that the event was six months prior to the first symptoms. I thought it far more likely that there had been a love affair which had caused a more than usually keen disappointment, and I made some suggestions to that effect. Whether there was truth in this shot or not, it was the only chance that seemed to be left to me.

In any event, I had barely left the house before the patient was roused to indignation, and for the first time in months spoke freely, and indignantly denied all that I had ventured to say, and forthwith evinced a dislike for me, and on each subsequent occasion turned over in bed away from me whenever she heard my voice, whilst previously I might have been absolutely non-existent, so little did she appear to notice my presence, providing I was not preparing to feed her.

This increased my belief in the accuracy of my remarks, and it was further made evident by the pains with which she endeavoured to supply another reason, viz. that she felt that she was not regarded at home with the same esteem as the other members of the family, and that in consequence of this she wished to die, and was taking this means of accomplishing her end. Apart from being an improbable reason for so grave a condition, the explanation was not true, since great devotion was shown to her by her people.

From this point in the history I ceased to attend the patient, as she expressed a wish to go back to the house where I first saw her, and to be spared from the visits of doctors.

I considered it best to agree to this, and I did not see her again for two weeks, and hoped that the suggestions would meanwhile wake up fresh conflicts.

At the completion of this period I called to enquire about her progress, from her sister, and I was informed that she was taking a little more food, and there seemed some hope that improvement had commenced.

Whether on account of increased acuity of hearing she heard my voice, or by any supernatural means received a sub-conscious impression of my presence which set a further train of associations in action, or whether my visit was in no way concerned with the change, yet a little time after I left the house the girl suddenly sat up in bed, asked where she was, embraced her sister, enquired after various members of the family, and stated that she was hungry.

She arose and dressed and ate a good meal. She remembered nothing of the eighteen months, beyond a dim recollection of having seen the room she was in before. Of the visits of doctors, change of abode, and other circumstances, she had no recollection. She slept well that night, and for several days continued to improve, and we believed that there was a promise of a complete return to health. The dissociated elements had been re-synthetised with the main stream of consciousness.

I wished to complete my investigations into this case, but the friends were reluctant for hypnosis to be tried in order to probe the cause and to try and eliminate the complexes. They were afraid of a recurrence of the old condition, and I hesitated to press the point until a later and more robust phase should supervene.

I should like to be able to record that this return to memory marked the commencement of a return to health, but the subsequent history of the case is that the system, worn out by long privation and emotional distress, was too far disorganised for recovery, and she subsequently gradually sank, and, as the physical energy gave out, the psychic dissociation returned, and the girl died. She fulfilled her determination, as frequently expressed when speech returned.

It will be fully appreciated that there were no means of influencing the sub-conscious mind except by persistently repeated suggestions. Psycho-analysis was as impossible as hypnosis, except that it might have been employed after speech and memory returned, if opportunity had been granted to me.

In conclusion, there may be some people who will laugh at a serious attempt being made to affect this patient by "transference," but this method has the support of men who are well known in the profession; the late Dr. Forbes Winslow was one who appeared to use it extensively in his practice; and though I cannot say whether any of the subsequent results were due to this means or not, still two things stand out prominently in my mind:

(1) Some very disturbing element must have entered the perception of my medium in order to cause such obvious distress and such blank refusal to divulge her thoughts, and

(2) After the first sitting the medium knew the patient's name, though no mention of it had been made in her presence, and when awake she had no knowledge of it.

Since the death of the patient, I have made other attempts to obtain something from Miss S., telling her that it did not matter now that the girl was dead and could not object. Beyond telling me that the secret is one that she cannot divulge, she is adamant, and every effort that I made brought about the same state of sobbing and distress, so that I finally had to abandon the task. We must therefore be content to let it remain a mystery.

IX.

SOME AUTO-SUGGESTED VISIONS AS ILLUSTRATING
DREAM-FORMATION.

BY V. J. WOOLLEY, M.D.

DURING the last few years the study of dreams and their causation has made great advances through the work of Professor Freud of Vienna. His theories have excited the fiercest controversy on the Continent, particularly among the members of the medical profession, and the quarrel has extended in a somewhat milder form to this country, where it has even reached the daily press. The last development I personally rather regret, since it is only too well known to members of this Society what gross misrepresentations and garbled narratives are inevitably produced by such an extension. It is in the hope of clearing up one of the grosser misunderstandings of Freud's theory that I venture to bring forward some experiences closely resembling dreams and illustrating to some degree what Freud believes to be an important factor in the causation of the dream state.

It is probably known to most people that Freud believes that every dream originates in some impulse or tendency towards action present in the unconscious part of our mind. Every dream, moreover, represents in some way, generally a symbolic or distorted way, the carrying out into action of some such impulse. This theory is usually put in the form of the statement "every dream represents the fulfilment of a wish," a statement which I think is very misleading, and has caused an immense amount of misunderstanding of Freud's conception.

As we ordinarily use the word, when we say "I *wish* to do this or that," we mean that we have considered the *pros*

and *cons* and are actually willing and anxious to adopt this or that line of conduct. In Freud's sense, however, the word *wish* implies nothing of this kind. As I have expressed it above, it implies no more than that there is present in some part of our mind a tendency towards a particular line of action; but this tendency may be so checked and resisted by other existing conditions, such, for instance, as ideas of duty or of worldly wisdom, that it in no way corresponds to the real line of conduct which we are willing to follow. In fact, it often happens that some such impulse is so opposed to the ideas on which our conscious life is based that it fails altogether to penetrate to our consciousness. It is deliberately kept out by a mental mechanism which works without our knowledge, and is called by Freud the *Zensur*, or Censor. When we sleep this Censor is weakened in its working; it is not strong enough to keep out these impulses completely, but it succeeds in distorting them, so that they are no longer recognizable by our conscious mind; or we may put it that they manage to disguise themselves sufficiently to slip past the sleepy sentinel and take advantage of their chance to do so.

It is in this sense that dreams represent the distorted fulfilment of an unconscious wish or impulse. Yet it has been continually urged by those who have not read Freud's writings that dreams so often go counter to our wishes, or are unpleasant, or that we dream that we murder some one against whom we have no ill will, that they cannot be said to be the fulfilment of our wishes. I have said enough to show that such an objection is baseless, but the dream-like visions I am going to discuss give, I think, a clearer illustration of the dream method than can be got from the ordinary dreams of sleep.

These visions consist of a number of self-suggested hallucinations which were experienced by one of our foreign members. He has placed them at the disposal of the Society, and I hope that at some future date they may be described in detail by some one who is personally acquainted with him. (See Miss Johnson's paper below.) I have only selected a few which seem to illustrate the point I hope to make clear.

This gentleman, whom I will call Mr. Grünbaum, suffered in 1911 from some kind of nervous breakdown which he says

he determined to cure by means of self-hypnotism. He writes :

My intention was first to influence the different senses and then the psychical part of myself. Therefore one day in the end of September [1911] I sat down in a chair with a sheet of white paper in front of me. I took some solution (of bromural or something like it) in order to get a little sleepy, and then I told myself that after awaking I should see a black charcoal line on the white paper sheet. I really got sleepy, and after a while I saw a very decorative line on the paper in front of me. A voice in my head told me "This is on account of the experiment you are making." Thereupon the line vanished. Then I tried again to get the line *straight*, but that would never succeed. It was always more or less decorative. The one that came nearest to the straight line was about this [here he gives a sketch of a complex figure of several loops and curves suggesting nothing in particular].

So [he concludes] I gave that up, and one of the following days I tried a more complicated thing. I tried a young lady. She did come and even without any drug. It was as follows: In order to get tired I had been making a long walk and thereupon I sat down again and told myself that after awaking I should see a young lady. After some 20 minutes I got aware of some kind of whirlpool where there seemed to be flames or firework. Then the thing got the shape of a lady coming in a great speed towards me. She was all the while smiling friendly and seemed to be in a great haste. She held up her dresses at one side with her hand in order to be able to go quickly. I saw them flying in the wind and I saw her feet go very quick. When she was about the size of 1 foot English then the voice said again that it was on account of my experiment, and then I began to make up my mind that it might come out to be interesting when she came nearer, whereupon she vanished.

The next account I shall quote describes as follows his experience while undergoing hypnotic treatment from a physician whom he had consulted for the relief of his symptoms :

I got aware of something moving and turning *in front of and above my forehead*. It took the shape of a disk of some 4 feet diameter.

Inside that disk there was sitting a young lady. It was a beautiful creature with a very friendly charming face. She nodded her head very nicely towards me. I said "Who are you?" She answered, "I am your Self-control." (I had read in Dr. Bramwell's book that the chief aim of every hypnotic treatment should be to develop the patient's self-control, but I had never thought of the idea that it meant to develop a young lady.)

"Just feel how real I am," she said, and she stretched out her arm and hand towards me. So I gave her a pat on her fingers. I heard the sound it made and felt the touch. Then I noticed on that occasion something extraordinary: I felt in her hand just as well as my own hand. That is to say, that I felt just the same as when one is touching his own right hand with his left hand. My own hands were, however, not touching one another, but were lying on the woollen cover.

Thereupon she began to make arrangements to step out of the disc. She put her foot outside. I still remember the beautifully decorated silk stocking. I could see every stitch of the silk. So I made directly up my mind that she had better stay in there, as I began to feel uneasy that there might something get wrong in my brains. She noticed my fear directly: I could see it on her face. So I returned to common consciousness and she disappeared.

I have quoted the last vision chiefly in order to make clear some others that follow, but I may here draw attention to what is disclosed in it by the most superficial analysis. We can easily discern three desires which form the motive force of the vision: the wish to pass into a hypnotic trance, to develop his self-control, and to see a young lady. The first two are derived from Dr. Bramwell's book which he had just been reading: the third is sufficiently common in all the visions to make one certain that it is nearly always present in the unconscious. In the book there is a good deal said of the method of producing hypnosis by a circular mirror or disc held above and in front of the eyes, and it will be seen how precisely the disc containing the vision is located at this spot.

After this vision Mr. Grünbaum began to address his Self-control much as spiritualists address "controls" at a séance. I quote next a vision of February 1, 1912:

(Young lady's hand.)

I sit down after dinner and after a while I speak to myself as follows :

“ My dear Self-control, ” I say, “ where have you gone to ? Now come back, there is a chance for you here to try your powers, granted that you behave exactly in the way I want you to. Come, come, come, show me your little hand.”

Result.—After some 20 minutes, at the moment of getting a little dreamy, I see a disk in front of my closed eyes—about one foot in diameter and at about one foot distance. There is nothing in it except a piece of staniol. This takes the shape of a flower. Then there comes at the underpart of the disk a red-brown hand, all stiff as if carved from wood. It is connected to a long brown arm and moves upwards. It takes hold of the staniol-flower and shows it to me. It turns it to and fro and disappears at the underpart of the disk, taking the flower with it.

(February 2.) Young lady's hand.

I say : “ Dear Self-control, you seem to have made a mistake yesterday. I wanted to see your own hand, keep that well in mind ; go on, as you are on the right track.”

Result : a lady's hat.—It is beautifully ornamented with silk and velvet trimmings all of a dark colour. It is more than 1½ foot broad and turned slightly upwards so as to show to me the hollow crown.

I say : “ My dear lady-friend, you must be mistaken, as this is not a hand but a hat ; try again.”

Directly hereon the hat begins to turn around its axes, and there comes something glistening around the corner and more and more into the light. It is then brilliantly illuminated and turns out to be a brooch. It is silver plated and is as a Christmas card : two hands folded together. Then the hat turns to and fro and to and fro as if it were to show to me how nice it is.

It fades away and then comes a small nickel-plated *press-papier* with a nickel hand on it.

(Note.—In the morning of that day I had seen in a lunch-room a girl with a rather nice hat with trimmings of silk and velvet. There was no brooch on it, but she wore a band around her waist fastened with such a brooch.)

(February 3.) *Bouquet of flowers.*

I speak as follows : “ Self-control, here is something you’ll like, as it is flowers ; just the thing for you. After you have shown the bouquet to me you must let me smell the delicious flavour of the flowers ; don’t forget that.”

Result : A pair of slippers.—They are pointing with their embroidered toes towards me. The toes are embroidered with coloured cotton wool, roses and buds.

Then all at once I get the most fearful stink in my nose, as I had never before. It was, in fact, worse than rotten eggs. I pull myself out of it with a start.

(February 8.) *Boy.*

I give an order to show me a boy. I keep this idea in mind and picture it out in front of me.

Result : my own face making an ugly grimace at me.

(*Note.*—I fail altogether to see any connection between this face and a boy. But afterwards, on February 10, talking the affair over with Mr. Feilding, I remember that on February 7 I had been looking in a small mirror hanging in a corridor in order to inspect one of my teeth. On that occasion I had made the remark : “ Well, you are a nice boy ; would you make yourself younger with your suggestion ? You are decidedly getting older.”)

(February 10.) *Landscape covered with pure snow.*

I tell my Self-control, as I am rather warm near the hot stove, to show me a landscape, covered with pure snow. (The word *pure* is in the Dutch language *rein*.)

Result.—I see Mr. Feilding, who is present in a little canoe with somebody else. The canoe tumbles over and they fall down into the water.

(*Note.*—During the morning of that day, I had a conversation with Mr. Feilding concerning a canoe accident he had once. In the course of that conversation Mr. Feilding told me that it had been on the river *Rhine*.)

(February 14.) *Rose.*

I point out to my Self-control that she seems to have lost the right track last time. So I’ll help her by trying to picture out the rose in front of me.

Result.—After some 20 minutes I get aware of something wavering to and fro under my nose. I look at it and I see that it is a *rose with a bud*. It is connected with a long stem of about a foot. Very low down it is held by a lady's hand—very elegant—with a bracelet around the wrist.

Just when I try to get a good view of this bracelet, I smell during the time of one inhalation a very intense smell of beautiful roses. It smelt much nicer than ever a real rose could smell.

Then I say: "Well now, this is right, this is the way I want you to work for me."

(*Note.*—Still a while afterwards I had that delicious smell in my nose.)

(*February 15.*) *Mignonette*.

I proceed in the same way as with the rose, my intention being to work along in this way all the different flowers.

Result.—I see a disk. In this disk there comes a little boy. He is laughing. Then there comes a big woman in front of him. She is pulling his ears and giving him blows on his face. I hear her saying: "There, there, there." The whole scene was enveloped in a very thin black veil.

(*Note.*—That day I had been taking a very long walk. Coming back to the city, I came across a brook, wherein there was still lying a flake of ice. There was a boy standing on it, amusing himself there. Then his mother came out of house scolding at him. So he came off and she began to beat him.

Next day I went down again to the same place and noticed some old flower-pots in the window-sill. There was, however, nothing in them but what once might have been flowers.)

(*February 16.*) *Violets*.

I point out to my Self-control that she seems to have got on an altogether wrong track again. So I'll try to help and picture out some violets. [On February 17] I make up my mind to try that again.

Result.—After a while my hair is pulled, just at the centre of my head. I say: "Come now, here you are wrong, it has nothing to do with it, try again." There again my hair is pulled, but stronger and more decided.

(*Note.*—Then I make up my mind, that there stands on my mantelpiece a small bottle with some oil in it, to be put on the hair. It bears a label: “Violette de Parme.”)

(*February 21.*) *Song-bird.*

I point out to Self-control, that I have here something she'll like better, as it concerns the singing of birds. I try to picture out all kind of beautiful birds in front of me.

Result.—I hear somebody whistle outside. He whistles all kind of airs that are on my phonograph. He really does it in a marvellous way. He whistles some five or six different airs.

(*Note.*—After interrogating my mother who was present that time, I asked her, if she had heard how nicely that man imitated birds in the street. She said she heard nothing at all.)

(*March 1.*) *Heavenly Love.*

(This is the best one as far as now.)

Now I point out to my Self-control that we shall go over to the higher sentiments; I propose to her to work together in order to get the wanted result.

Result.—I see a medallion of some 2 feet diameter. All around the circumference there are little flames all jumping around. They dance all around in a very agitated way. In the medallion I see (1) Mephisto. He is wonderfully well defined with his shrewd face. I feel myself very much attracted towards him, as he has such a cunning face. He has a staff in one hand and is pointing with the other hand to Heaven. Then it disappears.

(2) The darkness opens itself again very slowly, and I see a disk. Therein is a brass stand with a brass kettle on it. It is wonderfully ornamented with all kind of curls. It is transparent, as if made from glass. It is all enveloped in a very thin black veil. Even the way in which the veil is slung around the brass stand is highly artistic. Then it disappears.

(3) Thereafter there comes a work girl with a blue skirt with the sleeves and hands. Next to her is a hand and a part of a sleeve apparently belonging to a policeman, since there are police stripes on it. The man himself is invisible, but the hand is in a position as if he were standing up to dance with the girl. Then I make up my mind that, when she connects both parts together, the thing will be ready then.

Thereupon there comes out of the darkness a Christmas card with all kinds of friendly-looking faces on it. The card is of an extremely fine texture like muslin, and behind this muslin there are again all kind of silvery bouquets. It is an immensely nice little thing and ornamented all over with flowers. It all glitters like electricity. It fades away and thereafter I get a sensation of really going up to Heaven. This must have been what is called ecstasy.

Notes.—(1) That day I had been reading in the book of Faust. There is a print in it in which Mephisto points with his hand to Heaven. It is, however, nothing like what I saw.

(2) Sitting on the chair, wherein I have been reading Faust's book, the brass stand with kettle stands to the left. It is heated by gas.

(3) The evening before I had been visiting a variety theatre. One of the numbers was a love-song between a work-girl and a policeman.

(*March 2.*) *How much is 65×27 ?*

I tell my Self-control that after we have been right up to Heaven yesterday, we shall have some arithmetic to-day. So I tell her to calculate out how much is 27×65 and write it down in front of me. I keep asking mentally : How much is 65×27 ?

Result.—I see two arms coming out of my shoulder. They are intermingled with one another like snakes. They are in the act of writing down something in front of me on the wall. I can, however, not make out what is written. At the same time I hear somebody say : “ *Didn't I sharpen your pencil for you yesterday ?* ”

(*March 7.*) *Boy playing at hoop.*

I keep this idea in mind and picture out a boy playing at hoop.

Result.—After a while I see a disk. There come figures in it. I see three little girls dressed up as boys. They give one another their hands, in this way forming a closed circle. Then, keeping one another's hands, they begin to jump around. I hear them singing “ *tralalah, tralalah.* ” It is as if they are made from very thin coloured glass thread. It is immensely nice to see them jump around, at the same time looking at me with their lovely faces and long eurls.

(*Note.*—So I find that herein the idea of *children's game* and *boy* and *circle* (hoop ?) are represented, but I did *not* see a boy playing at hoop.)

There are many more of these visions, and the ones I have quoted are taken to some extent at random. They all, however, have one character in common. With the rarest exceptions, the vision which Mr. Grünbaum actually experienced was not the one that he wished for and expected. Sometimes, as in the smell of the carpet slippers, it was just the reverse, but in most it was more or less clearly connected in a way which he was able himself to detect. In some, which are not quoted, no connection was obvious to him, but I have no doubt that a connection could be established by any one who was sufficiently acquainted with his thoughts, and his association tendencies.

The object of this paper is to controvert the objection to Freud's theory of dreams, which is based on the fact that dream experiences are not obviously pleasant or satisfying to the dreamer. I have mentioned earlier that the motive force of the dream is to be sought in some desire or impulse which cannot obtain gratification in waking life, on account either of outward circumstances or of inward judgment. It is this incompatibility with the waking life that causes the disguise which renders the desire unrecognizable.

In Mr. Grünbaum's visions, the place of the desire is taken by his wish to experience a particular vision. As that wish is conscious, it does not need to be rendered unrecognizable; but it does succeed in associating itself with some elements from the unconscious which bring about the moderate distortion which is present. To know what those elements are, it would be necessary to know what ideas could be associated in his mind with the various items of the visions,—a knowledge which could only come from a prolonged and detailed study. All that I have tried to shew is that such a vision may be demonstrably based upon a definite wish, while it fulfils that wish in a distorted or disguised manner.

X.

PSEUDO-PHYSICAL PHENOMENA IN THE CASE OF
MR. GRÜNBAUM.

BY ALICE JOHNSON.

MR. GRÜNBAUM'S narrative, some parts of which are discussed above by Dr. Woolley, includes various incidents which closely resemble certain types of alleged "physical phenomena," and may instructively be compared with them, since it is clear that in Mr. Grünbaum's case the apparently material effects were really hallucinatory, while the actually material effects were found to be produced by his own automatic and unconscious action. These incidents being outside the scope of Dr. Woolley's paper are given separately here; but as they obviously belong to the same train of psychical events, they will be best understood if seen in their proper setting. I therefore quote some cases of the same kind as those already given, in the midst of which what I may call the "pseudo-physical" phenomena occurred.

As stated by Dr. Woolley, Mr. Grünbaum wished to cure himself by self-suggestion, and, with a view to testing his susceptibility, he tried first to influence his different senses, intending afterwards to affect his general mental condition. Shortly after the first vision of the young lady, the following occurred:

Next day I tried *sound*. I said that I should hear my name called. I did so. After about fifteen minutes I heard myself called in a very bright way.

Then I said that I should feel myself touched. This it did in a rather curious way, as it pulled my coat a couple of times. Now this was not exactly what I had been aiming at. So I tried again

and said that I should feel a *hand*. It did so and I felt a hand being laid on mine. This rather startled me, notwithstanding I had asked for it myself.

So I made up my mind, that whereas I had been so fortunate with the different senses, I might now go over to the psychical side of myself. Here I found myself, however, in front of an obstacle. The fact is that when you are getting sleepy, then you cannot repeat your suggestion any more. Therefore I prepared a wax-record for my Edison Phonograph, saying that I should go to sleep very quietly and after awakening all my troubles should be gone.

The effect of listening to this record was very wonderful. It might have run some 4 minutes (I had altered the speed of my phonograph in such a way that it ran 8 minutes) when I got aware of a most extraordinary sensation. The *tonation* wherein the words were spoken had a very curious influence on me: it felt like an intoxication of the soul. There is, however, nothing that feels like it, nor can it be compared with anything else. The sound of my own words nearly made me dance.

It was decidedly agreeable and felt like going right up to Heaven. If somebody had cut off one of my hands in that state, then I think that I should have perfectly enjoyed it. Then the voice said that it was on account of my experiment, and I opened my eyes and there I saw the wax record rapidly spinning around (it had advanced about up to the middle of the whole length); during some words I still felt that extraordinary sensation, and thereupon the sensation ended.

So I was very content with my success, and then I began to consult Mr. Bramwell's book in order to find out into which hypnotic state I had worked myself. But I could find neither head nor tail in it, in so far that I read therein that the senses could be influenced in the deep stage, and I had never been aware of having been in any stage at all, except during that very curious sensation.

So I got hold of a very old book concerning *Faust*. (I should not have done this, by the way.) I found different formulas in it, as:

“*Tetraagrammaton—Adonai—Agla—come—come—comc.*”

I did not pay any special attention to this at the time; but at night time, when lying in my bed and just at the moment of going to sleep, there came a thought flashing through my head. It said: “*Tetraagrammaton—Adonai—Agla.*” Nor did I pay any attention

to it, as I had no notion that the effect of it would be so fearful. A short while afterwards I saw a broad spectre standing at the *end* of my bedside. It was about five feet high and three feet broad. It consisted of a body and a head. I did not see any eyes in it, nor was it a real spectre ; it was only the flat drawing of a spectre. It was drawn in blue smoky outlines, all vibrating. There was nothing fearful in the thing itself, but I cannot say how it was that the thing gave me such a *tremendous* fright (the whole thing was connected with a feeling of wrong, black mischief). I was lying on my right side, so that there could be no question about nightmare ; besides I never have such a thing as nightmare, unless I am lying flat on my back. My heart seemed to have come to a dead stop. Then all at once it started with a fearful speed. So I jumped out of my bed and drank a glass of water. By means of counter-suggestions and very heavy slow breathing, I mastered the palpitation of my heart, but it took as long as half an hour before it began to beat at moderate speed again. I slept very little that night.

Next day I listen again to my phonograph-record, but it gives no result whatever. I feel very sorry about this, as all the other experiments gave me such a peaceful agreeable feeling. That night I do not try anything else any more, but all at once, contrary to my expectation, the same spectre is there, but that time standing at my bed *side*, decidedly looking at me. So it had come nearer.

I jump directly out of my bed and my heart starts beating again, although not half as bad as the other day. Thereupon I think that I slept a little.

Next day I prepare a special record with the suggestion that I shall feel happy, etc. ; but I get no result whatever. I feel very depressed about this and write the whole affair (without the spectre) to Mr. Bramwell, who answers me that I had better consult a competent physician.

As a result of this advice, Mr. Grünbaum went (as stated above by Dr. Woolley) to a physician for hypnotic treatment on October 17, 1911. He received about thirteen treatments, at the rate first of twice a week, then once a week, and afterwards once a fortnight. The effect was excellent, and he recovered completely from the abnormal mental condition.

Meanwhile, however, various hallucinations occurred to him spontaneously. One form of these seems to have been the distorted result of an external suggestion, just as some others were the distorted result of self-suggestions. He describes this as follows :

In the beginning of November, when I was going to have one of my teeth drilled, the doctor gave me a suggestion concerning this in the waking state. The effect of it, after a while lying on the sofa, was a feeling as if I received a blow on my head with a club, and as if all my brains were pulled together by means of a string. At the same time I felt a tingling in that special tooth.

Next day, on the way to the dentist, that sensation was repeated, and the tooth was drilled without any special discomfort from my side. I will call this sensation the "*club-blow*," as we shall see that it is to be repeated many a time afterwards *unasked* for.

Then came the day when I received the *Journal* of the S.P.R., wherein is described the case of "Anna Burton."¹ This thing seems to have evoked quite a stir in my subliminal being.

It was as follows : I think it must have been on November 11th that I received that special *Journal*. Not having had a chance to read it in the day-time, I took it along with me to bed and, after lighting the candle, I began to read the case all through. So I made up my mind that it was no way of experimenting at all, if one is asking in total darkness to be touched, whereas I had been doing that [with success] in plain daylight, being all alone and as a result of my own suggestions. Also I made up my mind that if the doctor who made that experiment had smeared some lamp-black on his fingers, he might then have been able to make out if he had really been touching his own right hand with his left hand, or if somebody else did it, or if it was a hallucination. But it is always very easy to make up your mind what other people should have done. So I blew out my candle and lay down to sleep.

I was, however, to get aware of something else, before sleep should come. Just at the verge of falling asleep, there shot a thought through my head saying : "Shall I touch you a little ?" Directly afterwards I received a "*club-blow*" on my brain ; it was accompanied by a white silhouette of a hand on a black background. I saw this hand at the back of my head. I recognised

¹ *Journal* S.P.R., November, 1911.

directly in it the exact reproduction of a black hand on a white background that had once been printed in the *Annals [of Psychical Science]*¹ in an article by Prof. Richet on "The Spirit of Presbourg." Then, not expecting anything particular, I fell asleep, when all at once I was taken hold of by two big hands. They took hold of me in my sides and gave me eight strong squeezes.

It was not at all disagreeable. After the first four squeezes I said: "Don't get higher," as I was afraid that it would come in my face. It responded directly to what I said and gave me four more squeezes lower down. Thereupon I cried: "Don't get lower!" and then it finished.

It was done with very great force. It lifted me right up (this, at least, is what it *felt* like); but it may have been my own muscles doing that. The first series made me bump with my head against the wall and the second series nearly threw me out of bed.

I was not at all frightened. These hands felt as if they had gloves on and were at the inside lined with cotton wool.

On the night of November 14th (I am not altogether sure of the date) I received such a sudden blow on my head, that I was altogether startled by it. I thought that this was to be the end of my life, such a tremendous bump I received on my brains. I all at once resisted and said: "Get away, whatever you may be, as I did not call for you!" Then I got a sensation, as if there were champagne all foaming through my body from the tips of my toes to the top of my head, all up and down, my brains at the same time being handled in the above-named way. I would not let go for anything. Then I felt as if my spine was pushed upwards and as if there was being made a trial to lift me up. The perspiration came all over my body and the bed began to dance up and down at least a foot, and all other kind of nervous phenomena.

Then I compared the top of the bedside with the figures on the wall-paper, and I felt that they were going up and down together. Then I said to myself: "Well, my dear, so you see that the bed does *not* move." After a while I mastered the position and I was glad that I kept master in my own house.

Then there happened something very curious. In this very quiet, totally exhausted state, it was all at once as if there opened itself something before me and there came a very big hand some 1½ foot long, with fingers of some 2 inches, all vibrating towards me. It

¹ Vol. I, pp. 210-212, April, 1905

did so extremely carefully. I tried to get hold of it, but it withdrew. So it did a couple of times when at last I got hold of the thing and I felt that it had some resistance. After a while there came something more—shoulders and a head. It was as if it were made from cigar-smoke, all vibrating and changing its position.

Then I said: "Who are you?"

He said: "I am Urlus" (this is, by the way, the name of a German opera-singer). Then I said: "Well, this may be or it may not be, but what do you want?" Then Urlus said (I was dreaming with my eyes half open): "I am going to materialise for you." Whereupon he began to manipulate and after a while there stood a complete man in front of me with very broad shoulders. Then, taking hold of my left pulse, he squeezed me rather painfully. Then he said: "Just feel my shoulders, how strong they are." Then I slapped him on his shoulders and remarked to him that it sounded rather like eardboard. Whereupon Urlus said: "You are right, in so far that it really sounds like eardboard, but you should not forget that it is artificial."

Thereafter I went through a common dream, giving him lemonade to drink (a remembrance of "Bien-Boa" ?¹). I felt very proud of having such a big man for my companion. Then all at once I found myself lying with my eyes open and my candle still burning. I wondered about the curious experience and soon after I went to sleep.

On November 15th and 16th the thing repeated itself in so far that there began all kinds of objects to fall around me. I heard the loud blows; I also heard the sound as if people were hammering with a chisel on big stones. I remember one object coming so near that it flew right through my nose. Mr. Urlus did not come that time. Then during the day I made up my mind that at night time I seemed to be in a somewhat abnormal state of mind and I prepared a glass plate all covered with lamp-black. As I had read that other people claimed to have got impressions in that way on such glasses, so I thought that I might just as well try for myself.

¹ "Bien-Boa" was the name given to the "materialised" form that appeared at the séances held by Professor Richet at Algiers in 1905 with the medium Marthe B. (see Miss Verrall's article above, pp. 333 *et seq.*) as reported in the *Annals of Psychological Science* for October and November, 1905. The photographs of "Bien-Boa" there reproduced are probably the origin of Mr. Grünbaum's "Urlus."

So I did. I fastened the plate to the wall along my bedside.

Then, when I felt that my brains began to work, I said as follows : “ Well, Mr. Urlus ; in case you might come back to-night, I propose that, instead of handling my body with your big hands, you might try to press one of your hands on the glass plate. I have arranged it specially for you, so I suppose that you will make use of it. It has the great advantage that it does not keep me out of my sleep, and you only need to use one hand instead of your whole body. Besides this, it may leave a mark of your presenee.” So I went to sleep.

In the morning I am perplexed, as I find that the blaek plate has been really tampered with.

There was no impression of a hand on it, but the lamp-blaek over about a third of the surfaee was rubbed clean off. I began to seareh. My head-pillow on the plae where I am lying with my head is all smeared with lamp-blaek. There is also lamp-blaek on the wall. Then I seareh my hands. They are all clean ; my nails the same, but looking in my mirror, I find that the inside of my left ear is black, also behind my ear it is smeared.

Then I begin to seareh the bed-eloths. I find that the right corner at the foot end of the upper sheet leaves a blaek trace on the white pillow when I rub that corner with foree on it. The other corners do not do that. So the operation must have been done with that speeial corner. As my door was loeked, there eannot have been anybody else in the room exept myself. So I must have been doing that myself and I must have been taking serupulous eare not to leave any trace of the *modus operandi*.

I am, however, not aware of ever having done sueh a thing, so that I eannot make this very clear.

The vision of the young lady quoted above in Dr. Woolley’s account, p. 393, followed shortly afterwards.

Mr. Grünbaum goes on :

One or two days after that had happened, I think on November 17th, I tried “ direet writing.”

I prepared a blaek plate, put it inside a box, but left a round hole in the box cover. I put also some seraps of peneil inside the box. I put that box under my head-pillow and as I liked that young lady mueh better than the big hands of Mr. Urlus, I began to address her and I said :

“ My dear Self-control, can you write on the plate under my head-pillow without opening the cover of the box ? ”

I received directly an answer to that question in the shape of a *sound*. First I heard something fumbling in the pillow and then I heard that there was something written on the plate. Then there was drawn a line and after that there was put a big point at the end. Then I thought : “ Now we shall have what we want.” I got out of bed, took a glass of water, and then I said to myself : “ Well, now you look at it.” So I opened the box and there was *nothing* written on it.

After describing one or two other experiences, Mr. Grünbaum continues :

I made up my mind to have absolutely nothing to do with that kind of thing, as it was all at work by itself and not at all to be handled by me. So at night-time I gave myself strong suggestions to do nothing else but sleep quietly.

It came back a couple of times in another shape.

One night (I think I had been reading the *Proceedings*) when I had gone upstairs to my bedroom, I was just in the act of taking my coat off, when it was pulled a couple of times. So I took it off altogether. But when I was opening my vest, after I had loosened the buttons, and just when I was moving one tip of it sideways, I felt some resistance. I thought that it might be a motor automatism of my left arm, but when I felt with my right hand in front of me, I felt that there was some fluidic kind of thing standing in front of me. This thing gave me a fearful fright. I rushed towards the curtains, and pulled them high up. I think that it is a touch that makes one feel afraid, especially when it is not expected.

After I had gone to bed that night I did, of course, not feel quite certain about what was going to happen, when all at once I felt as if somebody gave me a stroke with a fan towards my face. All my mouth, lips, etc., felt as cold as *ice* ; it felt just as if some icy cold air were blown towards my face. A short while after that I heard somebody whistle. It was done rather nicely. I concluded that it was a hallucination. But then I noticed that when I closed my ears, I did not hear it so well, and when I opened them I heard it. This puzzled me again and, feeling with my hands towards my lips, I felt that *my own lips* did it. Then I got out of bed and took a glass of water.

So I had a long conversation with my own "Self-control," and I pointed out to her that the only way to give her a chance to show her powers was, in my case, that she should behave exactly according to my directions. She never said a word, but at the end of my conversation I got a squeeze in my brains, accompanied by a young lady's bust and face looking very disdainfully at me. She then started and flew far away and away, all the time looking at me, until she was no more than a point. I specially noticed her very high white collar.

Mr. Grünbaum, having found that his experiments led to results which he did not desire, now determined to give them up. Some weeks later, however, when it seemed that the hypnotic treatment had completely restored his mental balance, he began again to feel attracted by the idea of trying the effects of self-suggestion and started his experiments once more. He now found that he could no longer induce the mental state in which he could, as he expresses it, "create" things,—the state, that is, in which all his senses were affected at once by the hallucination, which therefore assumed the most realistic form possible. He could only induce visual hallucinations. It is these visions of which Dr. Woolley has quoted some typical instances. Later, the complicated type recurred, and in the following case the realism was carried so far that the whole room appeared to him to be affected, the floor seeming to vibrate :

(July 5, 1912, at night.)

Without any intention on my part, I awake at about 3 o'clock at night. Then I am looking out for a vision. There comes nothing at all.

All at once I hear mentally behind myself the loud *noise of the rattling of an iron chain* (at about 3.15).

My attention is drawn by this and then I hear behind myself *four very heavy footsteps*. They are given in a very decided way at intervals of about two seconds. (It sounds exactly *as if* a heavy iron statue had taken a fancy to walking about a wooden floor.)

At the same time I see a dark column coming down at me at my back. The thing was about $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 feet high, and I saw a transparent black veil over the top part, something like this drawing.

[*Drawing of a completely draped figure.*]

It was a *visual mental image*. At every footstep I hear the floor behind myself vibrating (all mentally). I get afraid of the thing and lack the courage to let it come nearer, and draw myself out of the trance.

I make up my mind that this curious phenomenon must be the same as in those cases in which people claim to have heard footsteps.

Mr. Grünbaum, whom I had known for some years by correspondence, described a good many of these experiences to me in a long talk which I had with him at the rooms of the S.P.R. when he was once for a few days in London, and this talk strongly confirmed the impression I had already formed of him as an intelligent and accurate reporter.

It may, nevertheless, not be out of place to conclude this paper with a warning of the risk of trying experiments such as are described in it. There is clearly a possibility that hallucinations, if once deliberately started, may develop and tend to recur spontaneously and more and more frequently till the whole mind may conceivably be thrown out of gear. Mr. Grünbaum himself was not unaware of this possibility, and especially desired that, if his experiences were published, readers should be warned of it. He thus describes what he regards as the greatest danger of all: "I found it as a rule very easy to manœuvre myself into some mental state from which I could not get myself out again." Another danger, he adds, is "Voices talking in the head. On many occasions I heard a whole conversation concerning the suggestion. I think there is nothing abnormal in this. But sometimes these conversations were all of a sudden interrupted by a sentence, or a part of a sentence, not at all belonging to the conversation. These curious voices would induce either direct visions or post-hypnotic hallucinations." Hallucinatory voices are well known to be a frequent accompaniment of mental disease, occurring much more frequently than visual hallucinations.

But it is to be noted that throughout all this series of somewhat disturbing experiences, Mr. Grünbaum never allowed himself to be deceived into imagining that his hallucinations had any objective reality; he never seriously supposed that

anything beyond his own mind was at work. It was this completely sane view that no doubt prevented the ill effects that might otherwise have followed. If he had believed, as many persons under the same circumstances would have been tempted to believe, that "spirits"—evil, or merely mischievous—were at work, the consequences might have been serious. It seems to me, indeed, that modern attempts to revive the mischievous doctrine of demon-possession have much to answer for through the encouragement thereby given to the development of latent or incipient delusions in ignorant and unbalanced minds. Against these tendencies Mr. Grünbaum was fortunately forearmed by his acquaintance with the work of the S.P.R., aided by the not inconsiderable sense of humour which enables him to take an impersonal view of his own mental processes.

REVIEW.

Psychopathology of Everyday Life. By PROFESSOR SIGMUND FREUD, LL.D. Authorised English Edition, with an Introduction by A. A. BRILL, Ph.B., M.D. (T. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C. 1914. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

THIS long looked-for translation has fulfilled the promises of interest awakened in us by the brief presentations of writers upon psychoanalysis. The present volume grew out of an essay published in 1898 on "The Psychic Mechanism of Forgetting," in which failure of memory is explained upon principles of determinism. The underlying idea is that just as dreams are an expression of the "unconscious," so also does it strive for expression in absent-minded acts, slips of the tongue or pen, and in things erroneously recalled, or resolutions carried out in a manner contrary to conscious intention.

It is generally conceded that names tend to be forgotten more easily than any other content of memory; but Freud examined this phenomenon of temporary forgetfulness in the course of his analytical researches. He concluded that, whether a name is merely forgotten, or is replaced by a substitute, the displacement follows definite natural laws, and is associated with repression. Sometimes it is due to direct associations, but not infrequently to disturbances of the present theme by the psychic relations of the theme which preceded it, "for the disinclination to recall may apply to one content of the theme, and yet the inability to remember may appear in another."

Forgetting is sometimes brought about by a deviation of attention, due to inner conflict, in which outer association is formed between an idea and a repressed wish.

Our social sense regards the forgetting of a name as a slight, for we are supposed never to forget the name of a person who makes a pleasing impression upon us.

We are sometimes induced to undertake an engagement against which we have resistances, and we are apt to accept it with a safeguard, such as: "I will do this, but I have a bad memory and you must excuse me if I forget to turn up." No psychologist is surprised to find that engagements undertaken in this fashion frequently come to grief. An example of an omission which betrayed an unconsious intention is given in a letter from a prospective patient of Brill's. After some preliminary correspondence about treatment he obtained an appointment. Instead of keeping it, (says Brill) he sent the following letter:

"'Owing to *foreseen* circumstances I am unable to keep my appointment.' He naturally meant to write *unforeseen*. He finally came to me months later, and in the course of the analysis I discovered that my suspicions at the time were justified; there were no unforeseen circumstances to prevent his coming at that time; he was advised not to come to me. The unconsious does not lie."

Printers' errors are often explicable in the same way, but in Freud's examples the Editorial Department comes in for a large share of responsibility. He tells the following story:

"An almost unbelievable example of miswriting and misreading occurred in the editing of a widely circulated weekly. It concerned an article of defence and vindication which was written with much warmth and great pathos. The editor-in-chief of the paper read the article, while the author himself naturally read it from the manuscript and proof-sheets more than once. Everybody was satisfied, when the printer's reader suddenly noticed a slight error which had escaped the attention of all. There it was, plainly enough: 'Our readers will bear witness to the fact that we have always acted in a *selfish* manner for the good of the community.' It is quite evident that it was meant to read *unselfish*. The real thoughts, however, broke through the pathetic speech with elemental force."

Freud, with his charming disregard of personal feelings in favour of analytical truth, tells of himself that he has occasionally attacks of *migraine* which are heralded by inability to recall proper names. For this he does not allow himself the excuse of circulatory or fune-

tional disturbance of the brain, but attributes such forgetting to the same psychic forces that trip him up in health. He finds, on analysing such phenomena, that the name withheld usually touches some painful personal complex in himself.

He quotes an example of Jung's, showing the effect of a personal complex: "Mr. Y. falls in love with a lady who soon thereafter marries Mr. X. In spite of the fact that Mr. Y. was an old acquaintance of Mr. X., and had business relations with him, he repeatedly forgot the name, and on a number of occasions, when wishing to correspond with X., he was obliged to ask other people for his name." Here the motivation for forgetting is obvious, and it is a direct result of Y.'s dislike for his successful rival,—he wishes to blot him out.

Our chance actions betray the state of our unconscious to such an extent that Freud prefers to call them "symptomatic actions." They give expression to something which the actor does not suspect in them, and which he has no intention of imparting to others. For instance, a newly married lady after six weeks' honeymoon was out shopping with her sister, when "suddenly she noticed a man on the opposite side of the street; nudging her sister she said: 'Why, that is surely Mr. L.', forgetting that for some weeks this man had been her husband." Freud says: "I was chilled by this tale, but I did not dare to draw any inference. This little story came back to me several years later, after this marriage had ended most unhappily."

These unintentional occurrences tend to complicate human relations, and they explain some of the difficulties neurotic persons experience in living together. Such persons are exceedingly sensitive to the "symptomatic" conduct of others, which they understand to express change of feeling, or veiled hostility, and they are apt to be blind to similar lapses in themselves.

In the chapter on "Determinism", in which Freud states that if one is asked to select a number at random it is impossible to do so "by chance", he gives several analyses to prove his statement, the deductions from which will appear arbitrary to many readers. Some phenomena of superstition also furnish examples of unconscious motivation. Superstitious persons find omens, not only in external chance events, but also in occurrences brought about by their own unintentional mental activity. Freud says: "There are two differences between me and the superstitious

person: first, he projects the motive to outside, while I look for it in myself; second, he explains the accident by an event, which I trace to a thought. What he considers hidden corresponds to the unconscious in me, and the compulsion not to let chance pass as chance, but to explain it, is common to both of us. Thus I admit that this conscious ignorance and unconscious knowledge of the motivation of psychic accidentalness is one of the psychic roots of superstition. *Because* the superstitious person knows nothing of the motivation of his own accidental actions, and because the fact of this motivation strives for a place in his recognition, he is compelled to dispose of them by displacing them into the outer world. If such a connection exists, it can hardly be limited to this single case. As a matter of fact, I believe that a large portion of the mythological conception of the world, which reaches far into the most modern religions, is *nothing but psychology projected into the outer world*. The dim perception (the endo-psychic perception, as it were) of psychic factors and relations of the unconscious was taken as a model in the construction of a *transcendental reality*, which is destined to be changed again by science into *psychology of the unconscious*."

The book is full of pertinent examples, and should be read carefully if justice is to be done to it. The subject is one which awaits further investigation, and it is open to Freud's critics to put his theories to the test, for absent-minded acts, omissions and forgetfulness are daily occurrences. It is, indeed, easier to apply psycho-analysis to our neighbours than to ourselves, but what we discover in the psychology of another is rarely far from what is present in our own personality, though we live so near to ourselves as to be very partial in our self-observations.

CONSTANCE E. LONG, M.D.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXX.

MAY, 1915.

I.

SOME RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN THOUGHT-
TRANSFERENCE.

BY HELEN DE G. VERRALL.

INTRODUCTION.

THE experiments in thought-transference described in this report have been conducted during the last two years under strict conditions determined by the officers of the Society for Psychical Research, and under their personal observation and supervision. The percipient throughout was Miss Louisa Tipping; the agent in the first series of experiments was her sister, Miss Kathleen Tipping; in the second series I myself was the agent, and on two occasions there were two agents, Miss Kathleen Tipping and Mr. G. N. Tyrrell.

An account of some experiments in thought-transference between the Misses Tipping and Miss Hermione Ramsden

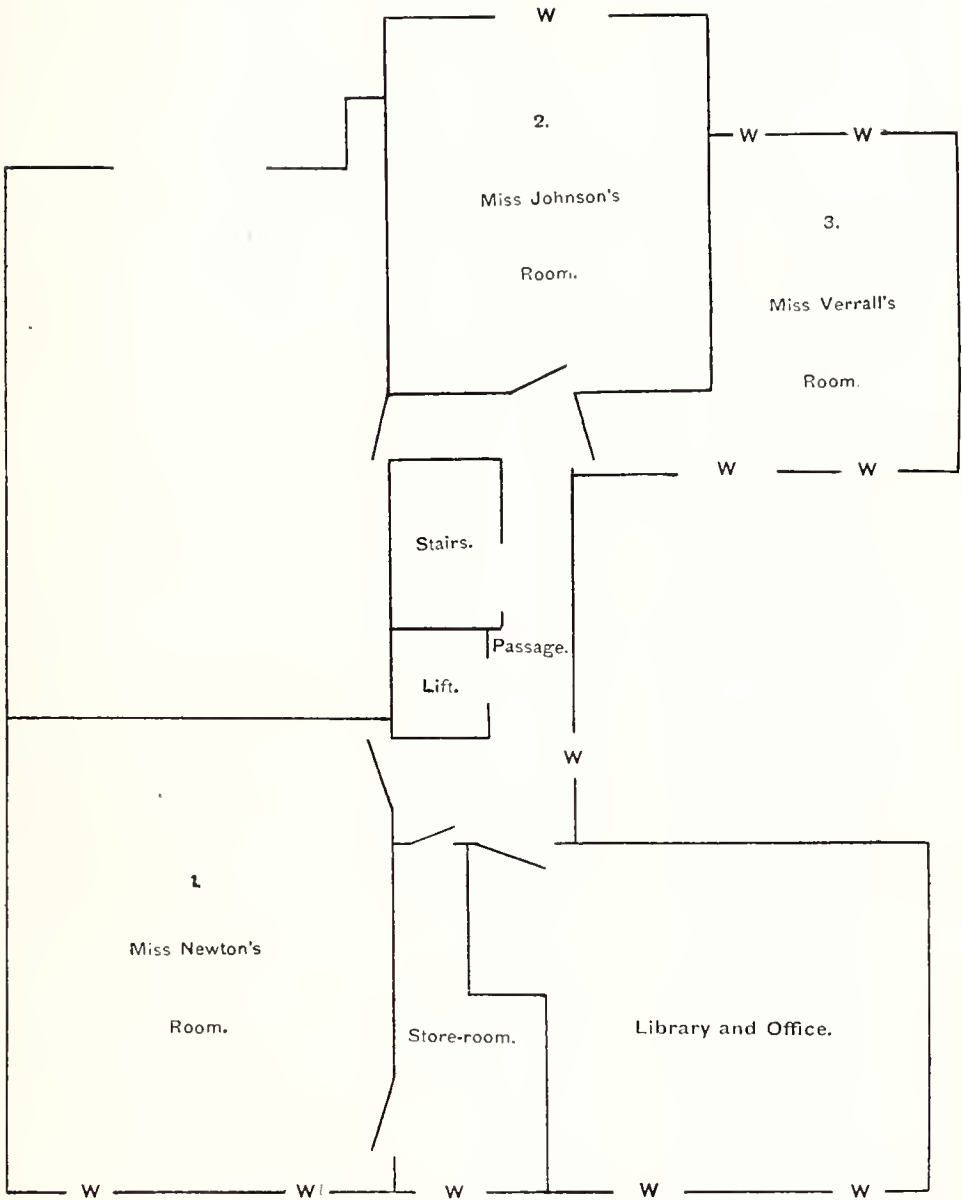
was included in an article published in the *Proceedings* (see Vol. XXVII., p. 314), but the amount of success obtained in this series was not very large. Miss Louisa Tipping and her sister had also tried some earlier experiments together with interesting results. But these earlier experiments were conducted under less strict conditions than those with which I shall deal here, and therefore do not fall within the scope of this report. For the same reason, in considering the question of the success or failure of an experiment, I shall concern myself here only with immediate success, that is to say, success obtained during the actual course of the experiment, under conditions which I shall presently describe. In a good many instances after the percipient had gone home, she got a deferred impression approximating more or less closely to the subject chosen for transmission. But since she had in the mean time met the agent (her sister), the possibility of unconscious suggestion has to be taken into account, and it is almost impossible to determine how much allowance must be made for this factor.

GENERAL CONDITIONS.

In all the experiments dealt with in this paper, the agent and percipient were in different rooms, so that there was no possibility in any case of indications being unconsciously given or unconsciously received as to the subjects chosen for transmission. If, therefore, we conclude that the results cannot be explained by chance-coincidence, we can hardly, I think, avoid the further conclusion that some telepathic faculty is involved. As to how far chance-coincidence will explain the results, opinions will probably differ. The problem is very similar to that which has to be faced in considering the question of cross-correspondences in automatic script. At the conclusion of this report I shall put forward certain considerations which seem to indicate that, after all due allowance has been made for chance, there still remains a margin of evidence suggesting that some other agency has been at work.

In each case the subject for transmission was chosen

either by Miss Newton or by myself, with the exception of the two experiments in which Mr. Tyrrell was an agent,



PLAN OF S.P.R. ROOMS AT 20 HANOVER SQUARE, W.

when he chose his own subjects. Throughout all the experiments the agent was in one of the Rooms of the Society, at 20 Hanover Square, London, W. During

the first four experiments the percipient was in some other part of London, and posted the record of her impressions immediately after the experiment, before she had seen the agent again. This arrangement was made because we were anxious at first not to impose completely new conditions on the percipient.

All experiments after the first four were conducted entirely at the Rooms of the Society, the agent being in one room and the percipient in another. These two rooms (marked 1 and 2 on the plan on p. 417, which is drawn to scale), are on opposite sides of the building and are separated by a passage about ten yards long. The doors of both rooms were always closed during the experiments, and care was taken to avoid the possibility of the percipient obtaining by normal means any indication of the subject which had been chosen. If we suppose that she received her impressions through any of the channels of sense, we must therefore assume her to be hyperaesthetic in a remarkable degree. We have no *a priori* grounds for assuming this, and there seems to be nothing in the result of the experiments to suggest hyperaesthesia as a probable explanation.

When Miss Kathleen Tipping was the agent, she was never told what had been chosen as the subject of the experiment until after she and her sister had parted. She sat in Miss Newton's room, and Miss Newton was always present during the experiments. Miss Louisa Tipping, the percipient, sat in Miss Johnson's room, and Miss Johnson was usually present.

When I was the agent, I myself chose the subject for transmission, except in the first two experiments, when it was chosen by Miss Newton. I sat in Miss Newton's room (usually alone), and the percipient sat as before in Miss Johnson's room. When these experiments began Miss Louisa Tipping and I were not acquainted. After some weeks, at Miss Tipping's suggestion, we met once in Miss Newton's room at the conclusion of an experiment, and had about five minutes' talk. With this exception we never even saw each other during the period covered by these experiments.

I will now give the detailed record of the experiments, as follows :

(A.) Twenty-two experiments.

Agent, Miss K. Tipping. *Percipient*, Miss L. Tipping.

(B.) Ten experiments.

Agent, Miss H. de G. Verrall. *Percipient*, Miss L. Tipping.

(C.) Two experiments.

Agents, Miss K. Tipping, Mr. G. N. Tyrrell. *Percipient*, Miss L. Tipping.

In my analysis at the end of this paper I have reckoned nine experiments out of the thirty-four as successes, viz. Nos. II., VII., XI., XIV., XV., XIX., XXVI., XXVII., and XXX. The records of these experiments are printed at full length. As regards the other twenty-five experiments I have included such parts of the records as present points of interest, and I have printed at length one completely unsuccessful experiment to serve as a specimen. As regards the question of type and arrangement, I have followed the same method as is used in the reports on the experiments in thought-transference between Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden: (*a*) indicates the contemporary record of the subject chosen for experiment, with notes made either by the agent or by some other person who was present during the experiment, before they had seen the percipient's record; (*b*) the percipient's record, made before she knew the subject of the experiment; (*c*), (*d*), etc., notes made immediately after the experiment by the agent or percipient, or by some other person concerned in the experiment. These notes are printed throughout in small type; my own comments are in large type. I have marked with an asterisk those experiments which have been counted as successful in my final analysis.

A.

EXPERIMENT I.

A Failure.

March 6, 1913. 2.45–3.15 p.m.

20 Hanover Square, W.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The subject of the experiment was Botticelli's picture "The Birth of Venus."

* EXPERIMENT II.

(a) March 7, 1913. 2.38–3 p.m.

20 Hanover Square, W.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The subject of the experiment was a gold watch bracelet. Miss Tipping sat at the table holding the bracelet up and turning it round and round in her hands.

(b) March 7, 1913. 2.30–3.15 p.m.

24 Gordon St., W.C.

You are sitting at a table in a well-lit room—the fire seems burning brightly—great sense of comfort—and you are holding a small round smooth object, bright in colour. You have picked it up and keep turning it round, your hands seem moving much. It is glowing colour—orange is the colour I get—and its colour is its attraction. The object seems very cold and smooth, and a great feeling of roundness comes to me. I sense a warm country and dark people moving about—picking up fruit—long groves of trees—blue sky—and very sunny. Is it fruit you are holding? I get many objects of the same shape. I can't make out if it is an orange, or some kind of fruit with plenty of juice. I seem to be tasting fruit of some kind.

L. TIPPING.

It will be seen that the first part of the percipient's statement, down to "a great feeling of roundness comes to me" is quite appropriate, especially as regards the

movements of the agent's hands. The latter part of the statement is wrong. This result suggests that the percipient, having got a correct, but slightly blurred and incomplete impression of what the agent was doing, misinterpreted it.

This is a typical instance of the results which have been obtained in these experiments. Sometimes the percipient's impression approximates more closely to the subject chosen for transmission—sometimes less. But in almost all cases in which any degree of success has been obtained, what the percipient seems to get is an impression of movement and of simple sensations, shape, colour, size, weight, position, texture and so forth. These impressions she apparently combines by means of associated ideas into a complex whole which may be very far from the truth.

EXPERIMENT III.

(a) March 8, 1913. 11.15–11.35 a.m.

20 Hanover Square, W.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The subject of the experiment was a long chain of beads of autumn colourings. The agent sat in the window with the chain, which she put on and off, holding it out, examining the beads and slipping them up and down the string. The beads were brown, yellow, green, red and bronze, yellow predominating.

(b) March 8, 1913. 11.15 a.m.–12 noon.

British Museum.

You are holding the object. I get the same feeling again to-day that the object is round, smooth, hard, and has a shiny surface, and the colour is leaning towards yellow, or yellow objects seem in it or near it, and they are very alike. They seem to be living. Is it flowers in a vase? You, I think, are holding an ornament, and it is deep enough to hold things, pretty in shape and colour. I get bright, stimulating colour. You also turn the object about, your hands do not remain in the same position for long.

If you let go what you are holding, it would break. There is a frail feeling about it. I can't get the object you hold very clearly and I'm getting tired. L. TIPPING.

(c) The agent afterwards added a note that she had thought of "autumn leaves, yellows, (but no flowers) and sunlight."

Here again we have a result suggesting a partially correct impression wrongly interpreted.

EXPERIMENT IV.

March 10, 1913. 11.35-11.50 a.m.

20 Hanover Square, W.

Note by Miss Newton. The agent sat at the table, and I took the atlas from the cabinet and gave it to her. She looked at the map of Bulgaria. The subject to be transmitted was WAR. . . .

We were five minutes late in beginning.

(b) March 10, 1913. 11.30 a.m.-12 noon.

British Museum.

I can only get a vague impression this morning, nothing sharp. I am wondering if you are sending anything? I think you are close to the table, and I feel that an object has been handed to you from some shelf, that is not very large, rather square and dark. . . . I get books lying near you and white papers. . . . L. TIPPING.

The percipient's impression is vague, but fairly correct as far as it goes, especially as regards the position of the agent "close to the table," and the handing of a square object to her from a shelf.

From this time onwards the experiments were conducted entirely at the Offices of the Society, the agent and percipient being in different rooms. In future, therefore, only the room in which each sat will be noted in the record.

EXPERIMENT V.

On this occasion, contrary to the usual practice, the agent sat in Miss Johnson's room and the percipient in Miss Newton's room.

(a) March 18, 1913. 11.35 a.m.—12.15 p.m.

Miss Johnson's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Johnson. The agent sat at the table arranging a bunch of violets in a narrow green glass vase.

. . . The violets had very long stalks, as had also their leaves—there were a good many leaves with them—and Miss Tipping cut the stalks of some. . . .

(b) March 18, 1913.¹

Miss Newton's room.

The object is standing on the table in front of you, you touch it, but do not hold it. I get a fairly tall object, slim in shape, and colour rather light in tone. I see carving of some kind on it, sometimes it seems in the shape of leaves, and they stand off well from the flat surface of the object. Is the object stone? I feel it is hard, smooth, polished.

I also get the form of a running figure, swift movement; it is a man's figure. This only comes faintly; the object seems rather heavy for one to hold, so it stands in front of you.

L. TIPPING.

The first part of the percipient's impression as far as "colour rather light in tone" is correct, and it is noteworthy that again she is right as to the position and movements of the agent in relation to the subject of the experiment. The impression of carving is wrong, but it is interesting that this carving should appear to the percipient to be "in the shape of leaves, and they stand off well from the flat surface of the object." This

¹The percipient did not always note the time of day as well as the date in her record, but in all cases she and the agent "sat" simultaneously, although sometimes the percipient continued the experiment for a longer period.

impression might easily be derived from a group of leaves in a vase, and Miss Johnson notes that "there were a good many leaves with [the violets]."

The idea of carving apparently suggests to the percipient something of stone, which becomes defined as a statue or bas-relief of a running figure. This part of her impression is wrong.

EXPERIMENT VI.

A Failure.

March 19, 1913. 11.35 a.m.—12 noon.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. A pack of cards and some black envelopes with red hearts pasted on them. The agent sat building card houses.

* EXPERIMENT VII.

(a) March 26, 1913. 11.25—11.50 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The agent and I discussed what to do. I suggested that she should lie on the sofa. I fetched a cushion from the office and placed it under her head. I gave her a blotting pad, a pencil and a piece of paper, and placed a little table at her side. She tried to transmit AT HOME. Miss Jones brought in tea, a teapot, milk-jug, cup and saucer on a tray, put it on the folding table and left the room. I carried the tray and placed it on the table by Miss Tipping and poured out a cup of tea, telling her it was china. I left the room and brought in another cup and saucer and poured out some tea for myself.

(b) March 26, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

You are holding the object and appear to move it about. I see a smooth bright-looking thing, and I get reflections from

things near this object. I think it is hard, also a roundness, and I see black colour near to it. I feel a metal like silver, it is so bright and quite light in weight. L. TIPPING.

(c) *Note by Miss Newton.* The percipient told me when I went to her after the experiment that she had had a persistent impression of a silver spoon and reflections of a face in it. When she told me this she did not of course know what the experiment had been. She thought the impression was due to her having seen, just before she left the boarding-house where she is staying, a new bright half-crown.

The agent told me after she knew that her sister had thought of a spoon and of reflections, that she had taken up the tea-spoon and looked at it, and also had noticed the reflections in the polished brown tea-pot, but had dismissed the thought of the reflections from her mind. This and the attention given to the spoon were but momentary impressions.

The percipient on this occasion had one persistent impression, derived apparently from a passing incident in the experiment, which the agent had not consciously tried to transmit. There have been several instances in earlier experiments, in which the percipient's mind has apparently reflected the subconscious rather than the conscious thoughts of the agent (see *e.g. Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. XXVII., pp. 309, 310).

It is, of course, a defect in the record that no mention of the tea-spoon occurs in the contemporary note on the subject of the experiment, but Miss Newton's supplementary note was made immediately afterwards, when the agent's memory was still fresh in regard to her action with the spoon.

Perhaps the reason why the percipient's mind seized upon this particular impression is that it was linked by association with an idea already present in her mind, that of the silver half-crown which she had recently seen. Students of automatic script will remember instances in which an idea normally engendered in the mind of the automatist has formed the starting-point for a train of thought, suggesting some abnormal connexion with other scripts.

EXPERIMENT VIII.

A Failure.

March 27, 1913. 11.35-11.53 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.*Subject.* Winding a skein of red wool.

EXPERIMENT IX.

A Failure.

March 29, 1913. 11.30 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.*Subject.* A picture in a book, representing a child in red.

EXPERIMENT X.

A Failure.

(a) April 1, 1913. 11.35 a.m.-12 noon.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.*Subject.* Printed letters, D, O, G, S.

* EXPERIMENT XI.

(a) April 2, 1913. 11.30-11.55 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. I first asked the agent whether she knew any part of Switzerland well enough to visualise it (I having brought with me a book of views of Switzerland). She replied no. I then told her Mrs. Sidgwick had suggested she should open an umbrella. She agreed and said she had tried it once before,

but all that her sister got was an impression of her opening and closing a fan. I suggested that she should dance round with an open umbrella. She laughed. I cleared away the table and bookcase. Miss Tipping opened and closed the umbrella for some minutes, and then I again suggested that she should dance. She did so, twirling the umbrella, and opening and closing it as she danced.

(b)

April 2, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

Your hand seems moving up and down. The object stands in front of you, and I can hear a bell with a measured strike, very faintly but often. I get reflection on the object you have near to you, and I feel, if I could hold it, it would be a cold weight in my hand. It seems very hard, and it has a useful feeling. Your hand rises and falls frequently. I might add the object seems

round in shape, something like this



with a little top

to it. I think I could see myself in it if I wished to do so. I get a green colour close to you, and once I have faintly seen good-sized letters; one letter seems an O, C, or E. I can't make out any word. It is either G or E, I can't say which. And I also see objects near very like in shape and colour, round. They seem to have a life of their own. Is it flowers? I am not as sleepy as yesterday, but I see more objects.

You lift up your hand and let it fall. Several times you do this. The shape seems like a doll's umbrella, with a little slender stem.

L. TIPPING.

(c) *Note by Miss Newton.* The last paragraph of the percipient's statement was written in my room, but before the percipient had any opportunity of guessing what the experiment had been.¹ When she came into my room, she said the impression she had got was of her sister moving her hand up and down rhythmically. (The illustration she gave was like the agent's movement with her hands, when opening and shutting the umbrella.) She saw an object like a mushroom, and, wondering what it was, had kept

¹ The umbrella had been removed from the room before Miss Louisa Tipping entered.—H. DE G. V.

on thinking of a wee doll's umbrella which she had had when a child. She tried to banish the impression as irrelevant. When she told me this, neither the agent nor I had suggested anything, or helped her to remember the impression.

We have apparently another instance here of a correct impression wrongly interpreted. The percipient sees "an object like a mushroom" and the agent's arm, moving up and down. She actually interprets the mushroom-shaped object as an umbrella, but dismisses this interpretation as due to the recollection of one of her own toys. Then, casting about for some other interpretation, she thinks of a small table-bell, the kind that is struck by hand, and her impression develops further on these lines into an object with reflections on it, which would be a cold weight in the hand, is hard, and has a useful feeling.

EXPERIMENT XII.

(a) April 3, 1913. 11.45 a.m.—12.10 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. Dusting the bookcase. At the conclusion of the experiment the agent washed her hands.

Note by Miss Newton. After the percipient had left the room, I brought in a pair of step-ladders, and a duster, large holland apron, etc., which the agent put on. She climbed to the top of the ladder and dusted the top of the bookcase. She came down and shook the dust over the fire, and I said the dust was like soot. She went on dusting the bookcase thoroughly, coming down to shake the dust into the fire. She laughed and said it was a spring cleaning, and I regretted I had not brought gloves for her, but she said, "Oh, no, I can wash my hands."

(b) April 3, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

[The percipient first has an impression of "round objects like flowers . . . yellow in colour."]

. . . I also sense water, a wet feeling comes to my fingers, I feel I must wipe mine. You may be wiping yours. I get a handkerchief. . . .

L. TIPPING.

(c) *Note made by Miss Newton after seeing the percipient's record.* When the percipient was asked at what time she got the impression of wet hands, she said it was between 12 and 12.5 p.m. She heard the clock strike twelve before she received the impresson, and when she looked at her watch after the impression it was 12.5 p.m. From what she told me I gathered the impression was received about 12.3 p.m. I was careful to ascertain the time as near as possible, and it was not until after I had ascertained it that I remembered my watch was fast, and comparing it with hers, found that mine was seven minutes in advance of hers.

It will be seen that the percipient's impression of wet hands corresponded in time almost exactly with the moment when the agent was washing her hands, since this occurred at 12.10 by Miss Newton's watch, that is to say, at 12.3 by the percipient's watch. This was the only time in this series of experiments that the percipient had an impression of wet hands. The agent washed her hands during an experiment on one other occasion.

EXPERIMENT XIII.

(a) April 9, 1913. 11.40 a.m.-12.2 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. The agent wrote several sentences on a typewriter.

(b) April 9, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

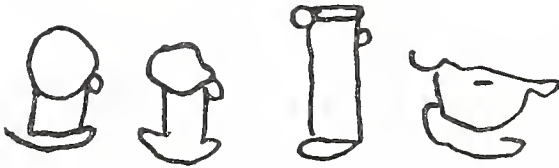
I can't see the objects. I feel there are several and very alike. They are on the table in front of you, and you touch but do not hold them all the time. I get squares still, but more faintly than yesterday.¹ I get colour, red and black, design

¹It appears from this statement that some experiment must have been tried on April 8, 1913, but no record of it has been found.

of some kind. Also I want to look into some object very near you, and it seems fairly tall, smooth, hard, and has a shiny surface. What it is I can't say, but I think I could pick things out of it, and drop them into it again, but this feeling is only dim.

L. TIPPING.

The percipient, when asked at the close of the experiment, whether she could draw the objects she had seen, produced the following sketch :



these slender things
are hard.

The objects represented in the percipient's sketch are not unlike the keys of a typewriter, seen from the

operator's point of view, thus :



It is true in reference to these keys that "there are several and they are very alike. They are on the table in front of you, and you touch but do not hold them all the time." It is also correct to say "I get colour, red and black, design of some kind." The keys of the typewriter used in this experiment (a Smith Premier) are black and white (symmetrically arranged), with five red stops. The typewriter itself is black, it is "fairly tall, smooth, hard, and has a shiny surface." In the centre, immediately behind the keys, there is a large cup-like depression out of which things could be picked.

* EXPERIMENT XIV.

(a) April 10, 1913. 11.45 a.m.—12.7 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. Picture of a Madonna and Child by Murillo.

Note by Miss Newton. The agent sat in the basket-chair with the picture in her hands. We were very quiet and did not speak

after the experiment began, until 12.5 p.m., when I mentioned the time, and the agent said she would go on a little longer, as she "had been rather naughty this morning, thoughts would flit in." The only disturbing sound was the typewriter which was occasionally used in the office. I asked Miss Tipping if the typewriter disturbed her. She replied no, but that the opening and shutting of a door had.

(b) April 10, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

Sometimes the object seems placed in front of you, then again you lower it as though you rested your hands with the object on your lap. I have seen a round, hard, smooth thing, and also figures, Roman figures, II, III, IV, V, VI, rather large, and also letters small and large, as if a book lies near you. You appear most interested. Whatever the object is you seem to hold it in two positions, on a shelf in front of you, and then much lower down. It is not heavy. I get one object only. I thought it was golden, but am not sure; this feeling was fleeting only. It has also a very useful feeling. I get a yellow colour, and I think the object must be fairly bright. I could pass my fingers over it very smoothly, and it is cold. Is it a coin? Or some metal? I can now see a head like you see on coins. I get a round hard something like this [*Drawing of a circle with a head in it*] with a form or pattern stamped on it, an imprint of some one, perhaps.

I don't think what I have written down is any good. I have been disturbed by a man outside with a hammer and thoughts were hard to hold in my mind. But I feel the object has weight, smoothness, hardness. It is cold, and I think of letters or figures on it, or in connexion with it.

I felt once I could fold it up into different shapes, this only very faintly. I felt this was not true.

[*Drawing of four circles.*]

L. TIPPING.

The picture which formed the subject of this experiment was a coloured reproduction, mounted on stiff cardboard. The background is buff, and round the picture there is the representation of a gold frame, which perhaps accounts for the percipient's impression that the object is golden.

From the reproduction on the opposite page (Plate I.) it will be seen that the Madonna and the two angels on either side of her have large and conspicuous haloes, producing an effect not unlike a head on a coin.

* EXPERIMENT XV.

(a) April 12, 1913. 11.50 a.m.—12.10 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The subject of the experiment was a figure of a black cat, cut out of velvet, on a card bearing the words A BLACK CAT (see illustration, Plate II.). It stands on the revolving bookcase. Behind it, as a background to throw up the black shape, stands perpendicularly the large, brown-paper-covered atlas. Miss Tipping sat in the basket-chair in front of the cat and looked at it, sometimes leaning back, sometimes sitting up. Generally one hand was on her chin. I also tried to transmit the idea of a black cat, running along the passage to Miss Johnson's room, arching its back to be stroked, sprawling on the rug to be played with, etc.

Miss Tipping said she thought the object was more like a dog, and that she could not get away from that idea.

(b) April 12, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I have seen the face of a man, very handsome, with a heavy moustache, hair on head inclined to be curly. This has come to me as a photo set in a small frame. It looks framed up with slight black or brown border of wood around it. My mind has been a perfect blank but for this one idea, and I have been very sleepy. I believe you held the object you send, and perhaps have sat and gazed at it in front of you, but have not held it. I am divided between these two ideas.

I am wondering whether my mind has been too sleepy to pick up the object. I don't feel at all sure that this is right, rather the opposite feeling comes to me.

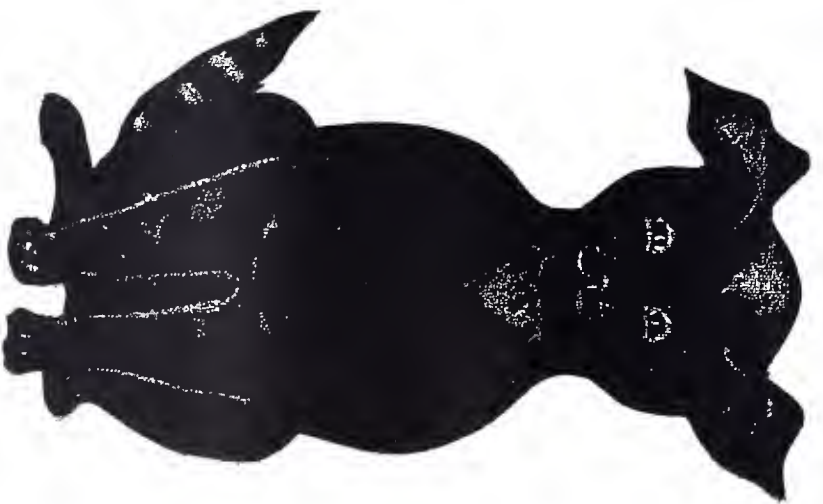
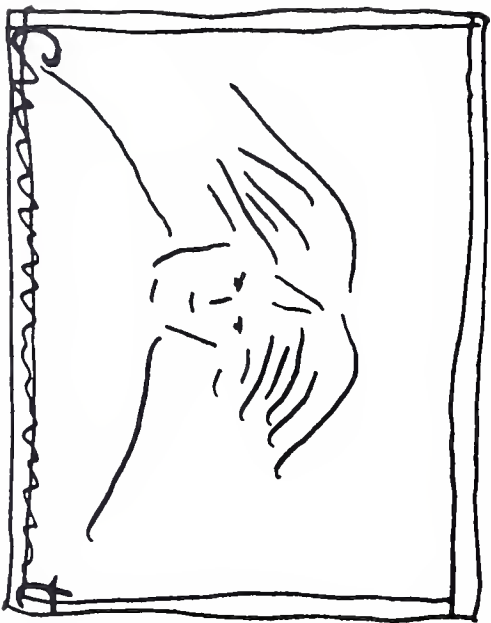


His name shall endure for ever: His name shall be continued as long as the sun: and men shall be blessed in Him: all nations shall call Him blessed.

Ps. LXXXVII. 77



[Hair.]



A BLACK CAT

I felt a square feeling, and as though you touched wood, and that printing and paper were mixed up with what you send. I could break it up.

This portrait has a look about it as if the man inside thought deeply, and it gives me a feeling of great repose and strength. The face is most striking. I have seen it so clearly.

I don't feel this object is cold. I think paper is in it, and I feel as if I could break it up. I could bend it up, and I do not get much weight with the object.

L. TIPPING.

When the percipient returned to the Secretary's room at the conclusion of the experiment, after the cat had been put away, she described to Miss Newton, who was careful to say nothing to her about whether her impression was correct or not, the portrait which she had seen, and drew the sketches reproduced opposite to illustrate her meaning. The frame of the picture was black, she said, with a cream mount. The waving lines she explained as representing the man's hair. It will be seen that these lines are not unlike the cat's ears. Moreover in the percipient's sketch of the "portrait" there appear some scrawls at the bottom representing the supposed title. The only legible letters amongst these scrawls are *C* at the beginning, and *t* at the end, whereas the word CAT was written under the cat. The description of the object as "a photo set in a small frame. It looks framed up with a slight black or brown border," is also appropriate. It is again as though various disjointed impressions were correctly received, and then woven by the percipient's mind into a coherent whole which is ludicrously wrong.

The following experiment, which was completely unsuccessful, is printed at full length as a specimen:

EXPERIMENT XVI.

(a) April 14, 1913. 11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.*Subject.* Two red apples on a black velvet cloth.

Note by Miss Newton. Miss Tipping sat in the basket-chair; she stroked the velvet and then leant forward, her right elbow supported in her left hand, her face resting on the other hand. After about six minutes I went to the store-room and brought in two saucers, putting one on the table in front of the agent, and placing one of the apples on it. I took a knife out of one of the drawers of my desk.

Miss Tipping lifted the apple up by the stalk and turned it round, and held it up, let it hang, and so on. She then peeled the apple, and was careful to keep the peel unbroken; it hung from the apple like a ribbon. She dangled it on her fingers and said she would try to make her sister think of an old custom. She threw it over her shoulder, cut up the apple and handed it to me, and we ate it.

(b) April 14, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I get very slow ideas this morning, have been waiting twenty minutes and can't feel a thing. I get a strong violet light around me.

I now see the colours red and blue. I think you hold the object on the table in front of you. You both appear interested in it, very much so. I think it is something slender, flat, and has a soft feeling about it, paper of some sort, and I get a figure of a woman. She is not English, dark and southern looking. I feel a squareness and about half an inch in thickness, figures one after another like this,

13 17 21

14 18 22

15 19 23 and so on,

16}20

many figures, and round these figures a border to fasten them

in, little square (*Drawing of figures in squares*) dates. The object is just one simple thing, and I feel paper is connected.

I can see a figure like a little Cupid with wings and a straight little body. I feel he is moving in the air, he seems to fly.

I see also small letters e d e g h i following one another in very long lines. It makes me think of verse, they seem in couplets nicely arranged.

Second impression. A round object, smooth, that you can look down into; also it would and can hold small objects. I get a laced feeling, as if the texture of the object were like this (*Drawing of trellis-work*), a kind of pattern. This seems to me to be very light in weight.

I must say ideas come very badly, and I feel this is not correct, either of the things I have written down. I feel very still and thoughtful, but everything is so faint. L. TIPPING.

The percipient's first impression seems to be a calendar and her second a basket.

EXPERIMENT XVII.

A Failure.

April 19, 1913. 11.50 a.m.—12.10 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. Weighing-scales and six small brown paper parcels.

EXPERIMENT XVIII.

(a) April 24, 1913. 11.45 a.m.

20 Hanover Square, W.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The agent and I went into the garden in Hanover Square. I got the key from the Office in the Hall. We walked about on the grass and talked all the time. I went to the summer-house and brought out two chairs,

and we sat down. The wallflowers, red and yellow, were out. We touched the yellow ones. We left the garden at 12 noon, returned to my room, and the agent climbed out of my window on to the balcony and looked down on the Square. When we went into the garden, there were four or five persons there, a nurse and children; they came towards us, we noticed them as they came, and they left the garden. We were then the only people in the garden.

(b)

April 24, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I have felt once that you are holding something slender, smooth, and fairly tall, and that you move your fingers up and down on it, also that the object is soft, and very pleasing to look on. A feeling of moisture comes, as if the object you touch might be slightly moist, wet. All these feelings are so very faint. I don't think they are correct in the least. I wondered once if the object had life.

Second impression.

I now get an object shining and smooth, pretty in design, a pattern running through it, yellow in colour, it catches reflections, and I can see a ring, like a gold one, or I might say a golden circle, and one part a distinct round in it, and the face of a small watch comes like this (*Drawing of a watch*) and an c d. in small letters, very small letters.

The object is cold to my hand, not heavy, hardness, and frail too. I think I could injure it if I tried, and you would not improve it if you let it fall.

I have also seen a scene with immense distance in it. I thought you were looking at some scene or other. I feel quite lonely as I look into it, very lonely, but a great sense of beauty. I can now see a few figures moving about, very few, and foreign-looking beings.

Have you held a silken material soft green in colour? I want to fold it up.

Ideas are poor this morning. I can't hold them much to be able to decide which I feel is near what you are doing.

The object seems to have life, and my fingers feel as if you had touched something cold and moist, yellow in colour, smooth.

The scene I have seen was very expansive, not many trees, but a very peaceful feeling. I saw five men, came one after another, such a strange feeling of leisure, no one had need of hurry. If you had hurried it would have been quite out of character. Wherever I have been, I have seen strangers. It has given me much rest, poised my mind. The quiet of this place was intense. These men came near to me, then faded.

L. TIPPING.

(c) *Note made by Miss Newton after seeing the percipient's record.* The yellow wallflowers were planted in five beds in the centre of the garden. They were planted in rings.

There are two points of interest in this experiment :

(i) The percipient first has an impression of touching an object which is "soft and very pleasing to look on . . . slightly moist."

Then she has an impression of an object which is almost certainly a watch-bracelet (the subject of an earlier experiment, see p. 420), and is described as "shining and smooth . . . yellow in colour . . . a golden circle, etc."

Afterwards these two impressions coalesce apparently into an impression of an object which "seems to have life." "My fingers feel as if you had touched something cold and moist, yellow in colour, smooth."

This impression was perhaps suggested by the yellow wallflowers which the agent touched, and which, as Miss Newton noted after the experiment, were planted in circles.

(ii) The percipient had an impression of an outdoor scene, a country-scene evidently, since she speaks of it as expansive with "not many trees" and "a very peaceful feeling." This impression was appropriate, seeing that the agent had been sitting in a garden. She and Miss Newton were careful when they went out to walk quietly and not to speak in the passage, so that the percipient should have no normal knowledge of their having left Miss Newton's room. This was the only time that the agent left 20 Hanover Square during the experiment, although on one later occasion she went

up on to the roof (May 3, 1913). On one other occasion (April 26, 1913), the percipient had an impression of an outdoor scene.

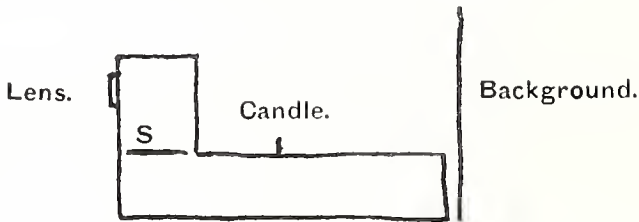
* EXPERIMENT XIX.

(a) April 25, 1913. 11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

The subject of this experiment was a stereoscopic contrivance invented by Mr. W. W. Baggally, of which a sketch in profile is given below. Slides are inserted at the point marked *s*, and by an arrangement of mirrors, if a spectator looks through the lens, he sees a stereoscopic view against the background.



Note by Miss Newton. The stereoscope had a black velvet background which I built up of letter-filing boxes, and covered with a piece of black velvet. The agent sat in the basket-chair at the séance table, with the large dark screen behind her. I lit the small piece of candle in the stereoscope, then blew it out and substituted a longer piece which, after lighting, I thought was unsatisfactory, and so I replaced the original piece and lighted it again. On the table was a small dark green box and a piece of string. The box contained the slides, which Miss Tipping took out one by one and inserted in the stereoscope, and looked at through the peep-hole. The candle was short and flamed and smoked occasionally. Miss Tipping said it made her think of photography, as the candle in her little lamp acted in the same way.

Miss Tipping seemed specially interested in the slide of Ellen Terry, and commented on the vivid colouring of her hair, and in one of a statue of a boy; also one of the Royal Exchange.

(b)

April 25, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

Impressions are very faint this morning. I wonder if you are sending anything to me. I can't see things yet.

You appear to me to hold the object, sometimes quite close to you, then put it at a distance. It is hard, smooth, round. I have not any strong sensing that it has ever lived, unless in the mineral world. I have only a very faint feeling of this, yet it seems to me to have an interesting feeling, a certain aura, as though many hands have held it. I get the colour blue, from faint blue to an intense green blue. The colour draws me. I like it. It makes me think of a jar, and that I could place things in it, and yet I can't see what it is. I see figures again to-day, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, and a few others, but these come so very faintly, I don't think you are looking at anything like figures. A great feeling of doubt comes over these.

I have seen two faces in a looking-glass. I don't know them. I feel as if I'm looking into a glass and can see myself. You have talked to each other this morning, but have also been fairly quiet. I get very little movement.

I get a shape now like this



. I can see the flame

of a candle, light of some kind. I also get rounds. (*Drawing of several circles.*)

I shall say you hold a round, smooth, hard object, nice colour, and I feel I can place things if I wish in it.

I have seen a strong violet light this morning, very violet. I have found it difficult to keep my mind quite free of other thoughts.

L. TIPPING.

The percipient's note records one quite correct impression, that of the lighted candle, which is shown by Miss Newton's note to have figured prominently in the experiment; it was lit, re-lit, observed to smoke, etc. This is the only occasion upon which artificial light in any shape formed part either of the experiment or of the percipient's impression.

The statement "I have seen two faces in a looking-glass," is interesting. This impression might easily be derived from the thoughts of the agent, as she looked through the glass lens and saw *e.g.* a portrait of Ellen Terry, against the background.

EXPERIMENT XX.

(a) April 26, 1913. 11.35 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. A Badminton racket and shuttlecock.

Note by Miss Newton. Miss Tipping played, removed her coat, while I played, and then continued playing.

The shuttlecock was formed of white feathers and a green and white base.

(b) April 26, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I can see beautiful yellow sand, and blue sea—many people walking along sands; the sunlight is lovely. I see very white-sailed ships, moving very swiftly—these are yachts I think—people dressed very smartly, feeling of great comfort and plenty of time to stand and look at things.

The object seems very close. I think you must hold it. I get gold in some form or another. I see bright colour and white. You both talk over the object, you seem very interested. I feel it is long and fairly wide. I think I know what you are looking at. It seems familiar to me. I want to look at what you are looking at much. I get a feeling of design, and again I look through a substance like glass. The first part or top of the thing you hold makes me think of glass; it is so smooth a surface. I also sense it is cold and thin and breakable, glass I think; it catches high

lights. I get shapes like this



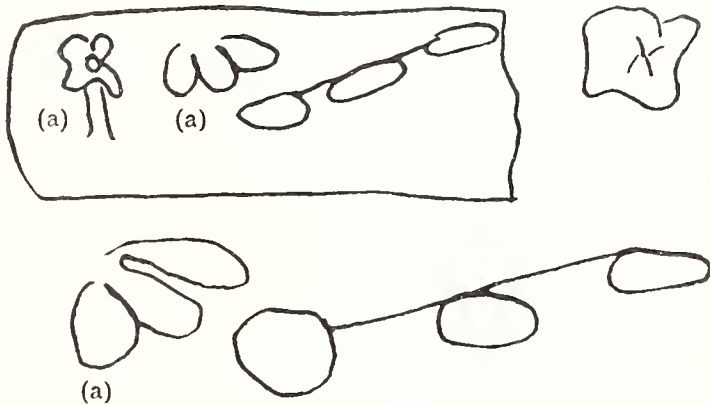
kind, but of different colours.

It does not live ; I feel it is very pleasing. You both like it ; the colour is good. I think it must be a bright coloured thing. It cheers me. A certain amount of weight in this object. I get faint letters in (*Scrawl*) and a long letter like the last mark, but these letters are so faint, as if they did not wish to be seen, a very minor detail.

I also get the colour green, a dark-green. I think you must be looking at flowers, but I can't feel they live, and I don't feel a serap certain if they are flowers, but I do appear to see many shapes alike. I feel also an ornamental design. Sometimes I think the object must rest on your knee, it comes so very close.

Have you eaten anything ?—because you seem to hand something to each other. I feel Miss Newton holding something to you. *Heads move very much up and down.* L. TIPPING.

(c) When the percipient was asked by Miss Newton at the conclusion of the experiment, before being told what the subject was, whether she could draw something to represent her impression, she produced the following sketches :



The three drawings marked (*a*) were perhaps suggested by the shuttlecock, especially taken in conjunction with the percipient's statements :

I also get the colour green, a dark-green. I think you must be looking at flowers, but I can't feel they live.

The shuttlecock used in this experiment "was formed of white feathers and a green and white base," and might well be described as "a flower which doesn't live."

In an earlier part of her record the percipient notes that she sees "bright colour and white," and at the beginning of all she has an impression of "white-sailed ships moving very swiftly."

Another interesting point in the percipient's statement again concerns movement. Speaking of the agent and Miss Newton, she says :

Have you eaten anything?—because you seem to hand something to each other. I feel Miss Newton holding something to you. *Heads move very much, up and down.*¹

This should be compared with Miss Newton's statement that she and the agent played alternately. There would almost certainly be an up-and-down movement of the players' heads, following the movements of the shuttlecock.

EXPERIMENT XXI.

A Failure.

April 30, 1913. 11.35 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. A picture of a red Punch, with a blue stick and a blue Toby, on a white background.

EXPERIMENT XXII.

A Failure.

(a) May 3, 1913. 11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. At 11.45 a.m. Miss Tipping and I went on to the roof at 20 Hanover Square, and looked down on to the roofs below towards Bond Street.

¹The italics are the percipient's.

B.

In the following series of ten experiments Miss Louisa Tipping was again the percipient and I was the agent. Miss Tipping sat, as before, in Miss Johnson's room and I sat in Miss Newton's room. On the first two occasions Miss Newton chose the subject of the experiment, on all other occasions I chose it myself and no one else knew of it until after the conclusion of the experiment.

EXPERIMENT XXIII.

A Failure.

(a) April 16, 1913. 11.28 a.m.—11.50 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. A little white velvet spotted dog against a black velvet background.

EXPERIMENT XXIV.

A Failure.

(a) April 17, 1913. 11.30 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. A bunch of daffodils.

EXPERIMENT XXV.

(a) May 7, 1913. 11.25 a.m.—11.50 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

I strung some bright blue beads on a piece of string. I counted the beads, 22, played with them, unstrung and re-strung them.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

(b)

May 7, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I think you hold the object, or else you are very close to it, and touch it when you wish to. Sometimes I fancy you draw away from it, and return to it, and then hold it. I have a sensing that it is cold to hold, smooth and round. There are reflexions in it, but it is not a very clear surface. I want to look into it sometimes, but very faintly. I feel there are many objects near you, and alike in shape, but this I do not feel one bit sure of, only I want to pick up more than one thing in connexion with what you are trying to send me. Then again a smooth, round, fairly large thing comes, but what it is I can't sense. You appear to be looking most intently at what you are doing. I get colours, yellow and pink. There is not any life in the object or objects you are holding. Have you turned over things like the leaves of a book? I see small letters, but rather funny shaped letters, and three faces of women but very very faintly. You have moved your hands about in connexion with what you have been sending, but you have not walked about. I don't get much weight in the object. I could hold it very comfortably. You have not left the room you have entered once during the experiment, neither have you talked.

L. TIPPING.

(c) *Note by the agent after seeing the percipient's statement.*

The beads are of serpentine rock, cold, round, smooth and polished. It is true that there are reflexions in them and that they are not clear. It is true that I did not walk about during the experiment, or talk. I did, of course, move my hands a good deal, stringing the beads, and then holding them up in front of me on the string and swinging them about.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

(d) *Note made by the percipient after she had gone home, but before she had seen the agent or knew anything of the subject of the experiment.*

I think she sat down to a table. I can't say whether there are more objects than one, smooth, hard and cold. She seems to me to pick things up and put them back in front of her. I can't say what they are, not very heavy in weight. I get

lines on something, and feel like the leaves of a book. I get little writing. Is there a transparency with this? A thinness that I could look through? And yet I get a solid feeling. The objects seem close together, as though they were in a basket. I want to pick these things out of something.

L. TIPPING.

The percipient's impression of my action was fairly correct this time, especially her remark that she wants "to pick up more than one thing in connexion with what you are sending me," and again later, "I think she sat down to a table . . . She seems to me to pick things up and put them back in front of her."

The impression of an object which is cold, smooth and round, although correct, must be to some extent discounted, because it is an impression which the percipient has not infrequently.

* EXPERIMENT XXVI.

(a) June 4, 1913. 11.25-11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

I sat throughout the time of the experiment making white crochet lace.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

(b) June 4, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

Impressions come very faintly. I can't hold ideas. First came white flowers, with petals lying around as if you had pulled them off, lots of little bits of white, very soft in texture. I want to pick up these little white things and place them in order. You seem to move these fallen white things about, at least your fingers seem very busy.

Then I see red colours and small rounds this time, like this. (*Drawing of six cherries with stalks.*) I want to eat cherries. I keep wishing to taste fruit. These small rounds appear to me to have stalks. I get a large number of the same kind, it would be very hard to have to say how

many of them, I mean of these rounds. I get a very high polish, very very smooth and hard.

Your hands seem to move about much.

It's so queer, but I do want to count the things you are touching. I get also a white or light colour with these rounds.

I feel very strongly that you have had more than one object and that there were many shapes alike, round, hard, and smooth in texture, and white and red in colour. I thought I looked through these rounds, but that feeling soon went.

All I have seen has come very slowly and faintly.

I have also seen very small letters, writing, and in lines that are very close together.

L. TIPPING.

Note by Miss Newton. The percipient came straight to my room when she left Miss Johnson's room soon after 12 noon, and she spoke of her impression. I append the note I hastily made while she talked. I did not know what Miss Verrall had chosen for the experiment until after Miss Tipping had left. Miss Verrall and Miss Tipping did not see each other, Miss Verrall having left the room before Miss Tipping came in.

Statement made by the percipient to Miss Newton.

I tasted fruit, and I wanted to count. I felt all the time I wanted to count. I felt I must ask: how many are there in front of you? I don't know how to express it. There were so many, too many to count, and yet they were countable. I think Miss Verrall moved them. I got thirsty and tasted fruit. Then there were a lot of small, highly-polished objects, with stalks; I could bite them; they were hard and smooth, like cherries.

(c) Note made by the agent after seeing the percipient's statement.

June 4, 1913.

The lace I was crocheting has a pattern which makes it necessary to count the stitches as I work. It has been in my mind this morning (I thought of it just before the experiment) that I must not forget to buy some cherries for dessert this evening, as I have a friend dining with me.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

The percipient had two impressions this time, (if we ignore the impression of "small letters," which is of very frequent occurrence and upon which no emphasis is laid here), one of "little white things," the other of small round objects, red in colour, identified as cherries. After a time, as often happens, there is contamination between these two impressions, but at first they are quite distinct.

The impression of cherries may be due to the fact that cherries had been prominently in my thoughts that morning, as stated above. But upon that point one cannot lay much stress, as cherries had not been the subject of the experiment. The other impression is more interesting.

It is an impression "of little bits of white, very soft in texture," which the percipient wishes to pick up and place in order; I seem to her to move these white things about, my fingers seem very busy. She has a persistent desire to count the things I am touching.

This impression seems to me very much what we might expect to find, if we suppose that my actions and sensations, as I sat crocheting, were conveyed to the percipient piecemeal, bereft of all meaning and coherence. The colour is there, the texture of the material, the idea of making a pattern, placing things in order, the constant movement of my hands, and the persistent counting, which is not the counting of a definite sum total of things. She says:

I felt all the time I wanted to count. I felt I must ask: how many are there in front of you? I don't know how to express it. There were so many, too many to count, and yet they were countable. I think Miss Verrall moved them.

* EXPERIMENT XXVII.

(a) June 11, 1913. 11.20-11.50 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

I played patience. I sat at the table and laid the cards in front of me.

The cards had backs with a pattern in light and dark green.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

(b) June 11, 1913. 11.20 a.m.

Miss Johnson's room.

Are you thinking of a puzzle? Because I have seen little things of many shapes, some like this, (*Drawing of shapes*) queer shapes and yet you could put them in order, and they would mean something. I got different colours. I want to pick these things up, and place them again. It would require thought, and a good eye for measurement. I get a feeling of wanting to space things out. You look down at what you are trying to send me, and your hand goes out and picks up these queer little shapes. They appear to me to lie quite close to you, all mixed up, and you sift them for a certain shape. Whatever you are doing takes up your attention much. I feel most serious and attentive, quite puzzled.

The objects appear to be of a hard texture; it is the different shapes which attract me. I think you have thrown them out of a box or some kind of square thing which has held them. These objects are different on the upper and lower surface; the shape is the same, but there is something on the one side which makes an alteration.

Then once I felt you were cutting things out in paper with a pair of scissors, shapes like these (*Drawing of shapes*) because I wanted to cut up things with you. I feel much design about what you are trying to send through. Also I wondered once if it was a message to me, because these words came very clearly: "It will come." Letters of some kind. Have you spoken out loud to yourself about what you are sending, because I thought once I heard words and wanted to listen. This feeling went very quickly, it seemed to me just like the end of a whisper.

But the chief thought is about the queer little shapes, a feeling as if they were connected with some sort of puzzle.

L. TIPPING.

Note by Miss Johnson. Miss Tipping gave this writing to me about 12.15 p.m., then stood and thought further, and at intervals made various remarks which I wrote down, not quite *verbatim*, as follows:

"It seems like different things that could be put together to make a pattern, things of different shapes. I don't want to count them as the other day. They were lying in a heap together and she took them out and placed them.

I distinctly saw a message, letters, 'it will come.'

The strongest impression was the puzzle. Things different on the two sides, like playing cards, all cardboard, they express on their surfaces different things.

She seemed to be very intent on what she was doing. Just a flutter of words, you could hardly catch it, the faintest whisper, such a flutter. She's spoken something out."

(c) *Note added by the agent after seeing the percipient's statement.* The cards were in a cardboard case. It is therefore correct to say that I threw them "out of a box or some kind of square thing which has held them."

H. DE G. VERRALL.

The first part of the percipient's statement is obviously a description of a jigsaw puzzle. The allusion to the queer shapes of different colours and different on the two sides, which are to be sifted out and put in order, makes this clear.

But many of the percipient's remarks are equally appropriate to my action during the experiment :

Are you thinking of a puzzle? . . . I want to pick these things up and place them again. It would require thought . . . I think you have thrown them out of a box, or some kind of square thing which has held them. These objects are different on the upper and lower surface . . . there is something on the one side which makes an alteration.

After a fleeting impression of cutting out paper, obviously derived from the earlier impression of the "queer shapes," the percipient returns to the idea of the puzzle, which she finally sums up in the words recorded by Miss Johnson, who did not at the time know the subject of the experiment :

Things different on the two sides like playing cards, all cardboard, they express on their surfaces different things.

Even here the objects seen are not identified with playing-cards, they are only said to be like them; but it should be noted that the words "all cardboard," which are applicable to cards, are not applicable to a jigsaw puzzle, which is always made of wood.

The percipient was evidently strongly impressed with the idea that the things she saw were different on the two sides; she returns to this idea more than once. My own record shows that I was consciously aware of this peculiarity in playing-cards, for I noted that "the cards had backs with a pattern in light and dark green."

It is again as though the percipient received a series of correct but disjointed impressions, which at first she misinterprets. Afterwards this misinterpretation is partly corrected.

EXPERIMENT XXVIII.

A Failure.

June 12, 1913. 11.25 a.m.—11.55 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. Design of twenty-four squares, red, blue and yellow.

EXPERIMENT XXIX.

A Failure.

June 18, 1913. 11.15 a.m.—11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. A long gold chain with two latch-keys on it.

* EXPERIMENT XXX.

(a) June 19, 1913. 11.30 a.m.—12 noon.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

I sat and looked at a small china bowl. It was bright blue outside with a gold pattern on it, and white inside with a

border of blue and red. I held it in one hand for some time and passed a finger of the other hand round and round the rim. I also laid the bowl on its side on the table and rolled it round and round. In the middle of the experiment I considered the question of filling the bowl with water, but decided not to do this.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

(b)

June 19, 1913.

Miss Johnson's room.

I see very plainly a Japanese doll, its hair and slanting eyes I see very clearly. I first saw it as though you held a small form in your hand, and then it seemed lying in your lap, first in one position and then in another. The slanting eyes were the first thing I felt in this figure, then came the dark hair, and afterwards the colour and form of a face. I felt whatever you held in your hand was light in weight, and that it was clothed. I get light bits of colour splashed on a dark ground-work, easy and flowing in design, but this does not attract me much, just a detail in the object you hold. The face is the strongest thing and that I see most clearly. I sense an unusual feeling in what you are doing. I don't feel anything spread in front of you, but that it is one object. You pick up, hold, turn it round, and then place it on your lap. I get red colour.

Second impression :

I can see gold-fish in a bowl, or a something that holds water. I want to wet my fingers. Not many gold-fish but little objects moving round. This is as clear as the face of the doll, or whatever I'm seeing ; has life. I think they must be gold-fish. I can see them moving so swiftly, round and round. I want to keep making circles.

Whatever you have tried to send through this morning has to me the feeling of the unusual.

L. TIPPING.

Note made by Miss Johnson at the conclusion of the experiment. I gathered from what Miss Tipping said that the impressions were unusually clear, the doll with the black hair and slanting eyes as clear as my inkstand,—the fish, or whatever they were, going round and round, always in the same direction.

(c) *Note made by the agent after seeing the percipient's statement.* The bowl used in this experiment was a small bowl of oriental china, about three inches in diameter at the rim. Inside at the top was a narrow border of blue and red flowers, and a circle of similar flowers at the bottom. Between the two, on the sides of the bowl, were three red and blue butterflies.

H. DE G. VERRALL.

With regard to the percipient's first impression, the Japanese doll, I have no explanation to offer. Her second impression appears in several particulars to reflect the ideas that I was trying to convey.

(i) The percipient says that she sees gold-fish in a bowl, or something that holds water, and she wants to wet her fingers. The subject of the experiment on this occasion was a bowl, and during the experiment, as I have noted in my contemporary statement, "I considered the question of filling the bowl with water, but decided not to do this."

(ii) In speaking of the gold-fish the percipient says :

Not many gold-fish but little objects moving round . . . I think they must be gold-fish. I can see them moving so swiftly round and round. I want to keep making circles.

And immediately afterwards, in conversation with Miss Johnson, she speaks of "the fish, or whatever they were, going round and round."

With these impressions should be compared my note :

I held it [the bowl] in one hand for some time and passed a finger of the other hand round and round the rim. I also laid the bowl on its side on the table and rolled it round and round.

Perhaps "the little objects moving round" which the percipient identifies, rather doubtfully, with gold-fish, were suggested by the three butterflies painted on the inside of the bowl.

EXPERIMENT XXXI.

A Failure.

June 20, 1913. 11.35 a.m.—12.5 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. Cutting and folding white paper into patterns.

EXPERIMENT XXXII

A Failure.

June 25, 1913. 11.15—11.45 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss Verrall.

Subject. Washing a lace collar.

C.

Twice the experiment was tried of having two agents simultaneously. The percipient was not told that a second agent was to take part on these occasions, as it was thought that it would be interesting to note whether she showed any consciousness of this unusual circumstance. Mr. G. N. Tyrrell, the second agent, is an associate of the Society for Psychical Research, and was not at the time acquainted with the Misses Tipping. He has since tried some further experiments in thought-transference with Miss Louisa Tipping, and they have met with some success.

EXPERIMENT XXXIII.

(a) (i) April 30, 1914. 3.5 p.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Subject. A yellow crescent on a white card.

(ii)

April 30, 1914.

Miss Verrall's room.

Agent. Mr. Tyrrell.*Subject.* Queen of Clubs.

(b)

April 30, 1914.

Miss Johnson's room.

I see three objects, square in shape, thin and light in weight, colour, red, faint black, and also white. I think there are small letters on these squares, or printing of some kind; the surface of the objects very smooth. I get numbers, 1, 2, 3. There is drawing on these squares. L. TIPPING.

The percipient's impression is, perhaps, a faint reflexion of the second subject, the Queen of Clubs, but the resemblance is too vague to be evidential. Of the first subject there is no trace.

EXPERIMENT XXXIV.

(a) (i)

May 11, 1914. 11.57 a.m.

Miss Newton's room.

Agent. Miss K. Tipping.

Note by Miss Newton. The agent polished the silver handle (a crook) of her umbrella.

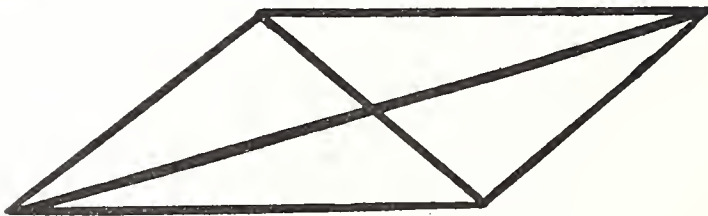
(ii)

May 11, 1914. 11.57 a.m.

Miss Verrall's room.

Agent. Mr. Tyrrell.

Note by Miss Verrall. The agent chose two subjects for this experiment. From 11.57 a.m. to 12.7 p.m. he sat and looked at a diagram, drawn in black ink on a white ground, as below :



He also copied this diagram.

From 12.7 to 12.17 p.m. the subject of the experiment was "CLARENCE, in gold letters on a red brick house outside."

(b) May 11, 1914. 11.57 a.m.

Miss Johnson's room.

First impression. Silver, metal. [*Drawing of a circle.*]
Money. Silver.

I think you have written something on paper for me, or you have done drawing of some kind. I wish to draw, or make figures. I have felt numbers, or rather a number, 12, colour black and white.

L. TIPPING.

The percipient's impressions are interesting on this occasion, because they seem to some extent to reflect the thoughts of both agents, the idea of silver being perhaps derived from the polishing of Miss K. Tipping's umbrella-handle, and the idea of drawing in black and white from Mr. Tyrrell's diagram. The percipient's impression of the number 12 was perhaps suggested to her by the fact that the time was then just about 12 noon; very probably she had heard a clock strike.

Neither here nor in the previous experiment does the percipient's record show any consciousness of there being two agents, and although on the second occasion the result was not unpromising, it was thought better for the moment at any rate to follow a simpler line of experiment and therefore on subsequent occasions there was only one agent.

As to the question of how far these results may be attributed to chance-coincidence it is not possible to come to any exact conclusion, because the experiments do not admit of statistical analysis. As regards certain types of impression a good deal of allowance would undoubtedly have to be made for chance, because the percipient exhibits in these experiments several mental habits. For instance, she has an impression of letters or printing no fewer than sixteen times out of thirty-four, and on six occasions she has an impression of flowers. But it will

be noticed that in none of the more successful experiments do these recurring ideas play an important part. If we left them out of account entirely, our estimate of the success would hardly be affected.

Critics may be inclined, again, to suggest that where the resemblance between the percipient's impression and the subject chosen for transmission is only of a general character,—a question of the attitude and gestures of the agent, or of the shape and colour of the subject,—chance-coincidence might account for most of the resemblances.

With a view, however, to testing, as far as possible, the quantity and quality of the coincidences that might have been produced by chance in this series, I constructed out of it an artificial series by comparing each of the percipient's impressions with the subject (*a*) of the succeeding experiment, (*b*) of the next experiment but one, (*c*) of the next but two, obtaining thus a series of ninety-six imaginary "experiments." Since the date of the percipient's impression in each case preceded the date of the subject chosen for comparison, it might be assumed that any coincidence which occurred in this artificial series was due to chance. If the dates had been reversed, it might be supposed that the coincidences were due to deferred telepathy.

In judging the amount of coincidence in this artificial series, I tried to maintain approximately the same standard as I have applied to the genuine experiments discussed above, and I therefore began by discounting slight, vague coincidences which seemed mainly due to what I have called the percipient's mental habits. Amongst these ninety-six results I found five partial coincidences,¹ *i.e.* a proportion of one in nineteen, as compared with nine out of thirty-four, *i.e.* one in four in the real experiments.

¹ Compare, *e.g.*, III. (*a*) with II. (*b*) and XVII. (*a*) with XIV. (*b*). In Experiment XXVI. I made crochet lace in white cotton and in Experiment XXIV. the percipient had an impression that I was knitting with white or grey wool. This is the only one of these five coincidences which is at all striking. I will ask the reader to take the other two "on trust," since they occur in experiments of which the detailed record is not included in this paper.

So far, therefore, as any conclusions can be drawn from this test, there seems to be a considerable margin of evidence for supposing that some other agency than chance has contributed to the result of these experiments, and as I have said in my introduction, it is difficult to see what this other agency can be but thought-transference.

After the conclusion of the experiments which I have discussed here, Miss Louisa and Miss Kathleen Tipping carried out another short series of experiments, in May and June 1914, in which the subject was usually a playing-card or diagram upon which the agent fixed her attention. In this series of experiments there was only a very small amount of success. The Misses Tipping are both under the impression that more success is likely to be attained when action of some kind is involved in the subject of the experiment, and the results hitherto observed in this case bear out this impression. It may be, of course, that the higher degree of success attained in a particular type of experiment is due to expectation and auto-suggestion, but two other explanations may be suggested:

(a) Any one who has ever played the part of agent in experiments of this kind will recognise what a great help action of almost any kind is towards continuous mental concentration. Indeed, for most people it is almost impossible to keep the attention fixed upon a single mental concept for more than a very short period of time.

(b) In carrying out action of any kind many subconscious nerve-centres, both motor and sensory, are stimulated. If, as we have some reason to think, the subconscious mind plays an important part in thought-transference, it may be that the stimulation of these nerve-centres helps in the transmission of ideas.

It is not possible to draw any certain conclusions from such a small number of experiments as are here discussed, but we hope before long to carry out further experiments with Miss Louisa Tipping, and perhaps with other percipients. As the amount of material increases, it may gradually become possible to form some theory as to what conditions are most favourable to thought-transference.

II.

A DISCUSSION OF THE WILLETT SCRIPTS.¹

I.

BY HERWARD CARRINGTON.

IN the opinion of Mr. Gerald W. Balfour—and evidently other members of the S.P.R.—the late Willett scripts have afforded evidence for survival of a very striking character, and at least two of our prominent members have had no hesitation in coming forward and asserting that they prove the persistence and identity of Dr. A. W. Verrall—instigating and dictating these scripts. To others of us, on the contrary, these scripts have proved anything but conclusive, and I beg to offer, in the following brief discussion, an alternate theory, which tends to dispose, not only of their spiritistic character and origin, but of their supernormal character altogether! Let me first of all quote the scripts *verbatim*, so that there may be no misunderstanding with regard to the actual “evidence” discussed.

(A) (*Script of July 6, 1912*).

Does she remember the passage in which there's a referenee to a river? A traveller looks across it, and sees the inn where he wishes to be; and he sees the torrent and is torn both ways, half disliking to battle with the eurrent, and yet desiring to be at his destination.

Should it be possible to identify this passage, the matter would prove interesting.

¹See the papers by Mr. G. W. Balfour and Mr. Bayfield on “Some Recent Scripts affording Evidence of Personal Survival.”—*Proceedings*, Part LXIX., pp. 221-249.

What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind to make the connection clear.

The passage is not from Christina Rossetti; but I want to say that too:

Yea, beds for all that come—
You cannot miss that inn.

(B) (*Script of August 13, 1913*).

Some one indignant at the delay calls out

HAS THE PASSAGE

been identified about the traveller looking across a *stream*; dips his staff in, fears to wade, takes a run, heart misgives him (here Mrs. Willett said out loud: "Some one is laughing so."—*Note by Sitter*), longs to be over and done with

Faith and
HAIR
in a Temple

(*Drawing of a wheel*) Wheel

Pilgrim.

There was a REASON for the CHOICE, if you find the passage alluded to, it will be clear.

Have this seen to, for he swears that he will not here exercise any patience whatsoever. Not even about

Lavender or Lub.

(C) (*Script of August 17, 1913*).

THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM

But it is of another one I want to write. I said Pilgrim. Now write this—

Not a one-horsed dawn, but a two-horsed chariot, though a one-horsed dawn in a way might fit, because as compared to another charioteer's exploits *his* were but a one-horsed affair. It is a poem I am alluding to

A man who drove two horses in a less ambitious manner. His predecessor—

Does God exact day-labour, light denied?

That OUGHT to make it clear.

Hair in a Temple was said.

(D) (*Script of September 8, 1913.*)

(Written in the presence of Mrs. Verrall.)

He of the little patience demands now this 3rd time whether the Pilgrim has been understood.

Now if I say Passionate Pilgrim, I know all sorts of connotations will be dragged in. But think of the passage twice inserted,

The River and He who would be across.

Letting I would not wait upon I would.

That seems jumbled up somehow, never mind.

A passionate Pilgrim but

NOT H.S'S

one.

What moves the stars and all the heavenly bodies? Dante makes it clear.

Then again I will repeat and will continue to repeat until you are all sick and tired of the subject

HAIR IN A TEMPLE

That belongs.

Now, in considering this curious series of writings, let us start our discussion without any prepossessions whatsoever. Let us not assume that they refer to any particular thing, or to any particular person. If we begin by assuming this, we are apt to make all the evidence fit into our theory. Let us, rather, judge the scripts purely impartially, without assuming that they emanate from Dr. Verrall or from any other disembodied "spirit." It seems to me that those who have studied these scripts have not done this; they seem to have been almost determined from the start to place the authorship with Dr. Verrall; for we read (p. 224): "it had indeed from the first been supposed to be connected in some way with the late Dr. Verrall." Why? Because the script of July 6 contains two lines from a poem of Christina Rossetti's, whose subject is death, and Dr. Verrall had died "only a few weeks before!" Surely the S.P.R. will invite very adverse criticism as to its methods if it advances evidence of this sort, and then proceeds to build up elaborate theories and an immense superstructure upon

so flimsy a foundation as this! Let us see if there is not another interpretation of the script—one quite in conformity with the facts, and perfectly obvious, when once pointed out.

Before discussing this alternate interpretation, however, one fact must not be lost sight of; and that is the fact that the enigmatic, studied, veiled and obscure form of the writing affords no evidence, *per se*, of its genuinely spiritistic character. We know full well that planchette and automatic writing will often assume this form, when there is no evidence whatever that any external intelligence is active—other than the subliminal of the medium. This “dramatic play” is effective, but it affords a strong argument *against* the spiritistic theory just as much as it does *for* it. The beautiful cases brought forward by Flournoy, in his work *Spiritism and Psychology*, fully demonstrate this, and indicate the lying character of many of these communications. Here, as we have seen, messages of a precisely similar character were received from supposedly “dead” people who afterwards turned up alive and in good health! Facts of this character should give us pause, and make us decide to discard absolutely all evidence for survival based upon this “dramatic play.” Evidence must be forthcoming that the knowledge shown overreaches the possibilities of the subconscious mind. The supernatural is the criterion. This fact was very clearly seen and insisted upon by Prof. Hyslop, when he said (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XVI., p. 292):

The crucial test of Spiritism, in this and all other cases, must turn upon the question of telepathy to furnish the *data* upon which any secondary consciousness has to work. Until it is more fully studied, we shall have to assume that secondary personality is equal to the task of explaining the dramatic play of personality, and all non-evidential *data*, and base our conclusion upon the insufficiency of telepathy to supply the objective facts in evidence of personal identity.

This has been more and more borne out by the publication of late facts. We must make up our minds, therefore, to discard all “dramatic play” as non-evidential,

in the strict sense of the word, and judge the scripts solely upon the basis of the supernatural information they contain.

Judged in this light, and from an entirely unbiassed viewpoint, what do we find ?

It seems perfectly obvious to me that the symbolic references to crossing a river, the pilgrim hesitating upon its brink, etc., refer *not* to Dr. Verrall at all, nor to any classical writer ; but to a book which practically everyone has read, and which may be calculated to leave an indelible and life-long impression upon the subliminal of every reader—to wit, *Pilgrim's Progress*. The word "Pilgrim" is distinctly referred to on several occasions—the actual word being used. We are also specially warned *not* to confuse this Pilgrim with the Passionate Pilgrim (which would steer us off, into Shakespeare) nor to "H. S.'s." In other words, the script refers in a veiled way to a certain passage in which a Pilgrim comes to a river which he hesitates to cross, and which may be assumed to refer symbolically to Death. Now, in *Pilgrim's Progress*, Death is aptly represented by a deep river without a bridge, separating the believer from his heavenly inheritance—as Jordan flowed between Israel and the promised land. Let me quote the passage to make this perfectly clear :

Now I further saw that betwixt them and the gate was a river ; but there was no bridge to go over ; the river was very deep. At the sight therefore of this river, the pilgrims were much stunned ; but the men who went with them said, "You must go through or you cannot come to the gate."

The pilgrims then began to inquire if there was no other way to the gate ? to which they answered, "Yes ; but there hath not any, save two, to wit, Enoch and Elijah, been permitted to tread that path since the foundation of the world ; nor shall until the last trumpet shall sound." The pilgrims then (especially Christian) began to despond in their minds, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them, by which they might escape the river. Then they asked the men if the waters were all of a depth ? They said, "No ;" yet they could not help them in that case ;

“for,” said they, “you will find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.”

They then addressed themselves to the water, and, entering, Christian began to sink, and crying out to his good friend Hopeful, he said, “I sink in deep waters; the billows go over my head, all his waves go over me. Selah.”

The passage then goes on to describe Christian’s further agonies of soul in crossing, and his final triumphant emergence upon the further shore.

I think we need surely go no further in our search for the origin of this script. We have all the necessary conditions fulfilled. Assuming Mrs. Willett to have read *Pilgrim’s Progress*, or to know the story, we have here, it seems to me, a complete explanation of the origin of this part of the writing.

We have a Pilgrim (not the Passionate Pilgrim of Shakespeare nor H. S.’s)—crossing a river—the river of death. It is beautifully symbolized. He hesitates and doubts before crossing. He sees the stream and is afraid. He dislikes to battle with the current and the water’s probable depth. It would “prove interesting” upon identification, because it refers to Death, symbolically. It is not Rossetti’s. Truly, “you cannot miss that Inn,” because all men must die! The passage is as clear as possible throughout. The writing is a mere subliminal re-construction of this story of Christian crossing the river of Death—portrayed in the usual veiled manner. Neither Statius nor any classical author whatever is referred to; nor is reference to them necessary to explain the script fully and satisfactorily.

To pass to other portions of the script. In that of August 13, we have “Faith and . . . Hair . . . in a Temple.” Now, I should imagine that the automatic hand, wandering on in its usual dreamlike way, started to write “Faith and Hope,” but after writing the H of the word Hope, it suddenly took a “new turn” and wrote “Hair in a Temple.” I have seen many similar instances of this, in which the meaning of the phrase has been suddenly turned in this manner, after the first

letter of a word has been given. It is a common trick of the subliminal. Just why "Hair in a Temple" should then have been written, I am, of course, unable to say. It seems mere dream-like rambling. Mr. Balfour says it has a hidden and very intimate and subtle connection with Dr. Verrall—*too* intimate and subtle, unfortunately, for publication! Not knowing the facts, I cannot dispute this. As, however, I think I have shown that neither Dr. Verrall nor Statius were in any way referred to in the foregoing script, I think we need not concern ourselves very greatly with this connection, which thus assumes a very far-fetched aspect.

"Lavender and Lub" would be a good hit, were it not for the fact that this phrase had already appeared in Mrs. Verrall's script, and had been seen by Mrs. Willett (p. 236). If, therefore, Mrs. Willett had any intimation that her script was thought to emanate from Dr. Verrall—which she might well have subconsciously surmised from the actions of her sitters—her subliminal might well have inserted this phrase, amidst her writings, as it was known to be intimately connected with Mrs. Verrall (it appeared in *her* writing) and hence indirectly with her husband. The phrase does not appear remarkable to me at all.

As to the drawing of a wheel, amid many drawings and diagrams which have occurred in the automatic writing in the past—many of them unrecognizable—this should not occasion us much concern! It might represent the Wheel of Fortune; the wheel of a Chariot (spoken of at the next sitting); the Wheel of Time; the Wheel upon which Mercury is sometimes represented as standing, etc. If the latter, it would follow very naturally from the sentence before it—speaking of a Temple. (I myself have seen a dome-like building, resembling a temple, surmounted by a winged Mercury, standing upon a wheel.) This would seem, therefore, to represent a pure piece of symbolic imagery.

Finally, as to the passages relating to the "one-horsed dawn" and "Dante,"—inasmuch as these had already been the subject of lengthy discussions in the *Proceedings*,

I am inclined to attach no weight whatever to them, but to regard these references merely as stray shots—referring to incidents which could not fail to hit the mark in one capacity or another. Any reference whatever to Dante would be held to have significance—after all that has been written upon him in the past! It has no real connection with the script, but is merely a stray shot, a line thrown out, to see whether or not it would find soil. The fact that it *did* so is evident from the paper of Mr. Balfour, and the tremendous superstructure of theory which the Rev. M. A. Bayfield has reared upon this slender number of facts!

Reviewing the evidence, therefore, from a purely impersonal and impartial point of view, we see that it by no means points to Dr. Verrall as the author of the scripts; and that no vast amount of classical scholarship is involved or necessary to understand or interpret them fully. They represent, rather, the piecing together of disjointed fragments of subconscious knowledge and subconscious memories; they have no systematic connection, and point to no “spirit” as their author. They are all fully explained upon purely psychological and naturalistic lines. And this criticism applies, it seems to me, not only to the Willett scripts in particular, but to almost the whole of the cross-correspondences. Studied in this manner, and without prepossession, they almost invariably resolve themselves into simple subconscious memories and associations, between which no real connection whatever exists. I believe, with Dr. Maxwell, that the evidence afforded by these cross-correspondences has been vastly over-rated; that chance has played a far greater part than is usually assumed; and that the evidence for survival which they furnish is distinctly inferior in all respects to the straightforward communications supplied in the Hodgson and Hyslop reports, from which method many of us are sorry the Society has ever departed. I also agree fully with Mrs. Anna Hude (*The Evidence for Communication*) in thinking that, while there is strong evidence for supernormal knowledge of a vague kind shown by these cross-references, there is practically no evidence of “spirit return,” and

that the Latin message incident, far from being a success, was a miserable failure. It is with regret that I record these impressions, which are doubtless opposed to those of many other members of the Society; but they have been reached only after a thorough and painstaking examination of the evidence. I cannot help feeling that these communications lack nearly all the essentials necessary to insure conviction; and that the spiritistic hypothesis still rests for its most solid support upon the G. P. sittings, and other "direct" communications coming through Mrs. Piper. The whole *crux* of the question lies there.

II.

BY IVOR LLOYD TUCKETT, M.D.

[The following remarks by Dr. Tuckett, who is not a member of the S.P.R., are taken from a letter he wrote in October, 1914, to a member who had asked his opinion about the Willett scripts, and who suggested that his answer should be published. This is now done with Dr. Tuckett's permission.—ED.]

The Willett script published in Part LXIX. of the *Proceedings* is a less oppressive case for discussion than most cases of automatic writing, especially those that are supposed to form a cross-correspondence, such as the "Alexander's Tomb" C. C. analysed by Miss Johnson, which does not impress me with the necessity for a supernormal explanation but which it is difficult to grasp and criticise concisely. So this Willett script, in as far as it is not supposed to be part of a cross-correspondence, deserves, to my mind, more serious attention and is more impressive.

But it is only impressive if you agree with Mr. Balfour that the Willett script of July 6, 1912 (written in Mr. Balfour's presence eighteen days after Dr. Verrall's death on June 18, 1912) finds its solution in a passage from Dr. Verrall's essay, entitled "Dante on the Baptism of Statius," published in the *Albany Review* in August, 1908,

but probably quite unknown to Mrs. Willett. Mr. Balfour, who has written the article in the *Proceedings* of the S.P.R. with considerable skill, is too ready, I think, to assume that it does find its only solution in Dr. Verrall's essay. Therefore, as Mr. Balfour's argument depends almost entirely on identifying the passage asked for in Mrs. Willett's script with a passage in Dr. Verrall's essay, I must discuss this matter at some length.

The script of July 6, 1912 (see above, p. 458) ends with a quotation from a poem called *Uphill*, the subject of which is Death.

Now in this script there is obviously quite as much stress laid on the idea of an *Inn* as there is on that of *River*; and there is also some mention of battling with the current. Then the quotation of Christina Rossetti's poem rather implies that the passage referred to occurs in a *poem*. Consequently I do not think the passage in Dr. Verrall's essay more appropriate than many other passages either in classical literature about crossing the Styx, or in hymns about trembling on the brink of the river of death; while in modern poetry there must be many passages which would fit well enough. Why should it not even be some passage from Dante (for the script of September 8, 1913, contains the words, "What moves the stars and all the heavenly bodies? Dante makes it clear.") rather than the passage in Dr. Verrall's essay, which runs as follows:

This river [*i.e.* of baptism] he long hesitated to pass; he "halted on the other side," as a man, who was no hero, might, when to be baptised was to be in danger of death,—though, as he tells us, the delay cost him centuries of expiation upon the purgatorial mountain. But before he brought his Argives to the Asopus [*i.e.* in his poem of "The Seven against Thebes"] he himself had made his passage.

Here there is no reference, explicit or implicit, to an *Inn*, and nothing about battling with a torrent. In Dr. Verrall's remarks on Statius, the stress is on the danger he ran *after* crossing the river of baptism rather than on any danger *in* crossing, the point accentuated in the script.

In the next place, Mr. Balfour tries to clinch the matter and convince the reader that this is the passage referred to in the script by writing (p. 220):

The fact that this essay brings into conjunction Dr. Verrall himself, Dante and a traveller or pilgrim who hesitates to cross a river, is to my mind almost convincing proof that it contains the passage we are looking for. But any doubt that may still remain will vanish, I think, before one decisive consideration

When Statius, in the lines of which I have already read a translation—[i.e. *Purgatorio* xxii., 73-91]—says to Virgil, “Through thee I was a poet, through thee a Christian,” he adds, “*but that thou mayest the better see what I outline, I will put forth my hand to fill in colour.*” Dr. Verrall quotes these lines and explains them to mean that Dante himself felt that his account of the manner and date of Statius’ conversion rested on an imaginative interpretation of the passage in the *Thebaid* on which he was relying, and went considerably beyond its literal meaning. Now turn to the printed extract from the Willett script of July 6, 1912: “*What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind to make the connection clear.*”

We have here an unmistakable paraphrase of the very words that Dante puts into the mouth of Statius. And what I will again ask you specially to note is that this crowning proof that the passage has been correctly identified occurs in the earliest of the four scripts that refer to the subject.

Here you see Mr. Balfour talks about a *crowning proof*. But to my mind the occurrence in Mrs. Willett’s script of words which are more or less a paraphrase of some lines in the *Purgatorio* do not prove anything at all. If the inspirer of the script, supposed by Mr. Balfour to be Dr. Verrall, had wanted to make the script refer to a passage in Dr. Verrall’s essay and at the same time to bring in a reference to Dante’s mention of Statius in the *Purgatorio*, he would have attained his end with certainty, not by using words which are only a *vague* paraphrase of Dante’s words, but by quoting Dante’s words themselves in the Italian or at any rate the English translation, viz. “*but that thou mayest the better see what I outline, I will put forth my hand to fill in colour.*”

The expression "I will put forth my hand to fill in colour" would have been a millionfold more convincing than saying, "What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind to make the connection clear." These latter words might be applied to so many contexts, and are not uncharacteristic of the vague, non-committal utterances of automatic script.

Then again Mr. Balfour's words, "The fact that this essay brings into conjunction Dr. Verrall himself, Dante and a traveller or pilgrim who hesitates to cross a river, is to my mind almost convincing proof that it contains the passage we are looking for," are to my mind pointless. For if we do *not assume* that Dr. Verrall is the inspirer of the script, then the fact that any passage brings into conjunction Dr. Verrall, Dante and a Traveller, does not make that passage any *more* probably the one referred to in the script. Mr. Balfour here is obviously arguing in a circle. He assumes the identity of the passage to prove that Dr. Verrall inspired it, and he then makes a point of Dr. Verrall being the inspirer to prove the identity of the passage.

Altogether I am absolutely unconvinced that the script about the Timid Traveller refers to the passage in Dr. Verrall's essay; and if it does not, then there is nothing impressive about the script. In all cases of automatic writing I see no reason yet for doubting that what is written could be given a normal explanation, if we knew all about the conscious thoughts and subconscious material present to the automatic writer's mind in the hours or days preceding the production of the script. Nevertheless, I admit the possibility that some day convincing evidence of communications from discarnate minds may be forthcoming; although in this particular case I regard the evidence for Dr. Verrall's interference as very weak.

Next a few remarks about two subsidiary points.

(1). "Lavender or Lub," which came at the end of script B (August 13, 1913), and which Mr. Balfour supposes were words "introduced to serve as an identifying symbol connecting Dr. Verrall with the script by a link the significance of which was outside the normal

knowledge of the automatist," had occurred in a script of Mrs. Verrall written on January 13, 1908. Mrs. Willett had seen this script; so the occurrence of the expression in her own script requires no supernormal explanation.

(2). In scripts B, C, and especially in D, quite as much or more stress is laid on "HAIR IN A TEMPLE" than on the passage referring to a Timid Traveller. If the expression involves private matters, it is unfortunate for the supernormal explanation; but Mr. Balfour's words are of no scientific value when he says he thinks it refers to Catullus' poem on "The Hair of Berenice," and adds, "I must ask you to accept from me that there is a connection, but one which I have to leave unexplained, because it involves a reference to private matters which I am not at liberty to disclose. . . . I can only tell you that 'Berenice' is, as a matter of fact, connected by very definite intermediate links with Dr. Verrall's essays on Dante and Statius, and that this explanation has the additional merit of explaining why the drawing of a wheel appears in the script of August 13, 1913."

I regard it as almost scientifically illegitimate to use the words *as a matter of fact*; and it is certainly scientifically pointless to mention Berenice's Hair at all, if the evidence cannot be given. So for the ordinary reader of the *Proceedings* there is nothing to show from the occurrence of the words "Hair in a Temple" in three scripts out of four that the passage referred to in the first script has anything to do with Dr. Verrall's essay entitled "Dante on the Baptism of Statius."

Finally, I feel I ought to make some general remarks about the whole incident.

(I.) It is noteworthy how prejudiced Messrs. Balfour and Bayfield are in favour of the Verrall origin of the script. They do their best to make the passage in Dr. Verrall's essay, entitled "Dante on the Baptism of Statius," fit the words of Mrs. Willett's script without considering and discussing the claims of any other passages in modern and ancient literature about a river which some one hesitated to cross, such as Caesar and the Rubicon, or Christian crossing the river to Paradise in

The Pilgrim's Progress; and then they triumphantly argue that the inspirer of the script was much more probably Dr. Verrall's discarnate mind than the automatist's own mind, or some other incarnate mind acting telepathically on the automatist.

N.B.—It is amusing to note how seriously the Rev. M. A. Bayfield discusses whether Dr. Verrall or some form of telepathy is the more probable explanation of the script; and talks as if he knew a great deal about Telepathy, although—as I continue to maintain—Telepathy itself has never yet been scientifically established. In this discussion, too, I note that he refers, as evidence for telepathy, to the scientifically worthless experiments of Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden which gave such feeble results.

(II.) Even if I admitted that there was no doubt of the connection between the script and Dr. Verrall's essay and that apparently Dr. Verrall was the inspirer of the script and that there was here some evidence for the supernormal, yet then I should try not to forget that this was a single experiment; and that, in the light of all the twaddly, worthless automatic writings and utterances which have been given forth during the last 2000 years, great caution must be exercised. For in studying phenomena taking place under vague, unknown conditions, with the possibility of all sorts of unforeseen fallacies, the only way to approach truth is by establishing a percentage of striking results out of a large mass of phenomena, of very low scientific value individually. And the percentage is REMARKABLY LOW! Yet the Rev. M. A. Bayfield in his *Note on the Same Scripts* says that this incident has quite convinced him of the reality of "communication with the spirit world."

(III.) The Rev. M. A. Bayfield's note on the incident is remarkably characteristic of the sort of effect which emotional bias has on a person. What has convinced him much more than any sound scientific evidence is obviously the *form* of the script in which he thinks he can recognise personal peculiarities of Dr. Verrall. This reminds me strikingly of the trial of the French spirit-photographer,

Buguet (see Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism*, Vol. II., p. 120), at which witness after witness came forward to testify on behalf of the accused, having obtained unmistakable photographs of those dear to them; and they would not relinquish their faith, even when they heard Buguet explain how he had taken all the photographs with "a headless doll or lay figure, which, variously draped, served for the body of the ghost. The head was commonly chosen to suit expectations. . . . The lay figure and a large stock of heads were seized by the police at the studio."

In short there is no evidence apt to be more deceptive than the recognition of traits and peculiarities which we think characteristic of those we have known well and loved. The emotional bias subconsciously making one wish to be convinced is so strong. Even the recognition of Russians whom we have never loved can be fallacious, if the bias is strong enough!

In this case the Rev. M. A. Bayfield lays stress on the characteristically *impatient* tone of the Willett script. But from his remarks it is clear that, if the script had been remarkable for the *patience* shown, it would have been equally easy to say this was characteristic of the patient fortitude with which Dr. Verrall bore his long illness.

(IV.) There is nothing in Mrs. Willett's script which is not characteristic of automatic writing. Now as we *know* that automatic processes in *some* cases have been inspired by forgotten memories or by a subconscious train of thought—I could give four or five examples from Miss Johnson's first paper on Mrs. Holland's script,—the natural attitude, apart from special reasons, is to find the explanation of every script in the automatist's own mind. (In this case identification of the references to a Timid Traveller with Dr. Verrall's essay would constitute a special reason; but, as I have shown, this identification is not convincing.) Moreover, the year's interval between scripts A and B is quite characteristic of the way subconscious processes, masquerading as a personality, go on. We must always remember that Mrs. Willett was at the time an intimate friend of Mrs. Verrall

and her daughter, and knew all about their hopes of what automatic writing would prove, besides having read many papers published by the S.P.R. Consequently, Mrs. Willett probably knew quite well, *subconsciously*, the sort of evidence which would impress members of the S.P.R., and how this sort of puzzle of referring vaguely to some passage and then returning to the subject a year later would excite interest.

(V.) All that we know about the mind and its relation to the brain from the researches of physiologists and experimental psychologists goes to show that you cannot get out of the mind anything the elements of which have not been put into the mind at some previous time. The mind can evolve wonderful combinations out of subconscious material, but there is no evidence that it can produce thoughts quite outside the range of the thinker's experience. For instance, there is no evidence that an automatist can speak or write a language which can be shown with certainty never to have come within the horizon of the automatist's experience. Consequently, the hypothesis that Dr. Verrall inspired Mrs. Willett's script can only mean that Dr. Verrall's discarnate mind was able to select and utilise elements which were present in Mrs. Willett's subconscious mind; but the Rev. M. A. Bayfield, in discussing the telepathic hypothesis, himself denies that there is any evidence that one mind can rout about in another person's mind. On the other hand, if the discarnate Dr. Verrall was more than a mere selector of the script, his mind must have got possession of the working of the automatist's brain, a hypothesis which raises endless difficulties.

(VI.) Mrs. Willett only knew Dr. Verrall slightly. So if Dr. Verrall wanted to send a communication to show the S.P.R. that his mind still survived, he could have done it so much more easily—one would think, knowing nothing about the supernormal conditions under which automatic writing might occur—through his wife or daughter. Or, if he wanted to make his communication as convincing and striking as possible, one would expect him to have chosen some complete stranger. Mrs. Willett

strikes me as being neither intimate enough nor enough of a stranger for it to be probable that Dr. Verrall would have chosen her for his medium of communication. However, I really consider it is futile to discuss what is probable in a hypothesis for which there is no evidence; and I attach no weight to this argument. So I have put these remarks last in case they may appeal to any spiritistically inclined readers.

III.

BY THE REV. M. A. BAYFIELD.

I have been asked to make a reply to the two papers which immediately precede this, and will endeavour to do so, dealing in such detail as seems to be required with the criticisms which they offer. We will take Mr. Carrington's paper first.

He writes on p. 460, "they seem to have been almost determined from the start to place the authorship with Dr. Verrall; for we read (p. 224) 'it has indeed from the first been supposed to be connected in some way with the late Dr. Verrall.' Why? Because the script of July 6 contains two lines from a poem of Christina Rossetti's, whose subject is death, and Dr. Verrall had died 'only a few weeks before!'" But Mr. Balfour's words, "it [the script] had indeed from the first been *supposed* to be *in some way connected with*" afford no warrant for Mr. Carrington writing, "they seem to have been *almost determined* from the start to *place the authorship with*." Further, in order to show that the supposed connexion was *not* altogether arbitrary (as Mr. Carrington suggests that it is), Mr. Balfour goes on to say, "This being the first script she had written since Dr. Verrall's death, it was natural to expect that reference to him would be made in it." Any one familiar with the subject knows that this is the way of automatists, and also that the fact imports nothing as to the ultimate origin of the

script. To maintain that Dr. Verrall is referred to in the script is totally different from maintaining that he is the author of it; the critic, however, appears not to have grasped the distinction, and he omits Mr. Balfour's important sentence. Mr. Balfour immediately adds a stronger reason for the connexion: "Moreover, a phrase in this same script 'does she remember' was reminiscent of a similar phrase in which 'she' clearly alluded to Mrs. Verrall." This point also Mr. Carrington ignores and omits; but clearly Mr. Balfour's two reasons, given in full and taken together, explain satisfactorily enough why it had been supposed that Script (A) was "connected in some way with the late Dr. Verrall." Even if Mr. Carrington does not find these reasons satisfactory, he might note that though the supposition was seriously entertained, this was in spite of the fact that it left any connexion of the "passage" with Dr. Verrall still a complete mystery.

Mr. Carrington comments on his own version of Mr. Balfour's arguments as follows:—"Surely the S.P.R. will invite very adverse criticism as to its methods if it advances evidence of this sort,". . . Fortunately the Society is in no way responsible for offering 'evidence of this sort' in support of spirit intervention, nor is even Mr. Balfour; it is a *hors d'œuvre* of Mr. Carrington's own preparation. The evidence Mr. Balfour advanced on this point is merely evidence that the scripts *referred to* Dr. Verrall, and has nothing to do with the question of the latter's authorship or agency.

Next we are warned to attach no importance to the 'dramatic play' in the scripts, since it is by no means beyond the capacity of the unaided subliminal consciousness. That is a truth familiar to babes in psychical research, and since Mr. Balfour showed no forgetfulness of it, one wonders why it was thought necessary to emphasise the axiom in the present connexion. The topic is quite irrelevant. May I be pardoned for wondering—merely wondering—whether, by some confusion of thought, the writer had in his mind my Note on the extraordinary characterisation of Dr. Verrall (with its dramatic features) which the scripts present? If this

is so, it is to be remarked that the two things are not the same. The characterisation of an individual is quite distinct from the ordinary dramatic play which occurs so commonly in scripts, and which is referred to in Mr. Carrington's quotation from Dr. Hyslop's article.

Mr. Carrington identifies the passage referred to in the scripts as being Bunyan's description of the pilgrims crossing the River of Death; he says the identification is "perfectly obvious." The passage in *The Pilgrim's Progress* is so familiar, and the superficial similarity between the passages so obvious, that the idea is probably the first that would occur to anyone on a first glance at the scripts; and as a matter of fact it was the first that occurred to those who first saw the scripts. They rejected it because a second glance showed the proposed solution to be untenable for the following reasons.

First, all the scripts emphasise the single traveller, and never mention more than one; in Bunyan's allegory there is a crowd of people on the river bank, who are described as all being concerned to make the crossing and as proceeding to attempt it, and *two* pilgrims, Christian and Hopeful, pass over together.

Again, Script (A) describes the river in question as a "torrent," and speaks of the traveller as "disliking to battle with the current." Now, this is in precise and remarkable agreement with the condition of the river Asopus as described in the essay. Dr. Verrall's words, which follow the description of Statius, are, "The unfriendly stream, we are told, then chanced to be swollen by a formidable flood, and the Argive horsemen hesitated to pass."¹ It was the strength and speed of the river, now become a torrent, which dismayed them, and it is natural and reasonable to suppose that if Dr. Verrall assigned in his thoughts any particular characteristics to the metaphorical river of Statius' baptism (the river of the script, as we think), it would be those of the Asopus in flood, since it is the Asopus in that condition which furnishes the image. Bunyan's

¹ See *Literary Essays Classical and Modern*, p. 195, and Statius, *Theb.* vii. 425 ff.

river, on the other hand, appears to have had no appreciable current. In fact its pace was no part of his thought; the only feature and the only difficulty he is concerned to present is the depth of the water. At its first mention the river is said to have been "very deep," and a little later the pilgrims are told that they "will find it deeper or shallower" according to their faith; and that is all that is said of the character of the stream.

A still more decisive objection than these is that this solution boldly ignores the various hints given in the later scripts as a help towards identification of the passage in the first. Mr. Carrington arbitrarily and impatiently tosses these aside, and says with the finality of a Judicial Committee of the House of Lords, "It [any reference to Dante] has no real connection with the script." Now assertion is not argument, as Mr. Carrington is well aware, and since he is engaged in a serious discussion to which he must desire to do strict justice, he cannot be 'bluffing' his readers; no honest seeker after truth would do that. We are bound, therefore, to suppose that he has some sound reasons for this wholesale elimination of the references to Dante, though he keeps them to himself,—that he possesses some touchstone by which he can infallibly distinguish the material from the immaterial. But why this sudden and unexpected reticence? To raise our expectations of a reasoned treatment of this cardinal point and then leave us unsatisfied is, to say the least, unkind. Also I am afraid he cannot have realised how important these allusions to Dante are for Mr. Balfour's view; else, with his desire to be studiously fair to the discussion and to guide us aright, he would have told us plainly *why*, like "the flowers that bloom in the spring, tra la," they "have nothing to do with the case." As it is, deserted by our guide, we shall go on in our own stupid way, believing that these allusions are intentionally inserted as helps towards identification of the propounded passage.

Moreover, as against Mr. Carrington's view, if the passage in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is the true answer to the riddle, what plausible explanation can be given of

the words of Script (A), "Should it be possible to identify this passage, the matter would prove interesting" ? "Should it be possible" is a phrase which suggests some difficulty in making the identification, but the incident in Bunyan's story leaps to any literary person's recollection at once. And if the passage of Bunyan had had any "interesting" association with Dr. Verrall, Mrs. Verrall would almost certainly have been aware of the fact, and would have told us. On the other hand, if the "passage" of Script (A) is the passage in the essay on Statius, "the matter" does "prove interesting," for it furnishes strong evidence of personal identity and survival.

Let us, having no reason to the contrary, take into account the allusions to Dante, and let us for the moment assume that Mrs. Willett's subliminal alone, and in pure mischief, concocted the scripts. She begins by propounding the problem in Script (A); but the little jest falls flat, for nobody makes any guess at the answer, though she waits for a whole year. The words "What the passage does not say," etc., were not at that time recognised as a paraphrase of two lines of Dante. She is naturally piqued, and propounds her riddle again in (B), this time adding as a hint the word 'wheel' and the drawing of a wheel. This hint also is too obscure; for though there is a famous wheel in the *Divina Commedia*, there are also others, as Mr. Carrington observes. Accordingly there are still no bids. So in (D) she returns to the subject once more, and this time with the pointed hint "Dante makes it clear." After that, those few who had seen the writings offered their answer to the puzzle, and the subject disappeared from Mrs. Willett's scripts. Apparently her subliminal was satisfied. On the assumption with which this paragraph begins, this view of the scripts seems to be natural and indeed inevitable. On any view of the origin of the scripts it is merely perverse to separate the references to Dante from the propounded passage; and this will, I think, be the general opinion until Mr. Carrington sees fit to impart the secret of his patent separator. One wonders what he himself would have said of such a dislocation if

anyone had ventured upon it in order to support a case for spirit intervention.

How dangerous it is to form a judgement about the allusions in script without taking every detail into account is well shown in the case of the following scripts written by Miss Verrall. Though they extend over a period of six years they are apparently all connected. I have italicised the words which alone belong to the poem that was finally identified as being the one intended:

(1) *Dec. 16, 1907.*— . . . A *fairy boat* in the moonlight (drawing of a boat) and a star at the prow (drawing of a boat and a star) and a *mast of silver* but the *sails* are furled . . .

(2) *Dec. 15, 1908.*— . . . A knife a carving knife three blind *mice* a single thread.

(3) *Feb. 1, 1909.*— . . . A *ship a ship* comes *sailing* but never a ship for me . . .

(4) *Jan. 21, 1914.*— . . . Apollo's *golden bow*—a shower of *gold—aurea* a *golden boat* (drawing of a crescent moon) there is a poem—something about the moon and a *golden boat* . . .

(5) *Jan. 28, 1914.*— . . . the *golden boat*—something about the *masts being of silver*—it is an *English poem*—we have tried to quote it twice before—to *sail on the sea*—last night the moon had a *silver ring*—three blind *mice*—yes write it down—I wish you could find that poem . . .

(6) *Feb. 4, 1914.*— . . . the *masts were all of silver*—*the crew were mice* . . .

Before the next script appeared Mr. Piddington told Miss Verrall that he had discovered the poem, and told her what it was.

(7) *Feb. 9, 1914.*— . . . It was right about the boat.

(8) *Feb. 25, 1914.*— . . . Did you understand about the silver masts? that was important—the mice too were to identify—I mean for identification of the ship . . . the ship is what matters . . .

After much hunting, Mr. Piddington had identified the

poem as being *The Fairy Ship*, a child's poem which begins :—

“ A ship, a ship a-sailing, a-sailing on the sea,
 And it was deeply laden with pretty things for me ;
 There were raisins in the cabin and almonds in the hold,
 The sails were made of satin, and the mast it was of gold.
 The four and twenty sailors that stood between the decks
 Were four and twenty white mice with rings round their
 necks . . . ”

There are other versions, and in one the sails are, it is said, of silver.

Probably few people would dispute the correctness of this identification, which, it should be added, was arrived at by Mr. Piddington entirely without prejudice, for he has no idea why the poem in question was referred to by the scripts. But if no notice had been taken of the mice, which in (2) and (5) appear to be altogether irrelevant, the true solution would certainly have been missed. Thus Miss Verrall herself thought that Hood's poem beginning, “ A lake and a fairy boat, To sail in the moonlight clear,” might possibly be intended. Only when it was plainly said in (6) that “ the crew were mice ” was it seen that all previous guesses had been erroneous. None the less, should this identification ever be used to support a case of spirit intervention, we must not be surprised if some one gifted with mysterious powers of penetration comes forward and boldly declares that the mice have “ no real connexion with the script,” that each one of them “ is merely a stray shot, a line thrown out, to see whether or not it would find soil ”—and bear no doubt those fantastic fruits that we so often see when shots and lincs strike root. Any one who can ignore Dante would make short work of three blind mice, or even a crew of them.

These scripts of Miss Verrall furnish a further lesson, which may be useful to those who have only made a superficial study of automatic writing. They illustrate the difficulty which the subliminal not infrequently seems to find in expressing simply and directly the idea which it

apparently wishes to convey. It will lead up to it by indirect approaches, or wrap it round with confusing superfluities, or even—betrayed by some literary or other association—introduce a fresh thought similar yet distinct, so that the reader is puzzled to decide which idea is the important one. For instance, in (2) above, we get at the mice of the fairy crew only through “three blind mice,” and these themselves are led up to by the carving knife.

Again, such irrelevances may be introduced by the automatist’s conscious self: realising what she is writing, she may start a train of associated thought which somehow finds its way into the script, either at the time or later. Thus the description of the fairy boat in (1) introduces moonlight and a star, neither of which occurs in the poem. The moonlight is borrowed from Hood’s poem, and the star comes from an illustration of it which Miss Verrall had seen, and which shows a star at the boat’s prow. I may add in passing that the foregoing remarks have a bearing on the mention of the Inn in Mrs. Willett’s Script (A), which will be dealt with below.

The references to “Hair in a Temple” Mr. Carrington explains in a manner apparently satisfactory to himself, but which is mere imagination. He is, of course, not in a position to offer, or even form, any opinion on this point, and he would have impressed us more as a disputant if he had contented himself with saying that the court could take no notice of statements unsupported by evidence. Mr. Balfour’s opinion on the matter (pp. 239 f.) has weight with many of us, but one would not expect importance to be attached to it by anyone who did not know his impartiality in judging of such questions. The reader may be reminded that his mention of the point was independent of his main argument, and that he did not offer it as any part of the evidence in support of that argument.

The remarkably strong point “Lavender or Lub” is similarly dismissed with a mere wave of the hand—and a false statement. For the phrase was *not*, as Mr. Carrington

asserts, "known to be *intimately* [the italics are mine] connected with Mrs. Verrall" (p. 464). It had appeared once in a script written by Mrs. Verrall on January 13, 1908, which, among a large number of others, had afterwards been seen by Mrs. Willett, and that fact is all Mrs. Willett could have known about it. As will be seen by reference to Mr. Balfour's footnote on p. 237, "Lub" (the essential word in the Willett script) is in Mrs. Verrall's script solely due to the accidental emergence of a subliminal memory, through association with "Lavender"—one of thousands of such emergences, and there is nothing in the script to suggest any connexion of this phrase with Dr. Verrall. Yet a critic who comes before us as one not to be convinced on important matters without compelling evidence, can on these facts satisfy himself that Mrs. Willett having "subconsciously surmised *from the action of her sitters*" [my own italics] that "her script was thought to emanate from Dr. Verrall," "her subliminal might well have inserted this phrase amidst her writings, as it was known to be intimately connected with Mrs. Verrall . . . and hence indirectly with her husband." That is to say, he is ready to believe that, though Mrs. Willett had seen enough of Dr. Verrall to remember many things connected with him, she reproduces a casual and meaningless expression that had once emerged from Mrs. Verrall's subliminal when writing automatically, in order to give colour to the suggestion that Dr. Verrall is the author of her own script. It is a curious example of believing against all probability what one wishes to believe.

Mr. Carrington's mention of sitters, it may be added, is a mere assumption, for he could not know that there were more than the one mentioned by Mr. Balfour. In any case, it was made clear in Mr. Balfour's paper (pp. 236-7) that Mrs. Verrall was not present. As a matter of fact there was one sitter only, Mr. Balfour; but he, as he states, "was unable [with regard to the phrase Lavender and Lub] to form any conjecture respecting its meaning or appropriateness" in connexion with Dr. Verrall.

Dr. Tuckett, unlike Mr. Carrington, has not made up his mind to any particular identification of the passage propounded in Script (A). Apparently almost any passage that refers to the crossing of a river would satisfy him, if only that passage were not in the essay on Statius, or did not for other reasons lead to a spiritistic explanation.

He begins by stating that in the script "there is obviously quite as much stress laid on the idea of an Inn as there is on that of River." Any one acquainted with the idiosyncrasies of automatic writings—and it is dangerous to offer judgements on them without such acquaintance—would have written not "obviously" but "apparently," remembering that appearances are deceptive. As we saw in the case of Miss Verrall's scripts quoted above, it is quite possible for a topic to be introduced which is foreign to the main theme of the script, and neglect of this possibility may result in a complete misunderstanding of the script's point. As therefore we found no difficulty in eliminating the "moonlight" and the "star at the prow" from Miss Verrall's script after the poem referred to had been securely identified, so here, if we believe we have good grounds for identifying the river with one on whose banks there is no inn, we need not hesitate to suppose the inn to be an irrelevance which has crept in through some mental association. The association of travellers and inns is both familiar and natural. The fact is, supposing spirits do communicate, few communications, it would seem, are reproduced in script without 'contamination.'¹ The imparted thought is liable to be imperfectly grasped or to receive additions as it passes through the medium's brain; it may be coloured, decorated, or otherwise modified in various ways, and foreign ideas may be interpolated between two or more connected pieces in the same script. This view of the matter seems to be warranted by the facts, and since the point has been discussed from time to time in our publications,

¹For an instructive instance of this contamination in the case of telepathy from the living, the reader is referred to the *μονόπωλον ἐς ἀὼ* incident reported in *Proceedings*, Vol. XX., pp. 156-167.

one would have thought it would not be ignored by any one who ventures to write on the main question.

This "Inn," irrelevantly intruded (as I believe) in the first paragraph of the script, has perhaps been responsible for the introduction of the quotation from Christina Rossetti's poem and the idea of death. However this may be, what is certain is that both the Inn and the poem, with the latter's associations of death, are dropped entirely from the later scripts, while the other items of the description are persisted in and amplified.

It is somewhat startling to find that Dr. Tuckett, notwithstanding the importance he would attach to the presence of the Inn, is prepared to identify the river with the Styx or the Rubicon, or the river in *The Pilgrim's Progress* (!), or a river in some hymn or in "some passage from Dante." My acquaintance with Dante is not sufficiently precise to enable me to affirm on the point, but I should be much surprised to find in his works mention of a river with an inn on its bank. Without referring to my copy, I hazard the assertion that Bunyan does not place an inn on the heavenly bank of the River of Death, or indeed on either. I am sure there is no mention of an inn in any hymn, and I do not think Greek or Latin literature mentions one on the banks of the Styx or Rubicon. It may be added that the passage of the Styx, so far from inspiring alarm, was made with ease and comparative comfort. The stream was sluggish, and the passengers were ferried over in a punt by an old man, whom they sometimes mobbed in their eagerness to get a place. Also, always supposing there had been no oversight or other mishap, each of them had in his (or her) mouth three halfpence with which to pay the fare.

It may be freely admitted that possibly there is "some passage from Dante" which would fit the case as aptly as does the passage from Dr. Verrall's essay, but it has not been found. Perhaps the critic will suggest one. If he can bring himself to accept the concession, mention of an inn shall not be a *sine qua non*.

As his final words on this topic, Dr. Tuckett writes, "In Dr. Verrall's remarks on Statius the stress is on the

danger he ran *after* crossing the river of baptism rather than on any danger *in* crossing, the point accentuated in the script." One wonders what he himself would have said if an opponent had descended to this quibble.

The paper next deals with the argument which Mr. Balfour bases on the words, "What the passage does not say I draw from my own mind," etc. Or rather, though some observations are made on the words, there can hardly be said to be any attempt to deal with the argument. Dr. Tuckett admits that the words are "more or less a paraphrase" of Dante's lines, but complains that the poet's actual words (in Italian or English) were not given in the script. A wise inspirer of scripts would have given them, and they "would have been a million-fold more convincing." But the objection quietly evades the point at issue. If the words are really a paraphrase of the lines in Dante, they are altogether as effective as the original, for *they guide us to the passage in which the original occurs*—and that is all that quotation of the poet's actual words in the Italian would have been intended to do. One wonders what it is that has blinded the critic to this obvious fact? And how far are truth and serious discussion served by dismissing the matter with this weak and pointless observation:—"These latter words [those of the paraphrase] might be applied to so many contexts, and are not uncharacteristic of the vague, non-committal utterances of automatic script"?

That the sentence in the script is a paraphrase of Dante's lines I am personally unable to doubt. I did not see the scripts until a few minutes before the meeting at which Mr. Balfour's paper was read, when one of the slips on which they had been separately printed for the convenience of the audience was put into my hands. I at once began to read Script (A). The moment my eye fell on the words now in question they recalled the two lines of Dante. For reasons here immaterial I happened to have a peculiarly thorough acquaintance with the essay on Statius, but had last seen it twelve months earlier and some ten months before I heard of the existence of

the scripts. Moreover, I knew nothing of Mr. Balfour's paper beyond the broad fact that it would endeavour to establish *some* connexion between the scripts and the essay; it was the paraphrase alone which evoked the memory of the lines.

On the whole question Dr. Tuckett accuses Mr. Balfour of arguing in a circle (see p. 469), but the accusation falls flat. The argument may be summarized thus. A certain script, which probably (or more probably than not) has reference to Dr. Verrall, propounds a passage in literature for identification. Later scripts written by the same automatist present features which, *apart from any fancied identification of the proposed passage*, leave little room for doubt that the writer at any rate has Dr. Verrall in mind throughout (Conclusion (a)). On the other hand, *independently of any presumption that Dr. Verrall is referred to in the scripts*, various hints in the scripts lead to identification of the propounded passage as being a passage in a certain essay (Conclusion (b)). This essay happens to have been written by Dr. Verrall. If there had been reason to think that Dr. Verrall had not even heard of the essay, then conclusion (b) would receive no support from (a), and *vice versa*; considering the subject matter with which we are dealing, each might even be thought to weaken the other. But since Dr. Verrall is actually the author of the essay, each of the two independent conclusions is sensibly strengthened by the other; there is mutual confirmation. To combine the two conclusions is not the fallacious process known as "arguing in a circle," but a legitimate completion of the circle of the argument.

In his remarks on subsidiary points Dr. Tuckett dismisses "Lavender or Lub" in two sentences which betray somewhat misty thinking. The phrase had a peculiar and special connexion with Dr. Verrall, and Mr. Balfour noted that the significance of this link with *him* was outside the normal knowledge of the automatist. If Dr. Tuckett had shown us that the scripts one and all had no reference to Dr. Verrall, or that "Lavender or Lub" had no meaning in connexion with him—whereas he has

attempted neither—it would have been to the point to say that, since Mrs. Willett had seen the script of Mrs. Verrall in which the words occur, “the occurrence of the expression in her own script requires no supernormal explanation.” Of course the mere *occurrence* of the words requires no supernormal explanation, and Mr. Balfour said so; but if it is clear that the automatist (whether ‘inspired’ or not) had Dr. Verrall in her mind throughout, and if the words are remarkably significant in connexion with him (a fact in no way indicated in the scripts which she had seen), then some further explanation of their insertion in their context is obviously required. It is strange that anyone who adventures on the field of ‘scientific’ criticism should fail to grasp an issue so simple.

As to “Hair in a Temple,” Dr. Tuckett regards it as “almost scientifically illegitimate” for Mr. Balfour to use the words “as a matter of fact” in his statement that Berenice “is connected by very definite links with Dr. Verrall’s essays on Dante and Statius”. . . Now, either these “very definite” links exist or they do not. If they do—and most people will readily take Mr. Balfour’s word on the matter—the connexion in question is removed from the region of opinion and becomes a matter of fact; and it is difficult to see why it was “illegitimate” for him to say so. It would indeed have been illegitimate to foist in the statement as any part of the evidence for the contention that Dr. Verrall was concerned in the authorship of the scripts, but this Mr. Balfour did not do; on the contrary, he states that his inability to give the facts “diminishes [the] evidential utility” of the scripts. Why the alleged illegitimacy is described as almost scientific (“almost scientifically illegitimate”) we shall probably never know. Or is “scientifically almost illegitimate” what is meant?

Dr. Tuckett’s paper concludes with some general remarks, which are distributed under six heads. On the whole they are not very helpful. I adopt the numbering of his paragraphs.

(I.) With a rashness not entirely new to us in the writings

of 'scientific' men on psychical subjects, he accuses Mr. Balfour and myself of having come to our conclusion "without considering and discussing the claims of any other passages in modern and ancient literature." . . . How can he know that no other passage has been considered? And what would be the profit of discussing in a paper (if that is what is meant) passages which appeared *not* to fit the case? Was every river that anyone ever crossed to be passed in review? Would he have the absurd unsuitability of the Styx and Rubicon solemnly demonstrated? Was even the inappropriateness of Bunyan's river to be made clear until someone should have maintained the contrary? Surely it is for the critic himself to find the River which will offer a more plausible solution of the problem than the one with which he quarrels.

While on this topic Dr. Tuckett takes occasion to observe:—"It is amusing to note how seriously the Rev. M. A. Bayfield discusses whether Dr. Verrall or some form of telepathy is the more probable explanation of the script: and he talks as if he knew a great deal about Telepathy, although—as I continue to maintain—Telepathy itself has never yet been scientifically established."¹ Dr. Tuckett, as we have seen, is not a severely logical thinker, and the implications which underlie this modest sentence may have escaped him. What he writes seems to come to this:—I, Dr. Tuckett, am of opinion that Telepathy is a fond thing vainly imagined. Some people write as though they knew a good deal about it, but there is nothing known in its favour that is worth knowing. This is indeed only my *opinion*; nevertheless, so long as I, Dr. Tuckett, continue to maintain (that is to say, *hold* or *assert*) this mere opinion, it is ridiculous for any one to write as though Telepathy were an established fact.

I like a modest man, but Dr. Tuckett pleases me too much. As to Telepathy, if it has not yet come to his

¹ For Professor Bergson's views on the question which Dr. Tuckett implicitly raises here by his use of the word "scientifically," see the references given in the footnote on p. 490, *infra*.

ears that it is a well-established fact, it would be well for him to study the evidence which has been accumulated,¹ or, better still, to make some experiments. It is, however, only fair to warn him that he must be prepared for the worst, that is to say for conviction, and that conviction on this point *might* lead him to the very abyss of superstition.

(II.) The critic's description of the present case as "a single experiment" appears to show that he is in almost total ignorance of what the S.P.R. has been doing for now many years past. One is reminded of the man in *Punch* who, when asked if he had read a certain book, replied, "We don't read—we *write*." Still it was not too much to expect Dr. Tuckett to read with attention the paper which he undertakes to criticise. On p. 236 (*Proceedings*, Part LXIX.) Mr. Balfour had written:—"The scripts which we owe to the group of automatists of whom Mrs. Verrall, Miss Verrall, and Mrs. Willett are the chief, go back for many years now, and require to be considered together and as a whole. A long and laborious study of them carried on from this point of view has brought me slowly but surely to a conviction that there is much in them which cannot be satisfactorily explained except upon the spiritistic hypothesis."

Dr. Tuckett's remarks on my own final conviction betray an inability to understand this cumulative effect of a large body of evidence pointing in the same direction, and how one strong piece of evidence following on many others may transform doubt into conviction. Indeed by his constant use of the word 'scientific,' which is as much out of place in our present inquiry as it would be in a court of law at a trial for murder, he seems to be unaware that there are numerous ways by which the mind may arrive at reasonable conviction besides those of

¹ In *The Evidence for the Supernatural: a critical study made with "uncommon sense,"* published in 1911, Dr. Tuckett confessed that he had "not made any detailed study of the subject" of cross-correspondences. He seems not to have repaired the omission since, and indeed to have little first-hand acquaintance with the work of the S.P.R. A notice of the book appeared in the *Journal* for May, 1912.

the laboratory and dissecting-room or of mathematical demonstration.¹

(III.) "The Rev. M. A. Bayfield's note on the incident is remarkably characteristic of the sort of effect which emotional bias has on a person. What has convinced him much more than any sound scientific evidence is obviously the *form* of the script in which he thinks he can recognise personal peculiarities." There are, as we know, many who hold it for an axiom that those who are convinced of the reality of communication from the spirit world must *ipso facto* have been led to their conviction mainly by "emotional bias." How far Dr. Tuckett may be the victim of this curious 'scientific' prejudice we need not inquire, for it is clear that in my own unfortunate case he believes the scientific laws of scientific logic force him to the conclusion. It is not worth while to examine this logic beyond pointing out its major premiss: all men who recognise personal peculiarities in scripts are influenced by emotional bias! If he had been less anxious to make this insinuation, he might perhaps have remembered the opening words of my Note on the case (*Proceedings*, Part LXIX., p. 244), which I beg leave to quote:—"In a closely reasoned and characteristically lucid argument Mr. Balfour has shown good grounds for his belief that the late Dr. Verrall is the original source of the scripts which are here brought to our notice. For this conclusion there are yet other reasons. . . ."

(IV.) This paragraph, which is specially prepared for infantile digestion, calls for no remark.

(V.) So far as one can disentangle the materials of

¹ See the admirable discussion of this point in Professor Bergson's Presidential Address, *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVI., pp. 464-466 (or in the English translation, *Proceedings*, Vol. XXVII., pp. 159-161). With regard to Telepathy he says in this passage [after reviewing the work of the S.P.R. and noting the care with which the evidence has been tested], "I am led to believe in Telepathy, just as I believe in the defeat of the Invincible Armada. My belief is not the mathematical certainty that the demonstration of Pythagoras' theorem gives me, it is not the physical certainty that I have of the law of the fall of bodies, but it is at least all the certainty that we obtain in a historical or judicial matter."

this illuminating paragraph, the syllogism appears to be as follows:—*Major Premiss*: “You cannot get out of the mind anything the elements of which have not been put into the mind at some previous time.”—*Minor Premiss*: If you agree with Mr. Bayfield, there is no evidence that one mind can rout about in another person’s mind [selecting and abstracting thoughts suitable for some purpose of its own].—*Conclusion*: Therefore the thoughts [combinations of elementary concepts] contained in Mrs. Willett’s scripts could not have been *conveyed* to her mind by another mind.

Thus we see that one mind cannot communicate new ideas to another. It must be admitted that there are cases in which this is lamentably true.

(VI.) The Oversubjectivity (if a German word may be pardoned) of Dr. Tuckett’s concluding paragraph is mildly interesting, but needs no discussion. Its general intent is to convey a friendly warning to the correspondent to whom the paper is addressed, and the warning is based on the suppressed major premiss: To be “spiritistically inclined” is evil.

REVIEW.

The Unconscious, The Fundamentals of Human Personality, Normal and Abnormal. By MORTON PRINCE, M.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Diseases of the Nervous System, Tufts College Medical School; Consulting Physician to the Boston City Hospital. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1914. Pp. xiii, 549.)

A NEW book by Dr. Morton Prince is something of an event for the many readers of his fascinating *Dissociation of a Personality*, and for all who are interested in the problem of human personality in a practical way. For he is a leader among the all too scanty band of those who have gone out into the untamed jungle of concrete facts, and tested their psychological theories by their working, *i.e.* by the therapeutic success of their applications, and this puts his theorizing, like that of Freud (with whom he is in partial agreement), into a different category from that of merely academic psychologists. Moreover, the discoveries he has to report, though they seem at first sight as complicated as they are strange, and fit ill into the accepted framework of traditional ideas, constrain one to feel that it is not armchair introspection by professional psychologists of the normal mind (which they always identify with their own), nor even laboratory experiments (usually conducted under conditions too artificial to display the mind's normal working), and least of all philosophic reflection on the metaphysical implications of the notions of 'mind,' 'self,' 'soul,' etc., but only the successful handling of patients who are abnormal only in exaggerating universal tendencies, that can make any real advance towards a scientific solution of the riddle of human personality.

The claim which Dr. Prince has upon the attention of those interested in this problem rests essentially on his method: for this involves the principle that our preconceptions are to be controlled by the facts which observation and experiment reveal, and to be tested by their success in handling them. This also means that the notions we employ to interpret the facts must be conceived as plastic, and modified whenever the facts demand it. As Dr. Prince well says (p. 422), "until we have wider and more exact knowledge, it is well not to theorize, and still more not to dogmatize," and all the terms employed must be treated as provisional and open to correction. For while some existing terms must be used to describe the observed facts, their traditional meaning has no authority as against facts and experiments.

Dr. Prince's present volume is the first instalment of a theoretic discussion of the stores of evidence he has collected, which he promised in the preface of his *Dissociation of a Personality*. Actually it is part of his lecture courses on abnormal psychology in the Tufts Medical School, and bears traces of its origin in a certain diffuseness, lack of arrangement and repetitions. It is also more technical than the *Dissociation*, and though Dr. Prince often draws apt illustrations from the wealth of his clinical experience, these references are usually of a tantalizing briefness. But, as a whole, the book is very stimulating.

Critical comment should first be directed upon the tools with which Dr. Prince operates, viz. the extant notions relative to psychological phenomena. For such comment may be helpful by stimulating him to remodel the extant terminology in the light of his unrivalled experience. I will attempt, therefore, to express my sense of the grievous inadequacy of our old notions, in the hope that he may be enabled to improve on them, and without fear of giving offence to one who has, I am sure, only used them *faute de mieux*.

We may begin our critical reflections with the notion of the 'unconscious,' which, after being rendered fashionable by E. von Hartmann's metaphysical *Philosophy of the Unconscious*, has since been used by psychology in a great variety of senses. Von Hartmann himself had late in life to recognize no less than nineteen distinct senses of 'unconscious,' though he continued

to maintain that these ambiguities had not vitiated his original doctrine. Dr. Morton Prince is concerned with several of these. The term 'unconscious' appears to denote (1) a "storehouse of neurographic dispositions," inferred from the phenomena of memory (p. 229), (2) whatever is devoid of the attributes of consciousness (p. 249), (3) eo-conscious or sub-conscious ideas (*ibid.*), and (4), most strictly and properly, a kind of the subunconscious, opposed to the eo-conscious, and occurring in the two forms of neural dispositions and of neural processes (p. 253). So understood, it "rather than the conscious is the important factor in personality and intelligence" (p. 262).

The *subconscious*, therefore, in Dr. Prince's most formal terminology (though not in his title), becomes the generic notion contrasted with consciousness. The 'sub-' in it is taken to mean 'beneath,' and it is not, therefore, to be applied to 'dimly conscious' or 'marginal' processes in the 'fringe' of consciousness, but only to the 'ultra-marginal' (pp. 343-52): That subunconscious processes go on is attested (*inter alia*) by their subsequent recovery in memory under hypnosis or in dreams. Their existence leads, however, to such verbally contradictory statements as that "*the whole content or field of consciousness at any given moment includes not only considerably more than that which is within the field of attention but more than is within the field of awareness*"¹ (? = consciousness), viz. "conscious states of which the personal consciousness is not even dimly aware" (p. 351). These, however, are more properly 'eo-conscious' processes. Further, it is admitted that "there is a constant shifting or interchange of elements going on between the field of attention and the marginal and the ultra-marginal zone" (p. 344), and that "the distinction between the conscious and the subconscious" is not always "sharp and precise" (p. 420, cf. pp. 243, 347).

In view of the modification of subsequent action by unconscious and subunconscious processes, and the proofs of their registration, conservation and possible reproduction, Dr. Prince feels entitled to regard "conscious memory as only one type of memory" (p. 3). It follows that "the inability to recall an experience is no evidence whatever that it is not conserved," even when our actual methods fail to recover it, though it would be

¹ The author's italics.

exaggeration to say, on the present evidence, that everything is conserved (p. 84).

It follows, however, that "ideas which have passed out of mind must be conserved through some sort of residuum" (p. 109), which the author prefers to conceive as *neurograms* or 'traces' left in the brain forming a "functioning system corresponding to the system of ideas of the original mental process and capable of reproducing it" (p. 121). This is necessary because "there is no evidence that co-conscious ideas have a continuous existence," and they are, therefore, "inadequate to account for the whole of the conservation of life's experiences" (p. 112). Fredric Myers's theory of a subliminal mind is rejected as an unnecessary "metaphysical hypothesis," and the theory that the seat of the 'conservation' is psychical is rejected as "transcending experience" (pp. 114-7). Dr. Prince, however, candidly admits that his materialistic "neurograms are pure theoretical conceptions and have never been demonstrated by objective methods of physical research" (p. 132).

By 'co-conscious ideas' Dr. Prince means "a coexisting dissociated consciousness of which the personal consciousness is not aware" (p. 249). He seems to have fully established its existence by an abundance of ingenious experiments and observations which he relates. He denies, however, that *normally* these co-conscious processes form a self (pp. 256-7, 348, cf. p. 169). Largely, it would seem, on the authority of the hypnotic self of "Miss B.," who denied that the pronoun *I* could be applied to the co-conscious processes accompanying her ordinary life, and declared that they were better described as unconnected, discrete sensations, impressions and emotions, not synthesized into a personality, though the hypnotic *I* could subsequently acquire and remember them (p. 348).

It will have been noted that Dr. Prince makes much use of the term '*idea*' in his psychological descriptions, but, I cannot help thinking, without due appreciation of its essential trickiness, and without explaining its relation to 'process.' Thus (p. 312) a 'perception' and an '*idea*' of an object are equated, and said to be usually complex (cf. p. 315). 'Perceptions' are memory images synthesized with sensations (p. 316). But when perception is regarded as a process (p. 321), associations with previous experiences "give the ideas meaning." This 'context' is itself

a process, and may also be regarded as an 'attitude of mind' (p. 321), and is part of the idea's conscious content (p. 323). It is (quite truly) pointed out that the psychology of meaning has not been properly worked out, and that to conceive 'ideas' as compounded of 'perception' and 'meaning' is too static, because they shade into one another and should be regarded as one dynamic process (p. 327). This is profoundly true, but does not suffice to eradicate a feeling that Dr. Prince has not adequately brought out the vital differences between the psychological and the logical sense of 'idea,' and between the verbal or 'dictionary' meaning of an idea, which is static and supposed to be fixed, but is not a psychic fact, and the actual or personal meaning, which is a dynamic process and a psychic event.¹

But the gravest objection to the term 'idea' is that it is fundamentally incompatible with the functional or 'process' view of consciousness and life, which is what Dr. Prince really believes in. It irresistibly suggests that 'ideas' are thing-like entities, which can wander about on their own in a mind of which they are not integral parts, and possess a permanent existence and identity, so that they can pass into and out of 'consciousness,' officially retaining the title of 'our thoughts' even when we no longer think them or know anything about them (cf. p. 111), 'associating' themselves with others, capable of 'recall' (cf. p. 6), becoming 'dormant' and being 'stored up' in memory, like so many bulbs, or 'conserved,' like pots of jam. All this is the old 'Associationist' mythology, which has often been repudiated by the more philosophic psychologists, and seems singularly unsuited to interpret the complicated facts Dr. Prince has observed. He himself at times recognizes this, as when he argues for the existence of physiological conservation on the ground that the conservation can hardly be psychical (p. 113 f.). Moreover, the intellectualistic colouring of 'idea' renders the term very inappropriate to processes which admittedly are, always more or less, and often intensely, pervaded by emotion. But the climax of awkwardness is reached by this phraseology when it is driven to declare that "neurograms are concepts" though unconscious (p. 148). Surely 'concepts' must be psychical, and the confusion of the psychical and the physical could hardly go further.

¹ Cf. my *Formal Logic*. Ch. II., § 3, Ch. VII., § 9.

It follows from these objections to the notion of 'ideas' that it cannot be lightly conceded that they can form 'complexes,' which are syntheses of 'elemental' ideas (p. 265), even though Dr. Prince agrees with the Freudians that this notion has great clinical value in psychotherapeutics (p. 288). It need not be disputed that patients may often behave as if 'complexes' existed, but the fact that they may be subconscious as well as conscious is surely an additional problem, and is not easy to reconcile with the argument that 'neurograms' must be assumed because there is no sufficient evidence that subconscious ideas have a continuous existence (p. 112).

On the whole, our terminological survey does not lead to the conclusion that Dr. Prince's tools, the notions by which he tries to interpret the facts, are particularly well adapted to his purpose. And as he gives such abundant proofs of candour and openmindedness, I am emboldened to make him a present of a series of suggestions of alternative interpretations which might, perhaps, do better service.

(1) In the first place is it not rather hazardous to assume, as Dr. Prince does at the outset (p. 1), that the conception of *mechanism* must provide an adequate clue to the nature of mind? If the term is used at all strictly, it seems to leave no room for the specifically biological nature of mental functioning, to which all the 'mechanisms' found in the body must be subordinate. For they must all conduce to the maintenance of life, and be understood as so conducive. It is a far cry, therefore, from mechanism to psychology, and the value of mechanical analogies in psychic life is far from self-evident.

(2) It may be suggested that seriously misleading implications lurk in the notion of '*dissociation*.' The word seems to imply a mind which is constructed by the 'association' of simpler 'elements,' into which it may again be broken up; or else, a unitary mind, which can somehow fall to pieces. In either case it is insinuated that the 'association' is normal, and the 'dissociation' abnormal and morbid.

But are not the so-called 'elements' of mind manifest fictions, sheer conveniences of description, to which no biological significance can possibly attach? No mind can possibly maintain its existence on earth unless it contrives effectively to control and

guide the behaviour of its body, and the speculations which compound the mind out of 'elements' like 'cognition,' 'conation,' and 'feeling,' analyse the mind into abstractions which are incapable of independent existence, and, what is even worse, contain no hint of the sort of unity every mental process *must* have, viz. relevance to some more or less important *vital* process or purpose. The simplest and most primitive mental processes, therefore, must have a functional unity which is not decomposable into the abstractions of psychological analysis.

This need for vital adaptation, however, does not demand or guarantee any complete or metaphysical unity of mind, such as many philosophers have postulated. Its requirements would be met by a mental life that consisted of a series of *impulses* and responses to stimulation each of which acted itself out independently, discontinuously, and separately, and yet so appropriately as to conserve the life of the organism. Now, curiously enough, such is in actual fact the dominant aspect of mental life. Most minds live by their instincts and impulses, and not by their reason, and in the lower (or immature) minds, whether of adults, children, or animals, there is a strongly marked growth of discontinuousness and inconsequence the lower we go. And even the most highly systematized human minds are by no means completely unified; even the most consistent characters fall far short of exhibiting complete mental harmony and congruity in all their acts. Consequently the unification of their 'personality' or 'self' cannot truly be said to have been achieved.

It follows that when they suffer 'dissociation' they are not doing anything out of the way. They are simply reverting to, or exhibiting, a lower and more primitive organization of mentality. 'Dissociation' *in this sense* is normal; it exists everywhere more or less, and is not a morbid disruption of a normal unity. We need not, then, be surprised to find vast amounts of it in every one. Wherever there are mental processes imperfectly coordinated with others, mental conflicts, incongruities, and inconsistencies of any kind, impulses, moods, dreams, etc., there is 'dissociation.' The morbid dissociations which Dr. Prince has studied so brilliantly are throughout continuous with common and normal phenomena, and differ from them chiefly in intensity. What the psychologist has to explain, therefore,

is not dissociation so much as unification, and the formation of a (relatively) stable and well-balanced 'personality.'

(3) It would seem to follow that, strictly, every soul is not one but many, and a battle-ground for hosts of inveterate habits and ancestral impulses, and that its 'unity' is really an illusion. And no doubt the absolute sort of unity which metaphysicians used to assume can no longer be regarded as scientifically admissible. Still the belief in a unitary soul is not necessarily disposed of. It has, no doubt, to be considerably modified in view of the new facts, and must not be deduced *a priori*, but verified empirically; but I would put it to Dr. Prince that it retains some truth, or, at any rate, appreciable utility. In particular, his own facts do not seem to warrant either (a) his acceptance of physiological pseudo-solutions of psychological problems, or (b) his scorn of the 'soul' and the 'subliminal self.' For whereas the former cannot be made to explain anything, the latter when properly formulated may explain many things which at present puzzle him.

(a) So long as no satisfactory and really intelligible theory of the relation of body and mind is extant, hypothetical 'neurograms' seem quite ineffectual in accounting for the psychological facts of memory.

For what after all is a 'neurogram' supposed to be? Nothing but a physical alteration in bodily tissue. But how can any such alteration in any way help to generate the judgment 'I remember experiencing something very like my present perception'? Have we the least notion of what the 'I' may be as a 'neurogram'? Are we in the least able to trace any specific parallelism between variations in the flow of blood in the brain and the comings and goings of 'ideas' in the mind? Only negatively. We can after a fashion understand that if the bodily mechanisms are *instruments for the expression of psychical energies normally transmitted through them*, any damage done to a physical mechanism may, by blocking the physical channels, arrest and shut off the psychical phenomena mediated by it, at all events temporarily and until either the mischief is repaired or alternative modes of expression have grown up (how?) in the form of new mechanisms or of old ones put to new uses. This would explain the observed fact that psychic functions which are lost in consequence of injuries to the brain reappear if life continues long enough for the

damage to be repaired. As Dr. Prince himself points out (pp. 232-3), "the decerebrate unconscious (?) animal performs about all the movements performed by the normal animal. . . . Even *spontaneity* which at one time was supposed to be lost it is now agreed returns, if the animal is kept alive long enough." These facts seem to render it imperative that the 'transmission' theory, as James has called it, of the relation of the psychical to the physical should be seriously considered as an alternative to the materialistic 'production' theory. It has the logical advantages of being incapable of refutation by any conceivable physiological evidence, of accounting for a number of admitted facts which do not fit at all well into the materialistic scheme, and of leaving room for the evidence of discarnate psychic action which, though not yet admitted by official science, is far from contemptible as evidence.

At present, however, it is better to rely chiefly on the second of these grounds in order to contest the exclusive claims of the 'neurogram' theory. It fails to account for a large number of undisputed facts. Taking for example the familiar fact of *recollection*, Dr. Prince is compelled to regard it as "only a more perfect kind of conscious memory" (p. 144). It is difficult to understand this, as recollection appears to have all the defects of memory; it may be 'dim' as well as 'clear,' and false as well as correct. Moreover 'recollection,' as defined, does not seem to be the real thing; Dr. Prince means by it merely the 'localization' or placing of memories in space and time. But this entirely omits the *active* recollection, the conscious striving to remember. When I say 'I tried to recollect the plot of my dream, but only got disjointed memories,' this is (like the other facts of self-consciousness and the experiences of activity) *prima facie* evidence of the activity of a 'self,' which has to be explained, and is not to be interpreted by 'neurograms.'

Lastly and most fundamentally, it may be contended that the explanation of memories by 'neurograms' is essentially illusory, because memory, the very fact to be explained, is implied in the very notion of a neurogram. For what is this remarkable capacity of a physical body to retain an impress of its past experiences and to have its subsequent behaviour modified thereby, but a close analogue of memory? We may

assume that it differs from what is ordinarily termed memory in being unconscious; but Dr. Prince himself has taught us how risky it is to assume that a process is unconscious merely because the dominant personality does not now remember it, and we should remember that it may only *seem* unconscious to us because we are unable (as yet) to get at it from the inside, and to get at the mind behind the physical changes, as we get at the minds behind the actions of our fellow men. The essential mystery of memory is that the past should not be dead, but should continue to modify present action: that in fact it does this is familiar to us from our personal experience, though we do not yet understand how it is done. It is 'memory' therefore which gives a clue to the registration of 'neurograms,' and not *vice versa*.

(b) I now feel in a position to break a lance on behalf of the theories about human personality which we owe to the genius of Frederic Myers. And to begin with I would enter a protest against dismissing his subliminal self as an unnecessary metaphysical hypothesis. If ever a psychologist formed his ideas empirically and in close contact with the facts accessible, it was Myers, and his ideas seem to me to be thoroughly legitimate and susceptible of empirical verification. Similarly I am unable to understand why Dr. Prince should regard the notion of a 'soul' as involving any 'transcendence of experience.' Metaphysicians no doubt used to conceive the soul as something beyond its activities, and as somehow 'underlying' and 'having' them, and inaccessible to empirical observation. But that was only because their metaphysics were bad, and everywhere assumed a relation of 'substances' to 'attributes' which was essentially unverifiable, and rendered all 'substances' unknowable as such. Apart from this mistake there is, as Mr. M'Dougall has so strongly urged, no intrinsic reason why the 'soul' should not be conceived as a principle of scientific investigation and be used to interpret empirical facts. Only of course, before we do so, we must radically disabuse our minds of any belief that we can know *a priori* all about the constitution of a soul and the limits of its powers. We must say rather that a soul '*is*' what it *does*, and that what it does has to be learnt from experience.

It must not therefore be assumed (as the metaphysicians

were led to do by very superficial evidence) that the soul is necessarily coextensive with the passing consciousness of the moment, or one, or immutable, or even personal, or again that the traditional distinctions recognized in it adequately represent the real facts. On the contrary its organization and behaviour have to be studied empirically with conceptions which are modified and grow as knowledge accrues.

Now there is in the facts which Dr. Prince and his collaborators have adduced much that conducts straight to the notion of a soul organized as Myers suggested. Myers tried to conceive the manifest and supraliminal psychic processes as selections from a larger totality. He gave a reason also for thinking that such selection was needed. The functions of the soul might not all be required for the purposes of terrestrial existence, and therefore might be economically cut down to those that had survival-value, so that normally these alone would be operative. This is a good biological argument, and there is nothing metaphysical or transcendent about it. He also pointed out that whereas in face of the facts of multiple personality, etc., any absolute unity of consciousness had become untenable, it need only be inferred that the unity must be subliminal. Hence there may yet be a real soul for science to discover; nay, it may be a bigger thing than the useless creature of metaphysics we have had to abandon. Only it is probably far more complicated than the surface indications showed.

Now has Dr. Prince advanced any evidence to discredit this hypothesis? On the contrary, he has adduced much that favours it. For example, what about his signal successes in re-constituting 'dissociated' personalities? Can they mean that he created a unity that never existed before out of a discordant chaos of soul-dust? Are not these dissociated processes best conceived as capable of fusing because they were already connected in a larger whole? Now this whole cannot have been the body, of which the disorders are apparently the physical stimuli to the dissociations. Besides, it contains no reason even for the imperfect psychic unity we find. For if the body is a self-regulating system of mechanisms, why should the bodily functions ever have become psychical at all? If, on the other hand, 'soul' is the name for what regulates

the mechanism and is partially revealed in our conscious experiences, both the dissociations and the syntheses of 'personality' seem to become more intelligible.

Again, how interpret the fluidity of the whole psychic material, the continual interchanges between conscious and subconscious, central and marginal, processes? Do they not incite us to regard the real soul as embracing them all and our distinctions as artifices?

Even the extraordinary phenomena to which Dr. Prince refers as disproving the view that the secondary consciousness is a personality (pp. 348, 169) really tell against his inference. Granting that "there is, *normally*, no distinct subconscious *self*, or subliminal *self*, or secondary *self*, or hidden *self*" (p. 256), but rather a flux of 'unowned' uncontrolled 'thoughts' and impulses, figures that come into the subject's mind out of the unknown and proceed to add themselves in order to comply with a posthypnotic suggestion, and obsessions that the dominant personality is unable either to expel or to assimilate, it by no means follows that all this 'mind-stuff' is as autonomous and impersonal as it seems. Even our normal thoughts have a good deal of apparent autonomy, and only gradually and imperfectly yield to the behests of the personality. But what is still more to the point, does not the very fact that these impersonal processes could subsequently be taken up into the self,¹ and remembered as having occurred, conclusively show that in a way they belonged to it also before? The 'quasi-pathological' state Dr. Prince calls 'depersonalization' (p. 459), in which "the 'conscious intelligence' present is able to think and reason logically and sanely, is capable of good judgments, and has an unusually large field of memory, and is in short a very intelligent consciousness," but nevertheless "has lost all consciousness of self, and has no sense of personality, of anything to which the term 'I' can be applied," because "this sentiment seems to be absolutely dissociated in this state," points to the same conclusion. For surely, as Lotze long ago explained, to be a 'self' it is not necessary to feel self-conscious; it is enough that such states should be continuous with the whole personality and be subsequently claimed. Otherwise it would have to be held

¹ In this case a 'hypnotic' self.

that many of our highest and most characteristic activities, *e.g.* absorbed attention in a scientific research, were 'dissociated' from our personality. Of course, Dr. Prince's evidence shows that in cases where the 'mind-stuff' was subconscious, the 'self,' which included the mind-stuff, could not have been the normal waking self, nor even the 'secondary' consciousness (p. 170); but is there anything to prevent our supposing that the 'personality' which includes everything psychic that occurs in what we call 'our' experience may habitually reside at still greater depths? Myers's terminology seems to fit such facts most aptly.

It can hardly be too strongly emphasized that these phenomena are in important senses *normal*. They happen to us all more or less, and even the psychic processes 'abnormally' revealed are akin to and continuous with those we call 'normal.' Dr. Prince has to confess as much himself. *E.g.* after interpreting the descriptions of one of his subjects as meaning that "the thoughts of the secondary consciousness do not form a logical chain. They do not have volition" (p. 348), he proceeds on p. 349 to remark that "the subconscious thoughts may involve a certain amount of volition and judgment." Clearly no definite line between the normal and the subnormal can be drawn.

The same point may be illustrated from so familiar an experience as dreaming, which may be shown to involve at least *three* strata of 'personality.' In the first place, to be aware of the 'dream' and its unreality there must be a standpoint of waking life more or less disconnected from the 'dream,' and able to condemn it. Secondly there is *the dreamer*, who is not identifiable with the *normal waking self*. For not only do his thoughts, feelings and acts often markedly differ from the latter's, but the dissociation between the two is attested by the extensive amnesia which the waking has for the dream life. Dreams are usually forgotten with an uncanny and abnormal rapidity.

Nor is this all. The dreamer is not himself *the maker of the dream*. He is more commonly its victim, always hallucinated, and sometimes (as in a nightmare) most unpleasantly so. Who or what then is this hidden third party, the maker of the dream? The times are past when it seemed enough

to ascribe dreams to such agencies as unconscious cerebration, automatic recrudescence of impressions, or indigestion. Practical psychologists like Dr. Prince and Prof. Freud are by no means disposed to underrate the constructive ability which goes to the making of dreams, and the value of the clues they give to the dreamer's character and history. If anything, they seem to common-sense rather to overrate the significance of dreams. But there can be no doubt that the making of dreams is often a highly intelligent and artistic process. Dr. Prince fully endorses the Freudian doctrine that "underlying a dream is a subconscious process which fabricates the conscious dream" (p. 196), though he does not think its meaning is always sexual nor restrict its aim to the fulfilment of wishes, but thinks it may express also antecedent doubts, scruples and anxieties. He relates an elaborate symbolic dream constructed by one of his patients out of a hint given her in hypnosis, and remarks that "it is difficult to conceive of a dream allegory being constructed by the dream consciousness (*i.e.* dreamer) itself," because "the imagery develops *as if* done by something else" (pp. 202-3), and infers that "a subconscious intelligence" is required (p. 203). If then "the subconscious process which determines the dream may be what is actually an *intelligence*," and its "fabrication has all the earmarks of purpose, forethought and constructive imagination" (p. 211), it may reasonably be identified with the intelligence that animates automatic writing, in which also "all happened *as if* there was a deeper underlying process which did the composing" (p. 208). I cordially agree, and would only add that if ordinary dreaming implies such complexity in the personality, we may well expect such further complications in abnormal cases as are attested in the famous 'Beauchamp' case. Here 'Sally,' who claimed that she never slept, was aware of what 'Miss B.' dreamt, and was able to describe her dreams as the experience of another and yet also from within, while conversely Miss B. sometimes dreamt about what 'Sally' was thinking (p. 212).

It does not appear, however, that Dr. Prince's attention was ever drawn to a possibility which has long seemed to me the most plausible explanation of the 'Beauchamp' case, *viz.* that 'Sally' was precisely the 'maker of dreams,' enabled by the

abnormal conditions to manifest herself and to control the body, but suppressed again whenever normal conditions were restored. *The Dissociation of a Personality* does not contain any decisive evidence for or against this theory, perhaps only because the crucial experiments were not made. If, however, 'Sally' was not the 'maker of dreams,' it simply follows that this personage must be located deeper down still. In any case it remains a constituent of our total personality, which it should 'theoretically' be possible to elicit by experiment.

In short, what is called abnormal psychology, but is simply the method of clinical experiment in psychology, seems to open endless vistas of exploration into the abysses of our 'personality.' For the first time in history there is before us a definite prospect of learning what is the real scientific meaning of terms like 'self,' 'soul' and 'personality,' which we have long been accustomed to use so vaguely and blindly. All, therefore, who are anxious to learn cannot do better than wish Dr. Prince more power to his elbow, and will look forward to his next book.

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

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