PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXII.

Максн, 1911.

I.

COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS:¹

WILLIAM JAMES AND FRANK PODMORE.

BY H. ARTHUR SMITH.

A FEW days ago I took from my bookshelves, not for a first or second perusal, that delightful little volume from the pen of Frederic Myers, which has appeared since his death, entitled *Fragments of Prose and Poetry*, a work which is doubtless known to many of you. It recalled to my memory many illustrious names of those now gone from us, who in the past countenanced and encouraged us in our researches. I need not speak of the well known names of those who have preceded me in this chair or have otherwise been closely associated with us, such as Henry Sidgwick, Balfour Stewart, Edmund Gurney, and Dr. Hodgson. But I dare say that there are many of our more recent adherents who are not aware that

¹This Address and the two papers that follow were read at the Private Meeting of the Society on November 8th, 1910.

our roll of membership has included such notabilities (only to name a few) as Lord Tennyson, Ruskin, Professor Adams, Robert Louis Stevenson, Dr. Goodwin (the late Bishop of Carlisle), Richard Holt Hutton, Lord Leighton, G. F. Watts, Professor Lombroso, and Mr. Gladstone.

My thoughts have been drawn in this direction by the fact that, since last we met, our Society has suffered a double bereavement, and two other names of distinction have to be added to the honourable list of past supporters. It will have eaused no surprise, therefore, to any of you that this meeting should take the form which has been announced of a Memorial. Our Society and the cause of Psychical Rescarch generally have suffered incalculable loss by the passing away within a few days of each other of Professor William James and Frank Podmore, names which have been closely connected with our work since its commencement, and will surely always be remembered in the same connexion as long as this work continues. This being so, it will, I think be recognised by all as obviously appropriate that we should devote our afternoon to a commemoration of services so long continued and of such inestimable value.

The Soeiety is fortunate that the task has been undertaken by such competent judges as Mrs. Sidgwick and Mr. M'Dougall, neither of whom needs any introduction by mc. Under these circumstances I may confine myself to a few brief comments by way of introduction to the *subject*, one on which, as your President for the time being, I should certainly not like to be silent.

As you all know, Professor James was one of the most distinguished of our Presidents, and for many years devoted much of his strenuous life to the inquiries with which we are concerned. Of his general work in the field of philosophy I feel that I am not competent to speak to any purpose. Justice ean only be done to a thinker so original and so profound by one who has pursued the study of psychology much more closely than I have been able to do; and this advantage we have this afternoon. As President, however, I wish at this, the very first opportunity, to acknowledge the immense service he rendered to our Society in its early days by so intimately associating his great name with our researches. I have seen it somewhere stated that whereas his brother Henry James has written fiction in the spirit of a philosopher, William James wrote philosophy with all the grace of a novelist. We have been fortunate indeed in having had for so many years the countenance and co-operation of a genius which may perhaps without exaggeration be described as unique.

novelist. We have been fortunate indeed in having had for so many years the countenance and co-operation of a genius which may perhaps without exaggeration be described as unique. Mr. Podmore was personally known by most of us. Of the tragic circumstances of his sudden, and as it would seem, untimely death, I need not speak. As a young man, fresh from a brilliant academic career at Oxford, he identified himself with our work, and he was, I think, for more than twenty-five years a member of our Council. His co-operation with Gurney and Myers in the production of *The Phantasms* of the Living is alone sufficient evidence of the value of his services, and it is evidence also that he had a far more open mind in regard to many of our inquiries than some have supposed. To the last (his most recent publication has appeared since his death) Mr. Podmore devoted his exceptional gifts, scientific and literary, to the consideration of the various matters which from time to time have attracted our attention. His general attitude towards them is well known to all our readers and need scarcely be enlarged upon. Podmore was essentially a critic, in his later years a sceptical critic if you will, and as such must have been prepared to face the disapproval of those whose enthusiasm yearns, impatiently perhaps, for definite affirmative answers to the questions perhaps, for definite affirmative answers to the questions which present themselves. It is easy to understand and in some degree to sympathise with the impatience which has sometimes found expression in our meetings at what some have regarded as the excessive caution or even timidity of the critic. But on the other hand, having regard to the novelty and the in many respects peculiar character of our investigations, I cannot but feel and acknowledge our in-debtedness to one who has so often effectively reminded us of the desirability, nay even of the necessity, of making haste slowly. I think I may say with truth and confidence that one of the chief characteristics which has distinguished our Society's reports from the conclusions so hastily expressed our Society's reports from the conclusions so hastily expressed by less cautious inquirers, has been our willingness to give due weight to any and every objection and criticism, to

consider with candour and fairness any and every suggested explanation of the phenomena before us, however disappointing to more impressionable seekers. In this respect I venture to think that Mr. Podmore's attitude has been of high value and deserves a full acknowledgment from those who are left to carry on the work which so long and so continuously occupied his thoughts. Such tribute, I think, is his due and will be cordially and sympathetically accorded.

We are indeed inestimably poorer if we have lost the services of two workers so qualified and so indefatigable as James and Podmore. But have we lost them? I think that one of the results of our researches has been to make many of us less ready than once we were to apply to the departed the despairing words of George Eliot, to speak of their lives as

> "Gathered like a scroll within the tomb, Unread for ever."

We are rather encouraged to apply other familiar words of the same writer, albeit in very different sense from that in which she used them:

> "Oh may I join the choir invisible Of those immortal dead who live again."

Have we then lost their services? We shall see.

II.

FRANK PODMORE AND PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

BY MRS. HENRY SIDGWICK.

By the death of Mr. Frank Podmore on August 14th, 1901, at the age of fifty-four and in the midst of vigorous work, the Society for Psychical Research has lost another of its earliest and best workers. Mr. Podmore was almost, though not quite, an original member of the Society; he was elected to its Council in the first year, and served on it for an unbroken period of twenty-seven years. He also, after the death of Mr. Gurney in 1888, held, jointly with Mr. Myers, the office of Honorary Secretary of the Society for some eight or nine years. Merely on the administrative side, therefore, he did much for the Society. But he was also from the beginning active in investigation, and as previous experience, scientific training, and critical ability combined with patience and industry to make him a valuable worker, it was natural that he should be found on more than one of the early investigating committees.

His experience as a psychical researcher began when he was an undergraduate at Oxford. He had entered the University with a classical scholarship, and while there obtained a first-class in Science, so that he must have been an undergraduate of some distinction. Those were days when interest in the phenomena of spiritualism had been greatly roused by Sir William Crookes's investigations and by Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace's adhesion to the cause. The fame of the medium D. D. Home, who had only retired two or three years before, was wide spread, and to those who were admitted behind his

anonymity the experiences of Mr. W. Stainton Moses were very impressive. With the impetuosity of youth Mr. Podmore seems to have become convinced rather rapidly of the genuineness of the alleged facts and of the truth of the doctrines of modern spiritualism. In 1875 and 1876 he was a contributor to a considerable extent to the spiritualistic magazine, Human Nature, and showed already the agreeable case of style and power of clear exposition which characterise his later works. In 1876 we find an account by him of a séance he had with Slade, the once famous slate-writing medium. It was a very ordinary séance apparently, but in an address to the National Association of Spiritualists in 1880 he says of this séance that he remembers writing on the day following that it had finally solved his doubts as to the truth of spiritualism. This tendency impulsively to accept evidence on the positive side-to welcome it at first sight as convincing-never left him, I think. It was on second thoughts that doubts came in.

Whether any special cause led him in early days to the more sceptical attitude I do not know. It may have been due to the discovery of fraud where he had suspected none, or it may have been merely a reaction from too facile belief that came with larger views. Probably both causes co-operated. It at any rate seems likely that the knowledge that he had at one time been too easily convinced developed in him the very cautious and critical spirit he exhibited as a member of our Society. The disillusionment seems to have been gradual. In 1880 he addressed the National Association of Spiritualists as a spiritualist, though with "a voice from Laodicea."¹ And though he said that so far from believing in the spiritualistic theory, he could not even say that he believed the most elementary facts which he had witnessed and on which that theory is based, the general trend of the address is rather to maintain that from psychological causes he and others like him cannot maintain their belief-not because they discover the evidence to be bad, but because the experiences that for a moment convince fit in so little with the ordinary facts and ex-

¹This was the title of his lecture, see *Spiritualist* newspaper for March 26, 1880.

periences of life that the mind instinctively rejects them as soon as the first vivid impression has worn off.

It is probable, however, that at the time he gave the address he had already come to the opinion, which he certainly held later, that there was very little, if any, really good evidence for Spiritualism. And what is really interesting about Mr. Podmore and what made him so valuable a member of our Society was that he suffered this set-back from a position too hastily taken up without losing his belief in the great importance of Psychical Research; that he remained to the end of his life willing to give the great amount of time and trouble he did to the investigation. He was rewarded by some positive conclusions. Of the reality of telepathy between living persons he had no doubt. The address to which I have already referred shows us that he had been convinced of this from a very early date. "Some six years ago," he says in 1880, "when I first believed in Spiritualism, I instituted a few experiments in table-turning with a circle of intimate friends. The results most convincingly proved the possibility, under certain conditions, of mind influencing mind without the ordinary means of communication." From this belief and a perception of the great importance of it I have no reason to think he ever swerved, and he certainly held it strongly during all the later years of his life. In his last book, The Newer Spiritualism, which he left ready for publication, but which only appeared after his death, he concluded by saying: "If we reject, for the present, at any rate, the explanation . . . of communication from the dead, we must seek for some other cause adequate to the effects. There remains only the agency which has been provisionally named telepathy . . . The establishment of such a faculty . . . would surely be a result worth all the labour spent. . ."

And labour on it and on all branches of Psychical Research, as I have already said, he never grudged. From being an active member of investigating committees of our Society in early days, he became a collaborator with Mr. Gurney and Mr. Myers in the book *Phantasms of the Living*, which was the first great attempt at co-ordinating the fruits of the Society's work. Mr. Gurney was, as we know, mainly responsible for the actual writing, as well as for most of the

theoretical discussion in the book, but, as is stated in the preface, "the most difficult and important part of the undertaking-the eollection, examination, and appraisal of evidencehas been throughout a joint labour; of which Mr. Podmore has borne so large a share that his name could not possibly have been omitted from the title-page." This was in 1886, and I may point out that his eo-operation in this work is itself a proof that his work was not entirely destructive, as some people seem to think. Later he contributed several important studies and many reviews to our *Proceedings*. The most important papers are "Phantasms of the Dead from another Point of View," in 1889 (Vol. Vl.), "Poltergeists," in 1896 (Vol. XII.), both of which are based in part on eases he had himself investigated; and "Discussion of the Tranee Phenomena of Mrs. Piper," in 1898 (Vol. XIV.) All these contain important evidential discussion, and much of the matter in them, with oceasionally some modification of view, has been incorporated in the appropriate parts of the books on Psychical Research which he has since published.¹

These books eover nearly the whole range of Psychical Research, and are valuable as giving the results in a popular and readable form without saerifiee of exactness of statement. In fact, with a candid and impartial mind and a good judgment, a pleasant style and a faculty for elear arrangement and lueid exposition, a wide and thorough knowledge of the subjects dealt with, both through historical reading, personal investigation, and eareful following of the investigations of others, he could not but be an excellent exponent as well as a good eritie. His Modern Spiritualism is likely, I think, to remain a standard work on the history of that subject. But it is not only in narrative or descriptive writing that he is good; he can also put succinetly and elearly discussions of theoretical questions-physiological or psychological-as an instance of which I may mention the chapter on "Hallucination in General" in Apparitions and Thought-Transference.

What his writings are apt to lack is the quality of inspirit-

¹The books are: Apparitions and Thought-Transference, 1894; Studies in Psychical Research, 1897; Modern Spiritualism, 1902; The Naturalisation of the Supernatural, 1908; Mesmerism and Christian Science, 1909; The Newer Spiritualism, 1910.

ingness, if I may coin a word. It is not every one who has the courage and perseverance of Mr. Podmorc himself, and the critical attitude he maintains is apt to produce on less vigorous investigators the effect of a douche of cold water from which they cannot react, and from which therefore they instinctively recoil. I think it is this which has made some members of the Society impatient with him. Not realising how open-minded he really was, and how honest his search for truth, they have regarded him as almost in antagonism to advance in a positive direction. This is, I am sure, a great mistake. He would have rejoiced as much as any of us in the attainment of positive conclusions, though more cautious than some of us in accepting them.

In the meanwhile, on the way to these conclusions, there is no doubt that Mr. Podmore's critical attitude, combined with his wide and thorough acquaintance with facts and theories, actual and historical, concerning the subjects with which the Society deals, was of immense value in our work. Psychical Research suffers far more, I think, from ignorance than from deliberate opposition; and it is difficult to say whether most harm is done by the ignorantly credulous, who accept appearances too readily at their face value and theorise without taking into account all the facts, or by the ignorantly incredulous, who do not take the trouble to find out what it is they are attacking. Ignorant criticism we can get plenty of, but when not harmful it is usually quite uscless. What it is not easy to find is a man with unflagging energy in keeping his knowledge up to date, unflagging belief in the importance of the investigation, who yet can put himself outside it and view it from an impartial, impersonal, and mainly critical standpoint. All real scientific investigators, of course, however sanguine and enthusiastic, endeavour to maintain a critical attitude; but there is a distinct advantage, at least in investigations so difficult and elusive as ours, in having, so to speak, a professional critic. It is a useful division of labour, and an investigator of sanguine temperament can more easily let himself go in speculations and hypotheses of a daring kind if he knows that what he says will be closely criticised by a competent, but colder and more cautious colleague, and possible weak points discovered and exposed for discussion.

The Society will be fortunate, indeed, if it finds another critic equally friendly, learned, painstaking, and accurate, to take Mr. Podmore's place and put the brake on when there are any signs of running too fast. And it will be still more fortunate if those who are working for the Society find in their new critic so kindly and unselfseeking a colleague as Frank Podmore.

III.

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM JAMES.

BY W. M'DOUGALL.

AT the end of August of this year [1910] the telegraphic cables carried to every part of the civilised world the news of the death of William James, and in every country many hundreds of men and women felt that one of the great lights was gone, one of the great forces withdrawn. It was no occasion for bitter regret; for James was approaching the usual term of man's active life, and, though there had been good reason to anticipate further additions to his intellectual output, he had already made a rich and splendid contribution to the thought of our age; he had achieved a world-wide fame and was regarded with intense admiration and affection by a host of readers and a large band of personal friends. We had rather to be glad in the knowledge that his death was preceded by no severely disabling and prolonged malady, and that he enjoyed until the last days the active exercise of his great powers.

It is fitting that at this, the first meeting of the Society since his death, we should record our sense of his services to the Society; and that we should spend a little time in bringing before our minds the nature and extent of those services, and in making clear to ourselves the attitude towards the work and aims of the Society of one whose opinion in regard to that work and those aims was entitled to carry more weight than the opinion of any person now living.

I could wish that the honour of voicing our tribute to William James had fallen to one who could claim old-standing friendship with him, one who could give you some intimate glimpses of his noble and strenuous character and of the growth and working of his clear-shining intellect. My own personal acquaintance with James (I hope I may say friendship, for he won my heart at our first meeting) was of few years' standing only. But for nearly twenty years I have been an enthusiastic reader of all his works, and for nearly the same period have known him to be the largest influence affecting my intellectual life.

I must, then, be content to try to put together an outline sketch of James' work and influence in relation to our Society.

James was happy in that his life was in a quite exceptional degree a unified system of activities. Beginning with a thorough study of the biological and medical sciences, he actively pursued these until near his fortieth year as assistant professor of physiology at Harvard. He was then appointed to a chair of psychology in the same University and devoted himself chicfly to that subject for more than twenty years. The appearance in 1891 of his great book, the Principles of Psychology, secured for him a world-wide reputation as the greatest psychologist of his age, perhaps (as Prof. Dewey has lately said) the greatest of any age. From that time onward his productive activity turned more and more towards the problems of general philosophy, and since 1902, when he became professor of philosophy at Harvard, it was devoted almost wholly to those problems. This may well be regarded as an ideal course of intellectual activity: would that all our philosophers could approach their tasks with the same expert knowledge of the natural sciences and of psychology!

During the period of his philosophic activity James made himself the acknowledged leader of a school of thought (the pragmatic and radical empiricist school) which, whatever fate be in store for it, has been a most active ferment in the philosophical world; to it has been largely due that great revival of philosophical activity which marks the opening years of the twentieth century.

James' active interest in "Psychical Research," which extended through the last thirty years of his life, was not something apart from and disconnected from the main system of his activity; rather it was for him an integral part of the whole, a part most intimately connected with the rest. It was the expression of the same tendencies of mind which shaped all his philosophical work; to it he brought, or rather, to it he was brought by, just those peculiar qualities of mind that made him so original and successful in the more strictly academic fields of philosophy and psychology.

In any attempt to define these special qualities, the first place must be assigned to his direct vision of, and to his keen sense of the importance of, the concrete realities of human life. Always he comes back to empirical realities, to the immediate experience of men in general as the ground and test of all theoretical constructions. This was the keynote of all his efforts, of all that was most original in his psychology (*e.g.* his description of the stream of thought with which the *Principles* sets out), of his pragmatism, of his radical empiricism, of his pluralism, of his epoch-making study of the religious consciousness, and of his keen interest in "Psychical Research."

It was this keen sense of reality which, in spite of his large tolerance, led him to occasional expressions of impatience directed against what he called vicious intellectualism, and against the rationalistic construction of theories of the universe that are totally indifferent to the actual nature of the world we know. It was this which forbade him to attempt to impose system and order where none can be discerned, forbade him to aim at constructing a finished picture of the universe, and led him to prefer a "thick" to a "thin" philosophy; meaning by the "thin" highly abstract and purely logical procedures such as those which lead to the conception of the Absolute as the only reality; and by the "thick" a way of thinking that involves constant reference to, and faithful regard for, the largest possible mass of empirical fact. "A large acquaintance with particulars," he said, "often makes us wiser than the possession of abstract formulae, however deep."

Another striking characteristic was his wonderful openmindedness. He was always ready and anxious to find the possible grain of truth in every belief, the possible gleam of insight in every human utterance, whether in a philosophical system of the kind least attractive to him, in the wildest assertions of religious exaltation, or in the crude expressions of less gifted, and cspecially younger, colleagues. He had the keen eye of the great scientist for the significance of the exceptional, the seemingly irregular and unintelligible phenomenon. I well remember a Fellow of the Royal Society saying to me: "I'm not interested in anything until I can understand it." James' attitude was just the opposite of that. He was most interested in whatever was most difficult to understand, most problematic. I venture to say that that is the truly scientific attitude characteristic of all great discoverers. The smaller minds are not interested in, they cannot apperceive or become aware of, phenomena that will not fit into their particular system of pigeon-holes, and will not wear any one of their stereotyped labels.

This large openness of mind, together with his native kindliness, rendered him wonderfully appreciative of the work of other men; also it prevented his thought from crystallising in any rigid forms, and allowed his intellect to go on growing till the last. To his generous appreciativeness many a younger and obscure colleague in the fields of philosophy and psychology could bear grateful witness. It was finely displayed when, two years ago, James introduced the ideas of Prof. Bergson to an Oxford audience. Instead of regarding his younger and less widely famous colleague as a rival to be jealously criticised, he gave a glowingly eulogistic account of his teaching, admitted that it had worked a revolution in his own mind, and ranked himself as a disciple. The same fine trait was strikingly displayed again in the last published work of his pen, the article on a Pluralistic Mystic in a recent number of the Hibbert Journal

Thirdly, it was characteristic of James that he took his philosophy very seriously. For him it was no merely academic game in which cach player plays for his own hand, striving to devise some system peculiar to himself; rather, in his view, the advance of philosophy was a matter of the greatest practical importance for the welfare of mankind. Constantly he had in view human needs and aspirations, human limitations and human possibilities. In all his writings there is manifested (and more and more clearly if they are considered in the order of their production) his earnest wish to come to agreement with others, to achieve a view of the world that LXII.]

shall be acceptable to all men; his strong desire to bring increase of philosophild understanding rather than merely to develop and establish his own circle of ideas. The same earnestness was shewn by the continuance of his strenuous activity after his retirement from his chair at Harvard at an age at which he might well have claimed the right to rest on his laurels.

If to these three distinctive qualities of his mind we add a penetrating and versatile intellect, a strong sense of humour, and great powers of expression, we have, I think, the main psychological keys to the understanding of his intellectual achievements. That the style is the man was eminently true of James; his lively and forcible style, which made everything he wrote a delight to his readers, reveals everywhere the qualities we have noted, the keen eye for empirical fact and the faithful acceptance of it as the foundation and test of all theoretical constructions and of all beliefs; the openmindedness; the interest in and generous appreciation of the ideas of other men; the earnest desire to harmonise all human knowledge in one continuously advancing body of pragmatic truth.

Such in barest outline was the man. Let us now record with gratitude his services to the cause of "Psychical Research." Most obvious to the world at large and of inestimable benefit to this Society was the fact of his open and active espousal of its cause, his lending his name and prestige at a time when to be a prominent member of the Society was to incur risk of ridicule, or worse. The Society has been fortunate in counting among its members, especially among its presidents and vice-presidents, a number of names of the highest intellectual distinction; but, with the single exception of that of our revered first President, no name probably has been, or could have been, of so much service to the Society as that of William James. For his claims to be heard with respect on all branches of our work were unique. No other man of our time has made an equal mark in science, philosophy, and religion; no one has moved with so much mastery in all these three great fields of thought.

But James was not content to serve as our figure-head, and to lend us moral support and the prestige of his name. He has done much hard spade-work for the Society. He was one of the founders, of the American Society, and one of its most active leaders from its inception in 1884 until its union with our parent Society in 1890. He was the discoverer of Mrs. Piper, and the first carefully to investigate and report upon her trances; and, after Dr. Hodgson went to America to take up her case, James supported that prince of investigators with active help and warm friendship. To the Proceedings of the American Society he contributed papers on hypnotism and automatic writing based on personal investiga-He was a Corresponding Member of the English Society tion. from 1884-1889, a Vice-President from 1890-1910, and President during the years 1894-5. Besides his presidential address, he contributed a number of papers to our Proceedings and undertook a large amount of work in connexion with the eensus of hallucinations.

James wrote also at least three weighty expositions of the work and aims of the Society in three of the leading popular magazines of the United States;¹ and he brought together parts of these in an essay published in the very widely read volume entitled "The Will to Believe." That essay must, I think, be regarded as the most powerful and convincing of all apologies for this Society.

But James' moral support of, and his active participation in the work of, the Society were neither the whole nor the chief part of his services to "Psychical Research." If James had never been a member of our Society, if even he had never heard of it and its work, we should still have to recognise him as a great influence, perhaps the greatest individual influence of our time, making for the progress and extension of our enterprise. For the main tendency and aim of all his widely influential teaching was identical with what I take to be the deepest lying aim which the Society pursues along its highly special line of inquiry—namely, the reconciliation of science and religion on empirical grounds.

That the reconciliation of science with religion is the essential task of philosophy has long been widely recognised. But no such reconciliation has yet been achieved. James

¹Scribner's Magazine, March, 1890; The Forum, July, 1892; The American Magazine, 1908.

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found himself in a world in which almost all influential thinkers accepted one or other of two types of philosophy. On the one hand was the naturalistic school, which held fast to the world of empirical fact, and to the principle that the laws of mechanism hold undisputed sway throughout the universe; its utmost concession to religion being such recognition of an Unknowable power behind all things as Herbert Spencer taught. On the other hand were the transcendental idealists, who, having capitulated to empirical science as regards all the phenomenal world, claimed to have learnt from Kant and Hegel how to preserve a quasi-religious sphere of thought by constructing a purely logical scheme of reality that bore no relation whatever to the world of empirical fact, one which would remain equally valid no matter what might be the nature of our human experience of the world in which we live our daily lives—a time-less, space-less, cause-less, unchanging, infinite whole.

However widely different were the tempers and teachings of these two dominant schools of the Unknowable and the Absolute, they agreed in one point of fundamental importance, namely, they acknowledged the absolute sway of mechanical principles in the empirical world; that is to say, both alike were thoroughly mechanistic. To both these schools James resolutely opposed himself. He doubted whether the human mind would ever achieve the ideal of philosophy, a system of knowledge complete and harmonious in all its parts; he was very certain that no such system has been, or can yet be, constructed. "The actual universe," he said, "is a thing wide open, but rationalism makes systems, and systems must be closed."¹ He protested and rebelled against all closed systems; he saw on every hand the raw edges of our knowledge; but that did not lead him merely to seek more facts; he was a genuine and original philosopher in that he persistently sought better ways of understanding the facts we have. He firmly believed that human knowledge is but at the beginning of its course; and he believed that, if only because human knowledge is growing, the universe, of which that knowledge is a part, is growing also. "Reality," he said, ". . . is still

¹Pragmatism: a New Name for some old ways of thinking, London, 1907, p. 27.

in the making, and waits part of its complexion from the future . . . the universe is still pursuing its adventures."¹

The only reality recognised by Rationalism of either type he found intolerably unreal. He could not away with the optimism of the Absolutist rationalism which condones the miseries of man as necessary parts of the Absolute's perfection; he recognised the looseness of the reasoning by which Absolutism seeks to establish itself, and affirmed the absurdity of the claim of that reasoning to compel our assent to its conclusions. He boldly asserted that the only vicw of the universe acceptable to him was one that regards it as capable of becoming something better than it is, and as one in which the moral efforts of men may contribute towards that result. His philosophic aim was to conceive the universe in accordance with these demands, and to shape a philosophy capable of development, consciously incomplete, looking to the empirical sciences for aid, and requiring for its completion the cooperative efforts of many generations of thinkers; a philosophy which shall work in the scientific spirit rather than in that of rationalistic dogma, regarding its most cherished conceptions as but hypotheses to be constantly tested and evaluated by the pragmatic method, that is to say, with regard to their significance and value as guides to human life.

James, therefore, rejected as unproven and improbable the assumption common to both the dominant schools, the assumption of the absolute sway of mechanical causation in the empirical world; and in standing out thus against the mechanistic dogma, he was, of course, striking a powerful blow for "Psychical Research." For of all the considerations that lead men to ignore and deny the aims of "Psychical Research," to affirm the impossibility of the happenings we record, the mechanistic dogma is by far the most influential; "these things," they say, "cannot happen, for they are incompatible with our mechanical first principles."

James' brilliant attack on the two most prevalent philosophies has swept away this dogma from the minds of many, and has shaken its hold on the minds of many more; it has shewn that these are not the only possible philosophics for a self-respecting man of modern culture; it has taught all who

¹ Pragmatism, p. 257.

have felt its force to keep open minds, to recognise the uncertainty of all philosophic conclusions, to respect empirical fact, and to recognise that in our present state of ignorance it is absurd to pretend to say that this or that *cannot* happen. Every part of James' work contributed towards this effect,

Every part of James' work contributed towards this effect, so favourable to "Psychical Research"; for it was all of a piece. His pragmatism was primarily an extension of the scientific attitude of mind towards the problems and theories of philosophy. As the instrumental theory of truth it became a powerful lever for the uprooting of the dogmas of both naturalism and absolutism. His radical empiricism was the natural supplement of his pragmatism, and his pluralism the natural, if not the inevitable, outcome of their conjunction. Together they made strongly for the rescue of human personality from the position of indignity and insignificance to which it had been reduced by both the prevalent systems. They made plausible, or at least possible, a belief in some survival after death, the belief in a personal God and in a real communion between God and man, and even the belief in the objective efficacy of prayer and of moral effort.

James treated psychology as one of the natural sciences; but he consistently refused to reduce all consciousness to the level of an epiphenomenon or silent spectator; he insisted always on the real efficiency of our consciousness, our feelings, our efforts, our thoughts as teleological co-determinants of our bodily movements. He discovered an unsuspected wealth of detail in the stream of consciousness; and he restored to that stream its unity, rejecting root and branch the mechanical descriptions and explanations of associationism. He restored effort, activity, desire, in short, the will, to its rightful place. He was the first academic psychologist to make adequate recognition of the importance of modern medical studies of hysteria and of the reality and theoretical importance of hypnotism, automatic speech and writing, and states of dissociation in general.

Above all he was the first to grasp firmly the thorny subject of the psychology of the religious consciousness; boldly to admit the pathological character or affinities of many of its manifestations, and yet to affirm their value and to find in them empirical evidence of the truth of religion. His *Varieties* of Religious Experience was immensely successful. Psychology had been regarded as the natural enemy of religion. All that was changed at once, and the few years that have elapsed since the appearance of that book have seen the birth of several journals wholly devoted to religious psychology, and the publication of a dense stream of books and pamphlets on the same subject, mostly written by religiously-minded persons, many of them by theologians and eminent divines.

In all these ways, then, James' philosophical activity ran parallel in a larger orbit with the work of the S.P.R. It was a philosophy which justified our methods and our aims, and rendered possible at least the hope of finding in the general scheme of things an intelligible place for the facts we aim at.

In these three ways, then, James rendered immense service to "Psychical Research." Let us ask—What did the Society do for him? What in his view has it achieved, and what was the importance for his thought of that achievement?

James distinguished broadly what he called the mechanical and the personal views of nature—" science," he said, "essentially only stands for a method and for no fixed belief; yet as habitually taken, both by its votaries and outsiders, it is identified with a certain fixed belief—the belief that the hidden order of nature is mechanical exclusively, and that non-mechanical categories are irrational ways of conceiving and explaining even such things as human life." To this "mechanical rationalism," as he called it, James' whole drift and striving were opposed; for him the personal view of nature was the true one; and there can be no doubt that he was greatly strengthened in this belief by his knowledge of the results of "Psychical Research."

As early as 1890 he proclaimed Mrs. Piper as his 'one white crow,' meaning that her case had made it impossible to accept the principle that our knowledge comes to us only by the channels of sense. And, needless to say, his conviction of the supernormal origin of her trance-knowledge was but strengthened by his later acquaintance with that remarkable woman. This case, together with other evidence, convinced him that our minds can and do communicate in some way that cannot be reconciled with the mechanical categories; or, in other words, that telepathy is a fact of nature, and that it is not explicable on physical principles.

To have found adequate empirical evidence of this transcendence of the mechanical categories was of crucial importance for James' system of thought. If, as he held, the proof is conclusive, mechanistic rationalism is finally shattered by it, and the personal view of nature established, and it was this he had in view when he wrote that our Society has restored the continuity of history.¹

In his lectures at Oxford, two years ago, James announced his firm conviction that "most of the phenomena of psychic research are rooted in reality," and it was obvious, I think, to those who knew him, that the results of "Psychical Research" had played a greater part in shaping the thought of those lectures than he judged it expedient explicitly to affirm before an audience so ignorant of the facts.

In a recent number of the American Magazine, James' undertook to state the principal effect upon his opinions of "twenty-five years of dabbling in 'Psychics.'" The following

¹"Religious thinking, ethical thinking, poetical thinking, teleological, emotional, sentimental thinking, what one might call the personal view of life to distinguish it from the impersonal and mechanical, and the romantic view of life to distinguish it from the rationalistic view, have been, and even still are, outside of well-drilled scientific circles, the dominant forms of thought. But for mechanical rationalism, personality is an insubstantial illusion. The chronic belief of mankind, that events may happen for the sake of their personal significance, is an abomination. . . But the S.P.R.'s Proceedings have, it seems to me, conclusively proved one thing to the candid reader; and that is that the verdict of pure insanity, of gratuitous preference for error, of superstition without excuse, which the scientists of our day are led by their intellectual training to pronounce upon the entire thought of the past, is a most shallow verdict. The personal and romantic view of life has other roots besides wanton exuberance of imagination and perversity of heart. It is perennially fed by facts of experience. . . . It is the intolerance of science for such phenomena as we are studying, her peremptory denial either of their existence or of their significance (except as proofs of man's absolute innate folly), that has set science so apart from the common sympathies of the race. I confess that it is on this, its humanizing mission, that the Society's best claim to the gratitude of our generation seems to me to depend. It has restored continuity to history. It has shown some reasonable basis for the most superstitious aberrations of the foretime. It has bridged the chasm, healed the hideous rift that science, taken in a certain narrow way, has shot into the human world" (Essay on "Psychical Research" in the vol. Will to Believe, pp. 324-326).

are the main points of his confession. "I am baffled as to spirit-return, and as to many other special problems." He held the spiritistic hypothesis unproven; and it was not consistent with his view of personality; nevertheless, with his invariable largeness, he kept an open mind in that direction. As regards "Physical phenomena" he wrote: "I find myself believing that there is 'something in' these never-ending reports of physical phenomena, although I haven't yet the least positive notion of the something. It becomes to my mind simply a very worthy problem for investigation." The main ground of this opinion was the accumulation of evidence to form what he called a faggot, and the constancy of type of the phenomena.

He affirmed the frequency of automatic writing, and its constancy to type.

He affirmed "the presence, in the midst of all the humbug, of really supernormal knowledge. . . In really strong mediums this knowledge seems to be abundant, though it is usually spotty, capricious and unconnected."

He inclined "to picture the situation as an interaction between slumbering faculties in the automatist's mind and a cosmic environment of other consciousness of some sort which is able to work upon them. If there were in the universe a lot of diffuse soul-stuff, unable of itself to get into consistent personal form, or to take permanent possession of an organism, yet always craving to do so, it might get its head into the air, parasitically, so to speak, by profiting by weak spots in the armor of human minds, and slipping in and stirring up there the sleeping tendency to personate. It would induce habits in the subconscious region of the mind it used thus, and would seek above all things to prolong its social opportunities by making itself agreeable and plausible. It would drag stray scraps of truth with it from the wider environment, but would betray its mental inferiority by knowing little how to weave them into any important or significant story."

He added his conviction that "the phenomenon is actuated by will of some sort anyhow," meaning that the messages of "automatic speech and writing" are not, as the term seems to imply, the products of merely mechanical neural processes, but express desire, intention and design. He concluded by asserting the enormous complexity of the phenomena and the necessity for suspension of judgment and prolonged and patient inquiry. "That is why I personally am as yet neither a convinced believer in parasitic demons, nor a spiritist, nor a scientist, but still remain a psychical researcher waiting for more facts before concluding."

"Hardly, as yet, has the surface of the facts called 'psychic' begun to be scratched for scientific purposes. It is through following these facts, I am persuaded, that the greatest scientific conquests of the coming generation will be achieved."

These few extracts will suffice to indicate the nature of the effect in James' mind produced by the work of this Society; they show that this effect was of very great, in fact, of crucial importance. They show also that his attitude towards the work of the Society was truly scientific in the higher sense of that word, and that, while he remained thoroughly critical and chary of forming positive conclusions, he confidently regarded the results hitherto achieved as but a small and imperfect sample of a splendid harvest of knowledge still to be reaped by "Psychical Research." To my mind his attitude seems wholly admirable, a model to be held up for all of us to copy as nearly as our powers will permit.

While, then, James rendered great services to our Society, the work of the Society powerfully influenced his thought. The relations between him and the Society were fruitful and reciprocally advantageous in a high degree. By this action and reaction between his philosophical principles and the results of "psychical research," James' thought was led to a definite issue upon the problem, which is at once the central problem of all philosophy, and the immediate and special problem for the illumination of which this Society exists, namely, the problem of the nature of human personalities and their position in the universe.

In his *Principles of Psychology*, James took up decidedly the antimechanical view of the human organism, criticising most effectively and destructively those various formulations of the relation of mind to body, which deny all real efficiency in the physical world of our consciousness, our thought, feeling, and will, the epiphenomenalism of Huxley and most naturalists, and the various forms of psycho-physical parallelism. Classing all these together under the head automaton-theory, he wrote "My conclusion is that to urge the automaton theory upon us, as it is now urged, on purely *a priori* and *quasi*-metaphysical grounds, is an unwarrantable impertinence in the present state of psychology."¹ And he affirmed that "it is to my mindquite inconecivable that consciousness should have *nothing to* do with a business which it so faithfully attends";² meaning the processes of the brain.

Throughout he never wavered in his opposition to the mechanical philosophy, whether in the form of mechanical materialism or the mechanistic rationalism of the transcendental idealists or absolutists.

Now throughout the history of thought the great rival to all the mechanistic theories has been the soul-theory, the animistic theory that man's body is animated by a soul, an immaterial thinking being, which is the ground of his individuality, and is eapable of surviving the death of his body, and preserving all or something of his personality beyond the grave.

It might have been expected that James' rejection of all the mechanistic doctrines would have led him to embrace the soul-theory. But he never did accept it. In the *Principles* he presented the soul-theory foreibly and sympathetically, and confessed "that to posit a soul influenced in some mysterious way by the brain-states and responding to them by conscious affections of its own, seems to me the line of least logical resistance, so far as we yet have attained."³ But, though treating the theory with respect, and asserting that "it is at any rate less positively objectionable than either mind-stuff or a material monad creed,"⁴ he insisted that "it does not strictly explain anything,"⁵ that the conception of the soul is not required by psychology, and that the passing thought of each moment of consciousness is the only subject logically required for the intelligible description of our mental life.

In the *Principles*, then, James, refusing to accept the soultheory, left open the question of the nature and ground of personality; and in his later writings we find him more decidedly opposed to the soul-theory. In his Oxford lectures

¹ Principles, vol. i. p. 138. ² Ibid. p. 136. ³ Vol. i. p. 181. ⁴ Op. cit. p. 182. ⁵ Op. cit. p. 371. of two years ago he returned to the question and said-"Souls have worn out both themselves and their welcome, that is the plain truth. Philosophy ought to get the manifolds of experience unified on principles less empty. Like the word 'cause,' the word 'soul' is but a theoretic stopgap—it marks a place and claims it for future explanation to occupy."¹ And he complained that the conception of the soul has no pragmatic significance; which for him was equivalent to saving that it is useless, and therefore invalid.²

This is not the occasion for any examination of James' reasoning. We have rather to seek to grasp as clearly as possible what his own view was: and this is worth doing because his view was unfamiliar, distinctive, and by no means easy to seize. James' frequent and sympathetic references to Myers' conception of the Subliminal Self may easily lead the casual reader to suppose that he accepted Myers' hypothesis or one very similar to it. But that would be an error. We must recognize clearly that Myers' doctrine was a development and extension of the soul-theory and that James rejected that theory.

Yet it is equally clear that James believed and taught that the mind of man is not wholly destroyed at death, that in some sense and in some degree it survives the death of his body.

In the Principles James criticised very forcibly and decisively rejected the view that individual human consciousness can be regarded as compounded of lesser consciousnesses, sensations, or units of feeling, or fragments of consciousness of any kind. And he recognised that the only logical alternative to this doctrine of mind-stuff (of atoms of consciousness capable of being compounded into larger and larger wholes of consciousness) seems to be the soul-theory; but yet, as we have seen, he rejected that theory and left open the problem for further investigation.

In his Ingersoll Lecture on Human Immortality,³ he adopted a peculiar theory of the function of the bodily organism or of the brain in our mental life, one which he called "the theory of separation" or "the transmission theory." By these names he implied the notion that there exists a great sea

² Ibid. ¹ A Pluralistic Universe, p. 210. ³Boston, 1898. of eonseiousness or thought; that the eonsciousness of each one of us is but a ray of this univeral eonseiousness; and that the brain of each man is a translucent or half-transparent spot in the veil of nature through which a ray of the universal eonsciousness intermittently struggles to illumine for brief moments the material world. According to this view, then, the bodily organism is the principle of individuality; mind or eonsciousness is essentially one; and our individual eonseiousnesses, so-called, are but distorted beams filtered out from the universal consciousness by our brains; and, when those brains decay, the beams ecase to be thus transmitted. It is elear that this "transmission theory" escapes materialism, but it is equally elear that it does not provide for any survival of human personality after the dcath of the body.

James returned to the transmission theory in his lecture on the "Energies of Men," developing it from the point of view that in our moral and intellectual efforts each of us draws spiritual energy from that larger whole of which, according to the hypothesis, his mind is but a fragmentary manifestation; and, in accordance with his invariable tendency, he adduced in a striking and original way new empirical evidences of the reality of such influx of the greater tides of life through the channels of human personality.¹

But his later utterances show that he was not satisfied with the position defended in the Ingersoll lecture. It was obvious to him that it was hardly consistent with his rejection of the notion of the compounding of conseiousness. For the reabsorption of individual eonsciousness in the universal sea implies such compounding. Acordingly he returned to the problem in his Oxford lectures. He told us how he had wrestled long and long with this notion of the compounding of consciousness, and how, approaching it now from the side of over-individual conseiousness, rather than, as in the Principles, from the side of eomposition of individual human eonseiousness from lesser parts, he had reversed his opinion, thrown over his own brilliant demonstration of the absurdity of the notion, and made it the keystone of his philosophic seheme of the universe. After this revolution, it was possible to modify the doctrine of the Ingersoll lecture in a way that made it less intangible, less a matter of metaphor

¹ Philosophical Review, 1907.

and vague suggestion merely. He modified it in the direction of assimilating it to Fechner's panpsychic view of the universe. "The drift," he said, "of all the evidence we have, seems to me to sweep us very strongly towards the belief in some form of superhuman life with which we may, unknown to ourselves, be co-conscious. We may be in the universe, as dogs and cats are in our libraries, seeing the books and hearing the conversation, but having no inkling of the meaning of it all.... The analogies with ordinary psychology and with the facts of pathology, with those of psychical research, so called, and with those of religious experience. establish, when taken together, a decidedly formidable probability in favour of a general view of the world almost identical with Fechner's."¹ And Fechner's view or vision of the world was one of a hierarchy of consciousnesses, each member of the hierarchy being at once both a consciousness for itself and a part of a more widely inclusive consciousness of a higher level or order. James expressed his conception of the relation of the individual human consciousness to the more inclusive consciousness as clearly perhaps as it is capable of being expressed in the following words: "Out of my experience, such as it is (and it is limited enough) one fixed conclusion dogmatically emerges, and that is this, that we with our lives are like islands in the sea, or like trees in the forest. The maple and the pine may whisper to each other with their leaves, and Conanicut and Newport hear each other's foghorns. But the trees also commingle their roots in the darkness underground, and the islands also hang together through the ocean's bottom. Just so there is a continuum of cosmic consciousness, against which our individuality builds but accidental fences, and into which our several minds plunge as into a mother-sea or reservoir. Our 'normal' consciousness is circumscribed for adaptation to our external earthly environment, but the fence is weak in spots, and fitful influences from beyond break in, showing the otherwise unverifiable common connection. Not only psychic research, but metaphysical philosophy and speculative biology are led in their own ways to look with favour on some such 'panpsychic' view of the universe as this."²

¹ A Pluralistic Universe, p. 309.

² The American Magazine, "The Confidences of a Psychical Researcher," 1908.

He refused to identify this wide mother-sca of consciousness with the absolute mind of idealistic monism, basing his refusal chiefly on moral grounds. Even the widest consciousness of all he regarded as less than the whole universe. "However much may be collected, however much may report itself as present at any effective centre of consciousness or action, something else is self-governed and absent and unreduced to unity."¹ This is the essential character of his pluralistie what more inclusive forms our individual universe. То consciousnesses belong he did not pretend to say; but that they do so belong was his main thesis; and he believed that the mystic's experience of union and absorption of the self in a higher power is what it claims to be; and it is after that model that he would have us conceive the life beyond the grave. It is elear that this view implies no personal immortality; the life of the individual man is but a temporary and partial separation and circumscription of a part of a larger whole, into which it is reabsorbed at death, and the body remains the individualising principle. But he held that this view, besides being more consonant than any other with all the empirical evidence, is pragmatically justified on moral grounds; because, as organs of the larger whole, we play a part in determining its development and welfare; "our thoughts determine our acts, and our acts redetermine the previous nature of the world";² and so we may, in a very real sense, hold ourselves to be co-workers with God, helping Him to make the universe something nobler than it yet is.

More than any other man of our time, James was qualified by his openness of mind, his courage and originality, his powerful intellect, his wide knowledge of empirical fact and philosophical speculation, and his prolonged and earnest wrestling with the fundamental problems, to express conclusions that must command a deeply respectful hearing. To many members of this Society it must be a disappointment that such a leader should have reached a conclusion adverse to the survival of human personality. But it is much that his final position is one which affirms the real efficiency and abiding value of the moral and intellectual efforts of mankind. And our Society may well renew its courage and its conviction

¹ A Pluralistic Universe, p. 322.

² Op. cit. p. 318.

of the value of its work, in recognising that that work played no small part in enabling James to reach and maintain that position. And let us bear in mind the deliberate expression of his mature judgment. "Hardly, as yet, has the surface of the facts called 'psychic' begun to be scratched for scientific purposes. It is through following these, I am persuaded, that the greatest scientific conquests of the coming generation will be achieved."

That such a leader in the world of thought has published to the world this high estimate of the importance of the Society's work, and has generously avowed the large influence of that work upon his constructive efforts, must permanently strengthen the Society and must support us in the conviction that we have set our hands to no mean task.

IV.

WILLIAM JAMES AS PHILOSOPHER.

BY PROFESSOR J. H. MUIRHEAD.

I HAVE a double difficulty in accepting the Editor's invitation to write a short article on this subject. I am writing from the point of view of general philosophy in a periodical devoted to psychical research, and I am writing on a philosopher whom, in spite of great admiration and respect, I have never been able to accept as my own leader. I may thus be said to be an outsider to the second power. I justify myself in view of the first of these disqualifications by saying at once that a philosopher's attitude to at least some of the aims of psychical research is to a large extent dependent on his philosophical view in general, and that I believe Professor James's was so in a particular degree. The second disqualification is more serious in an article like the present. But I believe it is less fatal in my own case than it might be in the case of other abler critics, seeing that, while differing widely from Professor James in letter, I find myself in far greater sympathy with his spirit than I do with many present day writers with whom I am in greater literal agreement.

If we would know what that spirit is, we have to turn to the general movement of philosophic thought, and particularly to that of our own time. The history of science and philosophy has been written from many points of view. The most helpful is that from which it is regarded as a series of ever deeper reactions from the abstract to the concrete, from absorption in conceptions too narrow for the facts of human life and experience back to the fulness of reality. For such reactions all the great philosophers from Socrates to Hegel may be shown to stand. To understand our own time we have to realise that we are ourselves living in the middle of just such another. From a period of obsession, both in physical and social science, by the idea of rigid mechanical laws to which human ideals have to be subordinated, we have passed to the advocacy of the central place of human purposes, and the subordination to them of scientific generalisations as things partial, tentative, provisional. The writings of Poincaré, Boutroux and Bergson in France, of Wundt and Eucken in Germany, of Karl Pearson and James Ward among ourselves are sufficient indication of this general drift. Together they stand for the assertion by man's spirit of the claim to be master in its own house, and to see everything sub specie humanitatis.

It is the fighting part he has taken in this movement, since the publication of the *Will to Believe*, in 1897, that gives its significance to William James's work. There are, I believe, thousands to whom that book and his other popular works, by their broad humanity, their cheerful faith in the openness of all roads, have seemed to have lifted the intellectual sky as with the promise of Spring. It is this, far more than the actual doctrines they contain, that has been the source of his deserved and unique popularity. Whether his influence will be a permanent one it is too early perhaps to say. What a close study of his works has brought home to my own mind is that his controversy with the school in England and America, which, not less than he, has set itself against the abstractions of a barren intellectualism, is likely to prove a source of weakness rather than of strength, and that just in so far as he himself in the constant development of his ideas, which is one of the most attractive features of his writings, stops short of their conclusions, his work is likely to lose in fruitfulness.

An article like the present would be no suitable place for a review of his philosophy as a whole. What I desire to do is to try within its limits to show by one or two examples, first, that what he claims for the world as a whole is true of his own thought: it has no fixed statuesque outlines, but on the contrary is always undergoing expansion and development; in the second place, that, notwithstanding this, and mainly, I think, because of imperfect emancipation from the intellectualist presuppositions which he lives to combat, he fails in the end to make the best of the position he has won. I take three points which will be recognised as crucial—his doctrine of the meaning of truth, his antagonism to intellectualism founded on the antithesis between sense-experience and conception, and his pluralism.

(1) The first is stated and restated in a hundred passages in which we are implored to disabuse ourselves of all academic and scholastic definitions of truth, and to face the question squarely as to what truth consists in as a matter of fact and experience. When we do so, we are assured, what we shall find is that truth is no rigid system to which the soul ascends over a series of rigid conceptions, as to a marble shrine over marble steps, but the felt fitness of an intellectual attitude to the requirements of a concrete situation—its power to bring us into fruitful relations with it and enable us to make capital out of it. Truth-seeking is thus literally truth-making—verity is vcrification.

No one who has gone through James's books with the single aim of understanding this contention can rise from the study without feeling that his ideas of the process known as verification have been widened and decpened. Many of James's statements of it are purple patches in the psychology of cognition. What the student cannot help regretting is that the earlier oncs should have contained so much that was ambiguous, and left so much to be supplied by the reader. The author himself pathetically complains of the obtuseness of his critics, and even of his friends, "who have boggled at and refused to take the spirit rather than the letter of our discourse." This is apt to recall Carlyle's juryman who complained that he had never met eleven such obstinate men in the same room in his life. A whole generation of scholars does not go obstinately wrong over a theory which has been stated with reasonable clearness and the necessary qualifications. By the emphasis on the feeling of satisfaction, as well as by the name Pragmatism itself, it was inevitable that the theory should suggest the old Protagorean heresy, $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\rho\nu$ $d\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\rho\sigma$, and be met with the taunt that willing to believe was tantamount to believing as you will.

If James's own mind ever gave harbour to such an idea, he has made ample amends by the clearness with which he states his true view in his later articles. In the first place, by satisfactoriness, he tells us, he does not mean mere practical utility. Man has logical as well as practical needs. Consistency is the breath of the soul's life, as air is of the body's. "After man's interest in breathing freely, the greatest of all his interests is his interest in consistency."¹ And, in the second place, this consistency has an objective counterpart: it is a guarantee to us, the only guarantee we have, of correspondence with that "matrix of experiential circumstances" which we call reality. "The pragmatist, being himself a man and imagining in general no lines of true belief contrary to ours about the 'reality' which he has laid at the base of his epistemological discussion, is willing to treat our satisfactions as possibly really true guides to it, not as guides true solely for us."²

In view of such a statement, the long wearisome controversy as to the meaning of the will to believe may well be laid to But agreement on this point between pragmatism and rest. its critics only raises a new question, which unfortunately we have no longer the opportunity of discussing with James. Granted that satisfactoriness is satisfactoriness "in the long run and on the whole "-that the harmony we seek is harmony with the totality of experience, is not such an ideal experience just what we mean by the "matrix of experiential circumstances"? Can reality be anything else for us? If it cannot, it seems as though James to complete his theory must advance a step further in the direction of the intellectualist, or, as I should prefer to call it, impersonal idealism, which he opposes, and hold that the mark of reality is just this harmonious setting in an ideal experience. If, on the other hand, we are asked to conceive the possibility of a reality without relation to such an experience, is this not just an appeal to the idea of an absolute or unknown in its worst possible form ? In reading such passages as that just quoted, or again that in which he claims that his theory of truth is "purely epistemological" and "prejudges nothing as to the constitution of realities, so that the most diverse meta-

¹ The Meaning of Truth, p. 211.

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² *Ib.*, 192.

physics ean use it as their foundation,"¹ one cannot but feel that James fails to earry his Pragmatism to its legitimate conclusion, and to reap the full fruits of it as an answer to all forms of agnostieism and pessimism. Are not his opponents here the truer pragmatists when they insist that such a "thing in itself" unrelated to experience as we know it, save as an incognisable duplicate, belongs to the lumber-house, not to the utilisable furniture of the human mind?

(2) The second of the above points is equally fundamental. Granting we can experience reality as it truly is (and James as well as Bergson, whom he takes here as his master. constantly assumes that we ean), what is the medium of this insight? James's answer to this question is well known. Conception, the very eye of the soul according to "intellectualism," merely serves to short-eut the real processes of apprehension. It is like a measuring rod laid along the surface of the ground touching it here and there, but merely as a guide to hand or eye and giving no real contact with its actual outline. For this we have to dip back into the stream of sense-experience where we can feel ourselves into its strains and pressures, its real directions, and its living meanings. Τf this article were upon James as a psychologist, it would be necessary again to express our gratitude to him for the service he has done mental seience by the emphasis he has laid upon the presentational, or immediately given element in the eognitive life. This is only equalled by our debt to him for his exposition of the instinctive, or immediate element in the eonative. But the question is of the relation of conception to reality, and it is just here that we have to notice the same kind of ambiguity as we found in his doetrine of truth. As in the latter he started with an uncritical account of what is meant by satisfaction and only gradually arrived at a statement of the two different senses it may bear, so here, I think, it can be shown that he started with a theory of conception, which philosophy had already outgrown, and was only beginning to realise its imperfections when, unfortunately, his life was eut short. It is quite true that we may use conception in the sense of a class notion or a general formula, the leading feature of which seems to be the omission of

¹ Meaning of Truth, p. 215.

particulars. But already, long before James and Bergson had begun to write, this notion of the "abstract universal" subjected to a destructive criticism, just had been on the ground which these writers urge, of the partial and schematic view that general ideas give of the concrete reality. Here there is no difference, as James himself recognises when he classes Hegel among the "thick" writers as contrasted with the alleged thinness of his English interpreters.¹ Where difference begins (and it is a vital one) is in the plan that is proposed for the correction of this abstractness. Hegel the half truths of To the idealist from Plato to the understanding have to look for correction, not back to the uncriticised life of sense-experience, but forward to its fuller interpretation by the aid of synthetic reason,the resolute endeavour of thought to see the part in relation to the whole,---which gives it its meaning. Do James and Bergson mean to deny this? In view of a careful collation of the relevant passages in both, I cannot myself believe it. To say that to get into touch with the truth about the world we have to turn our backs upon the systematising, correlating intelligence, and merge ourselves in the unsifted experiences of the sensory world, is like saying that in order to live truly we must set aside all reflection upon the meaning of life—all attempt to bring our impulses into harmony with one another and with the requirements of social life, and fall back upon uncriticised instinct. Here also I venture to think that Professor James, by permitting himself to be led into exaggeration by his generous enthusiasm for the real and the concrete, has failed to make full use of the truth which he grasped. It surely is no part of Humanism to depreciate the place of the organising intelligence, whether in theory or practice. Let the faith in this once be abandoned (and with it our faith in our intellectual, moral and æsthetic ideals), we have yet to learn what hold we can establish through philosophy on the spiritual world, the vindication of whose reality is the underlying motive of all James's works.

¹"He plants himself in the empirical flux of things and gets the impression of what happens. Concepts were not in his eyes the static self-contained things that previous logicians had supposed but were germinative and passed beyond themselves into each other." A Pluralistic Universe, "Hegel and his Method," p. 89 foll.

(3) The third point, the theory of "a Pluralistic Universe," has been in principle disposed of in what has been already said. If, as we have just seen, the conception of the unity of the intelligence with the world which it knows is a presupposition of our experience: if, as James himself assures us, "there is a push, an urgency within our very experience against which we are on the whole powerless and which drives us in the direction that is the destiny of our belief" -a destiny he explains, as we have seen, as fulness and consistency; if the same presupposition, mutatis mutandis, underlies our practice and is the inspiration of all our art, how is it possible for the pragmatist to hold that the world falls into disconnected parts? In the admission of such a possibility have we not again only the ghost of the Absolutism, against which the whole theory is a revolt? Given such independent parts, would we not have just the kind of Absolute we desire to exclude? Or (if this is one of the wiredrawn arguments against which James protests) what is the pragmatic value of such an idea? It gives us, we are told, the sense of liberty. In a way it does. It gives us the liberty of believing in the Devil, of supposing that the world may be quite otherwise than it appears, and that the "push" or urgency that James speaks of may, all unknown to us, be countcracted by another, which in the end will falsify all our beliefs and bring to nought all our efforts. But into what "fruitful reforms" has such an idea ever led mankind? The one true ultimate basis of freedom is faith, not in the contingency, but in the rationality of the world. James complains of the statuesque unity of the world as the Platonist conceives it. But Plato himself recognised that there are other kinds of unity besides that of the statue. There is the unity of a living thing, and there is the unity of a purposeful act; there is unity in the general tendency of biological evolution, and there is unity in the stumbling progress through trial and error of which human life secms to consist. With the recognition of this we come back, I do not say to Monism, for that is ambiguous in its turn, but to something quite different from Pluralism-a world that seems in a way we are still far from understanding pledged to honour the drafts our logical and ethical ideas make upon it.

If space had allowed, I believe I could have shown here also that James, like all great thinkers, has himself provided us with the means of correcting his own exaggerations. But perhaps I have said enough to indicate the place this paper would claim for him in the pantheon of modern philosophy. He has himself told us that humanism is a spirit rather than a formulated doctrine, "like one of those secular changes that come upon public opinion overnight, as it were borne upon tides 'too deep for sound or foam,' that survive all the crudities and extravagances of their advocates, that you can pin to no one absolutely essential statement, nor kill by any decisive stab." This is truly and eloquently said. I for one am far from desiring to kill it. On the contrary, I desire to see it kept alive in the spirit of its distinguished founder, and going on from more to more. To attain this object it is, I believe, necessary that it should free itself from earlier limitations and come out more whole-heartedly and consistently on the side, if not of the will to believe, at any rate of the belief in the will and the ultimate harmony between the make of things and its deepest impulses and ideals.

V.

PROFESSOR PIGOU ON CROSS-CORRESPONDENCES.

BY THE RIGHT HON. GERALD W. BALFOUR.

THOSE who see in the phenomena now familiarly known as "cross-correspondences" something beyond merc fraud or chance would appear at first sight to have two explanations to choose from. Either the observed concordances must be wholly ascribed to telepathic action between the subconscious selves of the automatists (the agency of their conscious selves being supposed to be *cx hypothesi* excluded, or at least reduced to a minimum); or else we must assume the intervention of some intelligence external to the automatists—an intelligence which, if it cannot be connected with any living person, presumably is, what the script habitually claims it to be, a disembodicd spirit.

In an interesting paper which was published in the *Proceedings* of June, 1909 (Vol. XXIII. pp. 286-303), Professor Pigou maintains the thesis that this choice of explanations is not really open to us, at all events so far as the evidence from crosscorrespondences is concerned; that upon that evidence taken alone we are not entitled even to suspend judgment, but are bound, in accordance with the recognised methods of science, to decide in favour of subliminal as against spiritual agency.

A criticism of Professor Pigou's paper by Sir Oliver Lodge appeared in the Society's *Journal* for October, 1909, followed by a reply from the author and a further rejoinder from his critic in November.

Although these later contributions to the discussion have done a good deal to clear up the issues raised in the original paper, it appears to me that much still remains to be said: and something, at least, of this I will try to say here.

Professor Pigou's argument may be reduced to three main propositions and a conclusion.

- (1) The Ramsden-Miles experiments show that the production of a simple correspondence is not outside the known powers of the subliminal self.
- (2) The results of Dr. Verrall's attempts to get a certain Greek phrase reproduced in Mrs. Verrall's automatic script show that the subliminal consciousness can also produce the complementary element in a complementary correspondence.
- (3) The complementary element exhibited in what for shortness' sake we may call the Verrall Case is comparable in all essentials with the complementary element in the best cross-correspondences recorded in the *Proceedings* up to the date of Professor Pigou's paper.

The conclusion which follows from these premises is that the production of complementary correspondences of the best type between two or more automatic scripts is within the known powers of the subliminal self; and accordingly, in the absence of other or further evidence, we are bound by the recognised canons of scientific investigation to accept the subliminal consciousness acting within its known powers as a more probable cause of complementary correspondences than discarnate entities whose existence is admittedly hypothetical.

Professor Pigou's conclusion would be an important one if established, and this makes it the more necessary to subject the three main propositions on which it is founded to searching examination.

According to proposition (1) the Ramsden-Miles experiments in thought-transference show that the production of simple correspondences between the automatic scripts of different writers is within the known powers of the subliminal consciousness. How is this proved? Professor Pigou starts from the fact observed by Miss Ramsden that among the impressions she received from Miss Miles "those which are the most surprisingly correct are some which were never *intentionally* transferred at all." From this experience—not an uncommon one in connection with experimental thought-transference—he infers that the subliminal self of A is sometimes eapable of influencing the perceptions of B *apart from conscious will*. If, now, A and B are two automatic writers and A's subliminal self possesses the eapaeity of influencing B's *perceptions* apart from conscious will, we are entitled to conclude that A's subliminal self is able to exercise a similarly independent influence on B's *script*. And since, *cx hypothesi*, it can influence A's script, it is evidently in a position to bring about a simple correspondence between the two.

The critical step in this argument is the inference that the subliminal self of one person is sometimes capable of influencing another person's conscious perceptions apart from conscious will.

In the Ramsden-Miles experiments the general plan adopted was that Miss Ramsden should think of Miss Miles regularly at 7.0 p.m. on every day that an experiment was to be tried, and write down the impressions that eame to her. "Miss Miles on her side had no fixed time for thinking of Miss Ramsden, but thought of her more or less during the whole day, and in the evening noted briefly what ideas had been most prominently before her mind during the day, and which she wished to convey, or thought might have been conveyed, to Miss Ramsden" (*Proc.* Vol. XXI. p. 71).

It seems to me impossible in these conditions to infer with any eertainty that the eonseious will of one or the other or both of the experimenters was not an essential and determining factor in the result. On the one side we have the conscious will to transmit impressions, on the other the eonseious effort of expectant attention, each experimenter meanwhile fixing her thoughts on the other. These are the invariable accompaniments of the phenomena. How can they be eliminated or safely disregarded? The fact that the impressions received by Miss Ramsden were not always those which Miss Miles intended to eonvey does not prove that the subliminal self of Miss Miles was capable of influencing Miss Ramsden's perceptions apart from Miss Miles' conseious will, but only that the particular impression transferred was sometimes independent of Miss Miles' conscious will.¹ The attitude of Miss Miles' conscious self may have been the conditio sine quâ non of there being any thought-transference at all. Moreover, even if we were entitled to ignore the factor of Miss Miles' conscious will, there remains the possible effect of Miss Ramsden's conscious will still to be considered. There is nothing in these experiments, so far as I can see, that would warrant us in excluding the hypothesis that the true "agent" in the case was Miss Ramsden's conscious self, and that the process was one of "tapping" Miss Miles' thoughts, conscious or subconscious, rather than of passively receiving impressions. Other observations of psychical phenomena might perhaps justify the contention that the subliminal self of one person is capable of influencing the perceptions of another person without the exercise of conscious will on the part of either supraliminal self; but this cannot, I think, be proved from the Ramsden-Miles experiments taken alone.

Still less do these experiments prove a power on the part of Miss Miles' subliminal self deliberately to influence Miss Ramsden's perceptions. Even if we consent to treat the conscious will of one or both of the supraliminal selves as negligible factors in the result, the transference of impressions may have been a mere automatic effect of interaction between two psychical entities in which deliberate intention played no part whatever. It is difficult to be quite sure of Professor Pigou's attitude towards this important question of intention. When he argues from the experience of Miss Ramsden and Miss Miles that "the subliminal self of (say) Mrs. Verrall *could* probably bring about a simple correspondence between her automatic script and that of some other scribe," and speaks of the subliminal self as the "agent" who is "responsible" for the result; still more when he claims to have shown that the "manufacture" (Proceedings, Vol. XXIII. p. 294) of simple correspondences is within its known powers, or speaks of the subliminal self of one automatist as "trying" (op. cit. p. 295)

¹The fact that all the impressions conveyed had formed part of the contents of Miss Miles' supraliminal consciousness at some time during the same day, and that Miss Miles was thinking of Miss Ramsden more or less during the whole day, makes the case weaker still from the point of view of Professor Pigou's argument.

to impress a given idea on the automatic script both of herself and of some other automatist, are we or are we not to understand that he uses these terms in a sense implying deliberate purpose on the part of the subliminal consciousness?

If the answer is "yes," then I must insist in reply that the mere fact of a simple correspondence occurring cannot, of itself, form any ground for inferring intention. Other evidence of intention may be forthcoming: for instance, an intimation given in one script that an attempt has been, or will be, made to obtain in another the emergence of the particular word or idea that forms the subject of the correspondence. Similarly we know from the testimony of Miss Miles' normal self that she *intended* to convey certain impressions to Miss Ramsden: but this cannot by any possibility be made to prove that Miss Miles' subliminal consciousness could form such an intention on its own account.

If, on the other hand, the answer is in the negative, if, that is, we are to understand that he does not attribute deliberate purpose to the subliminal self, the question immediately arises whether some, at least, of the simple correspondences recorded in the *Proceedings* cannot be shown to have been deliberately produced by whatever agency was at work. Now that many unmistakable cross-correspondences are claimed in the script to be the deliberate work of the controls, and that this claim is constantly put forward before the cross-correspondences have been discovered, are facts familiar to all who have studied the literature of the subject. It will hardly be disputed that these facts constitute at least prima facie evidence of intention. Unless this evidence can be discredited—and Professor Pigou has made no attempt to discredit it-I must hold that his argument, even if valid as regards involuntary correspondences, falls short of what is required. The known powers of the subliminal self will not have been proved to cover all the phenomena which even simple correspondences sometimes present.

Professor Pigou's second proposition, to which I now pass, refers exclusively to the complementary element in a complementary correspondence. As the Ramsden-Miles experiments were supposed to show that the powers of the subliminal consciousness extend to the independent production of simple correspondences, so the Verrall case is now appealed to as proving that the production of the complementary element in a complementary correspondence is also included in those powers.

To make my criticism of this proposition intelligible it is necessary to recapitulate the facts of the case as set forth in Professor Pigou's own statement.

In April, 1901, Dr. Verrall wrote down a phrase from a passage of Euripides, set for translation in the Classical Tripos of 1873 when he was a candidate. The phrase consists of three Greek words, $\mu o\nu \delta \pi \omega \lambda o\nu \epsilon_s \dot{a} \hat{\omega}$, the more obvious meaning of which would be "towards the one-horse dawn," though according to an interpretation which Dr. Verrall inclines to favour, the real meaning may be "towards the lonely-wandering dawn." Dr. Verrall's intention, which he was careful not to reveal to anybody, was to try for a reproduction of this phrase in Mrs. Verrall's automatic script.

A large number of what seem to be fragmentary reproductions of the words or meaning of the phrase occurred in Mrs. Verrall's script during the course of the next five months. Of these Professor Pigou selects four, which he gives as follows:

July 4: Yellow is the colour of the dawn.
Sept. 2: ἐς τὸ.
Sept. 11: μόνος μετα θεοῦ οὐδὲ ἄλλου τινὸς (alone with God and none other).

Sept. 18: $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \ \iota\pi\pi\sigma\varsigma$ (one horse).

In addition to these four "relevant passages," as he calls them, Professor Pigou selects three others not in the nature of reproductions, but capable of being interpretated with some plausibility as applicable to incidents associated with the phrase in Dr. Verrall's mind or connected with the Tripos examination in which it occurred. The passages in question are:

- Aug. 20: "The long room with the many windows is near this hot room, he was outside."
- Sept. 20: "There were others there but he knew more than the rest."
- Sept. 9: "Find the herb moly, that will help—it is a guide."

Professor Pigou contends that if we suppose the four partially reproductive passages "to have occurred in the writings of separate automatists, we have all the conditions of a typical cross-correspondence," and that the other three passages add a finishing touch to the analogy and make it complete. Let us pass this claim by for the moment, and enquire how far he has succeeded in proving that the complementary element in the case originated in the subliminal activities of Dr. or Mrs. Verrall or both.

A satisfactory proof of subliminal origin must at least exclude two other possibilities—origin from a discarnate intelligence, and origin from Dr. Verrall's supraliminal consciousness.

Professor Pigou dismisses the intervention of a discarnate intelligence on the ground of superfluity—Dr. Verrall's conscious self being already there to discharge any function for the sake of which we might otherwise be tempted to invoke spiritual agency. There is no doubt force in this contention. We do not invoke spiritual agency to explain thought-transference in the case of Miss Miles and Miss Ramsden. Why, it may be asked, should we do so as between Dr. and Mrs. Verrall?

The argument from superfluity is not perliaps absolutely conclusive, but at all events I do not propose to contest it. Granted, however, that we have no reason to call in the aid of discarnate intelligences, the possible agency of Dr. Verrall's conscious self still remains to be disposed of.

Professor Pigou, as we have seen, draws a distinction between a complementary correspondence and the complementary element in a complementary correspondence. Replying to Sir Oliver Lodge in the Society's *Journal* of November, 1909, he admits that the script relating to Dr. Verrall's testwords "did not originate in subliminal activities, but in Dr. Verrall's conscious purpose." To infer from the script that a complementary correspondence can originate in subliminal activity would not, in Professor Pigou's opinion, be legitimate. But to infer from it that the complementary element in a complementary correspondence can so originate, *is* legitimate, for the reason that "it is clear that the complementary relation between Mrs. Verrall's different scripts formed no part of Dr. Verrall's intention."

If, however, intention is to be the test of origin, are we to

understand that Professor Pigou considers the complementary relation between Mrs. Verrall's scripts to be due to intention on the part of one or both of the subliminal consciousnesses at work? It would seem he ought to do so; otherwise why is the argument from absence of intention valid against origin in Dr. Verrall's conscious self, and not equally valid against subliminal origin? On the other hand the general tenor of Professor Pigou's paper rather suggests that in his view the complementary element in this case (and therefore probably in all other cases) is not intentional at all, but is a kind of by-product arising out of the limitations to which subliminal agency is subject.

These inconsistent points of view have their root in an ambiguity which seems to haunt Professor Pigou's argument throughout. I have already called attention to it when dealing with his inferences from the Ramsden-Miles experiments. We then saw that in claiming for the subliminal consciousness power to bring about a simple correspondence, Professor Pigou used expressions which appear to imply, though without definitely affirming, that in this operation the subliminal self was to be regarded as an agent acting with deliberate intention. That, at least, appears to be the natural interpretation of the language he employs, though its precise meaning is never, perhaps, made clear beyond the possibility of doubt. A similar obscurity meets us here in connection with Professor Pigou's second proposition, and will meet us again in

connection with his third.

Complementary correspondences may be divided, in respect of their complementary character, into two classes; to the first belong those in which the division of the idea as a whole into complementary parts or aspects seems to proceed upon a deliberately calculated scheme or plan; to the second, those of which this cannot be said. Let us agree to call the former *purposive*, and the latter *non-purposive*—descriptive terms which will also apply to the complementariness, or complementary element, in them.

Professor Pigou is of course alive to the distinction between the two classes; indeed, in speaking of the less complex comple-mentary cases he tells us himself that absence of intention deprives the complementariness of all significance. On the other hand he never clearly states—I may almost say he is careful to avoid clearly stating—whether in his opinion the complementary element in the Verrall case is or is not intentional. His argument seems to rest sometimes on one view, sometimes on the other. When he contends that the complementary element in the case could not have originated in Dr. Verrall's supraliminal self because the complementary relation between Mrs. Verrall's different scripts formed no part of Dr. Verrall's conscious intention, he is really employing a test which is applicable only to the purposive class: when he contends that it must therefore have originated in subliminal activities, this test is dropped, the distinction between the two classes is allowed to fall into the background, and the reader is left free to treat the correspondence, if he so please, as purely nonpurposive.

Now, complementariness of the non-purposive order being, as Professor Pigou says, "of no significance," if the complementary element in the Verrall case is wholly of this character, the subliminal origin elaimed for it is hardly worth ealling in question. Nevertheless, it may be of use to point out that even for this lower form of complementariness Dr. Verrall's supraliminal activities may have been largely responsible, and that this possibility is not shut out by the more faet that the eomplementary relation of Mrs. Verrall's scripts formed no part of Dr. Verrall's eonscious intention. There are various ways in which complementariness of the non-purposive kind may be supposed to arise. For instance, it might be the purely accidental result of a number of tentative approximations to an idea which is never itself clearly grasped. Or it might have its source in the changing moods of the percipient, if there be only one as in the Verrall case, or in the idiosyncrasies of the different percipients if there be more than one, as in the cross-eorrespondences described in the Proceedings. Or again, it might result incidentally from thought-transference from a consciousness which, without any deliberate intention to produce complementariness, dwells now on one, now on another, aspect of the idea to be transferred, with eorresponding modification of the impressions produced.

If we consider the passages quoted by Professor Pigou as contributing to form the complementary element in the Verrall case, we shall see reason to think, at least with respect to one, and that perhaps the most striking of all, that the explanation last given is probably the true one. "On Sept. 18," writes Mrs. Verrall,¹ "the script got vaguely hold of the only idea not hitherto reproduced, namely, that of 'horse' in the ordinary view of the meaning of $\mu o\nu \delta \pi \omega \lambda \sigma s$, 'having one horse.'" (The writing on that date may be read $\epsilon \tilde{\upsilon} \pi \pi \sigma s$, *i.e.* of goodly horses, or $\epsilon i s \ i \pi \pi \sigma s$, *i.e.* one horse. The latter is the reading adopted by Professor Pigou). "On this occasion," continues Mrs. Verrall, "while I was writing in one room, my husband sitting in another definitely fixed his mind on the notion of 'horse' which had so far been conspicuously absent." In this instance, then, the evidence is entirely opposed to Professor Pigou's contention. Dr. Verrall, from his examination of the script, knew that something was wanting and tried successfully to supply it.

Indeed it might fairly be claimed for this particular contribution to the complementary element in the scripts that it really did originate not merely in Dr. Verrall's conscious thought, but in his conscious purpose. And if each fragmentary contribution had a similar history, we should be obliged, I think, to class the correspondence as purposive, and attribute it wholly to Dr. Verrall's conscious self. As a matter of fact this is not the case, and the complementariness, taken altogether, must, in my opinion, be classed as non-purposive. But all the fragments cited by Professor Pigou, with one single exception, *might*, so far as we can tell, have had their origin in the conscious, though undesigned,² direction of Dr. Verrall's thoughts at different times to different parts of the Greek phrase, to its general meaning, or to the various associations connected with it. The one fragment concerning which we can definitely say that his conscious self could not have been the direct source of inspiration is the sentence "Find the herb moly, that will help—it is a guide." The connection of the "herb moly" with the Classical Tripos of 1873 had been entirely forgotten by Dr. Verrall, and therefore the reference to it could not have been directly due to any conscious mental activity on his part. But even here his desirc to give "a

¹ Proceedings, Vol. XX. p. 164.

 $^{^{2}}$ I.e. undesigned so far as the production of complementariness is concerned.

clue" may have had some general influence on the script produced, and have been the real motive power without which subliminal activity could not have come into play.

It thus appears that if we make deduction of all the contributions to the complementary element in the case which it is possible to ascribe to Dr. Verrall's conscious mental activities, what is left is hardly sufficient to prove subliminal origin even of non-purposive complementariness against any one who cared to dispute it; while of evidence to prove that the production of purposive complementariness is within the powers of the subliminal self Professor Pigou has not brought forward so much as a vestige. In the absence of such evidence, his second proposition, even if true in a sense, will remain without relevance to the general argument so long as there is ground for suspecting purpose in the complementary element in any of the examples with which the Verrall case is put into comparison.

This brings us to Professor Pigou's third proposition, which asserts that the complementary element in the Verrall case is comparable in all essentials with what we find in the best complementary correspondences recorded in the *Proceedings*.

In examining the question here raised I may begin by clearing two considerations out of the way. They are not without interest, but they do not reach the heart of the matter.

In the first place, the things compared are, on the one side complementary fragments distributed between different automatists, on the other side complementary fragments presented consecutively in the script of a single automatist. Professor Pigou himself calls attention to this difference, but only to set it aside as of no importance. I do not altogether agree with him, but am ready for the nonce to accept his standpoint and treat the complementary fragments in the Verrall case as if they had been distributed contemporaneously among several scripts instead of appearing consecutively in one.

In the second place, if we had nothing before us but the isolated passages quoted by Professor Pigou from Mrs. Verrall's seript—but which we are now to imagine scattered between various automatic writers—it is more than doubtful whether even Mr. Piddington's ingenuity would ever have eonneeted them together, or referred them to the $\mu ov \acute{\sigma} \omega \lambda ov \acute{\epsilon}s \acute{d}\omega$ of Euripides. Both the connection and the reference really depend on the knowledge we possess, apart from the script, concerning Dr. Verrall's attempt at thought-transference. On the other hand, in the best examples of cross-correspondences to be found in the *Proceedings*, either the complementary parts cohere sufficiently to tell their own tale to the intelligent student of the scripts, assisted, of course, by their approximately contemporaneous appearance, or the scripts themselves give us helping hints enough to point our attention in the right direction.

I do not insist further on the difference here indicated, because it may be urged that it is only one of degree; and in many of the examples given in the *Proceedings* I should be prepared to concede this. A little more or a little less of coherence between the fragments might easily be sufficient on the one hand to raise doubtful correspondences into certain ones, on the other to prevent even the suspicion of a correspondence from ever arising.

In the best cases of complementary correspondence, however, I believe the difference is not merely of degree, but of kind. It is the old issue once more—presence or absence of design. But the old issue is also the important one, and I do not think Professor Pigou has fairly faced it.

As I have already said, the complementary element in the Verrall case, taken as a whole, must be regarded as nonpurposive. If we were justified in assuming that the complementary element in all other cases known to us was non-purposive, then I should be willing to admit that the complementary fragments in the Vcrrall case, if distributed between several automatists, presented a fair, though by no means a favourable, example of the class generally. But to assume this would be an obvious begging of the question. For suppose a single case in which there was good reason to infer a purposive correspondence either from the form of the fragments and their interrelation, or from some indication given in the script itself, then, so far as that case was concerned, the analogy of the Verrall case would have broken down. A correspondence of the purposive class is *not* in all essentials comparable with one of the non-purposive class.

I do not suggest that Professor Pigou has been guilty of this obvious *petitio principii*. But the procedure he has adopted leads insensibly to much the same practical result. He does not in so many words affirm that the complementary element in all correspondences is non-purposive. He simply avoids the point altogether. The question of intention, he now tells us, is a secondary one. According to him a more satisfactory method of procedure is "to leave it aside altogether, and ask quite directly: 'Do the complementary correspondences, the authorship of which is now under investigation, differ in any marked degree from other complementary correspondences that we have grounds for attributing to subliminal agency?' This," he adds, "is all we used: for if the answer is in the negative, we know, without delving behind the facts for explaining intentions, that the phenomena which we are studying fall within the capacity of subliminal agents, and therefore, on the principles here adopted, are probably due to them."

I venture to think that Professor Pigou's supposed improvement in method is no improvement at all, and that its adoption has led to unfortunate results. For I do not believe it possible to make a useful comparison between the complementary correspondences in the *Proceedings* and the $\mu o \nu \delta \pi \omega \lambda o \nu$ case, without asking the very question which he eliminates as being of secondary importance. It may not always be easy to answer the question with confidence; but unless we ask it, it will be still more difficult to decide whether there is a "marked degree of difference" between any given complementary correspondence and the one which he sets up as a standard of comparison. To ask whether the complementary element in a correspondence is purposive or nonpurposive is a help, not a hindrance, in determining whether it differs "in a marked degree" from that which Dr. Verrall's experiment exhibits.

It seems to me that we are entitled to press Professor Pigou for an answer to these two questions: First, does the relation of the complementary fragments in the Verrall case show design, or does it not? Secondly, is there or is there not any ground for inferring design in the distribution of the complementary fragments between different automatists in the best examples to be found in the *Proceedings*? In his paper he has avoided a definite answer to either question; but if brought to bay and compelled to reply, I think he must needs answer both in the negative, or else frankly abandon his second and third propositions as untenable.

My own answer to the first of these questions has already been given. The complementary element in the Verrall case is in my judgment non-purposive—or if any trace of purpose can be detected in it, we must ascribe this to Dr. Verrall's conscious desire to fill up an observed gap in the automatic script, and not to the subliminal activities either of himself or of Mrs. Verrall. The sccond question still awaits discussion. If it can be answered in the affirmative—if, that is, it be possible to show that the complementary element in the best cross-correspondences is purposive—the counter-case to be made in reply to Professor Pigou's paper will be complete.

This aspect of the subject was discussed in an article contributed by me to the *Hibbert Journal* of January, 1909, shortly after Mr. Piddington's paper on "Concordant Automatisms"¹ appeared, and I am unwilling to labour over the same ground again. I will therefore deal with it as briefly as I can.

I had occasion to point out, earlier in this paper, that a simple correspondence, that is to say, a straightforward concordance between two or more automatic scripts, cannot be made to yield proof that an intelligent will has been at work to produce the concordance. Evidence of intention in such a case can only come from something added to the concordance —for instance, a subsequently verified claim in the script itself that a given word or idea is the subject of a correspondence which has been, is being, or is about to be produced under conditions which exclude normal communication between the automatists.

Complementary correspondences have in this respect an advantage over simple oncs. Evidence that the complementariness is intentional may be derived not only from supplementary indication of purpose afforded by statements in the script, but also from the distribution of the complementary parts and the nature of the relations between them.

To illustrate this, let us suppose that four automatists sit

¹ Proceedings, Vol. XXII.

independently on the same day, and produce scripts each of which contains a reference to the Ace of Hearts. Here we have a simple correspondence, and there is nothing in the nature of the concordance between the scripts to prove that it may not have resulted from the blind operation of psychical laws, and not at all from the deliberate action of an intelligent will.

Next suppose that instead of all four scripts containing a reference to the Ace of Hearts, one of them mentions the Ace of Hearts, another the Ace of Diamonds, a third the Ace of Clubs, and the fourth the Ace of Spades. Here we have a complementary correspondence. The complete idea would be the combined aces of the pack, and the distribution of a different ace to each automatist cannot but suggest the possibility that design, and not merely chance, has been at work.

Let me now take a very extreme illustration, and suppose that instead of four automatists we have fifty-two, and that each separate script names a different card of the pack. In this case the complete idea is evidently the whole pack, and the distribution and mutual relation of its parts is such as to make the presence of design a practical certainty.

I repeat, this is an extreme illustration, and I do not for a moment pretend that any real example we can point to approaches it for cogency. But that some of the examples in the *Proceedings* do make probable the existence of design in the distribution and relation of the complementary parts is a conclusion which I find it difficult to resist. Two of the best cases of this kind are described in Mr. Piddington's paper under the headings "Light in West" and "Euripides."¹ As regards these, I may perhaps be allowed to refer to my article in the *Hibbert Journal*, where they are dealt with at some length. Here is another example which I choose for its comparative simplicity.

On the 16th of April, 1907, Mrs. Holland, in India, produced a script of which these were the opening sentences:

Maurice. Morris. Mors.

And with that the shadow of death fell upon him, and his soul departed out of his limbs.

¹ Proceedings, Vol. XXII. pp. 241-281.

On the following day, during the waking-stage of Mrs. Piper's trance, the word *Sanatos* was uttered, but altered immediately afterwards to *Tanatos*. There can be no doubt that this was a misapprchension or mispronunciation of *Thanatos*; and on the 23rd the word cmerged in its correct form. (*Thanatos* is of course the Greek, and *Mors* the Latin, for Death).

On the 29th of April Mrs. Verrall wrote a piece of script wholly occupied with references to Death. It contained, *inter alia*, no less than four quotations, one from Landor, one from Virgil, one from Horace, and one from Shakespeare, all directly involving the idea of death, although, as Mr. Piddington justly remarks, the word itself seems to be studiously shunned. *Mors* indeed occurs in the passage from Horace; but the Shakespearian quotation "Come away, come away, [Death]" appears in a truncated form with the significant noun omitted.

On the 30th Mrs. Piper again uttered the word *Thanatos* during the waking-stage, repeating it three times over in close succession.

In this case the same idea is expressed by all three automatists, and the complementary element lies in what seems to be a calculated difference of form. Mrs. Piper is totally ignorant of Greek: Mrs. Holland is quite unfamiliar with Latin. Yet Mrs. Piper's utterance is confined to the bare Greek equivalent, which she evidently does not understand; the Latin equivalent is the prominent word in Mrs. Holland's script; and the emergence in both cases suggests a sound heard rather than an idea apprehended, the *Maurice*, *Morris, Mors* of Mrs. Holland answering to the *Sanatos*, *Tanatos*, *Thanatos* of Mrs. Piper. Meanwhile in Mrs. Verrall's script there appears to be a deliberate avoidance of the word "death," the idea being conveyed entirely by means of literary allusions.

I should be strongly inclined to suspect intelligent purpose in the peculiarities of an arrangement like this, even without taking into account the numerous intimations of intention so often given by the scripts in connection with cross-correspondences. But these intimations cannot be ignored if we are to form a right judgment on the question now before us. No doubt in most instances the claim put forward in the scripts only applies to the production of a cross-correspondence, not to the production of a complementary element in it. The latter would of course imply the former, but not *vice versâ*.

Passages may also be found, however, which must be construed as intimations that the distribution of different parts of an idea to different automatists is intentional. The Ave Roma *immortalis* correspondence, which is one of the two selected by Professor Pigou for comparison with the Verrall case, is an instance in point. The completed idea here is that of a wellknown picture in the Vatican. Mrs. Verrall's script gives various details of the picture, unmeaning to herself, but all brought into an intelligible whole by the phrase Ave Roma immortalis occurring a few days later in Mrs. Holland's script. The nature and distribution of the complementary parts in this case may be faintly suggestive of design, but are certainly not unmistakeably so. On the other hand their appearance in each script is accompanied by comments which throw further light on the matter. For on March 2nd, when the crosscorrespondence begins, Mrs. Verrall is told by the script that word will be sent her "through another lady," and that after some days she will easily understand what the scribe says: and on March 7th, when the cross-correspondence ends, Mrs. Holland's contribution is followed by the words "How could I make it any clearer without giving her the clue?" These two comments taken together can only mean (1) that a crosscorrespondence was being deliberately brought about; (2) that the complementary element in it was purposive, the object being to keep back from Mrs. Verrall a clue-giving fragment of the whole idea.

For another very interesting illustration of the way in which the intentional and purposive character of a cross-correspondence can be brought out by comments in the script itself I may refer to the "Sesame and Lilies" case, published in the latest volume of the *Proceedings*,¹ since Professor Pigou's paper was written.

Let me now try to summarise the results of this long discussion. If I am right, Professor Pigou's argument fails at almost every point.

The Ramsden-Miles experiments do *not* prove that a simple correspondence can originate in subliminal activities apart from

the conscious will of a supraliminal self. Still less do they prove that a subliminal self acting on its own account can deliberately produce a simple correspondence.

The Verall experiment does not prove that the complementary element in a *purposive* correspondence can originate in subliminal activities. Even as regards complementariness of the non-purposive order the experiment seems to prove little or nothing. But complementariness of this kind has no special significance. We may readily admit the probability that its source is often subliminal; and in a sense, therefore, it may be said to be within the powers of the subliminal self to produce it. In this connection, however, it would be less misleading to speak of the impotence, or the limitations, of the subliminal self than of its powers.

Finally, Professor Pigou's contention that the complementary element in the Verrall case¹ is in all essentials similar to that of the best correspondences to be found in the *Proceedings* is not, in my opinion, tenable. His argument tacitly implies either that all these correspondences are non-purposive, or else that purposiveness is a negligible feature in the cases which show evidence of it. The latter alternative has nothing to commend it: the former does not appear to me to be borne out by the facts.

My conclusion is that Professor Pigou has not succeeded in proving that the production of complementary correspondences of the best type is within the known capacities of the subliminal self. It may, indeed, be within the capacities of the subliminal self to plan and carry out such complementary correspondences: but this is hypothesis, and until it is proved we are entitled to set against it another hypothesis, and to suspend judgment between the two. I confess that this is still my own attitude. It is no easy matter to find firm ground anywhere; we must continue to feel our way cautiously in more than one direction. At the same time, I doubt whether any final verdict is likely to be reached along the lines followed by Professor Pigou. He rests the whole weight of his argument on experimental telepathy. Now, in experimental telepathy we must, from the very nature of the case, start from supraliminal activity. Starting from supraliminal

¹For additional Note by Mrs. Verrall on this case, see below, p. 109.-Ed.

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activity, is there any point at which we are logically justified in cutting loose from it, even where the idea transferred is not consciously present in the mind of the presumed agent? To put the difficulty in another way, in proportion as we eliminate supraliminal activity, we eliminate also the experimental character of the enquiry, and find ourselves dealing with nearer and nearer approximations to the very automatic states whose capacities we set out to ascertain by an appeal to experimental analogies. Thus we are no further advanced, and our problem lies still unsolved before us.

VI.

REPORT ON A FURTHER SERIES OF SITTINGS WITH EUSAPIA PALLADINO AT NAPLES.

I.

GENERAL REPORT.

BY THE HON. EVERARD FEILDING AND W. MARRIOTT.

NAPLES, December 5th, 1910.

WITH a view to attempting to confirm either the favourable report on Eusapia Palladino issued by Messrs. Feilding, Baggally and Carrington, published in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIII. (Part LIX., November, 1909), or the unfavourable one by Mr. W. S. Davis in the American S.P.R. *Journal* for August, 1910, a short series of five sittings was held in Naples in November and December, 1910. The sitters were as follows:

Séances I. and II.—Count and Countess Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo and Mr. Feilding.

Séance III.—Count Solovovo, Mr. W. Marriott, Mr. Feilding.

IV.—As in No. III. and Countess Solovovo.

, V.—Mr. Marriott and Mr. Feilding.

At Séance I. the control was at the time considered so unsatisfactory that, although fraud was not specifically proved, neither Count Solovovo nor Mr. Feilding is disposed to attach any evidential importance to the few small phenomena which occurred.

Séance II. was the only one at which, with the possible exception of table levitations, any phenomena of the slightest interest occurred. They were, however, of so insignificant a character that, especially in the light of the possible fraud at

the first Scance, and the undoubted fraud in the last three, none of the three sitters is disposed to draw any positive conclusions. Séances III., IV., and V. were in the opinion of all those present unquestionably mainly, and in the opinion of Mr. Marriott wholly, fraudulent. The medium evaded throughout any effective control, frequently making it impossible for the sitter on her left side to prevent her from releasing her left hand or foot, and took advantage of this to make constant use of them, as well as of her cloow, for the production of spurious phenomena. Such phenomena consisted of (1) shaking movements of the eurtain, throwings of it over her shoulder, surreptitious pullings at it with her hands or elbow, kickings at it with her feet. (2) Touches with her left foot on her neighbours. (3) Upsetting of the eabinet table with her elbow. (4) Moving of a chair with her foot. (5) Lifting of the cabinet table with her hand after effecting its release, --- not by substitution, but merely by removing it from the back of the controller's hand, this position being the only form of control she would usually permit. As regards this last effect, it may be added that though Messrs. Feilding and Marriott distinctly saw the movement of the medium's hand and arm against a background of luminous paint, Countess Solovovo, who was controlling the hand in question on the table and under the eurtain, had the distinct impression of its continuous grasp. Count Solovovo is inclined to consider the hypothesis of some abnormal suggestive influence on the part of the medium to account for this impression.

With this tentative exception, all the sitters are agreed that the whole of the above-named phenomena were entirely fraudulent. As regards the table movements, consisting, in the last three séances, of only one total and two partial levitations, Mr. Marriott is strongly of opinion that these also were fraudulent, inferring from the position of the hands that they were accomplished by a balance of the table between the left hand and foot, and by an upward throw of her (E. P.'s) fingers respectively. Mr. Feilding, who was actually observing the hands at the time, disputes the conclusion that these actions did, in fact, take place, but is not disposed to lay any stress upon a few phenomena sporadically occurring among others of an unquestionably fraudulent character. He is further of opinion that the table movements were the only phenomena which in any way resembled the occurrences at the former Naples series of experiments, and states that the conditions of control permitted were wholly different from those permitted in that series.

The séances in question appear identical with the séances described by Mr. Davis. The medium pleaded illness and fatigue throughout, and although it had been intended to hold a series of ten or twelve séances, it was not thought worth while to continue any longer in the circumstances.

At the termination of the series Eusapia was informed of the negative conclusions which had been arrived at and of the spurious nature of the phenomena which had been presented. While not disputing the justice of these conclusions, she stated that she had no recollection of anything that transpired after the close of the table movements which usually occupy the first part of her sittings, after which the light is reduced for other phenomena. She pleaded her state of health as an excuse for her failure to give satisfaction. She nevertheless accepted her full fee.

II.

STATEMENT BY COUNT PEROVSKY-PETROVO-SOLOVOVO.

December, 1910.

Whilst substantially agreeing with the above report, I feel bound to make the following reservations and observations:

With regard to Séance II. some of the things which happened impressed me favourably. I was twice touched on my right side; a little table in the "cabinet" was suddenly and violently overturned; and one of the objects which then fell off it moved along the floor for a very appreciable period of time. The hand and foot control seemed to me very satisfactory; at least we repeatedly said so at the time, and I wrote so in my notes the day after. I think in such incidents it is the impression felt at the time of the occurrence (I am speaking of experienced enquirers only) which must really count—not the one produced by subsequent unfavourable circumstances (unless revealing sources of error hitherto unsuspected), or even merely "as time goes on." Of course into my expressed conviction of the efficacy of the hand-control there entered even at the time an appreciable element of uncertainty due to the fact that, as usual, E. P. did not allow her hand to be grasped (I will revert to this point). In my note on the sitting in question I say also that "the conviction I here express . . . does not apply to the possible hypothetical use of an apparatus."

With regard to Séance III. and the incident in connection with my wife controlling, it should be noted that at the time the table was lifted up as if by Eusapia's hand, her right hand was linked with F.'s on the table uncovered and dimly visible (as stated in my note written out on the next day), whereas her left was under the curtain (also upon the table) and invisible. Our impression at the time (as expressed by F.) was that "substitution was impossible" (see my next day note). And to quote my wife's words in her written statement (made the next day): "I positively deny having lost contact with E. P.'s hand a single moment during the incident described."

I may mention that before our sittings had begun I had said to Mr. Feilding that it seemed to me very desirable to make some decisive step in advance with regard to the conditions of the "phenomena," and in view of all the doubts and discussions to which the question of hand-holding with E. P. gives rise, I suggested that we should "count" only those "phenomena" which should occur with at least one of the medium's hands visible. Neither of us seemed afterwards inclined to adhere unreservedly to so high a standard! But in the ineident under consideration we seem to have eome within measurable distance of it! And though the unavoidable laek of information as to certain particulars-for instance as to the exact distance separating Eusapia's two hands—is much to be regretted, this occurrence has on the whole seemed to me to be very instructive and tending to give support to the theory that a "medium" is occasionally able—whether con-sciously or unconsciously—to induce in the person controlling him something like a tactile hallucination, for which view there is to my mind very strong evidence on record in the "chair-threading" experiments with Sambor.¹

¹These experiments (at least those made with this special aim by myself and my friends) have absolutely convinced me that either passage of matter through matter is a fact, or that a medium's hand, even when very well held

With regard to the table movements, I agree with Mr. Feilding in thinking most of them inconclusive; but I consider that one partial table-levitation (away from Eusapia) which we witnessed at the end of the third sitting, in a bright light, three persons (Mr. Feilding, Mr. Meeson, the stenographer, and myself) controlling E. P. and Mr. Marriott looking on, was rather remarkable, and I thought it difficult at the time to admit that Mr. Marriott's explanation (as given in the report) could be the true one. I may add that from what he told me I inferred that he had not actually *seen* E. P. throw up the table with her fingers, but had *concluded* that this was her method.

On the whole, and though I am by no means absolutely certain that any table movements and levitations we witnessed were genuine, I think that here is matter for further investigation. The conditions under which these things occur make me think that they are or may be suitable for scientific enquiry and I hope they may be investigated again. Even an exposure of E. P.'s levitations so extremely damaging to her mediumistic reputation as W. S. Davis's does not explain everything, and gives us no right whatsoever to answer the question definitely in the negative.

On the other hand, E. P.'s "cabinet phenomena," as I have witnessed them (both in Naples in 1910 and in St. Petersburg in 1898), have left me under the impression that here matters ought to be seriously mended before we investigate them further. I agree with Mr. Marriott in thinking that the hand control she usually admits when such "phenomena" occur is practically non-existent. She throws every obstacle in the way of this hand control. In my experience, at least, she constantly objected to my holding even her thumb or her little finger. She constantly complained of my squeez-

(not in the least as Eusapia's hands are), can liberate itself, and afterwards return to its original position without the controller becoming aware of it. And after some conversations I had on the subject with Mr. Marriott (an expert in conjuring) I am even more than before inclined to see in this "chairthreading" some unusual form of "supernormal suggestion," and shall not believe this to have been a trick in the ordinary sense of the word until I have been shown the same thing by a regular conjurer.

On the other hand, I still maintain that we have no good evidence whatever of the possible production of *collective* hallucinations at spiritistic séances, visual or other (*Proceedings* S.P.R., Vol. XXI., pp. 436-482). ing her hand too much. She insisted on her hands being covered (with the curtain), and even asked that they should be brought nearer to one another, and this at the most successful sitting of the series,-the 2nd! The hand-substitution I noticed repeatedly. Apart from this, she constantly changes the respective positions of hcr limbs-both feet and hands. The latter especially are a regular perpetuum mobile. Now this circumstance is extremely important, for as the conditions of the control are perpetually and ceaselessly changing, illusions of memory as to the exact conditions under which something occurred are eminently apt to spring up. Of course the presence of a shorthand writer will to a great extent eliminate this source of error; but, seeing that no shorthand writer was present at the great majority of observations in the case of E. P., my present impression is that the great bulk of the evidence *rc* her "cabinet-phenomena" is of no decisive importance.

In my experience, then, with such control as E. P. admits, complete conviction in the true sense of the word is strictly speaking unattainable. And what, I ask, is the use of "relative conviction" like the one, say, I felt as to the efficacy of the control at Séance II.? The fact that I had this impression at the time is interesting; but it does not carry us one step further. At most we are driven to the "supernormal suggestion" theory. At future scientific séances E. P. must either allow her hands to be plainly visible to all, or allow them to be grasped (as Sambor invariably did, as I have said, during the experiments with the "chairs," thus giving something amounting to absolute conviction). The foot-control, in which she places her foot upon that of her neighbour, should also be done away with. These demands are eminently reasonable. It is simply proposterous to assert that they could act negatively on the "phenomena." Enough time, money and work has already been spent, and strictly speaking to no avail. A new departurc must be made at last.

If E. P. consents to the above conditions, well and good; if she does not, she must either be left alone; or—a course of action I should recommend—in future experiments we should no longer investigate the "cabinet-phenomena" themselves, but the conditions of the control at the time such "phenomena" are occurring. Any "manifestations" taking place with both of E. P.'s hands invisible (supposing they are controlled as unsatisfactorily as they are now) should not be taken into account at all. And particular attention should be given to making elear whether anything will happen with either one or both of the medium's hands visible. In the former case we shall have to give full weight to the "supernormal suggestion" theory; and only in the latter—if positive results are obtained --shall we really have to face the hypothesis of a new "physical force" and the like. If, on the contrary, after a new series of experiments it is elearly shown that no "cabinet-phenomena" oceur when both the medium's hands are visible, this negative eonelusion will be also very important and will make it probable that in former experiments too we need not look beyond errors of observation, illusions of memory, etc. (eoupled perhaps sometimes with some kind of "suggestion") to account for the most puzzling of Signora Palladino's performances.

Of eourse the question of the foot-control too is of vital importance, since I, for my part, have little doubt that the medium's feet may more than once have played a fundamental part in "spirit" touches and grasps.

III.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE TABLE-LIFTING INCIDENT.

(a) EXTRACT FROM MR. FEILDING'S NOTES ON SÉANCES III. AND IV. (November 26 and 28, 1910.)

December 1, 1910.

In the eourse of the two séances the "phenomena" produeed eonsisted of a few raps of doubtful origin, apparently not in the table; a few slides of the table of about an inch at a time, not shown to be fraudulent but under unsatisfactory conditions; an upsetting of the eabinet table to all appearances accomplished by [E. P.'s] elbow; bulgings of the dress (quite unlike any bulgings which I have previously seen) and apparently done with the foot; a few movements of the eurtain elearly seen to have been done with the hand after substitution had been effected; a movement of a chair close to the medium, evidently done by the foot after substitution had actually been notified; and the lifting of the cabinet table clearly seen by Marriott and myself against a card of luminous paint to have been done with the hand controlled by Countess Solovovo. Also one total and two or three partial levitations, as to which there is a difference of opinion between Marriott and the rest of us. It would be absurd to lay stress on small matters of this kind following on a series of purely fraudulent phenomena. The chief point of interest is the lifting of the cabinet table visibly by Eusapia's hand, notwithstanding that the Countess insisted on her not having lost control of the hand in question. No substitution had been effected, her right hand being visible in mine, and the only apparent alternatives are either the formation of a fluidic hand on Countess Solovovo's (a theory put forward by Cavaliere Chiaja) to lift the table; or else a mere lapse in her observation. Taking the case on its own merits, the latter is of course the more reasonable assumption.

(b) NOTE ON SÉANCE OF NOVEMBER 28, 1910. By Count Solovovo.

November 29th, 1910.

My wife controlling all the time on E. P.'s left, F., Mr. Marriott, Meeson, then F. again on her right.

The séance may be safely put down as-to say the least-of an extremely suspicious character throughout, with, however, one exception. At a certain moment when an attempt was being "mediumistically" made to pick up something in the cabinet from the floor, F., who was controlling E. P. on her right, saw against a luminous background E. P.'s left arm producing the movement. Mr. Marriott, who was under the table holding E. P.'s feet, saw the same thing. The medium's right hand, linked with F.'s, was on the table uncovered and dimly visible. The medium's left hand, which my wife controlled, was also upon the table, but covered with part of the curtain. On F. asking my wife whether she had not let E. P.'s hand go, she emphatically denied it, stating that E. P., though not allowing her to hold her hand all the time in the proper sense, did not withdraw it for a single moment, and repeatedly clutched at it.

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As F. said at the time, substitution was impossible. I also dimly saw E. P.'s right hand linked with his over or on the table.

My wife's conviction that at the time she had not released the medium's hand was absolute. But it is of course possible that after being told over and over again by that cleverest of conjurers, Mr. Marriott, that she was mistaken, she may feel less certain about the matter. But we should not allow such suggestions to work—whether one way or the other; and in justice to E. P. my wife's original and complete conviction should be put on record.

(e) NOTE BY COUNTESS SOLOVOVO.

November 29th, 1910.

I positively deny having lost contact with Eus. P.'s hand a single moment during the incident described, and, as my hand with her left one was under the curtain, on the table, whereas her right was visible, though it is true very dimly, and held by F., and not near enough to mine to touch me with it, she was not able to make one of her hands do duty for two.

[In reply to questions, the following further details of the incident were sent to us by Countess Solovovo.—Ed.]

January 16th, 1911.

(1) I was holding E. P.'s hand very lightly, because she complained of being squeezed too tightly each time I tried to hold her hand fully in mine, and most of the time she had her hand on my hand and pressed it very strongly each time a movement occurred, or was patting it, but not for a second did I lose contact with it; and when Mr. Feilding said: "She is using her hand, because I saw it clearly trying to lift up the little table," I did not think he was speaking of the hand I held (I was so sure of having had it on mine all the time), and when he told me I must have let it go, I positively denied it, and up till now I am as sure as one can be of anything that she did not use the hand that was in mine (or on mine).

(2) Her hand was not motionless, for, as I said before, she moved it about over mine, patted me, pressed my hand very strongly sometimes, sometimes let me hold hers fully in mine,

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then would turn my hand down and put hers over, but all the time without taking it off entirely; and when her hand was over mine, I several times turned my hand and felt with my fingers if her fingers were on my hand, and each time I felt them I tried to do the same thing with my thumb, and I felt also that it was the same hand I held all the time. Our hands were on the table and covered by the end of the left part of the curtain.

(3) My attention was all the time concentrated on holding her hand, as I was sure of her foot, Mr. Marriott controlling both feet under the table. He told me a few days later that most likely my attention had been too much concentrated on holding her hand, and that on account of the tension of my mind I had not remarked when she had slipped away from me; but I am sure that if I had said my mind had been quite free during the time I held her, and that I was not entirely and only occupied in observing the hand I held, Mr. Marriott would have said I had been "distraite," and had not remarked when Eusapia took away her hand.

I think also that, had she taken away her hand for a short time and afterwards brought it back again, I should have felt a difference in my sensations before and after she had removed her hand, whereas I felt no difference at all, and continued feeling her hand in or on mine.

The little table was not lifted on to the table we sat at (as far as I remember, perhaps I am wrong); it seems to me it was lifted behind the curtain and then fell down again. But it was only Mr. Feilding and Mr. Marriott who could see what was going on behind the curtain; I could not, as I was not sitting facing the opening in the middle of the curtain, but just behind it; that is, the left half of the curtain was opened in the middle, near E. P.'s head and shoulder, and, as I was sitting on her left-hand side, I could not see what was going on inside the cabinet unless I bent very much forward, and at that moment I was absorbed only in attending to the hand I held.

My impression is that she did not use her left hand in lifting the little table, and during all the sitting it seemed to me she was trying very hard to move the objects, but not with her physical hands, but with some inner power, and she seemed to suffer and to be very tired each time something had moved.

I think this is all I remember of the sitting; it is very incomplete, but I have a very bad memory for details, and remember only my impressions.

BARBARA PEROVSKY-SOLOVOVO.

IV.

COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE.

By Alice Johnson.

Countess Solovovo's careful and detailed description of her sensations during this incident seems to me to show clearly that it was not, as Mr. Feilding suggests, through any "mere lapse in her observation" that she let Eusapia's hand go; while the fact that the hand had somehow become free was proved by the joint observations of Mr. Feilding and Mr. Marriott.

A lapse of attention or observation is a thing that frequently occurs in ordinary life; everybody must be familiar with the experience of failing to notice an object directly within his view when he is thinking of something else. In some cases this may almost amount to what is called a "negative hallucination." But this is quite different from what Countess Solovovo describes. Instead of failing to notice the presence of an object, she had a clear perception of its presence while it was absent: that is, she had a distinct and full-blown positive hallucination or illusion, lasting evidently for a perceptible period of time.

I am especially interested in this, because I have long been convinced that a similar experience happened to me during my second sitting with Eusapia at Cambridge in 1895. On that occasion Eusapia was standing up, Mr. Myers standing on one side and holding her right arm and hand, and I on the other side holding her left arm and hand, my right arm being interlaced with her left. The two other persons present were sitting on the floor behind her, so as to see her dimly outlined against the white ceiling, the room being extremely dark. These witnesses saw an elongated object proceeding from her body, moving about and often changing in shape and length. It was too dark for them to see how it was attached to hcr, or how the controllers were holding her; but if her left arm had got free, it could easily have executed all the movements, and in doing so would have presented just the appearance they described. The evidence that the arm was not free depended solely on my conviction that I was holding it. I was certain at the time that I was holding it; but later, in view not only of the systematic frauds discovered, but also of my observations of various illusions experienced at these sittings, I became convinced that my impressions as to holding her arm on that occasion were purely hallucinatory.

The evidence for this is, of course, not so clear as in Countess Solovovo's case, since at the Cambridge sitting it was too dark for the witnesses actually to see whether the elongated object was Eusapia's arm or not; and as they supposed at the time that I was holding the arm, they took the object to be something else. At the Naples sitting there was more light, for the background was of luminous paint instead of an ordinary white-washed ceiling, and here the arm that lifted the small table was seen to be attached normally to Eusapia's left shoulder. If it had been too dark to see this, the sitters would probably have regarded the movement as supernormally performed, on the strength of Countess Solovovo's conviction—apparently so well founded—that she was holding Eusapia's left hand.

In my paper "On the Education of the Sitter" (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXI., pp. 483-511) I brought forward evidence derived from various different sources in support of the hypothesis that some mediums have an unusual power of imposing illusions and hallucinations on their sitters, and that this may account for some of the most remarkable records of apparently telekinetic phenomena. The case described above tends to confirm this hypothesis. It does not, of course, explain all the phenomena reported on good evidence to have occurred in the presence of Eusapia; but it suggests that those which depend for their authenticity on the testimony of one witness as to the control exercised—and a considerable proportion of the best cases come under this definition—must be seriously discounted.

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Υ.

NOTE ON THE REPORT. By W. W. BAGGALLY.

I should like to make a few remarks on the above Report. Both the American sittings and those lately held with Eusapia Palladino differ materially in many respects, but principally in the following, from those held by Mr. Feilding, Mr. Carrington and myself in Dec. 1908. In the American and in the recent Naples sittings no phenomena were obtained under the following conditions: "when both the medium's hands were distinctly visible away from or quietly resting on the séance table, or both hands clearly seen when being held by the controllers and at the same time her body was in view down to her feet." In these cases the supposition that the phenomena were produced fraudulently through the substitution or release of one of her hands or feet could not be entertained.

It was the phenomena under the above test conditions. which we obtained at our séances in Dec. 1908, that greatly impressed me, and I laid particular stress on them (and gave some examples) in my final note in the Report of our Naples sittings. So far I have not met with any satisfactory explanation of how Eusapia could have produced these phenomena by normal means. It is certain that no accomplice was present, and we had satisfied ourselves by examination that no apparatus was being used.

I am afraid I cannot accept Miss Johnson's theory that Eusapia possesses the power of inducing a continuous hallucination of the sense of touch in the minds of her sitters. Experienced investigators are well aware that a *temporary* hallucination of this nature can be induced when a medium's hand is surreptitiously removed for a moment from the controller's hand. We were unceasingly on our guard against such an occurrence at our Naples sittings. It should be noted that Mr. Feilding states that the conditions of control permitted in the recent sittings were wholly different from those permitted in the former Naples sittings. In a letter that I have received from Mr. Feilding, he says: "Everything this time was different [from our previous séances] and exactly like the reports given of the American conjurers' sittings."

SUPPLEMENT.

REVIEW.

The Newer Spiritualism. By FRANK PODMORE.

(Fisher Unwin, London, 1910. 8vo, pp. 320, 8s. 6d. net.)

THIS book, which Mr. Podmore brought to completion only a short time before his death, is a closely reasoned and temperate review of the evidence for the reality of supposed communications with the spirits of the dead, and for the genuineness of certain physical phenomena, which has been accumulated since the publication of F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality*. It is the work of an acknowledged master in these subjects, and, as such, deserves the attention of all serious students of them, whatever may be their prepossessions. The discussion is copiously illustrated by detailed descriptions and analyses of many of the most important cases, and the reader is thus enabled to form his own judgment upon the evidence as the inquiry proceeds. Those who are familiar with the author's previous writings will hardly need to be told that the book possesses the added attraction of an excellent literary style, and that there is not a dull page in it—not even in the welcome index.

The ultimate purpose of *Human Personality* was to prove the survival of the soul after death. With this tremendous question Mr. Podmore is not here concerned, and he offers no opinion upon it. When he leaves the physical phenomena, he addresses himself solely to the inquiry whether the supposed communications from a spirit world, obtained through trance or automatic writing or other means, are really what they profess to be, or are not rather derived telepathically from the minds of the living. Myers' theory of a subliminal consciousness is, however, so intimately bound up with the whole matter, that Mr. Podmore considers it not inconsistent with his purpose to devote an introductory chapter to its consideration. In view of the manifold and far-reaching bearings of Myers' great conception, the chapter is of cardinal importance.

Mr. Podmore gives an adequate statement of the theory, of which the substance may be quoted.

"Now, the peculiar contribution of Myers to modern psychology lies here. He accepts to the full the results of modern research. He recognises that human consciousness, as we know it, is a highly composite and unstable thing, having neither completeness nor essential unity. Consciousness is, to employ his own simile, a selection, like the visible spectrum, accidental, interrupted, and variable, from a much larger potential whole. But at this point Myers' views diverge from those of the recognised schools. To him the surface consciousness, the only thing which we know as consciousness in ordinary life, is comparatively unimportant. 'I award no primacy,' he writes, 'to my ordinary waking self, except that, among many potential selves, this one has shown itself the fittest to meet the needs of common life.' It is the hidden life which counts-the self which the struggle of the market-place and the senate has thrust back into the darkness, or has not yet called into conscious activity.

"The subliminal consciousness, he supposes, may embrace a far wider range, both of physiological and psychical activity, than is open to the normal personality. The invisible spectrum of consciousness stretches indefinitely in either direction, extending on one side to physiological processes which have long dropped out of human knowledge, on the other to supernormal faculties, of which only stray hints have reached us in our present stage of evolution."

He completes the account by a reference to those hystero-epileptics who in their conscious state may be almost completely without the senses of touch, sight, and hearing, and whose memory is, as to a great part of their life, a blank; but who, when placed in the deepest hypnotic trance, largely recover these senses, and are able to fill up the blanks in the memory, and to give a clear account of the shock which brought on their illness—a thing which, when conscious, they were unable to do. The trance has brought to the surface the real self which the calamity had obscured. As is well known, Myers saw in these sad cases a significant analogy. Man, in his present environment, he believed, may be, as compared with his real and potential self—the self of his subliminal consciousness—no more than the crippled and shrunken thing which these poor sufferers are, under the grip of their infirmities. To quote Mr. Podmore:

"In that larger potential consciousness, which, as we have warrant for inferring, surrounds the narrowed personality which suffices for our common every-day life, he believed himself to discern traces of faculties too large for merely terrestrial needs, and signs of a guiding power wise with more than human foresight. This, in effect, is Myers's case. There need be no fear, he proclaims, lest the soul of man should be disintegrated with the disintegration of the body; because it exhibits 'traces of faculty which this material or planetary life could not have called into being, and whose exercise even here and now involves and necessitates the existence of a spiritual world."

Mr. Podmore admits the cogency of the argument, but disputes the premises. "What," he asks, "is this 'subliminal self,' and what are its chief properties?" In his answer he admits that "certain pathologic cases . . . show that there may exist, below the personality exhibited to us in ordinary life, another personality, larger, freer, saner"; and that "the hypnotic memory, too, is, as a rule, wider than the waking memory"; and he takes note of the remarkable phenomena produced by hypnotic suggestion. But

"the secondary personality in the case of Félida X. and the 'Misses Beauchamp' is obviously the product of pathologic conditions, whilst in the hypnotic subject it seems probable that it is simply the result of training. Apart from these special cases, and from a few sporadic instances of latent faculty emerging in dreams, or through the planchette and the crystal, there is scanty support for the assumption of a hidden personality in man. There is little evidence, in other words, that, in normal persons, there is below the surface any sequence of memories or separate form of consciousness, so far organised or so stable as to deserve the name of a secondary personality; and there is still less evidence of interference with the operations of the work-a-day self by any such subterranean agencies."

His conclusion is, that—while, "in these lofty regions where we almost lose sight of terrestrial analogies, we have no right to use the word 'impossible,' perhaps not even the word 'improbable'" the present evidence for the existence of a subliminal self is insufficient.

That our present evidence is far from amounting to demonstration, may be readily granted; but Mr. Podmore's admissions are considerable, and his arguments seem to leave the balance of probability still on the side of Myers's illuminating theory. To say nothing of the evidence afforded by automatic writing 1 and crystal-gazing which Mr. Podmore is disposed to minimise, but which is not to be neglected, we may ask whether it is fair to the argument to lay so much stress on the pathologic features of some of the cases, and whether hc is justified in refusing to attach weight to the evidence furnished by those which are of this nature. Moreover, a large number of the cases are not pathologic. And if we take three typical cases, mentioned in this chapter, in only two of which the pathologic element appears to be present, what do we find? One of Dr. Bramwell's patients, a Miss A., could, in obedience to hypnotic suggestion, count 11,470 minutes, and then, in a waking state, make a cross on a piece of paper. In 55 such experiments she was successful 45 times. This can hardly be the result of training; it would rather appear to indicate the liberation of a remarkable latent power, already existing fully developed. Again, Huxley cited the case of a man "who had suffered some injury to the brain, which induced occasional accesses of automatism. In the automatic state he would write from dictation, without looking at the paper, and would be able to correct what he had written, crossing the t's and dotting the i's with perfect accuracy, though a sheet of cardboard was interposed between his eyes and the writing." On this and similar cases Mr. Podmore observes, "The power is possibly to be explained as a special development of the muscular sense." But this, even if it should prove to be a proper description of the faculty employed, is not an explanation; it is no more than a re-statement of the fact. It does not matter what sense or faculty was at work. The significance of the performance lies in the fact that the man appears to have possessed an extraordinary latent power, not merely existing in germ, but full-grown, which, owing to his condition at the time, when other powers were compulsorily dormant, could emerge and come into play. In his ordinary condition the man was cramped by the necessities of his environment; hc could not afford (if that is the right word) to 'specialise' in this way, but must practise a more or less levelling economy of his powers. But the emergence of this hidden faculty entitles us to infer the presence of

¹The evidence afforded by automatic writing may, I think, prove to be overwhelming-see below, p. 82, ff.

others no less extraordinary and abnormal; and this brings us to Mycrs's subliminal consciousness, and goes far to justify his apt simile from the visible and invisible spectrum, which Mr. Podmore considers misleading. It is but a step further to imagine, with Myers, a condition of life in which all man's powers may be free to exhibit and exert themselves to the same and an even greater degree. Once more, we have the case of the calculating boys, whose condition, so far as I am aware, we have no reason for supposing to be pathologic. Of these Mr. Podmore writes, "The power of extracting cube roots and calculating logarithms at sight can at no period have been a common endowment of the race." This is to beg the question, and one naturally asks, why not? True, the race as we know it in its present environment has not the power in esse; but the point is, does the race possess these powers in posse? To use the old philosophic terms, have we the $\delta i \nu a \mu i s$, though we may be denied the $\epsilon \nu \epsilon \rho \gamma \epsilon \mu a$? Even from the cases before us—apart from numerous other strong indications-it seems a reasonable inference that there are within every individual abilities both transcending and outnumbering those of the every-day self, and ready to come forth for recognition, whenever by some happy or unhappy chance the prison door is unlocked. Moreover, it is well known that hypnotism can stimulate the will and elicit a surprising strength in the moral region; from which it would appear that the subliminal includes both the mental and moral qualities-that is, embraces the whole man. Our dreams, indeed, are often nonsense, and our dream actions sometimes reprehensible from a moral point of view, and abhorrent to our waking selves, as when one dreams that one has quietly cut off all one's brother's fingers with a pair of scissors -but that hardly affects the question; we do not know what the will is, nor the conditions and limits of its control.

If, then, Mr. Podmore is right when he says that the years that have elapsed since Myers's death have produced no fresh evidence to support his "great synthesis"—a statement which might be disputed—neither do I find in Mr. Podmore's criticisms anything by which it is materially weakened. His own confessedly great knowledge of the subject has produced no obstinate fact which refuses to be fitted in.

The two opening chapters of the main inquiry give an interesting *résumé* of the various phenomena exhibited by D. D. Home. These performances the author regards as, for the most part, pure imposture, successful, where it was successful, through mal-observation

or hallucination on the part of the witnesses. In a careful discussion of the famous case of levitation, when Home appeared to float into an upstairs room through the window, he shows that the witnesses could have had no positive assurance that Home had ever been outside the window at all. By some of the fire tests, however, and one instance at least of the alleged elongation of Home's body Mr. Podmore confesses himself puzzled, and he abstains from pronouncing an opinion.

"I cannot readily represent to my imagination the mental processes by which two intelligent men holding a lighted candle and taking special steps to correct their measurements,... could have supposed Home's body to be abnormally lengthened, when he was really, let us say, only standing on tip-toe and stretching himself."

"The difficulty is quite as great with the red-hot coal performance.... The testimony to Home's feats is abundant; and it is difficult to see how Sir W. Crookes, if in possession of his normal senses, could be mistaken in describing the flames licking Home's fingers."

As to Eusapia Palladino, whose trial also extends over two chapters, Mr. Podmore, as was already well known, will have none of her. Her performances, including the séances held at Naples at the end of 1908, are examined at considerable length, but the conclusion is that she is no more than the *fine fleur* of the art of trickery. She is finally dismissed, with some impatience, if not to limbo, at least to the limbo of detected frauds of which one has had more than enough.

Whether one believes that the Naples committee were deceived, or not, there is no doubt that all who are interested in these matters owe them a large debt of gratitude for the painstaking inquiry which they conducted. Their labours have produced at least one lasting result. We have on the one hand the fact that three exceptionally capable investigators were convinced that they, at any rate, had not been deceived by Eusapia; on the other hand, we have the undisputed fact that she has over and over again, and up to a quitc recent date, been detected in imposture. The conjunction of these two facts makes it clear that in future no investigators—will be thought to be of any practical value, unless the tests applied are mechanical and automatic. If these are wanting, the observations of the witnesses may carry conviction to themselves, but the outside public must remain—I will not say uninfluenced, but uneonvinced.

In a chapter preceding detailed examinations of the mediumship of Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Thompson, Mr. Podmore makes some just and discriminating remarks on the moral diathesis of trance mediums in general. In feats of clairvoyance pure and simple-as distinct from the power of acquiring knowledge telepathically from the mind of a living person-he puts no credence. He does not believe the faculty exists. He is convinced that Stainton Moses and the Rev. C. B. Sanders (a Presbyterian clergyman of Alabama, who developed a secondary personality calling itself X + Y = Z) had themselves hidden the 'lost' articles which they professed to discover; and that Alexis Didier-whom the famous conjurer Houdin failed to detect in fraud-had already seen, as he rapidly turned the leaves of the almost closed book, the words he professed to read from a page lying some distance underneath one of the two pages which became visible when the book was laid open. But he is disposed to think the trickery was not necessarily conscious.

"Alexis may well have been quite unconscious of the channel through which he derived his information. It is possible that one may be justified in taking an equally charitable view of the performances of X + Y = Z, and that the right hand of Mr. Stainton Moses may not have known what the left hand was doing."

Accordingly, in speaking of these cases, the word 'fraud' must only be used with a reservation.

"A trance medium is, *ex hypothesi*, in an abnormal condition; and there are other indications that the dissociation of consciousness frequently involves impaired moral control. In using the word 'fraud,' therefore, in this connection we do not necessarily imply a higher degree of moral responsibility than when we pass judgment on the play-acting of a child. Conjuring tricks and sham telepathy seem to be merely part of the automatic romance."

By this standard, and with this reservation, the author would judge certain doubtful incidents in the mediumship of Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Thompson.

We now come to the great question of the supposed communications with discarnate spirits through the trance mediums and the cross-correspondences. In reviewing the early sittings of Mrs. Piper

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Mr. Podmore notes some facts which must affect our judgment of the more recent phenomena.

"The significant point in these early sittings is that the information given about the sitter's living friends seems, generally speaking, to have been as vivid, as copious, and as accurate as the information given about the dead, and that there is no means, as a rule, of discriminating between them either as regards substance or source—that is, the statements about the dead and the living alike are given as if they proceeded directly from Phinuit's own knowledge. Sometimes, on the other hand, where the dead are concerned, the utterances are put into their mouths, but there is rarely any indication that this is more than a traditional dramatic device."

Of the Piper-Hodgson communications he would give the same explanation as that implied here—that is, the telepathic. He fully recognises the extraordinary *vraisemblance* of the dramatic impersonation, but he points out the important fact that no test questions were answered, and that the control showed ignorance of several matters which, considering what he apparently did remember, he might reasonably be expected not to have forgotten. He suggests, however, another conceivable explanation:

"If we could suppose that sometimes the real Hodgson communicated through the medium's hand, and that sometimes, more often, when he was inaccessible, the medium's secondary personality played the part as best it could, these difficulties would no doubt be lessened. It may be justifiable, as a guide to further investigation, provisionally to entertain such a hypothesis; but it seems hardly necessary to say that at this stage, at any rate, it cannot be seriously defended."

With the development of cross-correspondences the problem became more complicated. In these Mr. Podmore recognises the directive action of an intelligence other than that of the automatists, but he fails—as others of us have failed—to find sufficient evidence for believing the intelligence at work to be that of a discarnate spirit. In discussing the Browning-Hope-Star incident and the Latin message, he draws attention to a significant fact. After dictating the message, Mr. Piddington had impressed on the Piper-Myers the importance of the scheme of cross-correspondences in general.¹ The

¹ Mr. Piddington of course made no allusion to the peculiar (*i.e.* the supplementary) kind asked for in the Latin message.

control replied, "If you establish telepathic messages, you will doubtless attribute all such to thoughts from those living in the mortal body." On this Mr. Podmore remarks:

"The answer shows conclusively that the Piper-Myers had not grasped the plan of complex cross-correspondences which the Verrall-Myers, according to the hypothesis, had been actively elaborating for some years previously; and further, that the Piper-Myers at that date, Jan. 16, 1907, had not yet succeeded in translating the Latin message."

The word 'conclusively' is perhaps too strong; but as coming from one who professes to be identical with the other Myerses who have so long been furnishing supplementary cross-correspondences and emphasising their value, the remark of the control is certainly inexplicable. The sitting of Feb. 27, 1907, has, however, been relied upon as showing that at that later date, at any rate, Myers, understood the whole matter. This seems to me disputable. It is true that at that sitting Mvers, pointed to the Browning-Hope-Star incident, and offered it as his answer to the Latin message, but, like the unintentionally witty, he may have been doing better than he was aware. Did he know how good his answer was? The differentia of the 'supplementary' cross-correspondences, which gives them their peculiar value, is that the scripts of, say, three automatists concerned are not fully intelligible when considered separately, but when compared with one another, are found to be connected by a common idea which is the key to the whole. There is nothing to show that Myers, understood this to be the point of the experiments, though naturally his wave of the hand-so to call it-towards the Browning-Hope-Star incident was at once recognised as remarkably significant. Yet surely the real Myers, having grasped the Latin message—as ex hypothesi he had done-would not have omitted to make such a crucial detail clear.

But the fact is—as Mr. Podmore, I think, shows, and most people have probably concluded for themselves—the Piper-Myers never did really understand the Latin message, though he seems to have gathered from some source or sources—among which telepathy may be included—that it referred to cross-correspondences. This fact has always seemed to me peculiarly damaging to his claims. In the utteranees of the various mediums the 'spirit' has given no signs of intellectual decay. He is alert and intelligent ; and the automatic scripts, both in matter and style, are at times not unworthy of the real Myers. How, then, should he be unable to translate, from a language as familiar to him as English, a couple of sentences which, highly idiomatic though they are, would present no difficulty to an able sixth-form boy ?

The knowledge of the meaning of one or two individual words in the message Mr. Podmore would attribute to the use of a dictionary by the medium when in an unconscious state; but he is careful to add:

"To recognise, however, that the knowledge shown by the entranced Mrs. Piper was perhaps derived from a dictionary does not imply bad faith on the part of Mrs. Piper whom her friends know and esteem in the waking state. Nor does it seriously invalidate the evidence in the other cases, since no dictionary could have told Mrs. Piper what Mrs. Verrall was writing in Cambridge or Mrs. Holland in India."

The matter is summed up in the following words:

"It would appear, then, from the four months' trial of the Latin message that the trance personality which the experimenters call Myers_P, or the Piper-Myers, had not even at the end of the sittings grasped the scheme of complex cross-correspondences: was so far from grasping it, indeed, that not even the numerous hints given in the course of the dialogue succeeded in conveying that idea. From this it would seem to follow, not merely that the Piper-Myers is an intelligence of distinctly inferior capacity, but that it is not identical with the intelligence, claiming to emanate from the same source, which has for years past been elaborating, through Mrs. Verrall's hand, a scheme of complex cross-correspondences."

It is only fair to note here that upholders of the spiritistic interpretation of the phenomena believe $Myers_P$ to be, not the real Myers, but a secondary personality of Mrs. Piper (corresponding to the subliminal self of the automatic writers), which receives communications from him. (See Miss Johnson in *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 262 f.) Thus the utterances of $Myers_P$ may be at one time a true message repeated accurately, at another time a true message imperfectly delivered, at another a mere invention. Mr. Podmore was certainly well acquainted with this view when he wrote the passage quoted above; but his point—as I understand him—is that, in the absence of any sure criterion by which to distinguish true messages from false, and in face of the discrepancies between the two personalities, it is difficult to believe there is a real Myers behind either of them.

LXII.]

Coming to the more recent evidence, Mr. Podmore confesses himself to be strongly impressed by the Lethe incident in Mr. Dorr's sittings.

"It must, I think, be admitted on all hands that the method of answering the Lethe question was well devised; that this is precisely the kind of evidence demanded for the proof of spiritidentity; and that, though no single case can, of course, be eonclusive, yet that if evidence of this kind could be multiplied, the presumption in favour of the reality of spirit communication might at length become irresistible."

But he finds two difficulties. The first arises from the discrepancies between the knowledge shown in these sittings by the medium's writing hand and her utterances in the waking stage. The hand is frequently unable to explain at a subsequent sitting what the voice had spoken. Thus, on one occasion the voice murmured something that sounded like "pavia"; it then added, "Mr. Myers is writing on the wall," and spelt out "c, y, x." There can be no doubt that "pavia" was meant for *papavera* (*poppies*), and it was afterwards made certain that the letters c, y, x were intended for the name Ceyx. Yet the hand explained "c, y, x" as "chariot," and "pavia" as "Pomona."

"But the successful allusions," writes Mr. Podmore, "whether written or spoken, are counted, for the purpose of the correspondence, as proceeding from the same intelligence; and indeed some of the utterances in the waking stage are prefaced with the remark 'Mr. Myers says.' It is extremely difficult to reconcile this ignorance or forgetfulness with the identity of the spirit purporting to communicate alike by hand and voice."

The second difficulty is connected with the name Ceyx.

"The name written Ceyx is a dissyllable; and not only so, but both vowels are long— $C\bar{e}$ - $\bar{y}x$ (pronounce Kay-eeks). But it would seem that both the hand and voice in their efforts to recall the exact word represent it as a monosyllable. . . . Now, this misconception, improbable in a scholar who was familiar with the original poem where the word occurs repeatedly, would be, one must think, impossible to a scholar who was also a poet, for whom the sound of a word must be of primary importance."

Myers, however, pronounced the word as *See-ix*, which might sound more like a monosyllable. But so also would Mr. Dorr pronounce it.

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On the Dorr sittings as a whole Mr. Podmore suspends judgment, finding the difficulties and improbabilities involved in a telepathic explanation as serious as those which attach to a recognition of spirit agency.

"If all these stores of classical learning really came from Mr. Dorr's mind, we have to credit him with a capacious forgetfulness, if the phrase may be allowed, hardly less remarkable in its way than the powers of telepathic assimilation which we must ascribe to the trance intelligence."

This is certainly true; and for myself, I must confess that, while I nevertheless lean to the telepathic solution, I find the contemplation of the amazing powers with which Mrs. Piper must then be credited far more staggering than would be the proof of communication with a departed spirit. As against the telepathic explanation, attention may be called to another point. The river, with its name Lethe, is a quite subordinate feature of the tale, and is perhaps the last detail one would have expected to emerge if one could have revived Mr. Dorr's memories in connexion with the story. Even when the whole of the fragments of the puzzle-picture were set before him, he was unable to piece them together. And yet, on the telepathic hypothesis, it is by this one weak link of association that Mrs. Piper is able to recover the whole train of recollections.

On the other hand, neither did (could?)¹ the Piper-Myers put the fragments together as a connected whole; and the omission, or inability, to do so is suspicions. If he was the real Myers, he knew the story; why, then, did he not tell it in a plain manner? Why present it in just that fragmentary condition in which we have many reasons for supposing it may have survived in some deepest cells of Mr. Dorr's memory?

Another highly important case, the famous Sevens Incident, formed the subject of an article by the author in the *Contemporary Review* for September, 1909. Examining it again here, Mr. Podmore reiterates his conviction that it is purely telepathic. It arose from Mr. Piddington's 'posthumous' letter about the number, or rather from his continuing obsession by it, and he is a recognisable instance

¹ In one sitting Mr. Dorr said to the control, "I see no connexion between Iris and Lethe." To which $Myers_P$ replied, "No, only Iris shot an arrow into the clouds and caused a rainbow. It brought it to my mind simply." What an answer to come from what professed to be the spirit of F. W. H. Myers recalling the story of Ceyx and Alcyone ! of what has long been sought for—an agent external to the automatists, originating the cross-correspondence. But Mrs. Verrall—who would appear to have much to answer for—is held to be the chief agent in the dissemination of the idea.

"Mr. Piddington tells us he was not thinking specially of his letter during the three months over which the cross-correspondences extended, though few days of his life passed without his thinking of the subject. It would appear, then, as if some other factor were needed to reinforce Mr. Piddington's unconscious telepathy. That other factor must be sought in Mrs. Verrall's agency. We find traces of her influence in the Dante allusions. An attempt, then, may be made, of course provisionally and in very crude fashion, to sketch the mental processes which seem to be involved. Mr. Piddington had for years been repeating Seven for all the world-that is all the world within the range of his telepathic influence-to hear. His is a voice crying in the wilderness, however, until it happens that Mrs. Verrall reads the Divine Comedy, and the idea of Seven, already latent in her mind,¹ is reinforced by a series of Dante images. Mrs. Verrall, then, apparently a much more powerful telepathic agent than Mr. Piddington, swells the stream of telepathic influence, and the effects, in the remaining automatists, rise to the surface of the dream consciousness."

Miss Johnson, who is a controversialist of not inferior acumen, has combated this view, and in more than one friendly encounter with the author has undoubtedly scored some points. Her view may be summed up in her own words:

"It appears to me, in short, that many of the items of this cross-correspondence afford strong evidence of the design or agency of some intelligence which was *cognisant of the whole scheme*, as finally revealed ;—I refer especially to the use made of the Latin verses in Mrs. Piper's case, and to the veiled allusions to Mr. Piddington's letter in the Verrall scripts ;—and it seems to me difficult to attribute so complete a knowledge of it to the subliminal consciousness either of Mrs. Verrall or of Mr. Piddington."

This conclusion seems to me just, though not exactly for the reasons specially mentioned here. It is difficult, I think, for any one

¹Mrs. Verrall's subliminal self would appear to have had some knowledge of the letter at about the very hour when it was being written. who studies the cross-correspondences of this class without prejudice to resist the conclusion that some intelligence originates each experiment, and perhaps to some extent influences its course. The evidence for this is even stronger in the *Sesame and Lilies* case,¹ which Mr. Podmore does not discuss, than in the *Sevens* Incident. Prof. Pigou has suggested that the difference in the details which emerge in the various scripts may be due to chance rather than to selection; but the cause seems inadequate, and there is ample evidence scattered about the cases that *some one* knows a cross-correspondence is being attempted. Thus, in the *Sesame and Lilies* incident we have in Mrs. Verrall's script,

"Then besides the Lilies there is to be another word for you, and for her Lilies and a different word ²—So that *Lilies* is the catchword to show what words are to be put together.

And your second word is gold. Think of the golden lilics of France.

You will have to wait some time for the end of the story, for the solution of the puzzle—but I think there is no doubt of its ultimate success."

Clearly there is an author, who is possibly also prompter and stage-manager, behind the scenes.

But it may be asked, do we yet know enough of the powers of the subliminal consciousness to preclude the presumption that the some one who originates, and perhaps directs, may be one of the subliminals concerned? For myself, I must confess I have had almost from the beginning a steadily growing suspicion that Mrs. Verrall's subliminal—which from the first professed to be controlled by spirits—should have the credit for most, at any rate, of these highly elaborated and ingenious experiments. It appears to have been the originator of the idea, which emerged in her script as early as March, 1901,³ and to have made repeated attempts to carry it out in the years that followed, but with no very striking results until we come to the triumphant successes of 1907. Through-

¹See Mrs. Verrall's admirably clear analysis of this, *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 264 ff.

² As a matter of fact, the script failed on this point.

³See Miss Johnson's paper, *Proc.*, Vol. XXI., pp. 375 ff., where a large number of references to the scheme are collected from Mrs. Verrall's script. These numerous hints, however, were understood by no one until the early part of 1906, when Miss Johnson, with great acuteness, detected the supplementary nature of many of the cross-correspondences. out these latter correspondences there may be found, as I think, at any rate by any one who knows Mrs. Verrall well, and Dr. and Mrs. Verrall have been my most intimate friends for many years constantly recurring indications that, in the great majority of cases the central idea in each emanates from her. I find these signs as conspicuous as anywhere else in the remarkable *Sesame and Lilies* case, which has been claimed as peculiarly strong evidence for the spiritistic view.

Now, considering the notoriously non-moral character of all subliminal consciousnesses, it will hardly be denied that Mrs. Verrall's, having once evolved the idea of supplementary cross-correspondences, with a view to proving its spirit inspiration, would be quite capable of devising one, and of attempting to carry it out. It would naturally continue to sustain the fiction of spirit agency with all possible ingenuity and resource. To take the next step, I venture to offer the following suggestion of a possible *modus operandi*, hoping that a consideration of what we already know of the powers of the telepathic faculty may be held to redeem it from the charge of rashness.

First, then, this subliminal consciousness launches, and continues to launch, into the void-not necessarily by any special effort, but merely as a result of the process of thought-the ground-idea of such a correspondence, to be assimilated by any other automatists (including trance-mediums) who can receive it. This idea-after many abortive one-sided experiments had been patiently pursued by its author—is at last grasped by other automatists. Then comes a time when Mrs. Verrall's subliminal proclaims in a similar manner, and as it has often donc before, a subject for an experiment, and the others proceed to execute the congenial task with enthusiasm,-for they too are interested in maintaining the illusion of a spirit agency. Avoiding, as a rule-for they have been inspired so to do-any definite expression of the leading idea, they commit to their scripts, rather, associated ideas, anything that occurs to them as their thoughts in butterfly fashion flutter about it.¹ We then may get from different automatists, at various dates, scripts like the following,² with other matter—perhaps fragments of another

¹The amount of control which a subliminal may have over its thoughts is a point outside my present purpose. There is much evidence that it is often very imperfect.

 2 I wish to state emphatically that these imaginary scripts are not written in mockery. They are meant to be a fair and serious representation of the From Mrs. Verrall. (a) Brown is the colour brown cloth the little furry creatures were brown too some of them brun bruns House of Bruns—I am weak to-day my thoughts wander ¹—vermin ermine^{*}—disiecti membra poetae. Tu vero collige, ita totum redintegrabis.² $\pi a \rho a \beta a \lambda \lambda \epsilon$ Parable—it is a sort of parable. $\pi a \rho a \beta a \lambda o \hat{v}$ but there was no boat. Not the Styx, another river.³

(b) Tom Tom the Piper's son—Pippa the pipper passes⁴ mixtis carminibus non sine fistula—fistula cum lyra. There were children—antro seclusa relinquit.⁵ Hamel—Du Hamel Kremlin. They had

> Sparkling eyes and flaxen curls.* His eyes were green as leeks⁶

No you have got it wrong

And sharp blue eyes, each like a pin.*

(c) As thick as leaves in ⁷—what? Not a valley but a river. He swam the Esk river where ford there was none.⁸ Kop kopje

manner in which the subliminal consciousness appears to work. No one can value more highly than I do both the experiments and the devotion of the experimenters. Whatever may be the knowledge gained from them, it will, in my judgment, be priceless.

¹These words occur in one of Mrs. Verrall's own scripts, which contain other similar remarks, purporting to express Myers' own condition. As a spirit's excuse, they look suspicious; but they would come naturally enough from a subliminal striving to recover a half-lost memory.

² "Limbs (or fragments) of the dismembered poet" (quotation from Horace). But do you collect them; then you will restore the whole.

³ παράβαλλε (para-balle), put side by side, compare. παραβαλοῦ (parabalou), lay her alongside, put to shore, shouted by Charon, in his boat on the Styx, in a play of Aristophanes.

⁴ Pippa Passes is the title of a pocm by Browning.

⁵ "With mingled music of flute and pipe"—"pipc and lyre," Horace. "She leaves them shut up in the cave," Virgil.

⁶Shakspeare.

⁷Imperfect reminiscence of Milton's "Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks In Vallombrosa" (of the fallen angels in the lake of fire).

⁸ From Scott's Lochinvar.

Spion Kop another shameful hill. It was a hill Koppe[lberg] successimus antro.¹ Lasciate ogni speranza—but they did not die—Pennsylvania [Transylvania]. $\epsilon \nu \sigma \pi \hat{\eta} \iota \gamma \lambda a \phi v \rho \hat{\varphi}$.² He never can cross that mighty top*—Chavez. But this was long ago. Et ineluctabile fatum.³

(d) Without father without mother⁴ Melchisedech.

(e) There was no guessing his kith and kin.*

Wherever he sat down and sung He left a small plantation.⁵

From Automatist B. (f) Robert toi que j'aime but it is not the opera, though he was a singer. She sang too-My Romney

The rest in order, last an amethyst.⁶

(g) Boys and girls come out to play—one was lame—the lame and the halt—Treloar.⁷

(h) The pipe and tabor is in their feasts 8 pipe and tabor.* Note that, it is a clue. Another will help.

Orpheus with his lute made trees And the mountain tops that freeze Bow their heads when he did sing.⁹

motley * Motley's Dutch ¹⁰—no another country—motley's the only wear.⁹

(j) guilders * Guildhall the Lord Mayor. Pay pay pay, but that is Kipling. Till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.¹¹

¹ "We entered the cave," Virgil. What follows is part of Dante's famous line, "Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che entrate," Abandon every hope, all ye that enter.

² "In a hollow cavern," *Iliad*.

³ "And unescapable doom," Virgil.

⁴ "Without father, without mother, without descent," of Melchisedech, Ep. to the Hebrews.

⁵ Tennyson, Amphion.

⁶ Last line of Mrs. Browning's *Aurora Leigh*, in which Romney Leigh is a chief character.

⁷ Reminiscence of Sir Wm. Treloar's Homes for crippled children. He was once Lord Mayor.

⁸ "The tabret, pipe, and wine arc in their fcasts," Isaiah.

⁹ Shakspeare.

¹⁰ A hint at Motley's History of the Dutch Republic.

¹¹ From the Parable.

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From Automatist C. (k) The children ran after the music there is a poem—Robert—Robert and Richard were two merry men. No not that. It is an old legend—he wrote the story. The Caliph's kitchen.*

(l) It was magic music

For it was in the golden prime Of good Haroun Alraschid.¹

(m) Oh, young Lochinvar came out of the west.²

The subject of the supposed correspondence, as most readers will easily have discovered, is Robert Browning's *Pied Piper of Hamelin*, actual quotations from which are marked with a *.

Now, this imaginary script (producible in five minutes by merely abandoning all control of the thoughts) is, I submit, not a parody, but a sober parallel to the supplementary cross-correspondences in our records, which exhibit passim the same liability to boggle over names, and the same curious tendency to wander off to absolutely alien topics, however weak-or even grotesque-may be the link of association. And in other real scripts, confessedly not even telepathic, there is plenty of evidence that the subliminal at times suffers from a similar loss of control, producing similar aberrations, and has difficulty in recalling its memories. On the other hand, we have no good evidence that these characteristics of the scripts arise from a spirit's inability to convey its own thoughts clearly through the medium; for such incoherent utterances are intermingled, in the same script, with other matter lucid in thought and sure in expression, but which differs also in this, that it does not make the same demands upon the subliminal memory. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conclusion that we are dealing with subliminals which have received nothing from outside, except (in the case of automatists other than Mrs. Verrall) the cardinal conception of a supplementary cross-correspondence, and (where they are not the originators) the subject of the correspondence in hand-unless we add occasional telepathic messages such as "young Lochinvar" above, which is supposed to be an echo from the "Esk river" of another automatist. That a real spirit's mind may wander after the manner of the scripts, is surely a solution of the matter which believers-or would-be believers-in the spirit's survival will accept only after every other has been proved untenable.

The evidence of design, then, in the scripts is irresistible; but if ¹Tennyson. ²From Scott's Lochinvar.

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once it is granted that two or three subliminals could be brought to understand what is meant by a supplementary cross-correspondence, we need not go beyond the automatists themselves to find the designer; it might be any one of the circle of sensitives. Prof. Pigou felt it necessary to suggest a reason why the various automatists do not hit upon the same details oftener than they do; but surely it is unlikely that they would, where the subject of the experiment is fairly wide. A, B, and C, searching their memories, may well recall different points in a subject of moderate extent, and the number of conceivable associated ideas is obviously unlimited. At the same time, even the most far-fetched of these latter, if one gets enough of them, help to identify the central idea, and to swell the evidence of design.

Further argument in support of this view—which is of course merely provisional—would be out of place here, and I must content myself with what has been already said. I will only add, that I believe a minute examination of the scripts would reveal much evidence in its favour.

To return to Mr. Podmore, it will be seen that his views remain substantially what, from his published utterances, they have been known to be for many years. He unduly minimises, as I think, a good deal of scattered evidence for clairvoyance and certain physical phenomena, but on the larger question of spirit communications most people will probably consider that he takes a very strong position. In a highly interesting chapter, entitled "The Stage Setting of the Trance," he makes a formidable general assault on the genuineness of all spirit controls, and his arguments are certainly difficult to meet. Some years ago he wrote, in his *Modern Spiritualism*:

"Mrs. Piper would be a much more convincing apparition if she could have come to us out of the blue, instead of trailing behind her a nebulous ancestry of magnetic somnambules, witchridden children, and ecstatic nuns."

He reaffirms the opinion now. He points out that dissociation of consciousness is frequently accompanied by the sense of a new personality, which naturally demands a new name—a fact notorious in those cases where the dissociation is complete and lasting. In view of this, he asks what substantial grounds we have for believing Mrs. Piper's latest controls to be different in kind from their predecessors. Just as in former days the secondary personality called itself by names suggested by the medium's earlier surroundings, so now—as I understand Mr. Podmore—it has assumed fresh ones adapted to and reflecting her more recent associations; and there is no more reality in the "Myers" and "Hodgson" and other controls of to-day than there was in the "Phinuit" (that "preposterous scoundrel," as one sitter called him), and "Mrs. Siddons," and "Sebastian Bach," and "Chlorine," and "General Vanderbilt," and "Loretta Ponchini" of long ago.

From which it would appear that some secondary personalities, at any rate, are a sort of psychic chameleon!

Nevertheless the labours of the experimenters are very far indeed from being wasted; and so far from discouraging them, Mr. Podmore's last word is that, though the buried gold which some of us are expecting to find may be visionary, there will result from this industrious digging of a very fruitful vineyard rewards of another kind, perhaps even richer.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

OPEN LETTER TO DR. STANLEY HALL.

FROM ANDREW LANG.

ALLEYNE HOUSE, ST. ANDREWS, December 1st, 1910.

DEAR SIR,

Excuse the liberty which I assume when I throw my reflections on some recent work of yours into the oldfashioned form of a "Familiar Epistle to an Author." I have been reading with interest Dr. Tanner's *Studies in Spiritism*, with an Introduction by G. Stanley Hall, Ph.D., LL.D.¹ Your own contributions to what you style such a "searching, impartial, critical estimate" of the work of the English Society for Psychical Research as that Society has never enjoyed before,² attracted my particular attention. I do not disparage the performances of Miss Tanner, Ph.D., when I say that the work of the Master interested me even more than that of the impartial Disciple.

In all studies and in all discussions every man or woman who takes a part has a natural or artificial bias,—or plenty of both. My bias in the matter of Mrs. Piper and her performances is identical with your own. Thus you say, "we all have fathers, but somehow it seemed to me vulgar to hold the intercourse which I should love to" (hold?) "with my father's spirit in such a way as this," namely, through Mrs. Piper.³

I have clsewherc expressed precisely the same sentiments, to which I adhere.⁴

You write, "we dishonour our immortal parts" (or rather, perhaps, the immortal parts of our dead friends?) "by thinking

¹ D. Appleton and Co., London and New York, 1910. ² Op. cit. p. xxxiii. ³ Op. cit. p. xxviii. ⁴ In The Making of Religion, chapter vii. that we find them here";¹—in Mrs. Piper's parlour! Your sentiments are mine: nothing could induce me to intrude on the denizens of the next world through the agency of Mrs. Piper, (whom I never met,) or of any other "entranced" medium, savage or civilised.

But Science must "do diverse and disgusting things" in the search for Truth, and you have done diverse and disgusting things to Mrs. Piper; prodding her with an esthesiometer, and filling her nostrils with camphor and ether; her mouth with sugar and salt, which she "took very unconcernedly," to quote Claverhouse (pp. 236-239). Volcati non fit injuria, you might also have exhibited snuff, and found out whether it made her "control" "Hodgson" sneeze or not. A scientific study of Mrs. Piper is one thing; serious consultation of the dead through Mrs. Piper is another, and, I agree with you, is a vulgar thing.

Thus far we are in accord ; and, again, I am in a state of absolute agnosticism about Mrs. Piper's case : I can go further, I have never seen in the published reports any proof, for me, that she is in touch with even an off-current, so to speak, of the consciousness of any persons discarnate. Some of her performances puzzle me, for example the replies of her "Hodgson" to Professor William James, the answers of her "Mr. Myers" to questions on Roman mythology ; and so forth.² I am puzzled ; and, (here we approach the main point of my difficulty,) I am inclined to suppose that Mrs. Piper, *in her normal condition*, could not have given the replies which, as "Hodgson" and as "Myers," she did give to the questions of Mr. James and of Mr. Dorr. The abnormality of her condition seems, in some way, to help her, but is her condition, in fact, abnormal when she gives sittings ?

We now reach the question to which your answers, in Dr. Tanner's book, appear to me, (excuse my frankness in a matter of Science,) to be so lacking in coherence as to resemble the utterances of "split personalities." Is Mrs. Piper, to your mind, when she gives a "sitting,"—when she is "entranced" really *dans son assictte*, really in possession of her normal intelligence, and of her senses five? If so, she must be a

¹Studies in Spiritism, p. 267.

² For these see *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Parts LVIII. and LX.

common forthright impostor (or strangely self-deeeived by self-suggestion); for she says that she is "in trance"; that her normal consciousness is in abeyance; while, when restored to her normal consciousness, she retains no memory of what she said, did, and suffered while in trance. Such are her professions, and if, while sceming to be in trance, she is really in full persistent normal consciousness, she says what she knows to be—crroneous.

Is it a conceivable hypothesis that in her assumed "tranee" she is normally conscious, but that she has suggested herself into so firm a belief in her own unconsciousness that, after the trance, she aetually retains no memory of having been eonscious? Has she successfully administered to herself a "post-hypnotic suggestion" not to remember things of which she was as conscious, in her "tranee," as a hypnotised patient is eonscious in his of what he is told to do or abstain from doing? If so she is

"So false she wholly takes herself for true."

If I had to wager, and if the wager could be decided, I would lay five to one that after her trance she really retains no memory of what occurred in it. That is only an impression for what it is worth. Nor is the analogy of a patient hypnotised by another person, close and exact; for hc, it seems, can be hallucinated by the external suggestion, whereas, on the hypothesis which I indicate, Mrs. Piper is widely awake to the external world, but is hypnotised, by herself, into remembering nothing about it.

Perhaps you have some such solution of the problem in your mind when you doubt as to whether Mrs. Piper's "method be a conscious invention on her part," or "a method unconsciously drifted into" (p. xx). If you adhered firmly to this line of conjecture, and if it means that Mrs. Piper hypnotises herself by self-suggestion, and gives herself a "posthypnotic suggestion" to forget, my only difficulty would be that I know not whether, in a hypnotic condition, a patient ean be keenly conscious of every minute event. Your explanation, if I understand you, of some effects of Mrs. Piper which have astonished observers, and have been ascribed to "supernormal" influences, telepathie or spiritual, is that in trance her sense of hearing is acute and vigilant; her powers of inference and observation and of normal memory exceedingly keen, and that thus she can amaze spectators by her statements. All this I am not disputing, but do you steadily maintain that her senses, and memory, and powers of deduction, in "trance," are normal, or perhaps even above the powers of her every-day intelligence?

On this all-important and very interesting question, you appear, if I may use a Shakespearian phrase, to "speak with two voices," and to hold irreconcilable opinions. I may very probably be mistaken: it is so easy and so natural to misunderstand an argument. I can only quote various statements of yours which, at present, I cannot reconcile.

Your contributions to Dr. Tanner's book, taken in the order in which they were obviously written, are "Current Notes by Dr. Hall" (pp. 259-273), the matter in pages 177-185, and the "Introduction" (pp. 2000210), the matter in pages 111000, and the "Introduction" (pp. xv-xxxiii). As to your "Current Notes" you say that they were "jotted down with no thought of their publication, least of all in their present form" (Introduction, p. xxxiii). "Their present form," I presume, is the form in which they were originally written by you, while the impressions received by you from the "sittings" were fresh in your memory? Yet I am not certain on this point; the "jotted notes" are sarcastic and eloquent. "Are they tempting sirens that would lure us to our destruction, or are they angelic beckonings to a higher world?" This reads, does it not? like a passage of deliberate rhetoric, not like a jotting. Indeed the whole chapter has the air of being a studied composition. As evidence, it would be much more valuable, (according to the ideas of the Society for Psychical Research,) if it really were contemporary with the sittings; were really "a few notes on the Piper sittings jotted down with no thought of their publication, least of all in their present form " (p. xxxiii). Is the "present form " or is it not, the original form of the jotted notes? If not, the original notes are much to be desired.

Leaving the notes and the Introduction for a moment, we observe (p. 190) that "before Mrs. Piper entered the trance . . Dr. Hall explained to her that we had no doubt at all about the genuineness of her trance or of her own honesty." Now you confessedly thought it *de bonne guerre*, (and here I agree with you,) to deceive the entraneed Mrs. Piper,—that is, the so-called "Hodgson,"—by saying the thing that was not; by "my involuted lie" (p. 179). I do not deem this a moral fib, but a scientific and experimental stratagem. But I suppose that, when you assured Mrs. Piper, in her ordinary state, of your belief in her "honesty" and in "the genuineness of her trance" you were not telling an "involuted lie." I take this for granted.

The point that puzzles me is, do you still retain your belief in the "genuineness" of Mrs. Piper's "tranee"? Your remarks on this question, in your "Introduction" and "Current Notes" perplex me; partly because of the terminology which you employ: to this point I will return.

As to tranee, genuine tranee, it is fair to take it in the sense of Dr. Tanner's definition. "Tranee states are by no means the exclusive possession of mediums. They are common in hysterical subjects, and in cases of secondary personality, and can be produced by hypnosis or suggestion with proper subjects. While in the tranee the victim is more or less unconscious of what is going on about her, and on recovering remembers her feelings more or less dimly. The state has many resemblances to somnambulism. Neither the causes nor eure of it are as yet well understood" (p. xxxvi). This I accept for the sake of argument.

If Mrs. Piper be "honest,"—as you told her you believed her to be,—in tranee she is "more or less unconscious of what is going on about her." She retains, she says, no memory of what was going on, after she wakens. But, if honest, she eannot tell, when she wakens, whether, when entraneed, she was conscious of what was going on around her or not. When we say that we have had a dreamless sleep, we only mean that we retain no memory of having dreamed. In some eases it ean be proved, by a bedfellow who heard us talking in our sleep, that we really did dream. If Mrs. Piper be dishonest, we eannot trust her report; if she be honest, her report is of no value, for she merely does not remember having been eonseious of her environment: whether by self-suggestion or not.

We are thus dependent on your opinion as to the extent

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of her normal consciousness of all, or of much, that passes in her room while she is entranced. Now I cannot discover what, in this matter, your opinion really is. (For my part, I have no opinion as to whether or not the "trance" is "genuine.") You say (p. xix) that the sitter has the impression that Mrs. Piper " is almost as much out of the game in this state as if she were dead." The sitters, therefore, at last come to talk quite freely, and your theory is that Mrs. Piper listens to even the faintest sounds, and tries to make her profit out of what she hears; for, you say, in fact, "her ear is awake and alert" (p. xix). If so, then Mrs. Piper's trance, (as far as I can understand,) is not genuine; for, following Dr. Tanner's definition, "in trance the victim is more or less unconscious of what is going on about her"; whereas you say that, at least often, she is acutely conscious even of things concealed, as when Mr. Dorr pretends to go out, opening and shutting the door, but slips back again (pp. 214-215).

As this is so, how could you tell Mrs. Piper that you believed in "the genuineness of her trance"? You believe no such matter, if you accept Dr. Tanner's very moderate definition of the amount of ordinary consciousness in trance. You write "it often seemed that only her cyes" (hidden in a cushion) "were out of the game, and *all*" (my italics) "her mental and emotional powers were very wide awake" (p. xx). But not only "her eyes were out of the game," for "general sensibility [is also] shunted out . . . and certainly her respiratory functions, taste, smell, general tactile sensibility and metor innervation are asleep" (p. 268).

On this showing a great deal of Mrs. Piper is certainly asleep; so a great deal of her trance is certainly genuine. Meanwhile her ears, or one of them, and all her mental and emotional powers were, on your showing, very wide awake. So far her trance is *not* genuine, nor is she honest. You add, "and yet I am by no means convinced that she acted her sleep-dream. . . ." (p. xx).

You know, as well as I, that in the dreams of sleep the sleeper is, at most, but faintly and erroneously conscious of the sounds in his environment, and that when such sounds give occasion to a dream, the dream dramatizes and misinterprets them out of all resemblance to the objective cause of the hallucination. Mrs. Piper, on the other hand, you say, is, as regards her mental powers, "often very wide awake," in a "sleep-dream" which, none the less, you are not "convinced" that she feigns. Yet you are (apparently) convinced that she "acts" the "sleep-dream," for you are convinced that, "often at least her mental powers are very wide awake." Now, in sleepdreams, as an all but universal rule, our "mental powers" are very remote from being "wide awake,"—we could not cheat, in a "sleep-dream," or try to cheat, observers who were watching us. Yet Mrs. Piper apparently tries to do nothing else.

You go on to give "abundant evidence,"-in the same page, -" that Mrs. Piper-Hodgson's soul is awake and normal." If by "soul" you mean Mrs. Piper's ordinary intelligence, and if that be awake and normal, when she is acting the part of Hodgson, then she is not in a trance, as Dr. Tanner defines trance, and is an impostor; like Mr. Pickwick I will be more explicit and say "a humbug." But then, that she *is* "acting her sleep-dream," one of your split selves is "by no means convinced." Like Malvolio, you "think nobly of the soul," as our immortal part. If, when you speak of Mrs. Piper's "soul" as "awake and normal" in her assumed trance, you mean, not her normal intelligence, but her "soul" in the Platonic sense, then you agree with Sir Thomas Browne. "There is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus . . . we are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleep; and the slumbering of the body seems but to be the wakening of the soul." Perhaps that is what you mean ? Perhaps you mean that, in trance, Mrs. Piper's "soul," or immortal part, is its true unconditioned self? But if you mean that, in trance, Mrs. Piper's every-day intelligence "is awake and normal," then, once more, you are quite convinced that,-often at least, -she "acts her sleep-dream"; for in "sleep-dreams" nobody's every-day intelligence is "awake and normal." Without banter, I am so perplexed by your statements of your opinion that an explanation will be welcome to an carnest inquirer.

If your position is that (p. xix) Mrs. Piper's normal ear "is awake and alert," keenly aware of everything audible, if her car is on the catch for every whisper of external suggestion, if her normal 'cuteness is watching for every opportunity to cheat,—if *this* be your opinion,—why do you express Review.

a very different theory in your "Current Notes" on your six sittings with this

"Daughter of Debate, That discord still doth sow?"

In these notes (p. 265) you write: "Thus, the auditory centres were not asleep, but seemed in full function, and *at first* we thought that there was some hyperacuity, although we were not infrequently asked to repeat as if to keep up the illusion that the hand was hard of hearing. Yet here, too, *subsequent* observation suggests obtuseness and subnormality that, while the ear heard, it did so dimly and sleepily, or else tended to drop off into the slumber in which the eye and other orienting faculties were wrapped. On the whole we incline to the idea that, although we have here" (in Mrs. Piper's normal and very acute sense of hearing,) "the source of by far most of the information the control seems to possess that appears supernormal, that the ear itself in point of fact is not very wide awake, and most of the time is only a little above the middle state between sleeping and waking."

Here, sir, in apparent contradiction of what you say (p. xix) -" her ear is awake and alert,"-you write that, at first, this ear "scemed in full function," yet that, in fact, it was not in full function, not "alert," but "tended to drop off into the slumber,"—heard "dimly and sleepily," and so forth, and most of the time is only a little above the middle state between sleeping and waking," in which state we hear in the vaguest and most dislocated fashion. By your account "most of the time" Mrs. Piper's ear is not "awake and alert," and not on the catch for even whispered hints. We have here a clearly drawn and most important distinction between the impressions made on you by your earlier and your later studies of the alertness of Mrs. Piper's ear, or sense of hearing. Your "Current Notes," in which Mrs. Piper's ear hears "dimly and sleepily, or tended to drop off into slumber," were, or ought to have been, written under the vivid recent impression of your interviews with that lady. Have you "got them down in your notes"? Your Introduction, I presume, was written later, after the book of Miss Tanner, Ph.D., was finished. In your Introduction, all is changed, the ear has now become

"keen and alert." I know not how you could write this statement, if you remembered what you had written in your "Current Notes."

Your "searching, impartial, critical" estimate of Mrs. Piper has now been treated to an examination which I can honestly call "impartial." I do not wish to be captious: I am sincerely unable to understand why, in the conclusions of your Introduction you appear to forget what "later observation" taught you.

Your theory of what some reckon Mrs. Piper's successes seems to rest on the discovery that, when she is "entranced," her normal intelligence and her sense of hearing are at once extremely alert "often"; and yet, usually, or "most of the time," are somnolent and beclouded, "sleepy" and "dim."

I may have overlooked, I certainly have failed to discover, any mode of reconciling so many conclusions which to me look like contradictions in terms. But Dr. Tanner's conclusions "are in substantial agreement" with yours, and you are "satisfied and shall probably never want more sittings." Were I you, I should pine for more sittings in the hope of discovering whether I really thought that Mrs. Piper's ear is "keen and alert"; or, on the other hand, as "subsequent observation suggests," "hcard dimly and sleepily, or else tended to drop off into the slumber in which the eye and other orienting faculties were wrapped" (p. 265). How can both of these conclusions be correct? Why do you express (pp. xix-xx) in your Introduction the conclusions which, as reported in your "Current Notes," subsequent observation proved to be mistaken? Conclusions which are apparently irreconcilably contradictory cannot be the basis of discussion.

The problem of determining the presence or absence of vcry wide-awake normal intelligence and keen sensitiveness to impressions in a person whose "general sensibility is shunted out," and whose "respiratory functions, taste, smell, general tactile sensibility and motor innervation are certainly asleep," (p. 268) is, of course, very difficult ! If I understand you, Mrs. Piper can somehow "shunt out" all the faculties which she *does* shunt out, and yet "often" retain her normal intelligence, her powers of hearing, comparing, and inferring, while also "most of the time" her hearing is very somnolent and therefore her inferences from what she dimly hears must be the vaguest of dreams.

Puzzled as every conscientious reader must be, one turns to the "Notes of the Sittings," pp. 166-258. Here, one hopes, will be found contemporary records of the general keen alertness, and of the usual somnolent inefficiency, of Mrs. Piper's normal sense of hearing.

The theory and method of the sittings is that Mrs. Piper, or her spiritual "control," can only hear what is spoken loud to her right hand, which the control dominates. Your theory is that (a) Mrs. Piper's ear has its normal powers of hearing; and, again, (b) that it has not. In the records taken during the sittings I find only the following notes which assert the reaction of Mrs. Piper, or of Hodgson, to sounds other than remarks shouted into her writing hand.

(1) p. 195. "Hodgson seems to break in, in response to some unnoted remark from Mr. Dorr." The remark of Mr. Dorr being "unnoted" we can say no more.

(2) p. 229. Dr. Tanner had said to Dr. Hall "with a laugh" that some undecipherable writing by Mrs. Piper "looked as if it might be the beginning of 'Hell and damnation.'" The writing hand remonstrated against what Dr. Tanner had said.

In this instance Mrs. Piper, or "Hodgson" certainly heard what Dr. Tanner said, with a laugh, about Hell and damnation. This is, I think, the only instance of such hearing which is not matter of presumption and conjecture.

(3) p. 229. A reference to Mr. Dorr's return to the room whence he had made a pretence of departing. It is inferred that Mrs. Piper heard some sound whence *she* inferred that a trick was being played.

(4) "We talked to each other a minute or so. *Presumably* the control heard, and went on" (p. 241). But nothing in the context suggests that "the control heard" your conversation.

(5) There followed (Fifth sitting) some futile attempts at experiments to detect Mrs. Piper's powers of hearing, and Dr. Tanner says "I whispered to Dr. Hall to try to fool the control... but I think that he heard me" (p. 243).

This is only a conjecture of Dr. Tanner's: the "control," in *these* experiments, was not always easily "fooled."

(6) On p. 251 (Sixth sitting) several experiments on hearing are tried, and "doubtless the control heard, the first time the question was asked," but this is the common "doubtless" of science and means no more than that you prefer to suppose that the "control" heard the question.

(7) p. 256. A case of hearing what you and Dr. Tanner said to each other. What you said to each other involved an obvious misinterpretation of what Mrs. Piper (or "the control") had been saying to you, and "the control" kept insisting on his own opinion.

I can only find, as contemporary records of the acute hearing of Mrs. Piper in trance, these few cases, conjectures, and presumptions.

Of the somnolence of the ear, "most of the time," I find no contemporary record.

To return to the contrast between your scanty contemporary notes of your guesses that Mrs. Piper hears acutely in "trance," on one side, and your large general assertion, on the other, that her hearing is acute, you say (p. 264), "The left ear is certainly awake, because, over and over, murmured words between those present, steps, rustles, laughs, and many other noises are heard and reacted to, sometimes unexpectedly, by the writer."

Where are your contemporary records of these many "reactions"? You give to the general reader your large assertion on p. 264, lines 1-5. You contradict it (as far as I can understand you) on page 265, and all the exact evidence you offer for the assertion on page 264 is your "doubtless," your "I think," your "presumably," with one or two certainties. Yet on your theory of Mrs. Piper's acute hearing, you base your theory of her alleged successes: surely there ought to be more proofs both of the vigilance and of the somnolence of her sense of hearing.

Once more, you are singularly inattentive to your own contemporary reports of your six sittings. At the Fourth, after you had told your "involuted lies" to "Hodgson," Hodgson said "I am interested in seeing how many stories you can tell in a minute. They (*sic*) awfully bad. They are awful whoppers" (p. 228). In the Sixth sitting (p. 255), Hodgson says "I have felt so keenly your various whoppers all this time.... I think I told you so before." (The dates of sittings are not given.)

Your report, incredible as it seems, actually goes on: "which he certainly had not, having been trustful to the point of credulity." Thus, when you reach page 255, you have forgotten, beyond recall even by your proof sheets, what you had chronicled on page 228,—namely, "Hodgson's" detection and denunciation of your "awful whoppers." You do not remember all this even when "Hodgson" (p. 255) says, "I think I told you so before." You reply "which he certainly had not." Yet he had! Poor "Hodgson's" memory is much better than yours and Dr. Tanner's combined. It is *you* who here "display the inability that we should expect from a secondary personality..."

These notes deal only with the method and logic of your contributions to the book of Dr. Tanncr. Concerning Mrs. Piper, it is my opinion that if it were possible to put her fleshly ears out of action, without in any way injuring these organs, "Hodgson," Rector and Co. would be deaf, and, of course, could not answer questions which could not reach them, unless by dint of telepathy between the quick and the dead. If these spirits replied, and replied correctly, to questions asked *mentally* by the sitters, their case would be much stronger, though, of course, not a crucial test. "Nevertheless the experiment ought to be made by some competent person," writes Sir Oliver Lodge. When physical hearing has been put out of action, then sitters need not shout, they may put their questions mentally. But till these conditions are secured, I venture to think that experiments with Mrs. Piper are nugatory.

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

A. LANG.

REVIEW.

Studies in Spiritism. By AMY E. TANNER, Ph.D. (D. Appleton & Co., New York and London, 1910, pp. 408.)

MR. LANG deals above with Professor Stanley Hall's share in Dr. Tanner's book *Studies in Spiritism*. A brief notice of the book as a whole should perhaps be added.

But first let me say a few words about Mr. Lang's concluding paragraph, which it seems to me unduly depreciates Mrs. Piper's phenomena. I agree with him, as I think all who have sat with her in England do, in believing that the trance-personality hears in a normal manner through Mrs. Piper's ears, and that its impression of hearing with the hand is a matter of self-suggestion.¹ (It is a pity that Mr. Hall and Miss Tanner did not succeed in stopping the ears so as to put this beyond the possibility of question.) I also agree with Mr. Lang that answers to mental questions would greatly add to the evidence for thought-transference from the sitter, though scarcely at all, I may remark, to that for thoughttransference between Mrs. Piper and other automatists, for which the evidence is in my opinion strong. But I cannot agree with his view that without answers to mental questions from the sitter experiments with Mrs. Piper are nugatory; and in this I think that most of those who have studied fully the published reports of her sittings would agree with me. Does he perhaps, like Professor Hall and Dr. Tanner, believe that the records are so incomplete that even important remarks by the sitter are omitted? Certainly at sittings at which I have been present either as manager or sitter this has not been the case. It has never been assumed by me, nor I think by other English sitters, that any remark or sound made in the room was inaudible to the trance-personality, and it surprises me that Mr. Hall and Miss Tanner should ever have

¹ Compare Mr. Myers' Human Personality, Vol. I., p. 192.

acted as if this were so—for instance, in the case referred to by Mr. Lang above, No. 5, p. 99. I do not know Mr. Dorr's view, but it seems to me unlikely that in telling them—if he did so—that they might talk freely to each other he meant to imply that they could count on not being heard by the trance-personality.

It does not appear that the report by Professor Hall and Dr. Tanner gives a complete account of all that happened at their six sittings, but probably what is reported is enough to enable us to form a fair judgement of the whole. Nor does it seem likely that the omission to note all their own remarks (an omission which they complain of-or perhaps too readily assume to have occurred-in the case of other sitters) has seriously, if at all, lessened the value of their sittings, which in other respects give the impression of being carefully recorded, and which form a useful addition to the material for studying Mrs. Piper's trance state. Having no interest in keeping on friendly terms with the trance-personality, they were able to use methods scarcely open to those who wish to continue experimenting-in fact, in the language of the Hodgson control, they told him "awful whoppers." They thus induced Hodgson, to admit comradeship and common reminiscences with Professor Hall, who says he never met Hodgson in the flesh; and they succeeded in obtaining messages from wholly fictitious friends and relations. Similarly, by substituting, unknown to the trancepersonality, or at least without his betraying that he detected the imposture, other objects for Hodgson's "influences," 1 they showed that the effect of these is probably due to suggestion, as in the case of bread pills. These results will not, I think, surprise any of the English investigators, but it is useful to have experimental demonstration of them.

Attempts to persuade $Hodgson_P$ to deny his own identity failed completely, though I notice that Professor Hall is convinced that he could have been bluffed out of existence had the effort been persisted in (p. xxiii.). Personally, I doubt whether the most tactful handling would, in Mrs. Piper's case, induce a supposed communicator to deny the identity he claimed; but doubtless such communicators can be suppressed or encouraged by the sitters.

Mr. Hall and Miss Tanner also confirmed and extended some

¹ "Influences," that is objects which have been in physical contact with the supposed communicator when in the body, though not a necessity, are supposed to help communication. They may serve to concentrate the attention of the trance-personality, or their use may be purely suggestive.

experiments of Dr. Hodgson's ¹ showing comparative insensibility of various kinds during trance. Their attempts at Freudian psychoanalysis were incomplete and of little interest.

The accounts of the six sittings with Mrs. Piper held by Mr. Hall and Miss Tanner occupy about one fourth of the book. There is also a little chapter, interesting from a psychological point of view, called "The medium in germ," on two cases of incipient mediumship which had come under Miss Tanner's notice. The rest of the book consists of discussions of Mrs. Piper's phenomena generally, of crosscorrespondences, of the evidence for telepathy furnished by the Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research and Phantasms of the Living, of a chapter on Mrs. Verrall, and a discussion of the Census of Hallucinations. Unfortunately brevity, hasty reading, and forgetfulness of "the tremendous influence of a preconceived theory on one's interpretations of facts" (see p. 105) very much diminish the value of what Professor Hall describes as Miss Tanner's "searching, impartial, critical estimate" (p. xxxiii). In fact her presentation of facts and arguments cannot be assumed to be fair without reference to the originals. For persons with the original accounts before them her remarks might sometimes be useful, but my impression is that they would seldom be found to add anything of value to what is put before the reader in the case as originally described, and they constantly misrepresent the case and are essentially misleading. I have not, indeed, compared the criticism with the matter criticised in all cases myself, and if I had it would obviously be impossible to follow Miss Tanner throughout within the limits of this notice. I will therefore content myself with giving a few of the instances of inaccuracy, misinterpretation or curious reasoning that have struck me in reading her book.

(a) On p. 296, in discussing "The Case of Mrs. Verrall," Miss Tanner says: "At various times the script attempted a word to be sent as a test to Dr. Hodgson, finally giving the words Ariadnes stella coronaria, and making an allusion to another constellation, Berenice's hair. Dr. Hodgson in reply said that he had thought about syringas in connexion with her script, and that syringas had a special significance for him. Now the Latin name for syringa is Philadelphus Coronarius, and the combined reference to Ariadne's crown and Berenice's hair *is supposed by Mrs. Verrall* to be intended to recall Philadelphus or brotherly love. This is rather far-fetched, however." I raise no objection to the abstract till we

¹ Proceedings, Vol. VIII., p. 4.

come to the part I have put in italics. Mrs. Verrall says nothing about brotherly love. What she does say is "that the introduction of Berenice was accounted for, if what was wanted was not only coronarius but Philadelphus"¹; and in case by chance any one should fail to remember the close association, in history, of the names Berenice and Ptolemy Philadelphus, she refers to it in a foot-note. This is not far-fetched at all.

(b) Here (pp. 136, 137) is an attempt to provide a common train of thought in three automatists to account for cross-correspondences on the words 'cup' and 'Diana,' and (in two of them) references to Macbeth. Miss Tanner says: "We got a clew here in the fact that Henry Irving played 'Macbeth' and 'The Cup' in London that winter, though we are not told just when." She doubtless refers to a conjecture of Mr. Piddington's as to association of ideas in one of the scripts. He says (*Proc.*, Vol. XXII., p. 206): "The conjunction of allusions to *Macbeth*, *The Cup*, and a 'Henry' [in Mrs. Holland's script] was, perhaps, due to an association of ideas with Henry Irving, who produced, and acted in, these two plays." "That winter" is an interpolation of Miss Tanner's and, as that winter was 1906-7, and Henry Irving died in 1905, and, I may add, at no time acted in *Macbeth* and *The Cup* in the same year,² is obviously an erroneous one. So that clue fails.

(c) The following is a specimen of Miss Tanner's arguments. On p. 344 she refers to the case of Miss R. seeing the face of Mrs. J. W. in two places nearly or quite at once on the night of Mr. J. W.'s death (*Journal* S.P.R., Vol. XII., p. 317). Miss R. unfortunately failed to note the experience in writing, though she specially observed the hour, till two days later when she heard of the death. "This," says Miss Tanner, "is an excellent illustration of the defects in all testimony in which the vision is not written out prior to the knowledge of the death. What proof is there that this is not an illusory memory, especially if, as seems to be the case, Miss R. is given to vivid images and feelings of premonition?" (Whence she gets this impression about Miss R.'s tendencies to vivid images, etc., I do not know. Miss R.'s own statement is: "To the best of my belief I have never seen an appearance of any similar kind before.") The case would, of course, have been more cogent if a note had been

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XX., p. 309.

 2 The Cup was produced by Irving at the Lyceum in 1881, and has not been played in London since. Macbeth was played by him in 1875 and again in 1888.

made, but even taking Miss Tanner's abridged account, and still more with the details given in the original, it appears to me to be one where illusion of memory is improbable. However, Miss Tanner thinks differently, and having persuaded herself that there probably was illusion of memory, she goes further and actually regards the case as evidence that such illusions are common. She says: "Such a case . . . convinces us that illusions of memory even within a few days of the event may be so common as to invalidate every case except those in which the hallucination is written out in detail at the time and before the corresponding event is known."

(d) Here is another specimen of Miss Tanner's arguments. She refers with well-merited admiration to Mr. Davey's experiments (Proc., Vol. IV.), showing how inaccurate observation and memory of conjuring tricks is. Then, criticising the evidence for apparitions at the time of death, and referring to the paucity of contemporary documents, she says (p. 352): "Does it not seem curious that a committee [the Census Committee] cognisant of Mr. Davey's brilliant demonstration of the transpositions and lapses of memory within even one hour after the event should base a supposedly scientific argument for telepathy on evidence of this sort?" The value of the evidence is of course greatly diminished by absence of contemporary notes. At the same time, the kind of lapse of observation and memory involved in misstatements in the case of accounts of Mr. Davey's conjuring tricks is very different from that in accounts of apparitions at the time of death. For instance, I should unhesitatingly assume Miss Tanner's account of a conjuring trick witnessed but not understood by her to be inaccurate, though given immediately after witnessing it, because I should know that the conjuror had tried to give her false impressions at the time, and because I should feel sure that the numerous small incidents which went to make up the whole occurrence, and to which she had no clue, would tend to get misplaced or forgotten even when observed. But if Miss Tanner told me that Miss Smith called on her at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon I should have no reason to doubt her word : though, of course, if anything of importance turned on the exact day and hour of the call it would be desirable to enquire whether she or others could bring forward corroborative circumstances confirming her recollection.

(e) Here is an instance of Miss Tanner's conjectural explanations (p. 58). At a sitting with Mrs. Piper which Sir Oliver Lodge was managing, and at which he was himself taking notes, a "Mr.

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Wilson," deceased, professed through the Phinuit control to send messages to his son, who was not present. The following is an extract from the report:

"... He lives somewhere in your neighbourhood

O. J. L. Yes he does.

and has got a friend named Bradley—a very great friend of his. He thought first of being a doctor. . . ."

The son had never thought of being a doctor, but when the remark was made at the sitting Sir Oliver thought it correctly represented something he had been told by the son. His inference from this, and from the fact that of other statements made by 'Mr. Wilson' those only referring to matters known to Sir Oliver were correct, is that "a great deal of this looks obviously like thought-transference." On this Miss Tanner comments, "Doubtless there was thought-transference, but it was done by Sir Oliver involuntarily betraying his opinion to Phinuit, I would venture to say." Now how does one, when there is no beating about the bush, involuntarily betray an impression of the sort in question? Does Dr. Tanner think that Sir Oliver unconsciously whispered "he thought first of being a doctor" and that Phinuit repeated it after him? Or does she believe that Sir Oliver's contemporary notes are as much abbreviated, or abstracted with a bias, as the accounts of cases in her book? Surely in this case a more plausible alternative hypothesis to telepathy would be that Phinuit made a guess which accidentally coincided with Sir Oliver's idea.

Dr. Tanner gives two chapters to "Telepathy and other Allied Phenomena," and rather strangely says (p. 321) that under the name of telepathy "are grouped all such things as crystal gazing, veridical dreams, death warnings, premonitions that come true, automatic writing, and even spirit communication itself by some." In the first of the two chapters she discusses spontaneous and experimental thought-transference. (I am interested, by the way, to learn that the experiments at Brighton in 1889-90, in which I took a large part, "are now discredited," p. 326. This is news to me.) In the second of the two chapters Miss Tanner discusses the "Census of Hallucinations." It is curious to find her saying after this (p. 365): "The great trouble with the cases for all sorts of telepathy is that it is almost, if not quite, impossible to collect all the negative instances, for that would mean devoting one's time to writing down the thoughts which bring up persons. We cannot even begin to calculate the probabilities in the case until we know something more of the

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numbers of negative cases." It was a principal object of the "Census of Hallucinations," to compare the number of coincidental with non-coincidental—positive with negative—hallucinations, and Miss Tanner actually discusses the chapter on recognised apparitions where the proportion of these occurring within twelve hours of the death of the person seen is compared with the proportion of such coincidences that chance alone would give (and shown, of course, enormously to exceed it). It seems possible, however, that she has not altogether understood the object of a calculation which she has certainly failed to follow, and of which she gives an account on p. 350, which is neither correct nor intelligible.

I could multiply instances of inaccuracy and misrepresentation, also of the use of misleading phrases, such as those by which Miss Tanner seems to suggest that "the Psychical Researchers" are collectively responsible for the opinions of any one interested in Psychical Research. But I have, I think, said enough. It is likely enough that the book will impress those who derive their knowledge of the evidence discussed from it alone; but a very different view will be formed by those who are able to check Dr. Tanner's version of the evidence by reference to the original sources. As Dr. Tanner is a professional psychologist, and presumably therefore aims at learning and expounding the truth, the book must be regarded as failing in its object.

ELEANOR MILDRED SIDGWICK.

"THE ONE-HORSE DAWN:"

Additional Note on an Experiment Described in "Proceedings," Vol. XX., pp. 156-167.

By Mrs. A. W. VERRALL.

In the account given in *Proc.* S.P.R., Vol. XX., of an attempt made by my husband without my knowledge, to convey to my script three Greek words occurring in a passage from the *Orestes* of Euripides set for translation in the Classical Tripos of 1873, I gave what I believed to be a complete list of the allusions in my script to that experiment. But I have lately found what appears to be a reference to the context of the words $\mu o\nu \acute{\sigma} \pi \omega \lambda o\nu \acute{\epsilon}s \ \acute{a}\hat{\omega}$ and to the name of the play.

The script in question was obtained on June 30, 1901, between what I had regarded as the first and second references to the "three Greek words" (p. 387). I quote here the relevant part, omitting only a wholly disconnected introductory phrase and a concluding portion, introduced by the name "Gurney" and ended by the signature "E. Gy.", which purports to represent an attempt on the part of a "Sidgwickcontrol" to make an evidential statement about a MS. play.¹

Script of June 30, 1901. 9 p.m. Riffel Alp.

Facto superposito superpone semper quod infacetum viderit sic in cacumina pervenies. $\lambda a\mu\pi a\delta \lambda a\mu\pi a\delta \eta\phi \delta\rho \phi$. arcton stella in caelo $\beta oo \tau \eta \nu$ sequitur. flum in originem retro— $\delta \eta \lambda \eta \tau \eta \rho i \rho \nu$ $\delta \epsilon \lambda \tau o \nu d\delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \delta \delta \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \kappa \eta o \mu \phi \eta \chi \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau a \nu$ ingenium adhibe—pone mentem tuam, interpretationem caecam veritatis Dei. 111 and

¹See Proc., Vol. XX., pp. 279-280; 416 for the play; 305-307 for the form of signature, "E. Gy."

then 3 more, put nine and count the days listen that night the bird will come l' uccel di Dio. in the everlasting snows—you cannot fail to note. Peace and a sword.

The point appears to lie in the words from $\lambda \alpha \mu \pi \dot{\alpha}_s$ to $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \epsilon \tau \alpha i$. They follow upon a general instruction ¹ to "go on superposing" "so will you reach the height," and precede injunctions to apply ingenuity to their interpretation. They may be thus represented in English: "a torch to the toreh bearer; Arcton (Great or Little Bear) a star in the sky follows Boötes (the Charioteer). A river back to its source—deleterion (?) of a tablet—a brother will use the Delphie voiee."

Areton is probably a slip for Aretos; in any case the next sentence makes it clear that the intention is to describe a reversal of the natural order of the stars; Boötes, the Charioteer, otherwise Arcturus, instead of following the Bear, is himself followed by the Bear. This idea is repeated in the next sentenec; the river flows back to its source. The next word $(\delta\eta\lambda\eta\tau\eta'\rho\iota\sigma\nu)$ certainly, and the second $(\delta\epsilon\lambda\tau\sigma\nu)$ probably,² is meaningless and may merely represent a feeling after the following words (see *Proc.*, Vol. XX., p. 57). The last four words, however, are intelligible, and applicable to Orestes; Orestes the brother of Iphigenia and Electra, did carry out the orders of the "Delphian voice." I can think of no other "brother" who did this. Here, then, may be an allusion to the *Orestes*.

The reversal of natural phenomena in the Orestes describes only the reversed movement of the sun. The script introduces two instances. The first closely recalls the illustration in the Orestes, suggesting, as Euripides does, a revolution of the heavens from West to East. I have found no classical prototype for the pursuit of Boötes by the Bear. The second illustration, the backward flowing of a river, recalls the Chorus in the Medea (l. 409) $av\omega \pi \sigma \tau a\mu\omega\nu i\epsilon\rho\omega\nu \chi\omega\rho\sigma\sigma\sigma \pi a\gamma a$ (The mystic river-head flows upwards).

The use, however, of Latin suggests that the reminiscence is

¹The grammatical forms are inaccurate, and precise rendering is not possible.

²This may refer to the *tablet* which is the means of identifying Orestes as the brother of Iphigenia in the I.T.

rather of a Latin passage. Ovid¹ uses the same image twice (*Her.* v. 29 and *Trist.* ii. 8. 1). In the passage in the *Tristia*, which contains two of the words introduced into the script, *retro* and *flumina*, he writes not only of the backward-flowing river but of the reversal of the chariot of the sun :

" In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro Flumina, conversis solque recurret equis,"

thus recalling the reversed movement described in the passage of the Orestes, $\mu o \nu \dot{\sigma} \pi \omega \lambda o \nu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{s} \dot{a} \dot{\omega}$.

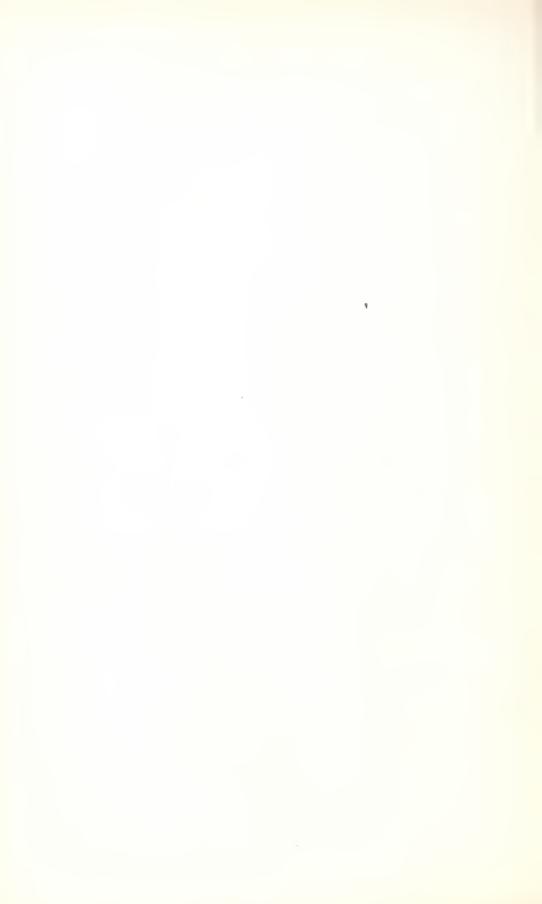
The words $\lambda a \mu \pi a \delta \eta \phi \delta \rho \phi$ 'a torch to the torchbearer' confusedly recall the famous simile in the Agamemnon (l. 324). They appear to me to belong to the introductory portion of the script, and, like the remarks about "superposition," to suggest co-operation of some sort.

But the reversal of natural phenomena and the brother who is to use the Delphian voice appear to relate to the context of the "three Greek words" and to the title of the play.

The appointment which the script made was not kept, and no "bird" of any kind had a chance of appearing on July 15, 1901. But in the later attempts from August 13, 1901, onwards, to guess the three words, a cock plays a large part; an "incredible bird" also appears in the first script dealing with the subject, on June 16, 1901,² so that "the bird" constitutes a point of contact with other scripts containing references to $\mu o\nu \acute{\sigma}\pi \omega \lambda o\nu \acute{\epsilon}_{S} \acute{a}\hat{\omega}$.

¹Quoted in Paley's edition of the Medea of Euripides.

² A "cockyoly bird" had attracted my attention in the script of May 11, 1901. See *Proc.*, Vol. XX., pp. 328-330.



PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXIII.

JUNE, 1911.

I.

EVIDENCE OF CLASSICAL SCHOLARSHIP AND OF CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE IN SOME NEW AUTO-MATIC WRITINGS.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

INTRODUCTION.

MEMBERS of the Society who have followed the subject of Crosscorrespondence are aware that in recent years several ladies, some of them previously strangers to us, have proved able to produce script containing evidential matter which purports to come from deceased members of the S.P.R., among others from the late Mr. Myers; and one of these ladies, now known to us as Mrs. Willett, seems to be endowed with exceptional power and productiveness, though no report of her work has yet been made to the Society.

It is probable that eventually a Report of considerable magnitude will be made upon this case, which is turning out to be important, but meanwhile the present paper deals with

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some communications which I have had with Mrs. Willett through the post, after hearing about her through Mrs. Verrall and seeing some of the material which she had produced.

Concerning Mrs. Willett herself the following statements have been made by Mrs. Verrall in a letter to me, dated 23 February, 1910.

Statement by Mrs. Verrall concerning Mrs. Willett.

She is not a member of the S.P.R., and has never seen any papers whatever in proof. She knows no one who attends meetings, and it is therefore most unlikely that she should even know the names of papers read there, and impossible, I think, that she should know anything of the contents. She has, however, read and annotated Mr. Piddington's paper (Vol. XXII.), and has similarly read Miss Johnson's paper (Vol. XXI.).

I have notes stating exactly what scripts she has seen.¹ . . . When I stayed with her in January last . . . I was extremely careful to say nothing about any of the recent unpublished papers prepared for the forthcoming volume of *Proceedings.* . . .

She knows that there have been cross-correspondences between Helen and me in England and Mrs. Piper in America. She knows absolutely nothing in detail. . .

I have had many opportunities of checking Mrs. Willett's accuracy of memory and statement, and have always found it very marked. She is an excellent witness in every way, and her own statement could, I feel sure, be entirely depended upon.

So much for Mrs. Verrall's statement concerning this lady.

Miss Alice Johnson, Research Officer to the S.P.R., has now made her acquaintance, and has formed a very favourable impression. Appended is her first-hand statement.

¹ In the course of my correspondence with Mrs. Willett I found that references to her had been made in the scripts of other automatists, and as her collaboration was helpful in the elucidation of such references, I have sent her from time to time copies of my daughter's scripts and my own, as well as of some parts of the Mac scripts (now published in *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 264). It will be seen that a few of the phrases in the scripts quoted in this paper are derived from these sources. For fuller information on this subject see my supplementary paper, which follows.—M. de G. V. Miss Johnson's Statement concerning Mrs. Willett.

July 22nd, 1910.

I was introduced by Mrs. Verrall to Mrs. Willett in the early part of this year, and have had several opportunities of talking with her about her script and the circumstances under which it has been produced. As to the result of these interviews, I concur absolutely in Mrs. Verrall's opinion expressed above. I am confident that Mrs. Willett's testimony is given under a strict sense of responsibility and with every care to make it as accurate as possible. She is by no means devoid of critical faculty, and is, I think, accurate by nature in regard to essentials of evidence. I should without hesitation accept any statement from her as to the extent of her normal supraliminal knowledge of topics in her script, and I believe she is extremely careful to give whatever information she possesses that would bear on this point, or on the equally important question of matters that may once have been within her knowledge and since forgotten.

Supplementary Preliminary Statement by O. J. L.

For my own part I am assured not only of Mrs. Willett's good faith, and complete absence of anything that can be called even elementary classical knowledge, but also of the scrupulous care and fidelity with which she records her impressions, and reports every trace of normal knowledge which seems to her to have any possible bearing upon the script. We are able in fact to regard her as a colleague in the research, in the same sort of way that we are able to regard Mrs. Holland.

I may also emphasise the fact that the scripts dealt with below were copied, and the copies sent to me at once, by Mrs. Willett. Occasionally, when anything seemed specially important, the original was sent to me—either with or without a copy; and when this was not done, the original was always deposited, in a sealed envelope, with some responsible person living in another house,—so as to get a postmark and an endorsement of receipt, that there might be no sort of mistake or question about the date, if that happened to turn out to be an important item. This is a good precaution to take in such cases, when possible cross-correspondence may be anticipated, and when the writing as it comes is largely unintelligible to the automatist.

Edmund Gurney is supposed to be the chief communicator or manager of Mrs. Willett's automatism, and many messages come from him; but occasionally we are told that "Myers" is in touch with "the machine," and some episodes connected with what it is convenient to call Myers_w, shall be narrated.

The chief portion of what I have first to report takes its origin in a question which Mr. Dorr, of Boston, U.S.A., asked of a Myers control, through Mrs. Piper, in America in March, 1908.

The answers then and there received have been studied by Mr. Piddington, were found to be of singular interest, and were reported on by him to a private meeting of the Society held on Oct. 28, 1909—his paper being read to the meeting by Miss Helen Verrall. At this date Mrs. Willett was living in a remote part of the country and there is no reason to suppose that she ever saw the *Journal* of the Society. Moreover, no details at all are given of this paper in the *Journal*. It is only referred to (in October and November, 1909) under the title, "Some Classical Allusions in Mrs. Piper's Trance," and was not published in the *Proceedings* (Part LX.) until April, 1910.

I myself had heard of the paper beforehand and had read parts of it; so in September it occurred to me that it would be instructive to ask the Myers-like influence operating through Mrs. Willett the very same question as had been asked of the Myers control working through Mrs. Piper. At this period I had not had first-hand experience of Mrs. Willett's phenomena, though I had made her acquaintance in London on the 17th of May, 1909; but inasmuch as the character of the "Myers" communications coming through her had favourably impressed me, I wrote with some care to her on 28 Sept., 1909, enclosing a question in a sealed envelope for her to open at any convenient time when it seemed likely that script would be forthcoming.

Letter from O. J. L. to Mrs. Willett, dated 28th Sept. 1909.

I want to ask F. W. H. M. a question à propos of nothing, and propose to enclose it for you to use when you have an opportunity. It is a very short one, but more important than it will sound. LXIII.] Classical Scholarship, etc., in some New Script. 117

It may be best not to open it till you feel ready to communicate it.

The answer may take some time before it is complete, but a record of everything said, gibberish or otherwise,—perhaps especially on the first occasion—may be important.

The envelope enclosed in this letter of mine to Mrs. Willett was stuck up and endorsed by me as intended for F. W. H. M. through Mrs. Willett, under date 29 Sept., 1909.

It happened that she was not doing any automatic writing at this time, and therefore did not open the envelope till some months later. It was subsequently returned to me at my request for inspection, and on the tongue is now written in Mrs. Willett's writing:

> "Opened by me Feb. 4, 1910 at —____."

The sheet of paper enclosed in the envelope runs as follows:

Mariemont, Edgbaston, 29 Sept. 1909.

My dear Myers, I want to ask you a question—not an idle one. WHAT DOES THE WORD LETHE SUGGEST TO YOU?

It may be that you will choose to answer piece-meal and at leisure. There is no hurry about it. OLIVER LODGE.

My object of course was to see whether what we may call the "Willett-Myers" could exhibit a train of recollection similar to that of the "Piper-Myers," when stimulated by one and the same question. And the circumstances were such that even if identically the *same* train of memories were tapped which on any hypothesis was improbable—the evidence would be good for something supernormal, though in that case it might have to be assumed that the supernormality was limited to telepathy from the living.

But the answers that I got through Mrs. Willett were supplementary to, and by no means identical with, those obtained through Mrs. Piper. They contain a common element, and in my judgement are characteristic of the same personality, but they are not identical.

In speaking for the moment of "the same personality," I must guard against the supposition that I regard the Piper-Myers, the Willett-Myers, the Verrall-Myers, the Holland-Myers, as all exactly the same. On the assumption that they all include something of a real "Myers," the mixed or compound personalities should all contain a common element, and this common element may be dominant or recessive, according to circumstances; but on any hypothesis we must expect the messages as we receive them to be more or less sophisticated by the instrument through which the communications are made. The personalities would probably differ, as Miss Johnson has clearly pointed out (*Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 262), somewhat as chemical compounds may differ when they all contain a common element. In no case do we get the Myers element pure and undiluted. Sometimes it comes out more clearly than at others, but it must surely be influenced by the material channel through which it conveys its intelligence --especially perhaps as regards the literary form which the communications take, and we may expect that the range of "Myers" reminiscences which can be tapped by such means must be limited, or at least curbed to some extent in power of expression, by the range of memory and association-or as some might say by the brain deposit-of the person through whom the answers are obtained.

In the case of an entranced medium, like Mrs. Piper, I should anticipate that more complete control could be exercised, and that the inevitable sophistication would be less--when the conditions are favourable-than with a medium not entranced; and it may thus be possible sometimes, and with difficulty, to get recorded words or signs alien to the mind of the automatist; --- who indeed is then, I am inclined to think, not so much an automatist influenced telepathically, as an automaton or agency or machine "possessed" for the time by some experienced and managing "control," who operates dynamically or telergically. That at any rate seems a legitimate working hypothesis; but in all probability the grades and shades of mediumship are very various, and for my own part I have not found any two precisely alike. With more experience we shall be able to classify them, I expect; but the classes will probably, as usual, shade off into

each other, and there will be no clear lines or boundaries of demarcation.

It is becoming clear to me that when communications are being sent, in such cases as those of Mrs. Verrall, Mrs. Holland, and Mrs. Willett, the process consists in a kind of *selection* rather than in creation or origination. Original thoughts may sometimes be passed through, but the easiest method is to find in the mind or perhaps in the brain of the medium some deposit of reminiscence which can be evoked or stimulated, and which can convey approximately something like the idea required. It does not appear to be at all easy to impress people with meaningless or foreign words or sentences, but reservoirs of partial knowledge can, it appears, be tapped sometimes and utilised in such a way that an intelligent and patient reader can clearly make out the underlying meaning and connexion, from what is "got through."

But on this hypothesis it is manifestly natural that the associations expressed through different channels shall be differently worded, shall fall into different groups, and shall be very far from being identical in phrase and detail. Part of these differences may be reasonably attributed to an intelligent desire of the control to avoid direct telepathy, or any appearance of direct telepathy, between the automatists. But another part may I think be reasonably attributed to the fundamental difficulties grouped round the subject, and to the conditions under which alone communications of this kind are possible.

A statement made by $Myers_W$ is of interest in this connexion. He recognises that the use of different automatists to convey a single idea necessitates attention to various forms or modes of expressing that idea; for in a Willett script of Feb. 10, 1910 (reported more fully in Part II. below), occur the words:

That I have to use different scribes means that I must show different aspects of thought, underlying which unity is to be found.¹

For a further discussion of this matter, the section in Miss Johnson's paper below on "The Principle of Selection in the Production of Scripts" may be referred to.

¹It will be observed that the Willett script, like that of Mrs. Holland, uses the word "scribe" in the sense of automatist.

PART I.

CONCERNING THE SCRIPT OF 4 FEBRUARY, 1910.

CHAP. I. THE LETHE-DORR EPISODE IN WILLETT SCRIPT.

I will first briefly summarise the answers which were given to Mr. Dorr's question about Lethe, when first addressed to the Myers control through Mrs. Piper in America, and then I will reproduce and fully discuss the answers which were given to the same question when put by me to the communicator through Mrs. Willett in this country.

It will be noticed that the object of the interrogator in the two cases somewhat differed. Mr. Dorr's object was to stimulate the classical interest, and tap the classical and literary reminiscences, of the Piper-Myers. Hence he asked many questions, of which that concerning Lethe was one. Whereas my object was chiefly to ascertain whether the Willett-Myers could show any recollection of the previous question, and whether it would give at all similar answers. In the result I may say at once that a recollection of Mr. Dorr as having been associated with this question was clearly indicated; and I may further say that the answers obtained in the two cases, though they both showed remarkable classical knowledge decidedly beyond that of the questioner, did not on the whole relate to the same topics. In answer to this particular question, Myers, referred mainly to incidents narrated by Ovid,-Myersw mostly to subjects treated of by Virgil; though undoubtedly both controls showed a familiarity with Virgil, as well as with other literature. And in some cases there was an overlapping of reminiscence of a very appropriate and remarkable kind.

To give any adequate idea of the force and meaning of all the allusions will need a detailed analysis, such as has already been performed in Part LX. (Vol. XXIV.) and in other volumes of the *Proceedings* by those who have written the papers contained therein. Every such analysis involves labour, as well as knowledge and ingenuity, and I am glad to say that Mrs. Verrall will supplement my paper by an analysis of this kind, applied to two of the Willett scripts. The answers to the Lethe question obtained through Mrs. Piper are now published in Part LX. (Mareh, 1910) of the *Proceedings* (Vol. XXIV.). They contain references to "cave," "Olympus," "Iris," "flowery banks," "Somnus," "Morpheus," "Ceyx," and "poppies," all of which are explained by Mr. Piddington as reminiscences of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book XI.

They also, however, contain the word "Sibyl," which suggests a Virgilian connexion with Lethe; for it was in the company of the Sibyl of Cumæ that Æneas saw the river of Lethe flowing by the Elysian fields.

Other elassical references from the same and the preceding Book of the *Metamorphoses* were likewise given to Mr. Dorr through Mrs. Piper in connexion with his Lethe question, involving such names as Orpheus and Eurydice, Pygmalion, Hyaeinthus. The real intention of none of these references was understood by Mr. Dorr at the time, as is clear from his own contemporary comments upon them.¹

WILLETT SCRIPT.

I shall now give the answers which were written through Mrs. Willett's hand, when she, in solitude, on Feb. 4, 1910, had opened my question and read it (so to speak) to the intelligence which at the time was controlling her hand and producing automatic writing.

I must first explain that in the automatic writings of Mrs. Willett, the name of the ostensible communicator not only eomes at the beginning, but is repeated at intervals throughout the script. The object of this repetition of the name is not quite clear, but it seems to be a plan adopted of fixing the eommunicator's own attention to the matter in hand; while it occeasionally serves as a sort of punctuation-mark or break, like a full stop or the beginning of a new paragraph. It also has the effect of keeping constantly before us the identity of the ostensible communicator; but in reading it is best to ignore most of these interruptions.

¹In her paper below Mrs. Verrall gives summarised details concerning Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper during December, 1908, and March, 1909, which are dates later than those of the sittings dealt with in Mr. Piddington's paper.

The writing of the script is legible enough. Unlike Mrs. Piper's, but like much of Mrs. Holland's, it is continuous, the words all running together. The hand-writing does not seem to me to be like any one's in particular: it is large and featureless. I have at a later stage seen this script being produced; it is rapidly written, and appears to come quite automatically. Occasionally it contains remarks addressed to the automatist herself, such as "take a fresh pen," "let the hand go," "don't scrawl," etc., etc.

In sending me the seript, Mrs. Willett accompanied it by a letter written on the same day and posted on the next, which ran thus:

I opened your sealed envelope, No. 1, to-day during the script which I now send. It is the most "scrappy" sc. I ever had, and the first in which a word is *printed* (it took some time to do); the printed word is "PEAK." The script seems full of bits from other scs. or poems. I feel like sending you the sc. itself, so I have marked off the words with a red pencil, and I also send a copy and notes of *what I know* of the quotations—but the sc., as a whole, suggests nothing much to me—I only hope it may to you.¹

Here is the Seript in as near faesimile as ordinary printing ean make it, the two portions in parentheses near the beginning being the words of Mrs. Willett herself:

(Scribble)

Myers yes I am here I am now ready to deal with the question from Lodge Before you open the envelope reread his letter to you the one that accompanied the letter to me

(I did so-

"I want to ask F.W.H.M. a question à propos of nothing, and propose to enclose it for you to use when you have an opportunity. It is a very short one, but more important than it will sound. It

¹See Appendices A and B, and Mrs. Verrall's Supplementary Paper.

may be best not to open it till you feel ready to communicate it. The answer may take some time before it is complete, but a record of everything said, gibberish or otherwise,—perhaps especially on the first occasion—may be important."

The script continued)

Yes now open the Question | the envelope containing the question (I did so and read it through twice

"My dear Myers, I want to ask you a question-not an idle one. WHAT DOES THE WORD LETHE SUGGEST TO YOU?

It may be that you will choose to answer piece-meal and at leisure. There is no hurry about it. Oliver Lodge."

The script began at once)

Myers the Will again to live the Will again to live the River of forgetfulness not reincarnation Once only does the soul descend the way that leads to incarnation the blending of the Essence with the instrument Mycrs tu Marcellus Eris you know that line you [Mrs. Willett] I mean Write it nevertheless and add Henry Sidgwicks In Valle Reducta Add too the Doves and the Golden Bough amid the Shadows add too Go not to Lethe Myers Myers there was the door to which I found no key and Haggi Babba too This is disconnected but not meaningless the shining souls shining by the river brim The pain forgotten but there is another meaning another

more intimate link and connection that now I cannot give it does not escape me I see the bearing Rose fluttering rose leaves blown like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing Myers and Love Love the essential essence not spilt like water on the ground far off forgotten pain not not (A break and pause here) Darien the Peak in Darien the Peak Peak PEAK (Another pause) m Myers I have not done yet to Lodge this may have meaning to Lodge this may have meaning Let him remember the occasion Myers I am not vague I am not vague I want an answer to this to this Script from Lodge Myers tell him I want an answer Does he recognise my recognition Does he recognise my recognition pause (did so) Let Lodge speak (?) Mvers speak let him speak Myers enough for to-day Myers let Lodge speak F. (End of Feb. 4 Script.)

Some notes accompanied this script when sent to me, indicating the amount of Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge; these will be referred to in Appendix A.

Now, I have to confess with some shame, though the fact of my ignorance really improves the evidence, that, at the time, these various literary references did not seem to me at all satisfactory as an answer to my question; and I sent a message, to be read to $Myers_W$ at some future time, saying that I expected something better. (See Appendix B.)

But gradually I have perceived, partly with the help of explanatory notes by Mr. Piddington and Mrs. Verrall, and partly by my own reading, that the answers are admirable; as I will later on endeavour to explain.

Meanwhile, however, on the very next day (February 5th), and therefore before I had been made aware of the existence of the script of Feb. 4, Mrs. Willett was conscious of a special effort being made, and she obtained a remarkable script, concerning the coming of which she makes the statement annexed:

Statement by Mrs. Willett concerning her reception of the script of February 5th, a facsimile and a transcription of which follow.

5 Feb., 1910.

Note about 6.10 p.m. I came downstairs from resting and suddenly felt I was getting very dazed and light-headed with a hot sort of feeling on the back of my neck—I was looking at the *Times* newspaper—I did not think of script until I felt my hands being as it were drawn together—I could not seem to keep them apart and the feeling got worse—and with a sort of *rush* I felt compelled to get writing materials and sit down, though [people] were in the room and I have never tried for Sc. except alone (with the exception of the time with Mrs. V.). The enclosed Sc. came—the most untidy Sc. I ever had—a long pause after the word "spell it."

After the sheet (1) I thought the Sc. was finished and began in a few minutes to copy it out when I felt my hands "going" again and took another sheet (2) when some more Sc. came.

I still feel very dazed and uncomfortable. The Sc. has no meaning whatever to me. I take the word in large letters to be

Dorr,

and this I know is the name of some man in America concerning whom Mrs. Verrall sent a message [to the Willett communicators] in the summer to say that his sittings (with Mrs. Piper, I think) had brought good evidence—I know she has written a paper about these sittings — but I know nothing whatever about them, nor about the person named "Dorr," except that he exists, and is American.

P.S.—As there is no post out from here after 6.30 (the Sc. finished at 6.25 p.m. and I looked at the clock at onee) and this cannot catch it as post-box is some minutes walk away, I am giving the Sc. and notes to [a relative] so that the date may be attested, in case it has any importance—and he will keep the envelope and post it to Sir Oliver Lodge to-morrow.

[This carefulness suggests subliminal stimulus or planning, in order to prevent any such direct telepathy from me as might be stimulated by the reception of the Feb. 4 script. I did not receive that first script till Feb. 6. The portion written now, on Feb. 5, I received on Feb. 7. O. J. L.]

Copy of Sc. of 5 February, 1910, ended 6.25 p.m.

You felt the call it I it is I who write Myers. I need urgently to say this tell Lodge this word Myers Myers get the word I will spell it (scribbles) Myers yes the word (?) is DORR

[end of sheet 1]

We (?) H (scribbles, perhaps M) Myers the word is (Scribbles) D DORR Myers enough F

[end of sheet 2]

In reply to this O. J. L. wrote to Mrs. Willett herself, as follows:

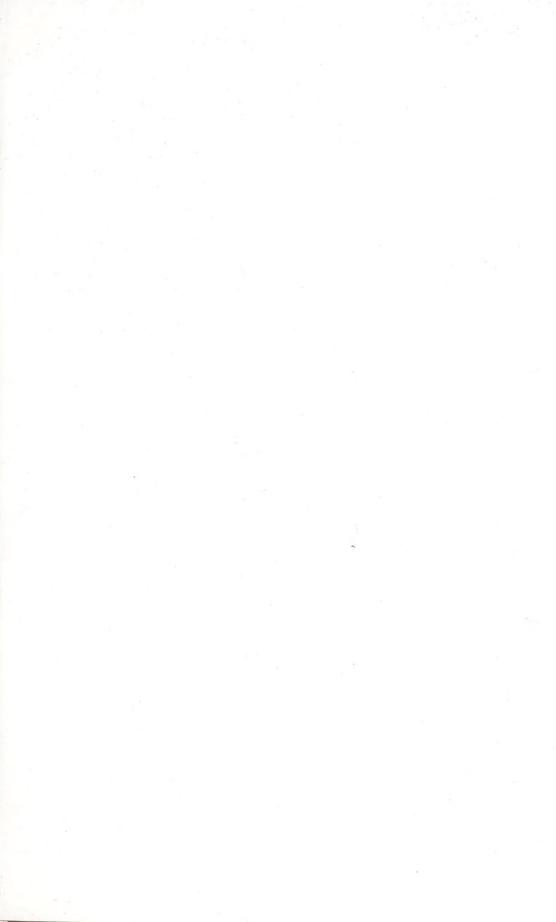
7 Feb. 1910.

This is just a line to acknowledge receipt of the script through your friend this morning and to say that the word communicated has a meaning and a good one. I will say no more.

Facsimile of short Script received from Mrs. Willett on 5 February, 1910.

After the first sheet had come it appeared to have finished, and she was beginning to copy it when she felt another impulse, and the second sheet came. The point of interest is the exceptional mode of obtaining the word Dorr.

Now it is manifest that this obtaining of the word Dorr as an



Unifelt the callet the Like Lay the lettedadge theowood Myers Myers get the hom a smill x fellet UNZ, 1 1

T 1.11 | |



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answer to the question "What does Lethe suggest to you?" is specially noteworthy, inasmuch as there is no classical or literary association about it that could be drawn from memory: it could be nothing but sheer information, obtained either telepathically from some member of the S.P.R. or as part of the recollection of a Myers personality. No connexion in fact exists between Lethe and Dorr, except the fact, unknown to Mrs. Willett, that a Mr. Dorr of Boston had asked a Myers control, through the entranced Mrs. Piper, a question about Lethe-the same question as the one which I now addressed to what purported to be the same personality communicating through Mrs. Willett.

Miss Johnson informs me that Part LX. of *Proceedings*, though dated March, 1910, was not issued from the printer till April 9, also that she posted a special copy to Mrs. Willett on April 19. Before that date Mrs. Willett was entirely in ignorance of the answers which Mr. Dorr had obtained through Mrs. Piper, and indeed of the fact that any such question had been put.

Further references to this matter, emphasising the importance of it as seen from "the other side," appear in later scripts.

On February 10th, 1910, for instance, the script begins as follows:

Myers yes I am ready I know what Lodge WANTS he wants to prove that I have access to knowledge shown elsewhere Mvers.

[Then after a few literary references it goes on:]

Dorr's scheme excellent Myers that I have to use different scribes means that I must show different aspects of thought underlying which Unity is to be found.¹

The first intimation that the normal and supraliminal Mrs. Willett had of the real meaning of the name Dorr in this connexion was through Part LX. of the Proceedings S.P.R., containing Mr. Piddington's paper. This was received by her for the first time on 20th April, 1910, as she thus reported to me on April 29th, 1910:

Miss Alice Johnson sent me the last Proceedings. I have only had time to glance through part of it-but you can imagine my surprise when I caught sight of the words

Lethe . . . Dorr.

¹As noted above, the word "scribe" is used in the sense of automatist.

I could hardly believe my eyes. And I think I see parts of my Script about Lethe have links with the answers through Mrs. Piper.

This is a tremendous encouragement to me, for 'they' are often so puzzling and confusing that I get fits of discouragement about the value of my script.

In any communications subsequent to this date, April 20, 1910, it must be remembered that the newly-published Part LX. has been seen by Mrs. Willett.

Subsequent references in Willett Script to the Dorr-Lethe episode.

On May 1st, 1910, the following came from $Myers_w$:

I laboured terribly to get clear with Dorr. The same plan might be earried out with more intelligence and less confusion to trance personalities. That is the difficulty. If the sitter has not got the knowledge which makes the matter intelligible, he blunders in and as it were alters the "points," switching the trains on to wrong points. But if on the other hand the sitter has got the knowledge, then you will say that it is merely subliminal Piper groping about in the mind of the sitter. Those are the horns.

Quite true; and of the two horns I prefer the former.

But this Dorr episode was not quite finished with, even now; for on June 5th, 1910, I received the following script by post from Mrs. Willett:

PLUTO and BEES Re LETHE I said there was a pun *somewhere*

I meant in my own Sc not in Plu (seribble) not in either plato or others I MYERS made a pun I got in a WORD I wanted by wrapping it up in a QUOTATION

Later I got the WORD itself after an effort which disturbed my Machine and which Gurney deprecated as being an exp exemplification of the End justifies the Means Gurney tell me Lodge can you find it now Myers I got the WORD in by choosing a quotation in which it occurs and which was known to the Normal Intelligence of my Machine Write the word SELECTION

Who selects my friend Piddington?

I address this question to Piddington Who SELECTS.

Some expansion of this important topic of "SELECTION" will be found in a paper on the subject by Miss Johnson below, p. 282.

The statement about the pun had come in a script of March 7th, 1910, before Mrs. W. had received Part LX. of *Proceedings*, in this way:

Write again the Nightingale I want that seen to¹ Pluto not not Plato this time but PLUTO Bees Bees the hum of Bees Myers there was a pun but I do not want to say where.

We had taken this to refer to some classical pun, and I had a long and fruitless hunt for it. The script of June 5th, 1910, which I have already quoted, was in answer to a written statement about my failure to find a pun in connexion with either Bees or Pluto or Lethe. The explanation given on June 5th clearly showed me what pun was intended, especially when taken in connexion with the following communication which had come on May 6th, 1910:

Edmund Gurney Tell Lodge I don't want this to develop into trance. You have got that, we are doing something new.

[It then went on to say that the method now usually employed was telepathic, not telergic, and added—].

If you want to see the labour of getting anything telergic done here [you] can see the word Dorr.

That word had to be given in that way, after efforts had been made to convey it telepathically without success.

It was a great strain on both sides.

We don't want to move any atoms in the brain directly.

Very well then, the meaning clearly is that the pun was in connexion with the word "Dorr"; that is to say, the word "Dorr" had first been given as part of a quotation familiar

¹The Nightingale was mentioned on Feb. 10, 1910, in the second Lethe script, quoted below, p. 148, and was at once identified as Keats' "Nightingale" (p. 158). The desire expressed by $Myers_w$ to have it again written and "seen to" suggests that at this time the whole point had not been apprehended; and in fact the complete associations with the word were not worked out till considerably after March 7, 1910 (see below, p. 159, and Mrs. Verrall's paper, pp. 206-9).

to the automatist, though inasmuch as it would probably not in that form be recognised, it was given next day with special, almost unjustifiable, effort, in a quite exceptional manner, so as to get it clearly and unmistakably recorded the day after the envelope containing the question had been opened.

I naturally looked back, therefore, to see what familiar quotation was intended, in the script that had come immediately after the envelope had been opened (Feb. 4), and it quite plainly was the following:

Go not to Lethe Myers

Myers there was the door to which I found no key and Haggi Babba too

This is disconnected but not meaningless.

The introduction "Go not to Lethe" (from Keats's Ode to Melancholy—quoted also in a script of Miss Helen Verrall's of Nov. 5, 1908, which Mrs. Willett had seen—) is employed here, I presume, merely as a quotational way of switching the subject straight back to Lethe before introducing the word required to be given in answer to the question "What does Lethe suggest to you." The answer intended is that one of the suggestions conveyed by the word Lethe was the recollection of Mr. Dorr, who in America had asked precisely the same question through Mrs. Piper. And the mode of transmission adopted, in order to get this meaningless name recorded, is by stimulating the automatist to reproduce a familiar quotation from Omar Khayyam—"There was the door to which I found no key."

By "Haggi Babba" I understand an attempt at Ali Baba, of Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves, and a reference to the door of "Open Sesame." But whether or not that is so, the pun is clearly on the word "door," showing that an effort was made to give this sort of key-word on the very first occasion the question had been seen (Feb. 4); though it was not till the next day that it could be given, by special effort, in an unmistakable, properly spelt, and clearly recognisable fashion.

For further information, see Mrs. Verrall's supplementary paper, below.

(End of "Dorr" episode.)

CHAP, II. LETHE AND "THE WILL TO LIVE."

I now take the more literary references in this same piece of Willett script recorded above, p. 123, as produced on 4th Feb., 1910, and quote them in order.

The first answer, given directly the question had been read, was:

The Will again to live the Will again to live the River of forgetfulness.

Now, to any one familiar with the Sixth Book of the *Æneid* (as I regret to say I then was not, though perhaps for evidential reasons my ignorance was in this case useful), "the Will again to live" is an admirable sentence to be suggested by the idea of Lethe. For it is when Æneas, while visiting the Underworld in company with Anchises, sees the river of Lethe, that he also sees mustering on its banks the souls who have been purified from the stains of their former existence, and who are destined to live on earth once more. They assemble on the banks, like bees humming round lilies, waiting until their turn comes to drink the water of forgetfulness so that they may wish for a new terrestrial existence.

This is a famous passage of Virgil, and has been translated by Myers himself in his Essay on Virgil (*Classical Essays*, p. 174):

> "And last to Lethe's stream on the ordered day, These all God summoneth in great array; Who from that draught reborn, no more shall know Memory of past or dread of destined woe, But all shall there the ancient pain forgive, Forget their life, and will again to live."

Thus the actual words, "will again to live," occur in connexion with Lethe in F. W. H. Myers's poem; and these words, it must be noted, had not long ago caught the eye of Mrs. Willett herself, for in her annotations on the script, when it was sent to me, there is at these words the following note:

I recognise this as a quotation from one of Mr. Myers's Poems,— I think, but am not certain—from his Essay on Virgil. [For fuller detail see letters quoted on pp. 142, 3 below.] She did not appear to have noticed any connexion between these words and Lethe—and she had not yet seen Part LX. of *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., where in a footnote a connexion is indicated.

Nevertheless, if this were the only incident, we should have to assume that this part of the answer emanated from her subconscious and lapsed memory.

I find, indeed, that the stanza just quoted oceurs not only in the Essay on Virgil, but was incorporated by Mr. Myers, in modified form, in his original and published poem called "The Passing of Youth." (See the *Renewal of Youth and other Poems*, p. 136.)

> "God the innumerous souls in great array To Lethe summons by a wondrous way, Till these therein their ancient pain forgive; Forget their life, and will again to live."

It may be noted here that the very first answer given by the Piper-Myers to Mr. Dorr's question, as soon as he had got the word, was

Lethe. Do you refer to one of my poems? (See *Proc.* XXIV., p. 87.)

A recollection of the above quoted passage may well be supposed to underlie and to justify this reference; which hitherto has been thought by us to be inappropriate, since Mr. Piddington had failed to discover a reference to Lethe in F. W. H. Myers's *original* poems.

Coming back now to Mrs. Willett again, I say that if "the will again to live" had been the only answer to the question about Lethe, although we should have recognised its extreme appropriateness,¹ we should have had to refer it to the subconsciousness of Mrs. Willett, because she had certainly

¹For instance, Mrs. Verrall makes note concerning it as follows:—The point here to my mind is that exactly the right reminiscence was selected for the first answer. Ninety-nine people out of a hundred would associate Lethe with forgetfulness, whereas here it is, quite characteristically of its supposed anthorship, associated with life upon this planet. That is the association for Plato and for Virgil. Virgil thinks of re-incarnation; that idea [the idea of re-incarnation on this earth] is contradicted by Myers_w.

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read the translation in Mr. Myers's Essay on Virgil. But the script goes on, after "the River of forgetfulness,"—which being an idea in general popular knowledge is useless for our purpose—first of all, singularly enough, to contradict what would appear to be the significance of the phrase, "will again to live," and to say:

Not reincarnation

Once only does the soul descend the way that leads to incarnation.

This I take merely as an assertion of the present opinion of $Myers_w$ on that subject—thrown in gratuitously as it were —not as a literary reference; though it does contain an expression "descend the way" which recalls a line in a poem of F. W. H. Myers, *To Tennyson*:

> "When from that world ere death and birth He sought the long descending way."

If I may venture an interpretation of so mystical a matter, I apprehend the implication of the script, and of the poem just quoted, to be that the souls awaiting incarnation on Lethe shores may be regarded as drinking it to forget previous existence amid other surroundings, or under other conditions, before descending into earth life,—thus teaching a doctrine of pre-existence indeed, but not exactly re-incarnation,—*i.e.* not necessarily or not at all the kind of pre-existence which Virgil suggests—the kind most likely to occur to an ancient writer—a previous existence on this earth.

Then the script goes on:

The blending of the Essence with the instrument tu Marcellus Eris. . . In Valle Reducta Add too the Doves and the Golden Bough amid the shadows. Add too Go not to Lethe.

And then, after the Omar Khayyam Door episode, which appears in rather smaller writing, as if interpolated in the main message, it continues :

The shining souls shining by the river brim the pain forgotten. To take this last sentence first:

"The pain forgotten" clearly represents F. W. H. Myers's poetic translation in his Essay on Virgil, p. 174, already quoted: "the ancient pain forgive Forget their life," ctc.; and the only word not obviously explicable in this sentence of the script is the adjective "shining." I take the word "shining" partly to mean that the assemblage is the brilliant posterity of Æneas, the triumphant leaders of future Rome. For instance the one who is to be or who would be Marcellus, if the fates were propitious, is described by Virgil as "excellent in beauty and glittering in arms." But partly also —and this is probably more to the purpose—the epithet "shining" signifies that the whole group is depicted as purified by much tribulation, their guilt having been blown out of them by hungry winds, or washed out in ocean depths, or burned out as by fire,

"till length of days completing time's circle takes out the clotted soilure and leaves untainted the ethereal sense and pure spiritual flame."—Mackail, *Æneid*, p. 141.

Or, in the version of F. W. H. Myers himself,—the deliverance from sin:

> "cleansed of the fire, abolished in the sea"... "Hath left unsoiled by fear or foul desire The spirit's self, the elemental fire." Myers, "Essay on Virgil," p. 174.

The sentence and epithet may also recall Bunyan's pilgrims

looking across the river of death into the land of Beulah.

Now we will return to the beginning of the above four lines of quotation from the script. "The blending of the essence with the instrument" is not a phrase or an idea which could be obtained from any part of Mr. Myers's Essay on Virgil not for instance from the translation

> "Each breathing thing obeys one Mind's control, And in all substance is a single Soul";

but the idea does occur in the *Æneid* itself, in the explanatory speech of Anchises concerning the Lethean spirits, in answer to Æneas' question how it happens that any souls desire to return to sluggish bodies,—"Whence comes their mad desire for life?"

Anchises' explanation contains *inter alia* the following sentence:

"An intelligent principle pervading every member puts the whole mass in action, and blends itself with the mighty frame of the Universe,"

which clearly conveys an idea capable of being expressed by some such phrase as a "blending of the essence with the instrument."

Professor Mackail translates the sentence in this form:

"A soul shed abroad in them sways all their members and mingles in the mighty frame."

And F. W. H. Myers's verse translation has just been quoted (p. 134).

The Latin (\mathcal{A} . vi. 736 and 7) is:

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

These two lines are well known; but on asking Mrs. Willett what knowledge of Virgil she possessed, she said her only acquaintance with him was Church's *Story of the Æneid*—a book which happened to be in her house. But she has also read F. W. H. M.'s "Essay on Virgil," and moreover is an ordinarily educated lady. She knows no Latin, however, and on referring to the book specified by her, which contains only an abbreviated version, I find that this particular passage does not occur.

An extract will be given later from this book in order to show that the further Virgilian references cannot have been thus obtained, subliminally or otherwise. (See Appendix A. to this portion, p. 142.)

In Tennyson's great poem "To Virgil" this idea of the immanence of an $Anima \ mundi$ in creation is probably referred to by the lines:

"Thou that seest Universal Nature moved by Universal Mind";

but, however familiar these lincs may appear to be to every one, they cannot constitute a normal source of the reference to that subject in the form taken by the script; moreover, Mrs. Willett informed me that she had not read the poem, though she had seen the line quoted somewhere, "Golden branch amid the shadows." Months later, on 25th October, 1910, I read the poem to her.

The script goes on:

Tu Marcellus Eris.

and breaks off to tell Mrs. Willett that she knows that line; which was true. The reason she knows it is because it had already been quoted in Miss Verrall's script of dates between April 29 and May 20, 1909, which had been given her to annotate¹—a fact explained to me later by Mrs. Verrall.

It is not therefore the more occurrence of these words, but the occurrence of them in a Lethe connexion, that is important; for there had been nothing previously to show any such connexion. But there is a connexion; for, in Virgil's Sixth Book, Æneas was told that one and the most notable of the souls standing by the river bank ready to be incarnated, would, when his time came, be Marcellus. This reference to Marcellus is reproduced in Church's "Stories," but the word "Lethe" does not occur in them. The complete sentence "Tu Marcellus cris, Manibus date lilia plenis" is quoted in Proc. Pt. 57, p. 300, in connexion with the "Thanatos-mors-death" crosscorrespondence; and this Part of the Proceedings Mrs. Willett had read; but again there is no mention of Lethe there. The episode of the young Marcellus is referred to obscurely in the conclusion of Myers's "Essay on Virgil," and is associated with the strewing of lilies:

> "Give, give me lilies; thick the flowers be laid To greet that mighty, melancholy shade";

but the *name* Marcellus is not there given. He is only spoken of as "that last and most divinely glorified of the inhabitants

¹Her attention had indeed been specially called to it, because Mrs. Verrall had sent to Mrs. Willett for experimental purposes on May 19, 1909, certain questions, which she had also given to Miss Verrall, namely: (1) "Please make clear the connexion between 'Tu Marcellus eris' and 'Jam satis' (beginning of an ode of Horace mentioned in contemporary H. V. script)," and (2) "Please explain why the Golden Bough is mentioned?" There was no opportunity, however, for transmitting these questions to a Communicator, and accordingly no answer was obtained. For further details, see Mrs. Verrall's paper below, pp. 180, 186. of the under world" (\mathcal{E} . vi. 883), about whom it was prophesied that he should die prematurely. I am of opinion that there was no normal association of Marcellus with Lethe in Mrs. Willett's mind.

Then her script goes on:

Write it nevertheless and add Henry Sidgwick's In Valle Reducta.

Now In Valle Reducta (in a sheltered vale) is the opening phrase of Virgil's description of the river of Lethe (\mathcal{A} . vi. 703). It and its context are thus translated by Bryce (*Bohn's Series*):

"Meanwhile Æneas, in a winding vale, observes a lonely grove, and brakes that rustle in the woods, and the Lethean stream which skirts those peaceful homes. All around were flitting countless crowds and troops of ghosts; even as when, on a peaceful summer's day, bees in the meadows settle on the various flowers, and swarm around the snow-white lilies; the whole plain buzzes with their humming noise." ¹

I quote the whole passage now, though the reference in the script to the bees and the lilies comes later. Note that the sheltered or lonely vale through which Lethe runs is expressed in Virgil by the phrase In valle reducta; and these words in the script arc called "Henry Sidgwick's" because Henry Sidgwick had been represented as communicating them, through what is called the "Mac" script, in July, 1908. This, it is true, had been seen by Mrs. Willett, but it contained no reference to Lethe, though the phrase in valle *reducta* is followed by the words "Æneid 6," and preceded by "Æneas." There is no mention of Marcellus in the Mac script, and therefore at no time any reason for her connecting In valle reducta with Marcellus or Lethe. There may have been (see foot-note on p. 136) an obscure reason in her mind for connecting the Golden Bough with Marcellus, but none

¹The word "winding," in the first line of this translation, hardly represents the usual significance of the word *reducta*,—which is "withdrawn," rather than "bent back";—the latter meaning is associated with *reducca*.

So also a better translation of the concluding words is—"all the plain is murmurous with their humming."

for connecting "the Golden Bough" with *In valle reducta*. (See Mrs. Verrall's supplementary paper below.)

The fact, however, that both these Latin phrases, tu Marcellus eris and in valle reducta, had passed through her mind, seems to have made it possible for $Myers_w$ to make her quote these two passages in the original Latin—a thing usually difficult or impossible.

It is the combination and juxtaposition that is notable, not the occurrence of the phrases themselves.

The fact that Virgil compares the souls on the banks of the river of Lethe to bees humming round lilies, taken in conjunction with the phrase "tu Marcellus eris," is of possible interest, since the immediate context of "tu Marcellus eris" is "Manibus date lilia plenis"—"give lilies with full hands." Mr. Piddington considers that this double allusion to lilies in the script, although only implicit, strengthens the conjecture in his (then unpublished) Lethe paper of a connexion in the mind of Myers_P of *lilies* with Lethe (*Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 135).

As for "the Dovcs and the Golden Bough amid the shadows," —the Golden Bough is the branch which Æneas had to obtain before he could enter the infernal regions; and the Doves are the doves of his mother Venus, which, by fluttering about, directed him to the spot in the woods round Avernus—the entrance to the under-world—near which grew the Golden Bough, which was to be the key whereby he was enabled to effect an entrance and so ultimately to arrive at the river of Lethe.

It is quite possible, and rather Myers-like, that this hunting about for the mode of obtaining entrance suggested the *form* of the almost immediately succeeding Omar Khayyam reference, about "the door to which I found no key," and the opensesame reference which immediately followed it, as recorded on page 130. Besides, the door of Omar Khayyam also represented an entrance into mysterics.¹

This is the Virgilian description of "the doves" mentioned in script:

"They, feeding as they go, flew forward just so far that the eyes of those who follow keep them in view, and then, when they reached

¹There may have been another reason for the reference given, as I have since learnt there was a "door and key" cross-correspondence, which is narrated by Mrs. Verrall below, pp. 193-204.

the jaws of fell Avernus, they ascend in rapid flight, and floating through the air, they both sit down together on their chosen spot above the bough, from which the golden hue, discordant with the tree, gleamed through the branches."

(Bryce's Translation.)

And this is the Virgilian description of "the golden bough amid the shadows" (also mentioned in the above Willett script):

"On a shaded tree there hangs a bough concealed from view, golden in its leaves and pliant stem, held sacred to Juno of the nether world [*i.e.* Proserpine]. This the grove covers and the winding glades shut out from view."

But this idea of the shaded or hidden bough is clearly given, and is given in almost the precise phrase of the script (though without mention of the doves) in Tennyson's poem *To Virgil*, which had been referred to in one of Miss Verrall's scripts. This script, with a note attributing it to Tennyson, had been seen by Mrs. Willett; who herself informed me of the fact, after her usual careful fashion. The line is: "Golden branch amid the shadows."

That this gorgeous poem of Tennyson's, full of Virgilian spirit and references, appealed strongly to F. W. H. Myers—so strongly that it would be natural to suppose that the recollection of it would persist into another state of existence, if anything of earthly memory can persist—is clear from several passages in his writings; it is, in fact, quoted in his Essay on Virgil (p. 148), and is prefixed to that Essay as a motto; but I find it referred to in a specially appropriate manner in a letter or short memoir on Tennyson, which at the request of Lord Tennyson he wrote in order that it might be appended to that *Life* of his father which Lord Tennyson was preparing. Thence I quote it:—

"But most Virgilian of all are the two central lines:

- 'Light among the vanish'd ages; star that gildest yet this phantom shore;
 - Golden branch amid the shadows, kings and realms that pass to rise no more.'

Ay, this it is which lives for us out of the confused and perishing Past! The gross world's illusion and the backward twilight are lit by that sacred ray. Sir Oliver Lodge.

And how noble a comparison is that of the elect poet himself to his one golden bough in Avernus' forest, which gleamed amid the sea of green!

> Talis erat species auri frondentis opaca Ilice; sic leni crepitabat bractea vento.

We are here among things that shall endure."

CHAP. III. LETHE—continued.

Not yet, however, are we through the truly remarkable piece of script which came on Feb. 4, 1910. Immediately after the line about "the shining souls shining by the river brim" we get,—

The pain forgotten but there is another meaning another more intimate link and connection that now I cannot give It does not escape me I see the bearing

Rose fluttering rose leaves blown like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing and Love Love the essential essence not spilt like water on the ground far off forgotten pain.

"Forgotten pain" may readily refer to Lethe; and as for "Love the essential essence not spilt like water on the ground" —the eternity of love, no matter what happens to the Physical Universe, is the burden of *The Renewal of Youth* as well as of many another poem by F. W. H. Myers.

For instance in Classical Essays, p. 99:

"Now from about thee, in thy new home above, Has perished all but life, and all but love."

Also in St. Paul:

"Love shall survive and love be undiminished Love be imperishable, love be young."

But it also suggests a phrase of In Memoriam, lxv.:

"Love's too precious to be lost A little grain shall not be spilt."

This section of *In Memorian* immediately follows one which is closely connected with it in thought; the earlier section

[PART

suggests that we shall learn, at some time "far-off," that no pain or desire is purposeless; and it claims for the departed a splendid outlook and copious vision as compared with their previously cabined and restricted earthly estate. To a mind so richly stored with subtle literary allusions and connexions as Myers's was, this contiguity or sequence may have had significance, and to it a sympathetic reader may be inclined to attribute the next line of the script, which occurs after a pause —a pause perhaps for thought—

Darien the peak in Darien The Peak Peak PEAK

"I have not done yet "-he continues.¹

No indeed he had not done yct! For this idea of the vision as from a mountain top, comparing things past present and to come, seems to have brought up in his mind a multitude of instances in Litcrature where the condition of future existence was compared with that of earth—sometimes to its advantage, sometimes to its disadvantage, and thus filled him with reminiscences of passages in Virgil and Homer and Horace as well as in poems of his own; with recollections of Achilles and Anchises, of Ulysses and .Eneas—till, as we may fancifully imagine, the rush of ideas is too overwhelming at that stage of the day's script, and he can only await a further opportunity of disburdening himself of some fraction of his thoughts.

¹In Keats' Sonnet, On first looking into Chapman's Homer "a Peak in Darien" was the summit whence Cortez and his followers viewed for the first time the expanse of the Pacific. It was used symbolically of course to represent the outlook opened up to Keats' sympathetic eyes by this translation of Homer.

"Then felt I like some watcher of the skies When a new planet swims into his ken; Or like stout Cortez when with eagle eyes He stared at the Pacific—and all his men Look'd at each other with a wild surmise— Silent, upon a peak in Darien."

And the phrase was employed by Frances Power Cobbe, and occasionally adopted by the founders of the S.P.R., to signify cases when dying persons seemed to catch glimpses of another world. These cases, Mrs. Sidgwick tells me, rather specially interested Mr. Myers. (See *Human Personality*, Vol. II. p. 31.) Sir Oliver Lodge.

Hence the short residue of the script of that first day consists of adjurations to me to let him know if I am able to understand what has come through, so far.

I have not done yet. To Lodge this may have meaning. Let him remember the occasion [i.e. the occasion appropriate to the peak of Darien, as I take it] I am not vague I am not vague I want an answer to the script from Lodge Tell him I want an answer Does he recognise my recognition (repeated) Let Lodge speak Speak let him speak Enough for to-day Let Lodge speak

I endeavoured to carry out these instructions so far as understanding the script goes, though slowly because of pressure of other work, and the process took time. As to informing $Myers_w$, it seemed better not to give the automatic writer too much normal information at first, lest it should spoil future evidence; still I have gradually conveyed the idea that much of what he had said was understood.

[End of discussion of Script of Feb. 4.]

APPENDIX A.

Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge.

Some notes were written by Mrs. Willett to show how much she recognised at the time as derived from her normal information on the subjects referred to in her script of Feb. 4th, 1910. These notes were sent to me at the same time as the script, which I received on Feb. 6; but they only amount to this—that she had seen some of the Latin and other phrases in H. V. script and Mac script (where, in notes, the sources were given, as will be more exactly reported by Mrs. Verrall). She had seen the phrase "Will again to live" in one of Mr. Myer s'poems—"I think, but am not certain, from his Essay

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on Virgil" (she writes)—and had seen the phrase "Peak in Darien," without understanding it, while turning over the pages of Human Personality. And in a concluding note she says:

I know nothing of Virgil except Church's "Stories from Virgil," or some such name, a shilling book that happens to be in the house.

I accept Mrs. Willett's statement made in her letter of Feb. 5 quoted on page 122, that the script as a whole "suggests nothing much to me—I only hope it may to you," and consequently that she was for all practical purposes ignorant of Virgil. Nevertheless the fact that an English abridgement of Virgil had been seen by her—how casually we do not know rendered it necessary that this book should be examined to see how far it could have supplied the apposite Virgilian quotations. Could it, for instance, have prompted the connexion of *Manibus date lilia plenis* (i.e. tu Marcellus cris) and in valle reducta with each other and with Lethe?

It seems to me that it could not, but I quote from it some relevant passages :

Relevant Extracts from the version of the Æneud which had been in Mrs. Willett's hands,—namely, "The Story of the Æneud," also called "Stories from Virgil," by the Rev. Alfred J. Church, Professor of Latin in University College, London.

Chapter XIV. is called "The Dwellings of the Dead." It opens with the visit of Æneas and the Sibyl to the Infernal Regions, in order to visit the Shade of his Father. After they have seen many things, and asked the way of Musæus, the story goes on to relate the meeting:

Then they beheld Anchises where he sat in a green valley, regarding the spirits of those who should be born in aftertime of his race. And when he beheld Æneas coming, he stretched out his hands and cried, "Comest thou, my son? Hast thou won thy way hither to me? Even so I thought that it would be, and lo! my hope hath not failed me."

And Æneas made answer, "Yea, I have come a long way to see thee, even as thy spirit bade me. And now let me embrace thee with my arms."

But when he would have embraced him it was as if he clasped the air.

Then Æncas looked and beheld a river, and a great company of souls thereby, thick as the bees on a calm summer day in a garden of lilies. And when he would know the meaning of the concourse, Anchises said, "These are souls which have yet to live again in a mortal body, and they are constrained to drink of the water of forgetfulness." And Æneas said, "Nay, my father, can any desirc to take again upon them the body of death ?" Then Anchises made reply: "Listen, my son, and I will tell thee all. There is one soul in heaven and earth and the stars and the shining orb of the moon and the great sun himself; from which soul also cometh the life of man and of beast, and of the birds of the air, and of the fishes of the sea. And this soul is a divine nature, but the mortal body maketh it slow and dull. Hence come fear and desire, and grief and joy, so that, being as it were shut in a prison, the spirit beholdeth not any more the light that is without. And when the mortal life is ended, yet are not men quit of all the evils of the body, seeing that these must needs be put away in many marvellous ways. For some are hung up to the winds, and with some their wickedness is washed out by water, or burnt out with fire. But a ghostly pain we all endure. Then we that are found worthy arc sent into Elysium and the plains of the blest. And when, after many days, the soul is wholly pure, it is called to the river of forgetfulness, that it may drink thereof, and so return to the world that is above."

[Thereupon Æneas and the Sibyl were led to a hill whence they could see the whole company, and Anchises pointed out a considerable number of souls who were destined to be famous descendants,—mentioning them by name, and foreshadowing the glory of Rome.]

Then [Anchises] spake again: "Regard him who is the first of all the company of conquerors. He is Marcellus; hc shall save the state in the day of trouble, and put to flight Carthaginian and Gaul."

Then said Æneas, for he chanced to see by his side a youth clad in shining armour, and very fair to look upon, but sad, and with downcast eyes, "Tell mc, father, who is this? How noble is he! What a company is about him! But there is a shadow of darkness round his head."

And Anchises made answer: "O my son, seek not to know the greatest sorrow that shall befall thy children after thee. This youth

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the Fates shall only show for a brief space to man. . . . Alas! for his righteousness, and truth, and valour unsurpassed! O luckless boy, if thou canst haply break thy evil doom thou shalt be a Marcellus. Give handfuls of lilies. I will scatter the bright flowers and pay the idle honours to my grandson's shade."

Thus did Anchises show his son things to be, and kindled his soul with desire of glory.

It appears to me that this material, even if read by Mrs. Willett—and she has no conscious recollection of having read it—would fail to furnish her with the Virgilian quotations and references which her hand produced in response to the simple stimulus of "Lethe"—a word singularly enough not mentioned by Church in this book.

The episode of the Golden Bough is related however. It comes in a previous chapter, about 8 pages before the extracts reproduced above, and I will quote this too:

Then the Sibyl spake, saying, "Son of Anchises, it is easy to go down to hell. The door is open day and night. But to return, and struggle to the upper air, that is the labour. Few only have done it, and these of the lineage of the Gods and dear to Jupiter. Yet if thou wilt attempt it, hearken unto me. There lieth hid in the forest a bough of gold which is sacred to the Queen of hell. Nor may any man go on this journey till he have plucked it, for the Queen will have it as a gift for herself. And when the bough is plucked, there ever groweth another ; and if it be the pleasure of the Gods that thou go, it will yield to thine hand. But know that one of thy companions lieth dead upon the shore. First must thou bury him, and after offer due sacrifice, even black sheep. So shalt thou approach the dwelling of the dead."

. . . [Nine lines omitted]

But when Æneas beheld the forest, how vast it was, he said "Now may the Gods grant that in this great forest the bough of gold discover itself." And as he spake, lo! two doves flew before his face, and settled on the grass, and he knew them to be the birds of his mother, and cried, saying, "Guide me now to the bough of gold, and thou, my mother, help me as before." Then the birds flew so that he could still see them with his eyes, and he followed after them. But when they came to the mouth of Avernus, they sat both of them on the tree. And lo! the bough of gold glittered among the branches and rustled in the wind. Right gladly did Æneas break it off, and carry it to the dwelling of the Sibyl.

APPENDIX B.

O. J. L.'s normal knowledge.

On February 6th, 1910, the day I received the important script of Feb. 4 hitherto commented on, I was very busy, but I sent three hasty replies to it at different periods of the day. These replies had better be reproduced, as showing

(1) how little information could at that time have been extracted from my mind,

(2) how much, or little, information was imparted to Mrs. Willett when she read them.

They were in three sealed envelopes, and she opened and read them to $Myers_w$ on Feb. 10, as is reported later.

- (No. 1) Well Myers, but I want more from you about Lethe and its suggestions than that. It must awaken literary and classical reminiscences in your mind. What you have said so far seems naturally sophisticated a little with what your Scribe has been reading.¹ But, while you have been thinking, perhaps more has occurred to you. I had better say no more at present.
- (No. 2) The phrase "peak in Darien" occurs in your book—I remembered it dimly and have looked it up. Miss Cobbe collected some cases of clairvoyance of the dying, wherein, shortly before death, they showed themselves aware of some-one in the spirit who had only recently died, and of whose death they had no normal means of knowing. She seems to have published this little collection of cases under the title

¹This quite unnecessary and erroneous suspicion had reference to a paper which I had sent to Mrs. Willett in January—a chapter on Incarnation out of my book "Reason and Belief." It will be seen below (p. 170) that I am rebuked by Myersw for having sent it, and also for imagining a possible connexion between it and what was recorded on Feb. 4. Note also that I am here using the word "Scribe" in the sense of automatist,—as the communicators do. LXIII.] Classical Scholarship, etc., in some New Script. 147

"The Peak of Darien." (So says *Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. V., p. 459. Paper by Gurney completed by Myers.)

(No. 3) "A Peak in Darien" is reminiscent of Keats. Perhaps that is what you wanted me to perceive. But do not be afraid of my literary ignorance, which is great; because I have means of ferreting out any literary allusions if they are known to man. So don't think of me or of what I shall understand, but let your own thoughts luxuriate, and trust to their being understood—though perhaps not immediately.

0. J. L.

I will not add any comment to emphasise the ludicrous insufficiency of these hasty and immediately contemporary replies. It must be disappointing to any Intelligence, who has sent answers so excellent, to have them received with ignorance—however completely that ignorance subsequently disappears; but the communicating intelligences, whatever they are, are patient, and the response on Feb. 10 was as worthy as that of Feb. 4.

PART II.

CONCERNING THE SCRIPT OF 10 FEBRUARY, 1910.

CHAP. IV. Evidence of supernormal access to knowledge.

WE now pass on to consider more particularly the matter written by Mrs. Willett's hand on Feb. 10, 1910. And in the first instance it may be convenient to quote the whole of it, as it stands, just as I did with that of Feb. 4, on p. 123.

I am assured that Mrs. Willett did not show my question to anyone after opening the envelope on Feb. 4, and made no enquiries on the subject of Lethe, or on any other classical subject, between Feb. 4 and Feb. 10; which was the next available occasion for the production of ordinary script—ordinary, I mean, as distinguished from the interjected and exceptional writing of Feb. 5; and what came on Feb. 10 was definitely regarded by Mrs. Willett as a continuation of the communication of Feb. 4. Here then is the Script of Feb. 10; but I must explain once more that the frequent interjection of the name of the ostensible communicator is a peculiar feature of these scripts, and that in reading it these mechanical or auxiliary interruptions or punctuations can be omitted.

Complete Copy of Willett Script of Feb. 10, 1910. Myers yes I am ready I know what Lodge wants he wants me to prove that I have access to knowledge shown elsewhere Myers give me his 3 answers all all together (The answers, printed on p. 146, were here opened and read.) Myers there is an Ode I want an Ode Horatian Lydia I referred to the Ode elsewhere Write write the word Seneca. Again Filial piety that was the motive that led him the son to the Father Virgil But Ulyss there is a paralel Ulysses this is confused in Myers confused in the script but not in my mind. The confusion is not in my thought but in the expression of it as it reaches you Lodge The nightingale but but I no no no Myers begin again the nightin Nightingale but Shelley too Myers as well Once more ye Laurels Myers this seems incoherent Myers but don't be discouraged

Myers Myers Dorrs scheme Excellent Myers that I have to use different Scribes means that I must show different aspects of thoughts underlying which unity is to be found Strew on her Roses Roses Ganymede. Myers Mrs. Verrall might make something of that Myers homeless in the heart of Paradise Myers Where was the Sybil flavicomata. Myers I have not finished Myers Myers wait Myers the draught of forgetfulness What is Anaxagoras for not Anchises that is not what I want Which only I remember which only you forget there is a line of Swinburne's I want that Pagan singer of fair things and all dead things Go thither and all forgotten days Myers something like that Swinburne By the Waters of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered thee oh Zion Myers Myers get thee to a Nunnery The Shepherds pipe the Muses dance and Better to Rule among no to slave among the living that King it mid the Dead Sleep the dream that flits by

night Sleep and his twin Brothers not Brothers single Brother His name was writ in water Myers Homer and Horace the thought allied but I cannot get it clear Watts Watts you are getting Myers you are getting dim Enough F

(End of Script of 10 Feb. 1910, ended at 12-40 p.m.)

Now when trying to understand the meaning of any person, especially onc who is speaking under physical difficulties, it is customary, legitimate, and indeed nccessary, for the hearer to put himself into an attentive and receptive attitude,-trying to catch each partially expressed meaning, and to eke out obscure hints or allusions by painstaking and sympathetic interpretation. Only in that way is an understanding to be secured. And in ordinary cases a test of success in interpretation is furnished by the subsequent approval or acceptance of the speaker; indications furnished in the course of conversation give a listener his clue and make him aware whether he is pursuing the right train of thought or not. This sort of clue is necessarily absent in the case of script, unless it is obtained subsequently, so that special effort is needful when endeavouring to interpret the meaning which underlies the more or less fragmentary utterances obtained through the various channels of a cross-correspondence.

It is manifest, however, that in so far as any correspondences detected relate to scripts which have been printed and published, some difficulty arises, and stringency of criticism becomes necessary; especially if any of the writings of the past have been seen by the automatist who is producing fresh material. In that case the evidence of knowledge shown must be severely criticised, and everything that can be supposed stored in either the conscious or the sub-conscious mind of the automatist must be reasonably and frankly allowed for, in drawing conclusions. All this being understood and premised, we will go through the above script in detail.

CHAP. V. COMPARISON OF STATES.

And first we may remember that when trying to enter sympathetically into the soul of the communicator, as he brought his script of Feb. 4, 1910, to a necessary provisional end, with the ejaculation "I have not done yet," we made a guess or fanciful suggestion—as printed on p. 141—that, arising out of this idea of the vision of one world from another, there flowed into the mind of Myers_w such a multitude of ideas that the script had to cease for a time; since a rush of this kind—at least in my own experience—usually has an inhibitory effect for a few moments. But the ideas themselves begin to emerge on the next opportunity afforded him for the customary kind of script—namely, on Feb. 10, 1910.

When Mrs. Willett sat down to write, the first words that came were these :----

Myers yes I am ready I know what Lodge WANTS he wants me to prove that I have access to knowledge shown elsewhere Myers give me his 3 answers all all together.

 $Myers_W$ opens by saying that O. J. L. wants to prove that he (Myers) has access to knowledge shown elsewhere. ("Elsewhere" may be understood to mean through Mrs. Piper during Mr. Dorr's sittings, chiefly, though not necessarily exclusively.) This quite correct statement is the clue to what follows.

So Mrs. Willett opened the three envelopes sent by O. J. L. in answer to the Script of Feb. 4, 1910, and read them in order. Their contents are printed above (p. 141), but they are unimportant.

Then the script began again:

Myers there is an Ode I want an Ode Horatian Lydia I referred to the Ode elsewhere

A question sent by Mrs. Verrall to $Myers_W$ through Mrs. Willett, which is quoted in a foot-note to p. 136, above, must be assumed to have directed Mrs. Willett's attention to the Ode of Horace, I. 2, beginning *Jam satis*. Neither this Ode however, nor I. 28, mentions "Lydia." The subject of the Archytas Ode, I. 28, had appeared through other automatists and had been already dealt with at considerable length by Mr. Piddington in *Proc.* S.P.R., Vol. XXII., which Mrs. Willett had seen. But more was written (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., pp. 150 ff.) than had yet been published; and the above seems to allude to the subject matter of this subsequently published portion, because the script continues:

Write write the word Seneca Again Filial piety that was the motive that led him the son to the Father Virgil

Now it was precisely filial piety—a desire to communicate with his dead father Anchises—that led Æneas to visit the Underworld. The name "Seneca,' as Mrs. Verrall suggests, is possibly introduced in the script during an effort to express the idea of filial piety—Seneca having written *De constantia*, ad Helviam matrem, a discourse addressed to his own mother on his father's death. It seems most unlikely that Mrs. Willett has any such association with Seneca.

The script continues, after the word "Virgil" written in connexion with the visit of Æneas to the Under-world,—

But Ulyss there is a paralel Ulysscs. This is confused in Myers confused in the Script but not in my mind. The confusion is not in my thought but in the expression of it as it reaches you Lodge.

Here then a parallel is indicated between Æneas and Ulysses, in connexion presumably with the Lethe cpisode. And I find that on page 172 of F. W. H. Myers's Essay on *Virgil*, a parallel of this kind is distinctly elaborated. When Æneas sees the souls on the banks of the river of Lethe waiting for "re-incarnation," he is astonished that anyone should want to live again on earth,

"And the form of the question which he asks (A. vi. 719) is in itself highly significant. Compared, for example, with the famous contrast which the Homeric Achilles draws between even the poorest life on happy earth and the forlorn kingship of the shades, it indicates that a change has taken place which of all speculative changes is perhaps the most important, that the ideal has been shifted from the visible to the invisible, from the material to the spiritual world—

"O father, must I deem that souls can pray Hence to turn backward to the worldly day? Change for that weight of flesh these forms more fair, For that sun's sheen this paradisal air?"

Extract from F. W. H. M.'s Essay.

The corresponding Homeric incident, presumably alluded to in the script, occurred during the visit of Ulysses to the Shades when he meets with Achilles, who—in the famous saying wherein occur the words $\epsilon \pi a \rho ov \rho os$ or *adscriptus glebæ* (cf. *Proc.* Vol. XXII., p. 400)—maintains that it is better to be a slave among the living than a king among the dead; thus taking a very different view of the relative advantages of the two states from that taken by Æneas.

The fact that F. W. H. Myers had himself drawn the parallel, which is indeed obvious, between the two visits, and, what is less obvious, had *contrasted* the two mental attitudes—that of Æneas as described by Virgil and that of Achilles as described by Homer,—makes it clear, I think, on any hypothesis as to source, that this same parallel is the one referred to in the script.

And this explanation is clinched by the occurrence a little later on in the script—as soon as the thought of the communicator had again become clear, we may suppose—of the words,

Better to Rule among no to slave among the living [than] King it mid the Dead.

This phrase makes clear which Horatian Ode was in the communicator's mind during the production of the first four words of this script.

I may as well quote Mrs. Verrall's remarks on the passage about Virgil and Ulysses already commented on :

The point here is the appropriateness of those reminiscences. Myers's *Essay on Virgil* (p. 172) connects Lethe and the Homeric Achilles, and a classical scholar remembers that Æneas' visit to Anchises is reminiscent of the Homeric story of Odysseus (Ulysses) and the Underworld. Hence it is natural to say that "there is a parallel" after mentioning Virgil and Ulysses,—natural I mean to Myers_W, but not, I think, to Mrs. Willett.¹ [For further comment on these allusions to Homer see Mrs. Verrall's paper below, p. 188.]

And now that the notion of comparing ideas of different ages and different writers, concerning the condition of humanity in earthly existence as contrasted with the condition in a future state,—now that this idea has occurred to $Myers_w$, it is pursued into further developments; for, after a reference to Shelley, Tennyson, and Keats, the script concludes:

Myers Homer and Horace the thought allied but I cannot get it clear Watts Watts

Readers of Mr. Piddington's recent papers will remember his notable discovery of the deep-seated correspondence between Horace Ode i. 28 and F. W. H. Myers's published poem called "Immortality." The circumstances which gave rise to the identification or alliance should be looked up in the then already published *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII., pp. 397-401, and in the (at that time—February, 1910) unpublished *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 150-169, which for the first time—explicitly at

¹The name of Ulysses is not mentioned in the *Essay on Virgil* (above quoted), and must therefore have come into the script from some other source. Mrs. Willett's note on her recollections of the *Essay on Virgil* shows some *confusion* in her mind between Æneas and Ulysses, but no knowledge of any *parallel* between them. Thus, whereas in her first letter of February 5, 1910, accompanying the script, she wrote:

""Will again to live." I recognise this as a quotation from one of Mr. Myers's poems—I think, but am not certain, from his Essay on Virgil;" a month or two later, on June 17, 1910, in answer to a request from O.J.L. to write down the "connexion or context or significance of the phrase (the will again to live), without looking it up specially," she wrote as follows:

"I am vague as to what the piece of poetry is in which the words occur. It must, I suppose, be a translation from Virgil. My impression is that it is said by a Father to a Son (either Ulysses or Aeneas—I never can remember which belongs to Homer and which to Virgil) who went down to Hell to see his Father."

It is possible that some such confusion in the automatist's mind prevented the completion of the intended parallel. All such confusion must in fairness be attributed to her, for it is carefully disclaimed by Myers_w. least—introduces Homer as a third member of the alliance.¹ Suffice it here to say that Horace in that "Archytas" ode takes a pessimistic view of death, regarding with gloom the future destiny of men whose earthly career had been brilliant, —thus suggesting something not altogether unlike the feeling expressed by the Homeric shade of Achilles.

The fact that the thought expressed in the words quoted from Homer is allied to the "Archytas" ode of Horace, is not at all familiar; and though something is explained in the published Vol. XXII. (p. 397 ct scq.) which Mrs. Willett had read, it is unlikely that she had grasped the idea; moreover, the word "Watts" in her script seems to show knowledge of the unpublished Proc. Vol. XXIV., p. 187. For the allusion to "Watts" is presumably a reference to G. F. Watts's picture of Orpheus and Eurydice,-a legend full of the endeavour, though of fruitless and pathetic endeavour, to exchange one state for another. There is reason to think that this picture had been already referred to by Myers, in his answers concerning Lethe to Mr. Dorr through Mrs. Piper (Proc. Vol. XXIV., pp. 130, 132), and it was closely associated with the Ovidian answer then given to the Lethe question; and this picture has also possibly been referred to in Miss Helen Verrall's script, see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 187. It was one of the pictures specially selected for notice in F. W. H. Myers's poem "On Mr. Watts' Collected Works," in the stanza:

> "For here the Thracian, vainly wise, Close on the light his love has led,— Oh hearken! her melodious cries Fade in the mutter of the dead :—
> 'Farewell! from thy embrace I pass, Drawn to the formless dark alone : I stretch my hands,—too weak, alas! And I no more, no more thine own.'"

(Fragments, p. 191.)

In fact, taking the whole into account, it seems certain that knowledge is shown of the references to the Horace Ode in Dorr's sittings described by Mr. Piddington in his then *unpublished* paper, (now published in Vol. XXIV.); and the

¹See Mrs. Verrall's paper below, p. 189.

script may in a sense be regarded as confirmatory of Mr. Piddington's interpretation of those references. Furthermore, it now appears that a contribution is made in this script, through the "Waters of Babylon" and "Watts," to the cross-correspondence on "Exile"; as explained in Mrs. Verrall's paper below, p. 209.

The script of Feb. 10, 1910, seems to imply that corresponding ideas concerning the relationship between present and future existence, and the relative value and dignity of the two states, are to be found in Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson;—a hint which is eonveyed by the sentences or quotations introduced in the middle of those references to comparison of states,—

Sleep the dream that flits by night Sleep and his twin brother His name was writ in water.

The first of these sentences suggests Shelley's Queen Mab; the second Tennyson, as well as Shelley; and the third Keats.

To display the meaning possibly intended, the following verses may be quoted:

From Adonais, ---

"He hath awakened from the dream of life "Tis we who, lost in stormy visions, keep With phantoms an unprofitable strife."

"He has outsoared the shadow of our night."

"What Adonais is why fear we to become ?"

"The soul of Adonais, like a star,

Beacons from the abode where the Eternal are."

The whole poem expresses anything but enthusiasm for the conditions of terrestrial existence.

But indeed it is difficult to say anything more sympathetie as regards Shelley from this point of view than what F. W. H. Mycrs says in "Human Personality," Vol. I., p. 97, about the larval indications of wings found in the grub which foreshadow the butterfly.

The third poet referred to, Keats, often emphasised the gain to be expected on transition from worldly existence, though no doubt he regarded its possibilities differently in different moods. As for the second poet,—such a quotation as "Death and his brother" would have been interpreted as Shelley, but "Sleep and his twin brother" suggests Tennyson. So I quote some portions thus possibly recalled,

From In Memoriam-

lxxi. "Sleep, kinsman thou to death and trance"

Ixviii. "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."

It is perhaps worth noting that "Sleep, Death's kinsman," occurs in *Æneid* vi. 278, consanguineus Leti Sopor; so that this is what may have suggested the reference. I may quote also from sections of *In Memoriam* comparing the two states; since, as is fairly plain from the context, it is for that reason chiefly that the references are introduced into the script. The passages preceding and following the references to Death and Sleep in the script are preceded by "Better to slave among the living than King it mid the dead," and followed by "Homer and Horace the thought allied."

The following lines occur in preceding sections of InMemoriam:

lxi. "If, in thy second state sublime."...
lxiv. "Dost thou look back on what hath been, As some divinely gifted man, Whose life in low estate began, And on a simple village green."

On these sections Professor A. C. Bradley (p. 157 of his "Commentary") comments thus :---

"The poet's friend is almost throughout imagined as he is in that 'second state sublime' which the poet conceives to be far superior to the earthly state in which he himself remains. Tennyson himself had to point this out in connection with xcvii."

A man so keenly interested as F. W. H. Myers was in problems connected with a possible future state would assuredly have been impressed by these sections, and might well have associated them with utterances of Homer and Virgil and Horace, such as have now been quoted, as well as with passages in his own poems.

CHAP. VI. LETHE AND KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER SCRIPTS.

But we have been led on to the end of this script of Feb. 10, 1910, without having nearly exhausted its earlier part.

Let us, therefore, return to a plainly Lethean reference, written at an earlier stage, immediately after the reference to Virgil and Ulysses:

The Nightingale but but (scribbles) no no (scribbles) Myers begin again the Nigh in Nightingale but Shelley too Myers as well Once more ye Laurels Myers this seems incoherent but don't be discouraged

Further on, as we have already seen, the script makes a very plain reference to Keats, by the phrase,

His name was writ in water

—itself a simple and easy Lethean reference to any man of letters, or, for that matter, to Mrs. Willett.

So there is no doubt that it is Keats' poem, *Ode to a Nightingale*, that is here referred to by the word "Nightingale." It is evident, also, that the reference constitutes a good answer to the question, "What does Lethe suggest to you," for its first verse begins thus:

> "My heart aches, and a drowsy numbress pains My sense, as though of hemlock I had drunk, Or emptied some dull opiate to the drains One minute past, and Lethe-wards had sunk."

So that reference is quite clear. And it may be the occurrence here of the word "hemlock," which suggests an amplification of this word in the next important script which arrived about a month later. (See Chap. VII. below.) LXIII.] Classical Scholarship, etc., in some New Script. 159

But then, after mentioning "nightingale," the script goes on :

but Shelley too as well Once more ye Laurels This seems incoherent but don't be discouraged.

Now it is true that the word "nightingale" occurs in several of Shelley's poems—in *Rosalind and Helen*, for instance, and also in one specially called *The Woodman and the Nightingale*; but neither of these corresponds either to Lethe or to knowledge shown elsewhere; so the object of, as it were, bracketing Shelley with Keats in this connexion was not apparent.

The key is found in the next sentence of the script:

Dorrs scheme excellent Myers that I have to use different scribes means that I must show different aspects of thought underlying which Unity is to be found.

Prompted by this hint, Mrs. Verrall made a note in May 1910,¹ as follows:

The "nightingale" I took to refer to Keats' poem which gives the word "Lethewards." But "Shelley too" puzzled me, as I could not think what reference by Shelley to a nightingale was important in this connexion. The next words "Once more ye laurels" gave me the cluc,—thus: "Once more" etc. is a quotation from Milton's Lycidas which is a prototype of Shelley's Adonais. That sent me to Adonais, stanza xvii.,

"Thy spirit's sister, the lorn nightingale,

Mourns not her mate with such melodious pain,"

which is a covert allusion to Keats' poem. Note that stanza xv. refers to "Echo," and stanza xvi. to "Hyacinth" and "Narcissus." These subjects had been referred to by Myers_P in connexion with Lethe, as described in Mr. Piddington's (then unpublished) paper in *Proc.* Vol. XXIV.; this coincidence can hardly be accidental, but seems to justify the claim of Myers_w to "show different aspects of thought" by the use of "different scribes." Here we have another group of references to the Ovid stories, closely followed by the word "Ganymede" [see below]. I believe the omission of the name Ovid by Myers_w to be intentional.

¹See also Mrs. Verrall's paper, p. 209.

Mr. Piddington agrees with the suggestions contained in this ingenious piece of literary criticism. It will be observed that the above quotation from *Adonais* effectually welds together Shelley, Keats, and Nightingale. (See also a discussion of the part played by Mrs. Willett in the cross-correspondence "Echo" and "Nightingale" in Miss Johnson's paper below, p. 244.)

The script having finished the sentence about showing different aspects of a single thought through different scribes (meaning thereby different automatists) goes on :

Strew on her Roses Roses Ganymede Mrs Verrall might make something of that homeless in the heart of Paradise. Where was the Sybil? Flavicomata I have not finished, wait, the draught of forgetfulness.

"Strew on her roses" is a quotation from Matthew Arnold's well-known poem *Requiescat*, familiar to Mrs. Willett; it describes the passing of the spirit from the confinement of life to the "vasty halls of Death."

It is not apparent to a reader why the name Ganymede occurs, but it appears to have a cross-correspondence significance, and the following suggestions may be made:-The story of Ganymede is told in Ovid, Metamorphoses, Book X, immediately before that of Hyacinthus, which had been introduced by Myers_P in connexion with the Lethc question put by Mr. Dorr. Again in the first book of the *Æneid* (l. 28) the name of Ganymede occurs in connexion with the wrath of Juno, a subject discussed at considerable length in Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper; and one of Mr. Dorr's questions (Proc. Vol. XXIV., p. 175) concerned the immediately preceding line (l. 27). The next words of the script, "Mrs. Verrall might make something of that," i.e. of the name of Ganymedc, are therefore appropriately spoken by anyone who knew that the story of Ganymede is alluded to in *Æneid* I. and that Mrs. Verrall had written a paper dealing largely with the knowledge of that book shown by Mycrs_P. Neither of these facts was known to Mrs. Willett.

The phrase, "Homeless in the heart of Paradise," is a quotation from Myers's poem called "Immortality" (see *Proc.* Vol. XXII., p. 399) connected by Mr. Piddington with Horace's Archytas Ode (I. 28). Taken in connexion with the opening words in this script, it points to an intention, underlying the whole script of Feb. 10, to refer to that particular ode of Horace.

"Where was the Sibyl?" seems a reminiscence of Mr. Dorr's question, "Where did the Sibyl live?" (*Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 144 ff.)

As to the word "flavicomata" I condense notes received from Mr. Piddington and Mrs. Verrall.

Flavicomata means yellow-haired. The word is not extant, but is correctly formed. With this word, Mrs. Willett had the following association,—she had seen it in a script of Mrs. Verrall's, where on Jan. 16, 1908, it was written (incorrectly) in two portions, "flavi comata" and applied to a tree, probably a laburnum, thus:

"What is the foreign name of the tree—something suggests its yellow hair—flavi comata (yellow haired)."

The application of the epithet *flavicomata* to a tree undoubtedly recalls to a Virgilian scholar the auricomos fetus, "gold-haired branches," of the tree which Æneas was to seek in the woods round Avernus, where the Sibyl lived (*Æn.* VI. 141). But Mrs. Willett is no Virgilian scholar, and it is difficult to discover any reason in her literary memories for the transition from the Sibyl's dwelling place to the word *flavicomata*. Moreover, as Mr. Piddington points out, there may well have been another reason for the introduction at this point of the word flavicomata into Mrs. Willett's script. As already stated, it had occurred in a script of Mrs. Verrall's, seen by Mrs. Willett. But a word almost equivalent in meaning, and of the same grammatical formation, had occurred in another script of Mrs. Verrall's, which Mrs. Willett had not seen, but which, written on September 9, 1903, is printed in full in Proc. Vol. XX., pp. 427-428. I here quote only such parts of it as are relevant to our immediate purpose:

Auricomata goldhaired, Camilla's yellow hair reminds.

flava comam— L Coronata Ariadne's crown in the sky. C comes Orionis.

Auricomata—like flavieomata, a non-existent but correctly formed word—means "golden-haired," and is exactly equivalent to the auricomos of Aen. VI. 141.

Flava comam means "yellow as to the hair" and is equivalent to *flavicomata*.

Comes Orionis means "companion of Orion" and is a quotation from Horace, C. I. 28, the "Archytas" Ode.

If Mrs. Willett's *flavicomata* be regarded as referring back to Mrs. Verrall's script of September 9, 1903, with its "*auricomata*"—"*flava comam*"—and "*comes Orionis*," it supplies yet another proof of the communicators having "access to knowledge shown elsewhere"; for in Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper, Myers_P had spontaneously shown that he knew that Orion is associated with the Ode which was the subject of the "Horace Ode question" (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., pp. 150-169 and especially pp. 157-158). *Flavicomata* thus killed three birds with one stone. Implicit in it were allusions to the Golden Bough, the Sibyl, and Horace, *C.* I. 28. For economy and neatness of method, this pregnant use of a single word could hardly be surpassed.

But indeed it is indisputable that many words in the Willett script now under consideration allude to episodes in Mr. Dorr's sittings which are discussed by Mr. Piddington and Mrs. Verrall in the then unpublished volume of *Proceedings* (Part LX.). Thus, *Ganymede* recalls questions in Dorr's sittings about the context of passages from the *Æneid* (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., pp. 69-73); "homeless" etc. recalls the Horace-ode question (see *Proc.* Vol. XXII., p. 399) which was the subject of spontaneous reference by Myers_P in Dorr's sittings (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 153); "where was the Sybil" recalls Dorr's question at those sittings (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 144); "the draught of forgetfulness" alludes to the Lethe question (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 91).

The last three references represent the three subjects, and the only three subjects from Mr. Dorr's sittings, which are dealt with by Mr. Piddington in his then unpublished paper.

On my informing Myers_w, by message in sealed envelope (posted 25 Feby. 1910, opened and read by Mrs. W. on March 7), how good and clever we thought the whole intention of "Flavicomata," the response came, on March 7, 1910,

Yes that point I knew had a good chance. It was Sidgwick who suggested it Hes He is not able to do much with this Machine but he can through me assist via my Machine here.

I expect to have more to say some day about the implication of a sort of mediumship on that side, mingled with the possibility of what I am inclined to guess may be an ethereous body, which is here indistinctly suggested. But all this would open a large subject which can well await further treatment hereafter. Compare, however, a hint in my own previously published little book "The Ether of Space," end of Chapter VIII.

Then the script of March 7, 1910, goes on:

Write again the Nightingale I want that seen to Pluto not not Plato this time but PLUTO Bees Bees the hum of Bees.

Now, "Nightingale," as we have seen, is a recognised reference to Lethe, and so is the "hum of Bees," pp. 137, 138, and 144. Upon it Mrs. Verrall noted in May, 1910:

There is no doubt in my mind that the reference here is to Aen. vi., the bees round the lilies at Lethe's stream. The word hum represents the Latin "strepit omnis murmure campus." This I think very remarkable,—the reference I mean to "hum of bees" as a reminiscence evoked by Lethe. J. G. P. will tell you of the special interest that the passage has in connexion with "lilies and poppies" in his Lethe paper. And if I have not sent you a reprint of a recent article of mine in the Classical Review I will do so.

This paper of Mrs. Verrall's in the *Classical Review* for March, 1910, has reference to the association of Bees and

Lilies in Virgil, with the special significance which he probably attached to the symbolism. But I confess that the actual communications of scholars on these subjects are so like the scattered references in the scripts,—both of those which have now appeared in Vol. XXIV. and of those which I obtained through Mrs. Willett at a date before that part of the *Proceedings* had been published,—that it requires some effort to discriminate between them; which tends to confirm my impression that we are tapping a mind full of literary feeling and classical scholarship. And the advantage of the fact that these communications have come to me is obvious, since my mind is only potentially, but not actually, either the one or the other.

CHAP. VII. EVIDENCE FOR SCHOLARSHIP.

One of the points which Mrs. Verrall specially notices in scripts which purport to come from Myers is their occasional scholarly character—beyond any ordinary amateurish acquaintance with classical literature. This I think comes out clearly in the material received through Mrs. Piper by Mr. Dorr (as published in Part LX. of the *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV.), but it comes out with equal strength in the material received through Mrs. Willett, who is quite ignorant of Classics, though she has a fair amount of ordinary literary knowledge,—much more than Mrs. Piper has.

A simple and not specially striking instance of accuracy in classical allusion shown by Willett script may be cited as an illustration. When the word "Hemlock" appeared in a script of March 7, 1910, the continuation was:

Hemlock and the cold slowly rising, met in serene confidence the draught of deliverance. See also the Phædo. The attitude was the result of long years of pondering, and of intuitive knowledge the same as we are now arriving at by the slower but necessary method of experiment.

These few words, says Mrs. Verrall, are exceedingly well chosen and represent both the account by Xenophon (*Memorabilia*, iv. 8) which emphasises the "deliverance," and by Plato (*Phædo*) which shows the "cold slowly rising" the "serene confidence" and the "draught." The next sentence too—" his attitude was the result of long years of pondering and of intuitive knowledge,"—is a good and scholarly description.

It must be noted, however, that the two chief authorities for the life of Socrates are mentioned in *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 95, and that some years ago Mrs. Willett read a translation of the concluding chapters of the Phædo.

I myself note one among many illustrations of classical accuracy, in the fact that between the rivers mentioned in the *Æneid*, Book VI., namely, the Styx, Cocytus, and other rivers of Hades on the one hand, and Lethe—a river washing the shores of the Elysian fields—on the other, no kind of confusion has ever been exhibited by a Myers control. Such confusion is not always avoided by scholars, for on my relating to an exceptionally learned classical Professor some part of the Virgilian reminiscence stimulated in Mrs. Piper's trance-communicator by the word "Lethe," he at once quoted the famous line about the dead stretching out their hands in longing toward the further shore: *Tendebantque manus ripæ ulterioris amore*.

But the souls which congregate on Lethe banks,—and which, in a Virgilian passage alluded to in the script, are likened to the swarming of bees,—are not thinking of the farther shore at all; they do not want to get across Lethe, they want to drink it. It is the dead who lie unburied on the earth or sca who stand on the bank, not of Lethe but of Cocytus it is these who stretch out their hands in longing toward the farther shore; for they are not allowed to cross in Charon's boat until their bodies are buried.

Indeed, in a Myers H. V. script of Sept. 1908 (see *Proc.* Vol. XXIV., p. 191) this river of Hades is definitely referred to as "the river of wailing," and is mentioned in the same sentence with Lethe in order apparently to emphasise the distinction between them:

No no go not to Lethe, and the river of wailing too, Upon the shore they stood and stretched their arms.

An incident showing at least an elementary knowledge of Greek on the part of one of the inspirers of Willett script,—Gurney_w probably—to the extent at any rate of Greek declensions and the meaning of a couple of words, one not a common

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onc, $\phi \eta \mu \eta$ and $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu o s$,—may perhaps be noted later in its proper place; but another incident indicative of classical know-ledge may be conveniently reported here.

Prayer of Ajax.

When speaking of the difficulty which people have in following up anything which negatives the trend of their own life work, and of the absence in most cases of any strenuous longing for illumination whatever might be the result, Myers_w, communicating with me orally in May 1910,—in a manner which will be described at the beginning of the next chapter —said:

Light more light though it should blind me. A prayer, that is, a prayer long ago.

To which I replied :

"Yes I know, the prayer of dying Goethe."

On which I got the response:

Yes but there is a classical analogy. Prayer of Ajax.

This I then dimly remembered, and with assistance found it, in the *Iliad*, XVII., 647, $\epsilon \nu \delta \epsilon \phi \dot{\alpha} \epsilon \iota \kappa \alpha \dot{\sigma} \delta \epsilon \sigma \sigma \sigma \nu$.¹

This may be regarded as common knowledge, and its occurrence is therefore not remarkable. The line is quoted and accurately translated in the biographical *Memoir of Henry Sidgwick*, which Mrs. Willett had read; but she does not know the Greek letters. The same English phrase "though it blind me," without the Greek, had occurred in the script of Miss Helen Verrall, who had made a note associating it with both Goethe and Ajax; and this, too, had been seen by Mrs. Willett. Mrs. Willett herself associates it with Goethe, so she tells me in reply to an enquiry, but with nothing else.

¹The prayer is made by Telamonian Ajax in the midst of the strange darkness which the gods had sent to protect the body of Patroelus and to assist the Trojans. The appeal is for light, even though it be fatal, and may be paraphrased thus—If thou wilt destroy us, yet destroy us in the light; or, let us have light whatever be the eonsequence; or, let us perish in the face of day. Goethe of eourse used the word "Light," as it was used in the above script, for mental illumination. Now comes the notable incident of which the above is a necessary though detached and independent prelude.

About a week later I had another opportunity of receiving communications personally; and after a great number of other subjects the question came orally:

Now Lodge do you want to say anything to me?

I then said, "May I ask a question?" and on permission being given I asked, *à propos* of nothing, what a certain sentence meant, namely,

έν δε φάει και όλεσσον.

The oral conversation through Mrs. Willett which followed I had better give in full; it will be perceived that Mrs. Willett speaks of the communicator in the third person, as "he," though at the beginning and the end a few words are reported in the first person:

O. J. L. Do the words [just cited,—spoken thus, without translation or explanation] mean anything to you?

MRS. W. Greek. How shall I make this clear. Where comrades wander. Then he says a word with a g and s's. Glossolally, that's the word. He says that that's a separate faculty.

O. J. L. Very well, perhaps I had better not bother him through this machine, but ask it through a trance medium.

Wait a minute, give him a chance.

O. J. L. Shall I repeat the sentence?

No he has got it pretty clear.

- [Mrs. Willett murmured it over nearly correctly, except that the last word was pronounced by her more like the English word "lesson" or "lessen"; which she immediately corrected, saying, "He says it is oless-on."]
- He says it makes him think of comrades, but it is difficult to explain why; and of change, complete change.
- It makes him think of his own death, something of his own life.

That sort of question has a better chance when asked through an entranced subject. Will you try it with Mrs. Piper?

What you have got down he knows will appear to you fearful rubbish, but it's not altogether rubbish.

Think of trying to dictate to a First Standard child, that is the condition.

Then he says, Ajax.

- Then he says, Cassandra; and surely any fool can see the connexion between Cassandra and a god with wings, no that's not it, Mercury. And then he says
- Though it should blind me. Though it should blind me (repeated).

And he says he fell, struck by a fork, And then he says, he will. . . . Mother and Lover of Men the sea,¹ The Pagan singer of sweet things. Now Lodge she has groped far enough, Stop writing.

Upon this I have to note that the first idea—that about eomrades—evidently emanates from Mrs. Willett herself, since "comrades" occurs in a Greek line well known and often repeated in connexion with Myers, about which I had spoken to her some months previously.

But the detection of the identity of these last Greek words with what had been said previously, and their close connexion with the phrase "Though it should blind me," cannot be due to chance, and is surely beyond Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge. There was nothing to indicate any connexion with what had been a mere episode on a previous occasion among a mass of other material. I was present, but I gave no sort of indication, when the word Ajax was said, that it was specially acceptable.

The Ajax who insulted Cassandra and who fell struck by a fork—whether of hightning or Neptune's trident does not matter —and was drowned in the sea, is not the greater Ajax who made the prayer, but is Ajax Oïleus.

The immediate reference to Swinburne when the sea has been thought of is very natural.

¹Swinburne, Triumph of Time:

"I will go back to the great sweet mother, Mother and lover of men, the sea." The phrase "Then he says 'he will'" may *possibly* be intended to refer to the bragging of this latter Ajax, which resulted in his sudden doom.

I consider the mention of Ajax in connexion with the Greek sentence, and the virtual though not literal translation of it, to be quite good; but the apparent confusion between the greater and lesser Ajax must be counted as an exceptional unscholarly defect.

CHAP. VIII. NON-EVIDENTIAL STATEMENTS.

In addition to script which reached me by post I had in May, 1910, some short personal interviews with Mrs. Willett, for the purpose of receiving automatic communications; and at these sometimes the pencil was laid down, and she began to talk instead of writing: thus making it more like a "voice-sitting" with Mrs. Piper instead of a "writing-sitting," except that Mrs. Willett did not go into any kind of trance but merely sat and spoke. It appears to be a sort of inspirational speaking, but not of a vague or general kind, it is definitely associated with a particular personality e.g. Myers_w or Gurney_w, and has been found to be evidentially worth attention.

The utterance is often fluent and rapid, and note-taking is difficult; indeed it hardly seems to be desired. I noted all I could, being able to write very rapidly, though I regret to say very illegibly also. Consequently the report, of which only samples are now given, is not always perfectly verbatim. Most of it is correct, however, and from it I will select almost at random a few statements from the $Myers_w$ communications, which may be of interest although they are of a non-evidential character. One is to the effect that

Telepathy is not a matter of the organism, nor of any shadow of it. It does not pertain to matter, nor is it the result of any physical peculiarity. No, it is the law of the Metetherial, it is the mark of evolution in human faculty, the extension of man's powers not evolved by the friction of material self-preservation : not protoplasmic but cosmic.

Some of this is certainly rather characteristic.

So also is the following rebuke addressed to me in connexion with my preliminary non-recognition of the appropriateness of his answer to my Lethc question, namely, the answer "the will again to live," and his references to reincarnation:

- Why did you say that the reference to reincarnation was inappropriate when it emerged as an answer what had Lethe reminded him of? You saw in it a repetition of something that the machine had been reading. It was more than that. [Sce App. B. above, p. 146.]
- Why did you send her your paper? [An unpublished paper on Incarnation.] You sent it to her supraliminal. [I had done so, in January 1910, and it was unwise.]
- I wanted to select from that subject but then the supra rose up and beat me back. It fitted in with what I had been successful in adumbrating with regard to the Ode. You thought it was based on something you had been writing, but you are not the only man who has written on that subject!
- It might be illuminating to Miss Johnson to realise that we suffer from them just as much as they do from us. How much more ready I am to hear than you to pray. Think of what somebody said that these things come not forth save by prayer and fasting. That was a sort of saying that was on the level of development which had then been reached by the hearers, but you are able to translate that into terms suitable for the present state, and (notes illegible) of "prayer" replace it by withdrawal from immediate multiple impressions, leaving as it were a surface to collect, which is capable of receiving impressions and is virgin of any. (On such a surface) impressions can be registered (but not on one) crowded up and down and through with the ordinary business of life.

And translate "fasting" into the newer word abstention.

You will see Lodge in time this will be realised, and people will think it worth while to provide the proper conditions, just as they think it worth while now to give to wheat scientific treatment; and they won't (attempt communication) after neglecting almost every necessary condition.

Don't mind going slowly.

They won't then say—now then you show us what you can do. What I want to drive in is the necessity for co-operation.

Investigation at arm's length has had its day, and there's so little that is independent of conditions. No one is so overpowered by my ignorance as I am : I, Myers. Every machine is different, and experience is the sole instructor. But while I am experimenting I may be—it is necessary to

experiment, I myself now experiment, and yet I may be losing ground. And if I don't experiment, and don't advance with fearful risk, how are you going to get the only minds worth having to take this seriously.

This also:

Lodge the most difficult things are the most worth doing.

- Dare to fail is becoming my motto-dare to risk failure.
- There is no doubt there *is* a risk in attempting things at this stage of the enquiry.
- Much is lost—some in the passage from us to you, some in your own incapability of interpreting things already through.
- Chiefly in the lack shown in some quarters of adopting as a working hypothesis the theory that we are what we claim to be.

And again this:

- It is no doubt legitimate to say that ideal conditions cannot be realised; but whether they can be realised or not does not affect the fact.
- There is an extraordinary obstinacy of the investigators. They have to do with delicate machines and they won't take the trouble to study them.
- A great deal of the atmosphere is too—I shall call it superior too superior in its attitude.
- You know the text, he that is not like a little child.
- It is much better for them to learn than to dogmatise. There is an awful danger in your thinking—a heap of you—that the learning stage is so much over now that you can think you have precedents, can lay down rules, and that sensitives can be standardised. Whereas, as a matter of fact, there are many varieties, and you can't lay down canons, you can't bring them up to a standard. You have still much to learn; so have we. Do you admit this?

And another sentence is of interest:

He is trying to make himself real to people who are not only conscious of their own reality, but who are among people

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who admit their reality. How much of your sense of reality is due to that? Think that over. There is a paralysing sense of isolation in the experience of coming back.

CHAP. IX. DISCUSSION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF A NORMAL EXPLANATION OF THE FACTS.

Most of the script of major importance received by me, and dealt with above, seems to have been started into activity by my question about Lethe. At first the answers were confined to reminiseences of Lethe itself, but the idea was speedily caught that I wanted to detect in Myers_w knowledge of matters that had been referred to by other Myers controls,

I know what Lodge wants, he wants me to prove that I have access to knowledge shown elsewhere.

This was, indeed, exactly the object of my question,—and $Myers_w$ entered into the game *con amore*, flooding me with literary and elassical allusions.

But, of all the scripts thus received, I think none excelled in interest the one obtained on the first oceasion—immediately after the envelope containing my question had been opened by Mrs. Willett—namely, on February 4, 1910. The extraordinary appropriateness of the answers then given, to the idea of "Lethe" as treated in classical and modern literature, seems to me a truly remarkable fact.

It will be contended that Mrs. Willett is simply reproducing things already within her normal knowledge (both supra- and sub-liminal). A good many of the allusions made in the seript have reference to things that we know she has seen and partially read,—for instance, F. W. H. Myers's *Essay on Virgil, Human Personality*, Church's *Storics*, and those numbers of the *Proceedings* S.P.R. which are mentioned by Mrs. Verrall on p. 215, besides ordinary literary sources known to educated people. Moreover not a few of the phrases employed in her seript had already appeared in scripts of other automatists, *some* of which she had seen. The history of what she had seen must be narrated by Mrs. Verrall, but I understand that in her judgment the evidence is not thereby weakened. The way in which these allusions are combined or put together, and their connexion with each other indicated, is the striking thing,—it seems to me as much beyond the capacity of Mrs. Willett as it would be beyond my own capacity. I believe that if the matter is scriously studied, and if Mrs. Willett's assertions concerning her conscious knowledge and supraliminal procedure are believed, this will be the opinion of critics also; they will realise, as I do, that we are tapping the reminiscences not of an ordinarily educated person but of a scholar,-no matter how fragmentary and confused some of the reproductions are. I quite recognise that safety and credit lie in the direction of forcing, even into absurdity, every explanation that can by any means be considered normal; but, in spite of that, I am bound to say that no normal explanation that has as yet been suggested wears the garb of truth.

The problem that has to be solved is how it comes about that all those appropriate literary and classical reminiscences flow from Mrs. Willett's hand in response to a given stimulus; and I confess that I cannot conceive any normal explanation for it, except the supposition of fraud on the part of Mrs. Willett. Fraud, I mean in this sense,—that instead of really opening the envelope and reading the question for the first time on February 4th, 1910, as recorded on p. 121 above,—just when she was ready for her automatic writing, with no source of information open to her except her own knowledge,—she had in reality, and contrary to her statement which I fully believe, opened the envelope some weeks previously, had industriously studied the subject with the aid of classical friends, and was now retailing information thus normally obtained.

Such a supposition—grotesque to any one who knows Mrs. Willett—is one that by a stranger may be preferred to any other, in this particular instance, notwithstanding the fact that it conspicuously fails to account for knowledge of what had come through in certain scripts of other automatists—scripts which were *certainly* unknown to Mrs. Willett. And—if I may paraphrase a sentence of Henry Sidgwick's in an carly address to the Society, *Proc.* Vol. I., p. 12—it will be an indication of the value and success of the effort made by the communicators, and of the test which they have supplied us with, if such a supposition is seriously urged as competent to furnish a normal explanation.

It may be said-for such things are often said-that it is the most scientific course to press a normal explanation at all hazards, and in face of every obstacle, before admitting anything clse. With this contention, plausible as it sounds, and true though it is in many cases, I do not agree. The scientific attitude is to find if possible the true solution, not the most plausible or superficial one, of any problem. And it is by no means scientific to ignore a number of the facts and conditions, when devising even a provisional explanation. Some view which occurs to a casual reader ought not to be allowed to supersede and overpower the deliberate judgment of a careful student of the facts. I assert that no careful student of the phenomenathat is no one who painstakingly scrutinises the whole of the evidence-can be permanently satisfied, in this case, with a normal explanation; and I have not scrupled to indicate throughout my own view.

For instance, at the outset, the kind of references and classical allusions which would be given by a fraudulent writer would surely be of an inferior and less scholarly description than those which have actually been obtained. Moreover, although the hypothesis of fraud may manage to survive in connexion with the occurrences on one particular date, when Mrs. Willett was alone, it will not explain what happened on other days, when I was present myself and put questions and received answers without giving any sort of opportunity for "hunting things up."

People will no doubt say,—oh that was telepathy! Yes, but that is not a normal explanation; and it is entirely different from the hypothesis of fraud. The same explanation will not fit the two sets of circumstances; telepathy will not explain the one, fraud will not explain the other.

The only alternative which will explain both, is the supposition that Mrs. Willett is a classical scholar in disguise.

But then that will not explain the obtaining of the word "Dorr," nor for the knowledge shown of the writings of other automatists. Some other hypothesis has to be invented for all that: and no doubt one will be forthcoming. But it is almost

LXIII.] Classical Scholarship, etc., in some New Script. 175

proverbial in science that whenever a fresh hypothesis has to be invented to account for every fresh case, it is an indication that the explorer is off the track of truth. He feels secure and happy in his advance only when one and the same hypothesis will account for everything—both old and new which he encounters.

The one hypothesis which seems to me most nearly to satisfy that condition, in this case, is that we are in indirect touch with some part of the surviving personality of a scholar —and that scholar F. W. H. Myers.

That has gradually come to be, I confess, my own working hypothesis, which I am ready to abandon freely on good grounds—but on good grounds only,—not in deference to sentimental prejudice. I admit that it is a momentous conclusion—when it comes to be a "conclusion,"—I doubt if we any of us realise, to the full, how momentous. But in science we are not unused to discoveries of considerable magnitude; and if, after due scrutiny facts become compulsory, men of science must be ready to enlarge their scheme of the universe so as to admit them.

Π.

NOTES ON MRS. WILLETT'S SCRIPTS OF FEBRUARY, 1910.

By MRS. A. W. VERRALL.

IN this paper I propose to supplement Sir Oliver Lodge's general account of Mrs. Willett's script :

(1) by a brief historical statement covering the period between March, 1908, when answers to a question about Lethe were obtained from $Myers_P$, and February, 1910, when the repeated question was answered by $Myers_w$;

(2) by a detailed examination of the probable sources of the quotations and allusive phrases of which Mrs. Willett's script largely consists.

The investigation of these two subjects has increased my sense of the value of Mrs. Willett's scripts of February, 1910, by adding further evidence of supernormal knowledge on her part, and by emphasising the closeness of interconnexion between the intelligences which we call Myers_w, Myers_p, Myers_H, etc., and so reinforcing the claim that cach of these intelligences makes to represent the same underlying personality. For, while Mrs. Willett was completely ignorant of what had passed at Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper in 1908, and of the very fact that he had had sittings in 1909, the statements of $Myers_w$ were appropriate to an intelligence aware of the conversations between Mr. Dorr and Myers, in those two years. Again, the apparent incoherence of the phrases used by $Myers_w$ is reduced to order, and their sequence becomes intelligible, when we are acquainted with the contents of other automatic scripts, contents not known, when the scripts were obtained, to Mrs. Willett, nor known as a

whole to any one living person. Various persons were familiar with parts of the scripts in question, but no one of us possessed as a whole the knowledge which, now that it has been collected together, converts a jumble of disconnected phrases into an intelligible sequence of associated ideas. This fact is an important element not to be overlooked in any attempt to frame a hypothesis which will account for the phenomena of Mrs. Willett's script.

The supplementary evidence here brought forward was for the most part inaccessible to Sir Oliver Lodge, and it seems convenient to present it to the reader in a separate paper.

I. From March, 1908, to March, 1910.

Considerable time elapsed between the date when Mr. Dorr asked Myers_p what the word Lethe suggested to him and the answer to that question by Myers_w, after its repetition by Sir Oliver Lodge to Mrs. Willett. It may be useful to state here what associations with the word Lethe had, during that interval, received particular attention from the small group of persons aware of the earlier incident and acquainted with Mrs. Willett's phenomena. In this statement I have included notes of the dates at which, by reading books or by seeing copies of certain selected scripts, Mrs. Willett obtained normal knowledge likely to have affected the contents of her script. It should, however, be remembered that there was no reason why her attention should have been directed to allusions, in what she read, to Lethe.

The summary is arranged as far as possible in chronological order and is followed by detailed explanations of points that require fuller treatment.

Chronological Summary.

On **March 23**, **1908**, in the course of sittings held with Mrs. Piper between March 9 and May 26, 1908, and largely occupied with attempts to revive the literary memories of Frederic Myers,¹ Mr. Dorr asked of Myers_P the question : "What does the word Lethe suggest to you?" The answers given consisted chiefly of allusions to Ovid's account of the source of the water of Lethe as told in the story of Ceyx and Alcyone (*Met.* XI.), but incidentally

¹See Proc., Vol. XXIV., Part LX., published in April, 1910.

showed a knowledge of certain Virgilian associations with Lethe, as an Elysian river (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 134-5) visited by Aeneas in company with the Sibvl (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp.

144-50). None of these allusions were recognised by Mr. Dorr. In **October**, 1908, Mrs. Sidgwick made a preliminary examina-

tion of the record of these sittings, and in **November**, 1908, I made a detailed study of the classical allusions in them, but in my ignorance of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I failed to trace any coherence in the answers of Myers_P to Mr. Dorr's question about Lethe.

On **December 13**, **1908**, Mr. Dorr had a sitting with Mrs. Piper, at which, in continuance of his earlier experiment, he read aloud several times in Latin the speech ¹ of Anchises ($\mathcal{A}n., VI.,$ 724-751) and also a passage from Swinburne's Hymn of Manin the Songs before Sunrise-quoted in Frederic Myers's Science and a Future Life (p. 177). The control showed no signs of recognising either passage, but at the close of the sitting Myers_P stated that he would refer to the Latin within a few hours " at Mrs. Verrall's." I knew nothing of what had taken place at these sittings, and indeed was not aware till April, 1909, that Mr. Dorr had had any sittings with Mrs. Piper except those between March and May, 1908.

On **December 21**, 1908, I read through the Sixth *Æneid* for the purpose of a paper,² which was completed on **January 11**, 1909; between these two dates there were references to Virgil by Myers_V. Thus in my script of **December 29**, 1908, it was said that in every script containing a single word of Virgil something would be found derived from an external source, as distinguished from the subliminal self of the automatist; on **January 6**, 1909, the script contained words noted at the time as a translation of Virgil's lines (*Æn.*, VI., 129-31) describing those admitted to the underworld; and on **January 11**, 1909, Myers_V wrote that "the Virgil" had helped, and that he thought he could get a reflexion of the thought elsewhere.³

Meanwhile, on January 4, 1909, and again on January 5, ¹For an account of this speech, see Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, pp. 134, 135, 144.

²Subsequently published in the March, 1909, number of the Magazine of the National Home Reading Union.

³The text of the scripts is given below, p. 183. The script of Jan. 6, 1909, was subsequently found to contain a cross-correspondence with Mrs. Willett on a literary but non-classical subject, which it is hoped shortly to publish.

1909, Mr. Dorr read to Myers_P translations by Cranch and by Frederic Myers, of *Æneid*, VI. 724-751 (Anchises' speech), and also in Latin *Æneid*, VI. 883-886 (Lilies for Marcellus). and also in Latin *Æneid*, VI. 883-886 (Lilies for Marcellus). Translations were also read of passages from Lucretius, Book III., and Virgil, *Georgie* II., and *Eelogue* IV. The greater part of both sittings was occupied with reading to the control, and nothing was said in the trance indicating any recognition by Myers_P of the Virgilian passages. In **February**, **1909**, Mr. Piddington was at work on the paper subsequently published in *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., under the title "A Prelude and a Sequel to the Horace Ode Question," and about **February 28** he found the passage in Ovid's *Meta-manhaese* which for the first time avalained to us the allusions

morphoses which for the first time explained to us the allusions to the story of Ceyx and Alcyone by $Myers_P$ in March-May, 1908. Between **March** and **July**, **1909**, he was engaged in writing the papers on "Three Incidents" from those sittings, which were published later in *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV. In the course of the summer the contents of these papers were communicated to the small group of persons—of whom Mrs. Willett was, of course, not one—engaged in investigating the records of Mr. Dorr's sittings before they were published.

Dorr's sittings before they were published. On **March 1**, **1909**, Mr. Dorr, before having heard anything of Mr. Piddington's discoveries, read to Myers_P, in the original, three passages from *Æneid*, VI., namely, 124-129 (descent to Avernus), 143-8 (description of Golden Bough), 883-886 (Lilies for Marcellus), and translations of the last two, and also of 724-751 (Anchises' speech). At the suggestion of Mr. Piddington, but without knowing why the suggestion was made, he also during the sitting read aloud in Latin the first six lines of Horace, *Odes*, I. 28 (Archytas), mentioned the phrase *Adscriptus alchae* and read aloud in Greek the first six lines of Horace, Odes, I. 28 (Archytas), mentioned the phrase Adscriptus glebae, and read aloud in Greek the words of Achilles (Od. XI. 489), which Mr. Piddington believes to have been associated in Frederic Myers's mind with that Ode of Horace (Proc., XXIV., 150-169). Confident, though erroneous, statements were made by the Piper-controls in their attempts to identify the authorship of the various passages read. Successful attempts at cross-correspondence were made in this sitting,¹ but no knowledge whatever was shown of the passages need by Mr. Dem passages read by Mr. Dorr.

¹Only one is noticed in this paper, below, p. 184.

On April 26, 1909, I heard that on December 13, 1908, and March 1, 1909, Myers_P had expressed to Mr. Dorr the intention of conveying in my script allusions to *Æncid*, VI. 724-751 (Anchises' speech), and 124-129 (descent to Avernus).

On April 29, 1909, Miss Verrall's script, written in my presence, combined with "jam satis" (a quotation from Horace, *Odes*, I. 2) the phrase "Tu Marcellus eris" (*Æncid*, VI. 883). This phrase was repeated in H.V. script, again in connexion with the same Ode of Horace, on May 6, 1909. Allusions to the Golden Bough (*Æncid*, VI. 201-9) appeared in H.V. script of May 11 and 13, 1909.

On May 19, 1909, I sent to Mrs. Willett, who had not seen the above-described H.V. scripts, the following questions to be addressed to $Myers_W$: (1) 'Please make clear the connexion between "tu Marcellus eris" and "jam satis"'; (2) 'please explain why the Golden Bough is mentioned,' telling her that the questions referred to recent H.V. script. No answer was obtained from Mrs. Willett, as she had no opportunity, while trying for script, of putting the questions to the communicator.

On June 26, 1909, Mrs. Willett read parts of F. W. H. Myers's *Essays*, *Classical and Modern*, including the Essay on Virgil.

On July 26, 1909, copies of Miss Verrall's above-described script (April 29, May 6, May 11 and May 13), were shown to Mrs. Willett.

In August, 1909, Mrs. Willett read Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies, which incidentally mentions Dante's "Matilda by the edge of happy Lethe."

On September 28, 1909, Sir Oliver Lodge sent to Mrs. Willett the covering letter and the closed envelope, containing the question about Lethe to be addressed, when an opportunity occurred, to $Myers_w$ as described in his paper. Mr. Piddington was informed of this by Sir Oliver Lodge.

On **October 1, 1909**, I heard from Sir Oliver Lodge that he had thus sent an exact repetition of the question asked by Mr. Dorr: "What does the word Lethe suggest to you?" The expectation—so far as there was any expectation—both of Sir Oliver Lodge and of me, was that this question might elicit from Myers_w allusions similar to those produced in Mr. Dorr's sittings of 1908 by $Myers_{P}$, *i.e.* to the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Mrs. Willett was in complete ignorance of what had taken place at those sittings.

On October 28, 1909, an abbreviated arrangement of Mr. Piddington's paper on Lethe (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 86-144) was read by Miss Verrall in London at a meeting of the S.P.R., for Members and Associates only. No report of that paper or of its subject appeared in the Journal or elsewhere. Mrs. Willett was not present nor did she hear anything about the meeting from anyone. The two papers entitled "The Sibyl" and "A Prelude and a Sequel to the Horace Ode question," subsequently published in the Proceedings (Vol. XXIV., pp. 144-169), were not read at the meeting.

In January, 1910, I learnt from Mrs. Willett that Sir Oliver Lodge's closed envelope had not yet been opened by her.

On February 4, 1910, Mrs. Willett opened this envelope, and answers from Myers_w were obtained, as described in Sir Oliver Lodge's paper, on February 4, 5 and 10.

In March, 1910, in the Classical Review was published a paper, long planned by me, and written about November, 1909, which dealt with two points in the Sixth *Æneid*, ll. 27-30 (sculpture on the temple near the Sibyl's cave), and 707-9 (lilies by Lethe's stream).

This concludes the chronological summary. Some points require further comment.

Attempt at Cross-correspondences on the Sixth Æneid

While the answers of $Myers_P$ in 1908 to Mr. Dorr's question about Lethe had referred in the first instance, and mainly, to Ovid's Lethe, it was the Virgilian Lethe which emerged instantly and unmistakably in the answers of Myers_w in 1910. For this various explanations may be offered, among which must be reckoned the normal knowledge of the automatist—whatever be the intelligence that utilised that knowledge and selected appropriate items. But it has been suggested to me by Miss Johnson that there is another factor which must not be left out of consideration. In Mr. Dorr's four sittings with Mrs. Piper in December, 1908, and January and March, 1909, Mr. Dorr, carrying further the scheme inaugurated by him in 1908, selected several passages from Latin authors to read aloud as likely to be familiar to the supposed communicator. Four of these selections were from the Sixth *Æneid*. Of these four, two passages, both closely associated with Lethe (Anchises' speech, 724-751, and the descent to Avernus, 124-129) were chosen by Myers_P for transmission to me. This choice suggests that some special interest was attached to these particular passages by Myers_P, though here again the selection may have been determined telepathically by my own preoccupations at the time.

The facts are as follows:

(1) Anehises' Speech (724-751).

On December 13, 1908, two passages in all were read by Mr. Dorr to $Myers_{P}$,—the whole speech made by Anchises beside the "Lethean stream," and eight lines from Swinburne's *Hymn of Man*. The greater part of the sitting was occupied with reading and spelling over to the control the twenty-eight Latin lines. At the close $Myers_{P}$ said, "I shall refer to the Latin within a few hours earthly time at Mrs. Verrall's. Myers. And translate it here when we meet again.¹ M."

No script was produced by me after December 11, 1908, till December 28, by which date my thoughts were normally much occupied with the Sixth $\mathcal{E}neid$, which I read through on December 21, as above described. No reference to the speech of Anchises was made in my script, which, however, about that period contained four statements by Myers_v which may be connected with the expressed intention of Myers_p.

(a) December 28, 1908.

. . . But listen. I have got a clear message written by Mrs. Piper just lately, which you will understand when you see it. . . . F. W. H. M.

This was the first reference in my script to Mrs. Piper

¹No opportunity occurred for translation by $Myers_P$, as Mr. Dorr's next sitting, on Jan. 4, 1909, was largely occupied by unavoidable discussion of Mrs. Piper's future plans, after which Mr. Dorr read to the controls certain passages, among them being a translation of the speech of Anchises.

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since Nov. 5, 1907, when a reference was made to the English experiments of 1906 and 1907.

(b) December 29, 1908.

... lovers of Virgil remember that phrase—it will serve as a link more than once. Wherever in any writing you find the words or even a single word of Virgil, there you will find something that has filtered through from an external source, not yours, nor Helen's, nor compound of both... Wherever you have the Virgilian words look for a meaning in the passage, a direct message from me. Do you want the signature?

Yours. F. W. H. M.

(c) January 6, 1909.

. . . Yet some there are by valour or God's grace Heroes and prophets, leaders of the race, Who thro' the barriers ordained have past And seen the Form within the Shadowy Vast.

F. W. H. M.

These lines, occurring in verses descriptive of a vision, were noted by me at the time as reminiscences of $\mathcal{E}neid$, VI. 129-131: "Pauci, quos aequos amavit Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus . . . potuere."

(d) January 11, 1909.

... The Virgil has helped. I think I can get a reflection of the thought elsewhere. But I wish you would sit with Mrs. Piper. ... I have a new type of expt. to try, but I must have Mrs. Piper quite clear for that...

F. W. H. M.

"The Virgil," as I noted at the time, might refer either to the paraphrase in my script of January 6, or to the paper on the Sixth \pounds neid, which I completed just before obtaining script on January 11.

But although there was no reference in my script to the speech of Anchises, three words from that speech did appear in my daughter's script of January 22, 1909, which opened with the words, "Spiritus intus alit." These are the first three words of the third line of Anchises' speech (*Æneid*, VI. 726), and summarise the philosophic view there set forth. No other

quotation from Virgil is found in H.V. script between September 10, 1908¹, and March 23, 1909, on each of which days occurred a phrase (not the same phrase) from the First *Æneid*. Her next quotation from the Sixth *Æneid*, "Tu Marcellus cris," is on April 29, 1909, as described above.

The speech of Anchises then, which $Myers_P$ undertook to repeat to me on December 13, 1908, was not mentioned in my script, but its leading words are found on January 22, 1909, in my daughter's script.²

(2) Descent to Avernus (124-129).

On March 1, 1909, Mr. Dorr read to $Myers_P$ the opening lines of the Sibyl's answer to Aeneas' request to visit his father, beginning with l. 124, and ending in the middle of l. 129. To his question whether he had made the lines clear, $Myers_P$ replied: "*Very good*. I want you to continue a little or take another, to get several through and to show you my answer clearly. I will not only give it here, but I will refer to it at Mrs. Verrall's also."

Neither my script nor my daughter's reproduced the actual lines read, though the lines immediately following (129-131, "pauci quos . . . potuere") were, as I have said, paraphrased in my script of January 6, 1909.

So far we have considered the connexion between $Myers_P$ and $Myers_V$ or $Myers_{H,V}$. But the connexion of $Myers_W$ with $Myers_P$ seems closer. $Myers_P$ had no further opportunity of showing his knowledge of the passages read to Mrs. Piper by Mr. Dorr on March 1, 1909, as Mr. Dorr had no more sittings with Mrs. Piper. The passages from Virgil read on that day by Mr. Dorr were four:

- (1) Descent to Avernus, in Latin.
- (2) Golden Bough, in Latin and English.
- (3) Speech of Anchises, in English.
- (4) Lilies for Marcellus, in Latin and English.

The last three of these were immediately and clearly referred to by $Myers_w$ on February 4, 1910, when Mrs.

¹See Miss Johnson's paper below, p. 237.

²See Proc., Vol. XX., p. 258, for another case where a "message for transmission" intended for me appeared in H.V. script.

Willett opened Sir Oliver Lodge's envelope : namely Golden Bough, Marcellus, and Anchises' speech,—this last by the words "blending of the essence with the instrument."¹ The first on the list, the Descent to Avernus, was not alluded to on February 4, but hinted at on February 10 in the remark about the place where the Sibyl lived. Later we shall sec² that other classical topics brought to the notice of Myers_P in the course of Mr. Dorr's readings on March 1, 1909 emerged in Mrs. Willett's script of February 10, 1910. So that it would seem as if the threads left loose by Myers_P at the last sitting of Mr. Dorr were at once picked up by Myers_w on the communication to Mrs. Willett of Sir Oliver Lodge's question. Of Mr. Dorr's sittings neither Sir Oliver Lodge nor Mrs. Willett had any knowledge whatever; any connexion, therefore, between those sittings and Mrs. Willett's script, if not accidental, must be wholly supernormal, and, moreover, cannot have been derived by direct telepathy from Sir Oliver Lodge. But though Mrs. Willett had no normal knowledge of Mr. Dorr's experiments, she had seen certain selected scripts of my daughter's, and I now pass on to consider what use was made of that knowledge in her own script.

Mrs. Willett's utilisation of H.V. Script.

On May 19, 1909, as has been narrated above, Mrs. Willett's attention was directed by my questions to the phrase "Tu Marcellus eris" in connexion with an Ode of Horace, and at the same time to the Golden Bough.

In June Mrs. Willett read, either in whole or in part, Frederic Myers's Essay on Virgil. This Essay refers in footnotes to *Æn.*, VI., on the pages where mention is made of Lethe (p. 172) and of the golden bough (p. 112), and to it is prefixed, as part of its motto, Tennyson's line³

"Golden branch amid the shadows."

¹Mrs. Willett's scripts are quoted on pp. 123, 124, 126, 148-50; for her normal knowledge on these points, see Sir O. Lodge's paper passim, and also below, p. 193.

² Below, p. 188.

³No mention is made of the authorship of the line either there, or later (p. 148) where the line is quoted.

On July 26, no answer having been obtained to my questions, Mrs. Willett was shown copies of the H.V. scripts which had suggested them to me. Two of these scripts (April 29, May 6) combined allusions to "Tu Marcellus eris" with an Ode of Horace, and the other three (May 11, May 13, May 20) mentioned the Golden Bough. I quote the relevant parts:

April 29, 1909. [The script was produced in my presence and the remarks and questions within round brackets (...) were said aloud by me at the time].

Fulmina Jovis satis jam grandine how does it go the Horace I mean. Do you understand?

(I understand the Latin you did not finish) [*i.e.* I recognised the allusion to Horace, Od. I. 2].

It is a message to you.

(The Latin?)

Yes

(Say more, make it plain)

Virgil too you should combine the two

(What Virgil?)

Tu Marcellus eris this and the Horace. There are many differences but one common thought it is that I want to bring out—read

(Aloud ?)

No.

(The poems?)

By the yes by the waters of Babylon

(Go on)

Exile the will of heaven I don't think I can get it clear. She does not understand.

(Who does not understand?)

Helen

(Think it over and finish next week)

Yes enough.

May 6, 1909. (M. de G. V. present.)

Tu Marcellus eris that was said . . . Many sacrifices to the purposes of Fate that was the thought it is in Horace too. Do you U.D.

(Yes. Is the word or idea in Horace?)

Idea. Jam satis.

and elsewhere in Horace but it was to that ode that special reference was to be made ask ask.

(Who ?)
You
(Whom ?)
Piddington ask
(About the Horace ?)
Yes and Virgil.

May 11, 1909.

Within the silvery radiance of the wood a tempered shade—dark green within the depths.

the doves of Venus Son (?)

May 13, 1909. (M. de G. V. present.) Cypria dea—do you UD? (No) Cypria dea (I read those words) The doves were the sign that led him

The doves were the sign that led him *doves* bay tree golden branch amid the *shadows*.

May 20, 1909. [Before writing this script my daughter read the same two questions which had been sent to Mrs. Willett on May 19. See above, p. 180.]

Tree the entrance to the world of the Dead that was the thought golden branch amid the shadows. . .

star that guildest (sic) yet this phantom shore. . . . The unknown depths down down—the golden bough must be plucked.

Taking into account Mrs. Willett's reading of these scripts, we may attribute to her normal knowledge and inference, or to her subliminal memory, the association of two ideas derived from the Sixth *Æneid*, the Golden Bough and the phrase Tu Marcellus eris. But if normal association only is at work, what induced her to omit all reference to the Ode of Horace definitely associated in her mind with the phrase Tu Marcellus eris, both by my question on May 19, 1909, and by the statements of the above H.V. scripts which she saw on July 26?

Such a reference would of course be inappropriate among associations with Lethe. But how did Mrs. Willett know that? She could have learnt it neither from her knowledge of Virgil,

which is small, nor from her knowledge of Horaee, which is Suppose, however, that we attribute to a happy accident less. the omission from a Lethe-context of all reference to a topic (Ode of Horace) normally associated by Mrs. Willett with another topic (Tu Marcellus cris) which is introduced into her script. To what happier aceident are we to attribute the combination of Horace with Homer on February 10, 1910, in a phrase directly reminiscent of the H.V. script of April 29, 1909, where it is applied to Horaee and Virgil? Myers_{HV}, on April 29, 1909, wrote of the "common thought" of Horace and Virgil which he could not "get elear." Myers_w writes on February 10, 1910, "Homer and Horace the thought allied but I cannot get it clear." Words elearly recalling the H.V. script are utilized to convey something new, something not normally known to Mrs. Willett, an alliance of thought between Homer and Horace.

The only commentary, I make bold to say, that has suggested an alliance of thought between those two poets is the commentary by Mr. Piddington on the obscure early writings of Myers_v (Proc., Vol. XXIV., pp. 150-169). In February, 1909, Mr. Piddington was considering what bearing certain statements about Horace, made by Myers, in Mareh, 1908, had on the juxtaposition by Myers_v in March, 1901, of a quotation from HORACE, Od. I. 28, and a Latin version (adscriptus glebae) of a word— $\epsilon \pi \alpha \rho o \nu \rho o s$ —which occurs only in HOMER, Odyssey, XI. 489. Mr. Piddington, without giving his reasons, asked Mr. Dorr to read certain passages to Myers_P. Accordingly on March 1, 1909, Mr. Dorr read to Myers_P: (α) the first six lines of that Ode of Horaee (in Latin), and, after an interval occupied with other matters, (b) the phrase adscriptus glebae, followed by (c), the words $\beta ou \lambda \delta (\mu \eta \nu \kappa) \epsilon \pi \alpha \rho ou \rho os \epsilon \omega \nu$ $\theta_{\eta\tau\epsilon\nu}$ $\dot{a}\lambda\lambda\omega$ [rather would I be a slave and the hireling of another . . . (than rule among the dead)], in the original Greek (Odys., XI, 489). Considerable time was spent in communieating these words, and in their repetition to the control. When this was over, and Mr. Dorr asked if the subject should now be left, Myers_P replied: "Yes you may be sure of our answer."

That answer may be found in Mrs. Willett's script of February 10, 1910, which contains a translation of this line from the

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Odyssey, prefaced by words probably reminiscent of the divergent sentiment uttered by Milton's fallen archangel in the famous line (*Par. Lost*, I. 263)—

"Better to rule in Hell than serve in Heaven."

Mrs. Willett's script runs: "Better to Rule among no to slave among the living than King it mid the Dead."

The Homeric line is translated in Mr. Piddington's paper, written between April and July, 1909, and published in April, 1910 (Proc., Vol. XXIV., Part LX.), after the production of Mrs. Willett's script. This paper is a further contribution-"a prelude and a sequel"-to the Horace Ode question, which was published in the Proceedings (Vol. XXII.) of October, 1908. That volume was read soon after publication by Mrs. Willett. In this earlier paper the attention of the reader is directed entirely to the question of connexion between Horace's Ode to Archytas and a poem by F. W. H. Myers. There is no mention of Homer, and it would need classical knowledge and very careful reading to infer from Mr. Piddington's paper any suggestion of connexion between Homer and Horace. On p. 400 (Vol. XXII.) the words of Achilles to Odysseus appear in the middle of a suggested interpretation of the Odc to Archytas. They occur between the name Pythagoras, who (pp. 404-5) is definitely stated to be referred to in the Ode, and a verbal quotation in Latin from the Odc. There is no mention of their source nor any indication that they do not form part of the Ode of Horace which Mr. Piddington is paraphrasing, and, in the absence of knowledge to the contrary, they would be taken by the reader to be part of that Ode. The only reference to the Odyssey in this paper (Vol. XXII., p. 404) would certainly not encourage the idea that there was any legitimate connexion between the Odyssey and the Ode of Horace; for Rector's half acceptance of Mrs. Sidgwick's suggestion that by "Odessus," etc., he was aiming at "Odyssey," is mentioned by Mr. Piddington as "a good instance of "Rector's readiness "to accept a misleading suggestion." The second paper, not published till after the production of Mrs. Willett's script, deals with the connexion between Homer and Horace suggested to Mr. Piddington by an examination of the statements of Myersp in 1908 and of Myers_v in 1901, neither of which were known

to Mrs. Willett. In this second paper frequent allusion is made to Achilles and this line in the *Odyssey*.

Mr. Piddington wrote (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., p. 159), eoneerning Mr. Dorr's reading of the Horatian lines to Myers_P on Mareh 1, 1909, and their failure to elieit a response : "here for the present, and probably for good, the matter stands." But I think we may elaim that Mrs. Willett's script earries the matter further, and that in the words, "Myers Homer and Horaee the thought allied," we have from Myers_W a response to a suggestion made nearly a year before to Myers_P and not known to Mrs. Willett.

II. Sources and Correspondences of Phrases in Mrs. Willett's Script.

As the greater part of Mrs. Willett's script consists of quotations and allusive phrases, some derived from literary sources, some paralleled in the scripts of other automatists, I have set out, so far as I could, in the following table these " sources" and " correspondences," showing in each case whether the eorresponding passage was within Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge and whether its context supplied a reason for associating it with Lethe. For this purpose, in order to be on the safe side, I have counted the Sixth *Æneid* as associated with Lethe, and I have assumed Mrs. Willett to be aequainted with Church's stories based on that book, with all the English authors named in my table, and with all Mr. Myers's published work. Where Mrs. Willett had no normal knowledge of the parallel phrases in other automatic writings, the connexion of eourse constitutes what we have called a cross-correspondence. Throughout I have given references to the numbers of pages in this volume where detailed comment may be found, but I have given the names only of the authors, as exact references to ehapter and verse will in most eases be found in Sir Oliver Lodge's paper. But in many eases the mere statement and elassification is inadequate, and there I have added notes, as indicated by the *.

LIST OF PROBABLE SOURCES OF PHRASES AND CORRESPONDENCES IN MRS. WILLETT'S SCRIPT OF FEB. 4 AND FEB. 10, 1910

Italics are used where the context of the passage supplies a reason for associating it with Lethe; <u>underlining</u> is used where the phrase in question occurs in an author or script normally unknown to Mrs. Willett. Mr. Piddington's two articles on "the Horace Ode" are referred to respectively as J. G. P. 22; and J. G. P. 24.

Phrases.	Authors.	Script.	Page.
Feb. 4, 1910.			
(1) The will again to live	Myers		131
(2)*River of forgetfulness	Church	H.V.	193
(3) Soul descend the way	Myers		133
(4) Blending of essence with instrument	Virgil		134
(5)*Tu Marcellus eris	Virgil	H.V.	136, 144, 193
(6)*In valle reducta	Virgil	Mac.	137, 193
(7) Doves and golden bough	Church	H.V.	138, 145
(8) Golden bough amid the shadows	∫Myers \Tennyson	H.V.	139, 187
(9) Go not to Lethe	Keats	H.V.	130
$(10)^*$ Door to which I found	Omar Khay-	Mac	Holland 193
no key	yam	Forbes	H.V. f ff.
(11) Haggi Babba	∫Ruskin (Arabian Nigh	ts	19 9 ff.
(12) Souls shining by the river brim	Virgil		134
(13) Pain forgotten	Myers		134
(14)*Rose leaves enchanter fleeing	Shelley	Mac	<u>H.V.</u> 212 ff.
(15) Love spilt ground	Tennyson		140
(16) Far off	Tennyson		141
(17) Peak in Darien	{Myers {Keats		141
Feb. 10, 1910.			
(18) Ode Horatian	J. G. P. 22	Piper	151, 189
(19) Lydia			152
(20) Seneca			152

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(21)	Phrases. Filial piety led son to father	Authors. {Myers {Church	Script.	<i>Page</i> . 152
$(22)^{\frac{1}{2}}$	*Ulysses, there is a paralleł	Myers		152, 204
$(23)^{-1}$	*Nightingale	(<i>Keats</i> Shelley	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} { m Piper} \ { m Holland} \end{array} ight.$	158, 206 ff.
(24)	Once more ye laurels	Milton	H.V.	159
$(25)^{-1}$	*Strew on her roses	\mathbf{Arnold}	M.V.	160, 204
(26)	Ganymede Mrs. Ver- rall	Virgil	Piper	160
(27)	Homeless in the heart of Paradise	∫Myers (J. G. P. 22		161
(28)	Where was the Sybil	$\begin{cases} Virgil\\ J. G. P. 24 \end{cases}$	<u>Piper</u>	161
(29)	Flavieomata	Virgil	M.V.	161
$(30)^{-1}$	*Draught of forgetfulness	Plato ?		205
	*Anaxagoras	Plato		205
(32)	*Anchises	$\int Myers$		131
(33)	*I rememberyou for- get	<i>\Church</i> - Swinburne	Holland	206 ff.
$(34)^{-1}$	*Dead things forgot- ten days	- Swinburne	Holland	206 ff.
$(35)^{\circ}$	*Waters of Babylon Zion	Psałms	H.V.	209 ff.
· · ·	Get thee to a nunnery Shepherds pipe Muses dance	Shakespeare		193
(38)	Better to rule	Milton		153, 189
(39)	*To slave dead	{Homer {J. G. P. 22	H.V.	153, 188
(40)	*Sleep, the dream that flits by night	t <u>Ovid ?</u> Tennyson	\underline{Piper}	156, 210
(41)	*Sleep and his twin brother	∫Myers {Tennyson	H.V.	157, 210
(42)	*Writ in water	Keats	H.V.; <u>H.</u> V	7. 156, 213
(43)	Homer and Horace	J. G. P. 24	Piper	154, 188
(44)	Watts	J. G. P. 24	H.V.	155

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(2) River of Forgetfulness.

This phrase occurred in an H.V. script of Feb. 5, 1908, seen by Mrs. Willett. The script ran:

No no go not to Lethe . Reeds the reeds by the river's edge the river of forgetfulness and from those reeds the pipes were made whereon the shepherd softly played.

A recollection of this phrase perhaps accounts for the "shepherds pipe" on Feb. 10 (No. 37).

(5) (6) Tu Marcellus, etc. In valle, etc.

Mrs. Willett knows no Latin and has not read these phrases in Virgil's Sixth \pounds neid, whence they come. But in the copies seen by her of the two scripts (Mac and H.V.) where the Latin phrases occurred, references were given to \pounds n., VI., so that the source of the two phrases is here counted as within Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge. In neither case was there any association in the script with Lethe.

(10) Cross-correspondence on Door.

This phrase, directly derived from the *Rubuiyat* of Omar Khayyam, as recognised by Mrs. Willett, constitutes a remarkable cross-correspondence with the scripts of four other automatists, namely, (1) Miss Mac and her brother, (2) Miss Verrall, (3) Mrs. Holland, and (4) Mrs. Forbes. I relate the episode in detail, quoting and commenting on the scripts in their chronological sequence.

(1) Mac Script, September 12, 1908.

'Tis not for every chance seeker after knowledge to obtain the key that unlocks the DOOR.

[Drawing of two hearts pierced by an arrow] . . .

This sentence was contained in the script received by me from Miss Mac on September 26, 1908, as described in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., p. 264. The particular sentence in question was overlooked by me at the time, probably because it was not among the H.S. communications, but formed part of a series of attempts from a combination of controls to relate a story in Italian verse. This part of the Mac seript was seen by no one but Mrs. Sidgwiek and myself, till in October, 1910, I showed it to Miss Johnson. She was at once struck by the resemblance between the sentence in question and the pun in Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 4, 1910, on the name which emerged in her next day's script, in large letters, DORR, and shortly afterwards found the references to the same topic in the scripts of Miss Verrall, Mrs. Holland, and Mrs. Forbes described below.

It is clear, I think, that this allusion in the Mac script should be regarded as belonging to the series of allusions to *Sesame and Lilics*, which made up the larger part of the crosscorrespondences between Mac and Verrall scripts in 1908. It differs, however, from the rest of that series in two respects:

(a) All the other allusions in the Mae script occurred between July 19 and July 27, before the beginning of any allusions in the Verrall scripts (Ang. 11-22);

(b) The other allusions all eame from $\operatorname{Sidgwiek}_{M}$, whereas this sentence is contributed by one of several unnamed communicators combining to tell a romantic story in Italian with occasional episodes in English. After the drawing of the arrow on September 12, 1908, follows an account of the heroine of the story immuring "herself within the heartless walls of a nunnery." Her profile is then drawn and this is followed by a message from the Sidgwick control, thus:

Professor Sidgwick. Progress is pitifully slow but sure(r) the easier it is.

The whole preceding communication about the door, the arrow, and the Italian story is in a new handwriting which reappeared on one or two occasions but was never assigned to a named control.

Regarded as part of the Sesame and Lilics series, the sentence in question has two points of special interest. (1) It is the only allusion in the Mae script to one of the obvious normal associations with the word Sesame, namely the open door, and (2) it thereby makes another correspondence with the H.V. script, for on September 23, 1908,—after my daughter and I had compared our scripts and detected in them incomplete allusions to Sesame and Lilics, but before we had received any LXIII.

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communication whatever from Miss Mac,—the H.V. script included in its reminiscences of *Sesame and Lilies*, a topic—the open door—which had not occurred in either M.V. or H.V. script.¹

But in view of the sequel—the reappearance of the *Door* in other scripts and the emergence in later Mac scripts of topics selected at Mr. Dorr's sittings for transmission to other automatists ²—it is possible to see in this sentence a punning reference to those sittings. Neither to the Macs, when this script was produced, nor to me when it was received, was it known that messages had come from Myers_P since Mrs. Piper's return to America, or that any sittings with Mrs. Piper had been held by Mr. Dorr.

(2) H.V. scripts.

(a) September 23, 1908.

. . . note the literary allusions something should be made of them, putting one with another the clue is there, but several things have been missed but try again.

An implement of peace, the fork of the husbandman the sowing of the grain a star flower something like a daisy, what does that mean? The message was confused the star flower and lilies too look back the open door.

(b) October 24, 1908.

. . . circles wheels within wheels the closing of the door the open door. . . .

[Drawing of an anchor] an anchor that is a clue the pinions of Hope. . . .

three red roses and a book remember . . .

[Drawing of an arrow] that too and 4.

a rainbow in the sky. . . .³

The first of these is the script just referred to and marks the reminiscence in H.V. script of our impression about the

¹The script is quoted below. See also Proc., Vol. XXIV., p. 281.

²See Miss Johnson's paper, pp. 269 ff.

³The portion of the script here omitted, as disconnected with the subject of the present paper, refers to a topic subsequently found to occur in Mrs. Willett's automatic writing.

incomplete correspondence on Sesame and Lilies. The second script repeats the "open door," an idea easily associated with Sesame, but combines with it "the closing of the door," and introduces the drawing of an anchor ¹—the usual Sidgwick symbol in H.V. script-and of an arrow,² often used in the Verrall scripts to indicate a cross-correspondence. Both arrow and anchor connect the H.V. script closely with the Mac script. The anchor occurred throughout their script and had been interpreted as a Sidgwick symbol. This Miss Verrall knew, but as she had not seen the Mac script of September 12, 1908, she did not know that there the allusion to the not unlocked Door was followed by a drawing of an arrow. It looks as if the particular form taken by the reminiscence of Sesame and Lilies in H.V. script both on Sept. 23 and on Oct. 24 was determined by the desire of the scribe to repeat the Door which ought to have been, but was not, recognised as a crosscorrespondence between the Mac and H.V. scripts of September 12 and 23, 1908.

It is tempting to see in the words "and 4" an indication of the number of automatists subsequently found, as will be seen, to have references to the "opening of doors." But I think it more likely that the "and 4" is to be combined with the three of "three red roses" to make seven, and thus to serve, with the unmistakable allusions—"circles wheels within wheels" and the "rainbow"—to recall³ the earlier H.V. script of May 11, 1908, which makes part of the elaborate cross-correspondence on *Sevens*⁴ described by Miss Johnson (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 222-258). If that is so, a link is made with the next script which we have to consider, that of Mrs. Holland.

¹See Proc., Vol. XXIV., p. 295. ²See Proc., Vol. XXII., pp. 77-86.

³ It is characteristic of the H.V. script to indicate inter-connexions between different pieces of script, often separated by considerable intervals, by means of the repetition of certain clue words or phrases (which thus serve as what Prof. Bury, in his introduction to Pindar's *Nemean Odes*, calls "responsions").

⁴Miss Verrall knew nothing of this cross-correspondence when her script of Oct. 24, 1908, was obtained. She was told on Nov. 18, 1908, that her script of May 11, 1908, made a cross-correspondence on 'Seven' with Mrs. Piper, and she was told on Nov. 20, 1908, that Mrs. Holland's script also came into the series. LXIII.] Notes on Mrs. Willett's Scripts. 197

(3) Mrs. Holland's Script, Nov. 25, 1908.

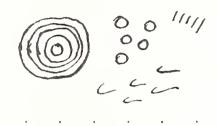
.... The other George—not G. P.—he goes to the other one Five in this—the fingers of the hand—G. B. D. F. A. —alone and warming his five wits the white owl in the belfry sits—

S. M. E. G. H. S. F. M. R. H. Another set of fives for you—

Not for Cambridge this time—America and Cheltenham and London are in it—not Berks.

curk 0

O no reason for believing it for a minute—



This extract follows immediately upon a long piece of script introducing several topics which had been chosen as messages for transmission by Myers_P earlier in the year, and some of which also appear in H.V., M.V., or Mac script.¹ It is immediately followed by a couple of sentences alluding to a topic (unknown to Mrs. Holland) that has occurred in Mrs. Willett's script, and was said in a Willett script of January 28, 1909, to have been referred to by Mrs. Holland, thus constituting something like a cross-correspondence between the scripts of Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Willett. The extract above quoted may be interpreted as follows:

G. P. represents George Pelham, a frequent control, as Mrs. Holland knew, in Mrs. Piper's trance. Is "the other George" a reference to Mr. George B. Dorr, in whose sittings with Mrs. Piper—not known to Mrs. Holland—had appeared the messages for transmission reproduced in the earlier part of this script? The script then announces that there are "Five in this." If it stood alone, this phrase might mean that either five controls

¹For a full account of this script of Mrs. Holland's, and the circumstances of its production, see Miss Johnson's paper, pp. 218, 225.

or five automatists are eoneerned with some topic contained in this script. But in view of the later statement that the initials of five eontrols are "another set of fives," the first "five" must be taken definitely to apply not to controls but to automatists.

The notion of five is reiterated throughout the rest of the seript; five divisions in the first drawing, five fingers, five notes of the bass elef-this last selection perhaps determined by the fact that the first three letters of these notes make the initials (unknown to Mrs. Holland) of Mr. Dorr, G.B.D.-five wits, five names of places;¹ and the script ends with four sets of fives, among them being five concentrie circles, which recall the "eireles wheels within wheels" of H.V. script of October 24, 1908.

The only point not thus accounted for is the drawing of a key, and it is a fair inference that this key represents the topic with which the five automatists are concerned. In the H.V. seript, with which by its "eoncentrie eireles" this script is closely eonnected, there is mention of a door, a door which there is good reason to think represents an attempt to emphasize the unnoticed Door of the Mac script. Is it faneiful to see in the key of Mrs. Holland's script a reproduction of the "key" of the Mae The reader will better judge when the sequel has been seript? related.

The scripts of these three automatists are separated by a eonsiderable interval, more than a year, from the scripts of the other two, Mrs. Forbes and Mrs. Willett. During that interval two things occurred which may have a bearing on the problem before us: (1) a paper on Sesame and Lilies, afterwards published as part of a larger paper in Proceedings, Vol. XXIV., was read by me at a private meeting of the S.P.R. on May 18, 1909, and (2) at the end of September, 1909, Sir Oliver Lodge devised the experiment of repeating to Myers_w the question that had been asked of Myers_P by Mr. Dorr. The proposed experiment was communicated to me and to Mr. Piddington, but was not known to any one else till Mrs. Willett opened Sir Oliver Lodge's envelope on Feb. 4, 1910. It was, therefore, not known to Mrs. Forbes when the following script was pro-

¹If these names are intended, as seems probable, to suggest the localities of the automatists, they are incorrect.

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duced and sent to me, for whom Mrs. Forbes understood the message to be intended:

(4) Mrs. Forbes's script, December 12, 1909.

[Attempts at capital letters] Lodge is the best friend [confused statement about a test] written—openings of doors—with less overshadowed scenes—we see freely you through a glass darkly. E.G. sends this letter, Talbot is the writer.

Mrs. Forbes, though not present at the S.P.R. meeting on May 18, 1909, had heard from me in August a brief outline of the Sesame and Lilies incident, and her interest in it may be reflected in the reference in her script to "openings of doors." Here, again, however, as in the case of my daughter's script, the choice of the particular phrase may have been determined by the communicator's desire to emphasize the word Door, of which we had failed to recognize the importance in the Mac script. But Mrs. Forbes's knowledge or interest does not account for the introduction into her script of Sir Oliver Lodge's name, which Mrs. Forbes had no reason to connect with Sesame or with Dorr or Doors, open or closed. When I received this script I saw a point in the openings of doors, but none in the introduction of Sir Oliver Lodge's name either on this occasion or when it occurred again in Mrs. Forbes's script of February 6, 1910.

Between these two scripts of Mrs. Forbes came Mrs. Willett's scripts of February 4 and 5, 1910:

(5) Mrs. Willett's script.

February 4, 1910.

. . . Go not to Lethe. Myers. Myers. There was the door to which I found no key and Haggi Babba too. This is disconnected but not meaningless.

February 5, 1910.

. . . Tell Lodge this word Myers. Myers get the word I will spell it Myers yes the word is D O R R.

We are only concerned here with the form in which $Myers_w$ indicated to Sir Oliver Lodge that one of the associations which the word Lethe had for him was the name Dorr. The allusion to that name on February 4, 1910, is made in two sentences joined by the word "and." Have these two sentences any special point? Do they contribute anything to the problem before us?

The first sentence introduces in a quotation from Omar Khayyam the two words 'Door' and 'Key.' Each of these singly had occurred in interconnected scripts—Door in Miss Verrall's script (seen by Mrs. Willett), and Key in Mrs. Holland's (not seen by Mrs. Willett). Both words had been used together in the earlier Mac script of September 12, 1908, with which none of the three automatists was acquainted.

The second sentence, "Haggi Babba too" doubtless alludes to "open Sesame," the magic formula of Ali Baba in one of the tales of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. This story was known to Mrs. Willett in childhood, and was probably recalled by her reading of Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilics*¹ in the summer of 1909, as well as by the H.V. script of September 23, 1908, which she had seen in the spring of 1909. By the word "too," Myers_w in this second sentence definitely links (*a*) the group of allusions to Sesame (Haggi Babba) with (*b*) the idea of a door without a key. This is precisely what I had failed to do when I read the sentence in the Mac script about a "key that unlocks the DOOR," though I now have no doubt that those words did form part of the group of allusions to Sesame in the Mac script.

The first sentence, then, in Mrs. Willett's script gives evidence of supernormal knowledge of the Mac script, and does this by means of a quotation appropriate in a series of associations with Lethe, if among those associations are present the Virgilian and Platonic passages of the Sixth *Æneid* and the Tenth Book of the *Republic*.

For those who are not familiar with Omar Khayyam, I recall the context of Mrs. Willett's quotation. The poet sums up the results of the learned studies of his youth as telling him no more than that

"I came like Water and like Wind I go.

Into this Universe and *why* not knowing Nor *whence* like Water willy nilly flowing: And out of it, as Wind along the Waste, I know not *whither* willy nilly blowing."

¹See Sesame, § 50.

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Even when, like Mahomet¹ before him, he passed "Up from Earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate" of the Planets to the Empyrean, he could not unravel "the Knot of Human Death and Fate."

"There was a door to which I found no key."

This passage of the *Rubaiyat* is based upon Neo-Platonism² and so goes ultimately back to Plato's story of the Vision of Er (*Republic*, X.), who in his trance passed by the seven whorls of the Planets in his journey to the Plain of Lethe and the River of Forgetfulness. And it is the problem of Human Death and Fate which Virgil treats in the speech of Anchises to Æneas and the Sibyl by the "Lethean stream."

Thus, on February 4 and 5, 1910, $Myers_W$ completed the cross-correspondence begun in the Mac script of September 12, 1908, and the next day, February 6, that completion was announced in a script of Mrs. Forbes. The first part of this script, in looking-glass writing, was apparently addressed to me; it was followed by a message in ordinary writing to Mrs. Forbes herself telling her to send the first message to me.

(6) Mrs. Forbes's script, Feb. 6, 1910.

(Looking-glass writing.)

Oliver Lodge will be glad to know the key we send it to o^{-3} be sure it will be opened by the seeker. Be of good courage, it is left to you to be the finder. Best be still, summer shall be soon, my best of open doors is to be with brightest sunshine—life shall be Triumphant.

Edmund Gurney Talbot.

(In ordinary writing.)

We want the letter sent to Mrs. V.—from me to Cambridge friends—she has the sense to see it is. . . Seeing will be needed if she is to decipher it. . . We are writing it for the sake of the word wanted, it will help if you say this. We see you have been trying, it will soon seem clearer, send it on quickly.

¹ For an account of the Vision of Mahomet and the connexion of that and other "Astronomical Apocalypses" with the myths of the *Phaedrus* and *Republic*, and with the *Paradiso* of Dante, the reader is referred to Prof. J. A. Stewart's book on the *Myths of Plato*, pp. 350 ff.

²See *inter alia* Heron Allen's edition of FitzGerald's translation, Introduction, pp. xxii. ff.

³ (?) open.

There is no mistaking the intention here. This script connects directly with Mrs. Forbes's earlier script of December 12, 1909, about "Lodge" and the "openings of doors"; here, however, it is not the "door" but the "key" which "Oliver Lodge will be glad to know." On this very day, Sir Oliver Lodge did in fact receive a message from Myers_w with the words "This is the door to which I found no key,"-this being the first time that the word "key" was brought within his knowledge.¹ Moreover, a definite and unmistakable eonnexion with the Mac script is made by the introduction into Mrs. Forbes's script of the word "seeker," used in no intervening script. "Tis not for every chance seeker after knowledge to obtain the key that unlocks the DOOR," said the unnamed scribe on September 12, 1908, when this set of allusions began. After it ended with the answer of $Mvers_w$ to Sir Oliver Lodge's question, Gurney_F and Talbot Forbes wrote "Oliver Lodge will be glad to know the key . . . be sure it will be opened by the seeker."

"It" was not, however, "opened" for some time after this. The connexion between the quotation from Omar Khayyam in Mrs. Willett's script on February 4 and the name Dorr in her script of February 5 was not perceived till after two further allusions to the subject² by Myersw. Even after the detection of the pun of Myers_w, the cross-correspondence with other automatists on the word "Door" remained undetected for some little while, as no one person possessed the whole information required for its apprehension. Some points had been observed and noted; the connexion, for instance, of Mrs. Forbes's script with the erosscorrespondence on "Sesame and Lilies," and in particular with Miss Verrall's scripts of September 23 and October 24, 1908, was perceived by me when I received Mrs. Forbes's script. But I had at that time no knowledge either of Mrs. Willett's script or of Mrs. Holland's, and Miss Johnson, who knew Mrs. Holland's script, did not see the Mac script of September 12, 1908, with its emphasised "DOOR," till October, 1910. If the intelligence that directs these complicated experiments knows what is going on and is capable of feeling, a considerable strain must occasionally be made upon its patience!

¹Sir Oliver Lodge had not seen either the Mac script of September 12, 1908, or Mrs. Holland's script of November 25, 1908.

²See Sir O. Lodge's paper, p. 128.

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SUMMARY.

Notes on Mrs. Willett's Scripts.

ČRoss	CORR.	c. c. (?)	c. c.	с. с.	с. с.		c. c.	c.c.(?)
Context.		arrow.	S. clue.	arrow. clue. circles. and 4.	circles. five in this. other Goorge (Dorr)	Lodge.	S. Dorr.	Lodge.
Рирак		D. K. secker. S. arrow.	D. open.	D. open.	К.	D. openings.		D. K. opened. seeker. open.
	J) ATE,	Sept. 12/08 D. K.	Sept. 23/08	Oct. 24/08	Nov. 25/08	Dec. 12/09	$\left(\begin{array}{c c} \text{Feb. 4, } 5/10 \\ \dots & 10 \\ \dots & 10 \end{array}\right) D. \ \mathrm{K}.$	Feb.6/10
AUTOMATISTS.	NAME.	(I) Mr. and Miss Mac.	(2) Miss Verrall (a) -	(3) Miss Verrall (b) -	(4) Mrs. Holland -	(5) Mrs. Forbes (α) -	(6) Mrs. Willett	(7) Mrs. Forbes (b) -

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The foregoing tabular statement will serve as a summary of the above described cross-correspondence. The names of the automatists are given in chronological sequence, with dates, on the left. I have divided the contents of the scripts into two parts, called respectively Phrase and Context. Under "Phrase" I have given such other recurrent words as were actually included in the sentences containing the words door [D] and key [K]. Under "Context" I have included references in the context of those sentences to Sesame [S], and other points indicative of interconnexion with other scripts. In the last column I have put the letters "c.c.," standing for cross-correspondence, wherever in my opinion there is internal evidence in the script itself that it claims to be part of a whole completed through other automatists.¹

I pass on to the next point requiring a note.

(14) Ode to the West Wind.See below on (42).

(22) Ulysses.

The name Ulysses is not mentioned in the passage from F. W. H. Myers's *Essay on Virgil*, which is here counted as a "source" within Mrs. Willett's normal knowledge.

(23) Nightingale.See below on (33)-(35).

(25) "Strew on her roses."

This line of Matthew Arnold's was known to Mrs. Willett, and she had seen it quoted, as she herself noted, in an M.V.

¹This claim is plainly made in both the H.V. scripts, as well as in Mrs. Holland's script. It is also made, I think, in Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 10, which is a continuation of the scripts of Feb. 4 and 5, by the words "Lodge wants . . . me to prove access . . . to knowledge shown elsewhere,"—such a desire not having been expressed or hinted in Sir Oliver Lodge's letters. The same intention is probably indicated by the drawing in the Mac script of two hearts pieced by an arrow, and by the statement in Mrs. Forbes's second script that Mrs. V. is "to decipher it" and that a "word" is wanted. LXIII.]

script of August 14, 1907. But she did not know that its appearance there re-echoed an earlier emergence in the course of some experiments in table-tilting between my daughter and her cousin, Mrs. Riviere, and that it had thus been recognised as the subject of cross-correspondence between other automatists.¹

(30) (31) Plato's "Phaedo."

Here follow a group of six sentences, including two proper names, and four phrases easily associated with Lethe as the Water of Forgetfulness. Can any explanation be offered for the particular selection of associations here made?

The first phrase (30), the Draught of Forgetfulness, standing alone, could not be claimed as specifically applicable to anything in particular. The words are little more than a paraphrase for the Waters of Lethe. But followed as they are by the name Anaxagoras, to a classical scholar they can recall only one draught of forgetfulness—the cup of hemlock drunk by Socrates. Students of Plato will remember the effect on the development of Socrates' philosophy produced by the writings of Anaxagoras, as described in two chapters (46, 47) of the *Phaedo*,—two chapters, be it noted, which do not form part of the "concluding chapters" of the *Phaedo* of which Mrs. Willett had once read a translation.²

In a mind feeling after associations with the word Lethe, which has already produced an allusion to Keats's *Nightingale*, the "drowsy numbress . . . as though of hemlock I had drunk," may easily have led on to the thought of the hemlock drunk by Socrates, the draught, as $Myers_W$ later called it, of deliverance. But I fail to account by any normal associations of Mrs. Willett's for the introduction into the script of the name of the great predecessor of Socrates, Anaxagoras, accused like Socrates himself of impiety against the gods.³

¹A paper on this subject was read by me at the meeting of the S.P.R. on Dec. 8, 1910, and will be published later in *Proceedings*.

²See above, p. 165.

³ In conjunction with this, the reader is reminded that later references to Socrates in Mrs. Willett's script also appear to show more accurate knowledge than would be expected from Mrs. Willett herself. See above, p. 164.

(33)-(35) Three Poems of Swinburne's.

Next follow (33, 34) two reminiscences of Swinburne, both associated with one aspect of Lethe, namely, forgetfulness. Neither is an exact quotation, as is recognised in the script, but there is no difficulty in tracing what is intended. The first words, "which only I remember which only you forget," recall Swinburne's poem of Itylus, where the memory of the nightingale and the forgetfulness of the "sister swallow," whom she addresses, are emphasized in almost every verse; e.g. "Hast thou forgotten ere I forget "—" Could I forget or thou remember" —" Can I remember if thou forget—But the world shall end when I forget." ¹

The second sentence, "and all dead things go thither, and all forgotten days—something like that," recalls Swinburne's *Garden* of Proscrpine.

"There go the loves that wither, . . . And all dead years draw thither, And all disastrous things; Dead dreams of days forsaken . . ."

Thus the "I," that alone remembers, is the Nightingale, Mother of Itylus, and it is to the Garden of Proserpine that go "all dead years" and "dreams of days forsaken."

Now the two words "Nightingale" and "Proserpine" are the subject of cross-correspondence between other automatists, the one—Proserpine—originating in Mrs. Piper's trance on March 24, 1908, and the other—Nightingale—in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908. But this script, which originates the cross-correspondence on Nightingale by means of a quotation from Oscar Wilde's *The Burden of Itys*, reproduces the Proserpine of Myers_P by means of a quotation from Swinburne's *Garden of Proscrpine*, and, as if to show that the conjunction is not fortuitous, four months later (nothing having meanwhile occurred to draw Mrs. Holland's attention to the subject) both topics are implicitly introduced on March 24, 1909, by quotations from two poems of Swinburne's, the *Garden of Proscrpine*, and the Chorus from *Atalanta in Calydon* about

¹The rhythm of the quotation recalls another poem of Swinburne's, *Rococo*, but in that poem there is no contrast between the remembrance of one person and the forgetfulness of another.

the Nightingale and Itylus. A detailed account of these cross-correspondences, in which my daughter and I are concerned, as well as Mrs. Holland, Mr. and Miss Mac, and Mrs. Piper, is given in Miss Johnson's paper,¹ but for the sake of completeness a brief summary is here made:

Proserpine.

(a) March 24, 1908. Mrs. Piper's trance. "Proserpine the seasons. . . Proserpine Spring upward and the Seasons. . . I am thinking of Proserpine."

(b) July 26, 1908. Mac script. "Hoc fecit Persephone. Eheu fugaces postume postume."

(c) August 26, 1908. M.V. script. "Guardian on the threshold . . . the goddess [*i.e.* Proscripte] holds in her hand a pomegranate—flower and fruit red."

(d) September 10, 1908. H.V. script. "The goddess [*i.e.* Proscripte] holds in her hand a white flower, but they are red too. Better to be a slave than rule among the dead" (Od. XI, 489).

(e) September 19, 1908. H.V. seript. "Flaming torch . . . four pomegranate seeds."

(f) November 25, 1908. Mrs. Holland's script. "Pale beyond porch and portal crowned with faint leaves she stands [i.e. Proserpine]."

(g) March 24, 1909. Mrs. Holland's script. "We are not sure of sorrow And joy was never sure [Swinburne's Garden of Proserpine].

(h) August 19, 1909. H. V. script. "The flowery mead asphodel Persephone the Chariot of Dis . . . go not to Lethe, sleep too brings forgetfulness."

(i) November 10, 1909. Mrs. Holland's seript. "Persephone... Oh singer of Persephone ... the hidden piping thrills... The voice of the bird."

(k) February 10, 1910. Mrs. Willett's script. "All dead things go thither and all forgotten days something like that [Swinburne (Garden of Proscrpine)]. . . The dream that flits by night" [Tennyson's Demeter and Persephone, see below (40)]. (1) March 2, 1910. Mrs. Holland's script. "Pars thyma, etc. [Ovid's Fasti] . . . Oh Proscripte for the flowers now that thou lets frighted fall. Pale beyond porch and portal, etc. [Swinburne's Garden of Proscriptine]. Pomegranate seeds . . . Dusky Dis . . fiery-footed steeds."

Nightingalc.

(a) November 25, 1908. Mrs. Holland's script. Quotation from Burden of Itys (Nightingale)—with Echo substituted for Sorrow in Mrs. Holland's recollection—and quotation from Comus introducing the word Echo.¹

(β) December 9, 1908. Mrs. Piper's trance. "The nightingale has a lyre of gold" (quotation from Henley's Echoes) given as a subject for cross-correspondence and followed shortly by the mention of "Mrs. Holland."

(γ) March 24, 1909. Mrs. Holland's script. "The Thracian ships and the foreign faces [Swinburne's Atalanta]."

(δ) February 10, 1910. Mrs. Willett's script. "Nightingale" explicitly twice, implicitly once (by means of an allusion to Swinburne's *Itylus*). Echo perhaps implicitly, in an allusion to "Shelley's Nightingale."

With regard to these cross-correspondences it is noticeable that in the case of "Proscrpine," of the eleven references the first and last (a and l) alone give the Latin name. Three of the intervening allusions (b, h, i) give the Greek name, Persephone; three (c, d, f) describe, but do not name, the goddess; in the remaining three (e, g, k), the allusions are implicit only. In the case of "Nightingale," in Mrs. Holland's first script

In the case of "Nightingale," in Mrs. Holland's first script (a) the word is implicit and associated with the word Echo. This arrangement is exactly reversed in Mrs. Piper's trance (β), where the word Nightingale occurs in a quotation from one poem of a series whose title—not mentioned—is Echoes. To the Nightingale and to the name Itylus, Mrs. Holland's second script (γ) makes implicit reference. Mrs. Willett's script (δ) contains the word Nightingale explicitly more than

¹The word Echo appears to have been used by $Myers_P$ in Mr. Dorr's sittings of March to May, 1908, to indicate a cross-correspondence; see *Proc.*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 81, 116.

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once, and recalls Mrs. Holland's implicit allusion to *Itys* and *Itylus* by a quotation from a poem of Swinburne's called *Itylus*. If, as I think,¹ the intention of the words "once more ye laurels" is to indicate that Shelley's Nightingale means Shelley's reference in *Adonais* to the Nightingale of Keats,² we have an implicit allusion in Mrs. Willett's script to Echo, which is named in the preceding stanza of *Adonais* as another of the things made beautiful by Keats.

The last (No. 35) of this group is associated by the words "Waters" and "remembered"³ with Lethe, and closely connected with the two preceding quotations from Swinburne. Super Flumina Babylonis is the title of a poem by Swinburne in Songs before Sunrise, which begins with the opening words of Ps. cxxxvii. Mrs. Willett was not acquainted with the poem, but some lines of it are quoted in the Memoir of Henry Sidgwick (p. 588), which she had read, and the words Super Flumina Babylonis appear in an M.V. script of April 12, 1909, written a few days after Swinburne's death, and seen by Mrs. Willett in July, 1909. She had also seen the quotation from the Psalm, "By the waters of Babylon," in H.V. script of April 29, 1909,⁴ but she did not know that those opening words of the Psalm had been employed⁵ in an earlier H.V. script as part of the cross-correspondence between Miss Verrall's script and Mrs. Piper's trance on "Exile and Moore" (Proc., Vol. XXIV., p. 187). So that here too, as in the two preceding sentences, Mrs. Willett's script selects among phrases associated with Lethe ("forgetfulness," "water") one which

¹See p. 159. The main part of my note on the interpretation of Shelley's Nightingale as the Nightingale of *Adonais* was made and communicated to Sir Oliver Lodge some months before I saw Mrs. Holland's script of November 25, 1908, or the record of Mrs. Piper's trance on December 9, 1908, and before I had recognised the allusion to Swinburne's *Itylus* in Mrs. Willett's script.

²That some value was attached by Myers_w to the word Nightingale is clear from the statement on March 7, 1910 (see p. 129), which suggests that the full point of the Nightingale had not yet been perceived.

³The words "forget" and "remember" each occur twice in the nine verses of the Psalm, vv. 5, 6, 7.

⁴See above, p. 186, where the script is quoted.

⁵That fact was known to my daughter when her script of April 29, 1909, was produced, and is unmistakably therein alluded to, as is shown by the next following word on April 29, "Exile." implicitly refers to a word, Exile, which had been, without Mrs. Willett's knowledge, the subject of a cross-correspondence between other automatists.

Under these circumstances I cannot believe it an accident that the three allusions to Swinburne contained in these consecutive remarks of Myers_w should all recall words—Nightingale, Proserpine, Exile—which, unknown to Mrs. Willett, were already the subjects of cross-correspondence between the trance-utterances of Mrs. Piper and the scripts of other automatists. Moreover, it must be remembered that these statements follow upon a group of references to other topics—Ganymede, Sibyl, etc.¹ discussed in Mrs. Piper's sittings with Mr. Dorr, and introduced by Myers_w with the words: "Dorr's scheme excellent—Myers that I have to use different scribes, means that I must show different aspects of thoughts, underlying which unity is to be found."

(39) To slave, etc.

See above, p. 189, for Mrs. Willett's normal associations with this phrase and its application in her script.

(40) (41) Sleep.

Between a plain allusion to Homer and a plain allusion to Keats comes a group of sentences to which no literary prototype can with certainty be assigned. That Death and Sleep are brothers is a commonplace of poetry from Homer² onwards, and no specific allusion can therefore be recognised in this passage to Virgil,³ Shelley,⁴ Tennyson,⁵ or Frederic Myers.⁶ None of the poets named give Sleep more than one Brother, though Tennyson, it is true, in one section of *In Memoriam*, makes Sleep "kinsman" to death and trance and madness.⁷

¹See above, p. 162. ² *Il.*, XIV., 231.

³ *Æneid*, VI., 278, "consanguincus Leti Sopor."

⁴ Queen Mab, 1. 2, "Death, and his brother Sleep."

⁵ In Mem., lxviii., "Sleep, Death's twin brother." Tennyson's own note here gives the reference to the Sixth *Eneid*, 278.

⁶ Fragments, p. 124, "Oh sleep! thy true twin brother."

⁷ The poem in *Fragments* is clearly reminiscent of *In Memoriam*, and the choice of the epithet "true" suggests that the brotherhood of sec. lxviii. is preferred to the kinship of sec. lxxi., that Sleep is in the author's view more nearly akin to I have found no certain literary source for the sentence, "Sleep, the dream that flits by night." To me the phrase recalled the noiseless flight of the dream-god Morpheus sent by Sleep to Alcyone (Ovid, *Met.*, XI. 646): "Ille volat nullos strepitus facientibus alis per tenebras" (he flies on noiseless wing through the darkness). But since the above was written, it has been suggested to me that the phrase in the script recalls the lines from Tennyson's *Demeter and Persephone* (quoted on p. 204 of F. W. H. Myers's volume of Essays called *Seienee and a Future Life*):

> "Last, as the likeness of a dying man, Without his knowledge, from him flits to warn A far-off friendship that he comes no more."

This therefore may be the source from which it is derived. But that is perhaps only another way of saying that it goes ultimately back to the passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which it recalled to me. That Tennyson was familiar with the story of Proserpine as told in *Metamorphoses*, V., is clear. He follows Ovid closely in the details of the disappearance of Proserpine and the search by Demeter. But he differs completely from Ovid in his account of how the news came to the mother that her child was in Hades. In Tennyson's poem, Demeter learns this from a veridical dream, related by Demeter in words that recall another passage in the *Metamorphoses*, the veridical dream by which Alcyone was informed of the death of Ceyx (Ovid, *Met.*, XI. 646, 660). After the above quoted allusion to a 'phantasm of the living,' Tennyson's Demeter goes on:

> "So he, the God of dreams, who heard my cry, Drew from thyself the likeness of thyself Without thy knowledge, and thy shadow past Before me, crying. . . ."

So in the *Metamorphoses*, Sleep chooses Morpheus, the Dream God, who thereupon flits noiselessly through the darkness, and, assuming the likeness of Ceyx, announces himself to Alcyone as the shadow of her husband—

"nosces

inveniesque tuo pro coniuge coniugis umbram."

Death than to Trance or Madness. For a complete exposition of Frederic Myers's theory of Sleep, see *Human Personality*, Vol. I., pp. 150, 151.

(42) Writ in Water.

This phrase was repeated in a script of my daughter's written on Feb. 16, 1910. To complete these comments I therefore here add notes on certain scripts of hers and mine, produced in February, 1910, which appear to form part of this series, or at least to show points of contact with Mrs. Willett's scripts of approximately the same date. There are three in all, two of my daughter's and one of mine, written in ignorance of Mrs. Willett's and of each other's scripts.

H.V. Script. February 5, 1910.

When the sound of the harp is mute—alone in the darkness—straying leaves autumn's harvest—as I walk in autumn's even when the dead leaves pass—the flight of the birds too—minstrelsy song there is something about that I want to say—a quotation—wait.

songs of the old world and of the new a new world worth your old

note that and the waters of Babylon enough. "If I walk in autumn's even When the dead leaves pass"

is a quotation from a poem of Shelley's.¹ The script then seems to pass, with the thought of autumn, to reminiscences of Keats's *To Autumn*, with his "Gathering swallows twitter in the skies" and his "songs of spring" and autumn's "music too." It then quotes, with a difference, Browning's *Abt Vogler*² and ends with "the waters of Babylon." This last phrase is fairly frequent in H.V. script, this being its fourth occurrence since its first appearance on May 16, 1908, as part of the cross-correspondence on Exile and Moore.³

My daughter's next script was as follows:

H.V. Script. February 16, 1910.

. . . You should write more often and regularly—then it would be easier to give the message.

¹The poem is not included in all editions, but was published in Mr. W. M. Rossetti's edition of 1870, and is included in a selection from Shelley familiar to Miss Verrall.

²See Proc., Vol. XXII., p. 380, where a similar point is made.

³ See Proc., Vol. XXIV., p. 186 ff.

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beyond the barriers of the sun—that is one idea—where the slant rays kiss the water a level beam.

a golden line from shore to shore the pathways of the deep who shall talk of paths writ in water the unharvested deep. . . .

In these two scripts there are three points of contact with Mrs. Willett's scripts of February 4 and February 10, 1910, of which neither my daughter nor I knew anything:

(1) On February 4, 1910, $Myers_w$ quotes the greater part of the third line of Shelley's *Ode to the West Wind*. The first three lines of that poem run:

"Oh wild West Wind, thou breath of Autumn's being, Thou from whose unseen presence the leaves dead Are driven, like ghosts from an enchanter fleeing."

The first two lines of the *Ode* offer resemblances with the lines of Shelley's other poem quoted in the H.V. script. It is possible that these two lines represent the "quotation" which the scribe of Feb. 5 wanted "to say," and for which the automatist was to "wait."

(2) On February 10, 1910, $Myers_W$ quotes the first verse of Psalm cxxxvii., four words of which, "the waters of Babylon," occurred in H.V. script of February 5.

(3) On February 10, 1910, $Myers_w$ quotes the words from the epitaph on Keats "his name was writ in water," while on February 16 the H.V. script applies the three distinctive words "writ in water" in a different connexion.¹

As has been said, Sir Oliver Lodge's question about Lethe would account for the introduction into Mrs. Willett's script of phrases containing the word "water." But there was no such reason for their introduction into H.V. script. My daughter was altogether unaware that any attempt had been made to connect Myers_w and Myers_P, that any question had been asked of Myers_w, or that any particular interest attached to associations with Lethe other than those explained in Mr. Piddington's paper which she had read at a meeting of the S.P.R. in October, 1909, when, as far as she was concerned, the Lethe episode was concluded.

¹The words were noted by my daughter at the time as referring to Keats's epitaph.

In the ease of my script the resemblance with Mrs. Willett's script is not in the phraseology but in the topic, namely Lethe. I quote the whole.

M.V. Script. February 15, 1910.

Oh for a draught of some deep stream—but deep is not the word clear is better though not yet right.

> haustus longos deep draughts that quench the thirst. Deep wells of cool no Deep wells and crystal founts $\pi\eta\gamma a\iota \ \kappa\rho\nu\sigma\tau a\lambda\lambda\iota\nu o\iota \ d\epsilon\iota\rho\rho\nu\tau o\iota$ No not yet the ever flowing crystal fount the source of Life and Joy forth flowing from the Sacred Mount

no don't say obvious nonsense—the rhyme hinders—but you now have the general sense. I can't think why you will not just put down the words without making up bad verses to disguise from yourself what you are doing. Now write FOUNT no more than that—and off you go to Fountains Abbey—no more.

F. W. H. M.

The allusion here is plainly to Dante's Lethe as described in *Purgatorio*, XXVIII. to XXXI. Dante's Lethe is translucent (che nulla nasconde) and cool (che si mova bruna bruna sotto l'ombra perpetua), fed not from rain but issuing from a fount that never fails (csee di fontana salda e certa); it flows through the earthly Paradise situated on the Mount of Purgatory; its draught destroys sad memories (memoric triste) and is a necessary prelude to the entry into eternal life and to the quenching of Dante's ten years' thirst (la decenne setc).¹

These allusions to Lethe were produced in the first piece of seript obtained by me after Mrs. Willett's final allusions to Lethe on February 10, 1910. As I have said, I did not know that Mrs. Willett had opened Sir Oliver Lodge's envelope, or that she was producing script; of this I was not informed till some weeks

¹See Proc., Vol. XXII., p. 237 for earlier reference to Lethe in a script of mine recalled by this script. The word $\dot{a}\epsilon i\rho v \tau os$ only occurs once in Greek poetry, viz. in Soph., O.C. 469, where it is applied to the sacred fountain at Kolonos whence Œdipus takes the water for the offering to the Eumenides which precedes his purgation and death. LXIII.]

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later in a letter from Sir Oliver Lodge. My latest informationat the end of January—was that the envelope had not been opened and that Mrs. Willett was not writing automatically. Three pieces of script were produced by me in February (Feb. 1, Feb. 8, Feb. 9), before the above described allusion to Dante's Lethe. So that even if we attribute that allusion to my normal knowledge that Mrs. Willett had received a question about Lethe and would be likely soon to be sitting for script, yet some supernormal connexion between her script and mine is indicated by the chronology, as well as by the supplementary character of the allusion in my script, there being, as we have seen, no reference whatever to Dante's Lethe in Mrs. Willett's script. This omission in her script is the more remarkable in that Mrs. Willett had read with some care Mr. Piddington's Report in Proceedings, Vol. XXII., where much attention is given to Dante's Purgatorio in connexion with the cross-correspondence on Light in West, and where the words **River of Lethe** are emphasised (p. 268) by appearing in leaded type.

That the omission from Mrs. Willett's Lethe-scripts of all mention of Dante was intentional is made the more likely by the following incident, recorded by Mrs. Willett on March 23, 1910, and received by Sir Oliver Lodge, who was abroad, on April 7, before the issue of *Proceedings*, Part LX., Vol. XXIV., containing Mr. Piddington's paper on the Lethe incident.¹

Mrs. Willett relates how she felt an impulse on March 22, 1910, to look through certain volumes of the *Proceedings.*² The result was twofold. The first result showed supernormal knowledge, but does not concern us here; the second is thus reported in Mrs. Willett's note:

Then I felt there was more. . . After a little time I fetched Mr. Piddington's "Report" (Oct. 1908; *i.e.* Vol. XXII.). It is a good long time (months) since I had looked at it. I keep it in a drawer where I also keep Miss Johnson's Report (June, 1908; *i.e.* Vol. XXI.). I took both books out and went and sat down.

¹Part LX. of *Proceedings*, though dated March, 1910, was not posted from the printers till April 9, 1910, and was not sent to Mrs. Willett till April 19, 1910.

²Mrs. Willett is not a member of the S.P.R. and does not receive its publications. Some numbers of the *Proceedings* have been sent to her for definite purposes.

Something in me rejected Miss Johnson's—so I took up Mr. Piddington's. . . I thought I had better turn the pages carelessly and see if I "felt," as I did [in the first case], that I had got "it." It was some minutes before I lit on what I knew (though how I can't explain) was wanted—page 268 in big print—"the river of Lethe." The words preceding are

"Dante enters the Terrestrial Paradise and reaches the river of Lethe."

To sum up:--my-I don't know what to call it--impression or round-about given words (for I seemed *led* to the words) was

Lethe—with Dante.

Of course I see Lethe has to do with Sir O. L's. messages. . . I know nothing of Dante's writings—I have a small Italian *Divina Commedia* . . . but have never read it.

I never connected Lethe and Dante, nor did I know (at least consciously) that Dante had written about Lethe. . .

I do not know whether anything capable of being interpreted as a reference to Dante's account of Lethe has come in my (to me) confused script written in answer to the Lethe question.

This ineident is instructive. It will no doubt be variously interpreted. It is certain that within the last year Mrs. Willett had had two opportunities of learning that Dante had written about Lethe, once when she read-and read with special interest-Ruskin's Sesame and Lilies, with its eloquent concluding passage comparing Tennyson's Maud with Dante's "great Matilda" by the "edge of happy Lethe," and also when she read Mr. Piddington's Report (Proc., Vol. XXII.); so that, had her script included a reference to Dante's Lethe, we should certainly have counted that allusion as due to subliminal memory. It is, however, clear that not all Mrs. Willett's normal associations with Lethc emerged in the apparent tangle of her Lethe scripts, and I myself think that there is evidence that this particular omission was not accidental. For not only was there no mention of Dantc's Lethe by Myers_w, but that omission was immediately followed, at the first opportunity,¹ by the mention of just that very

¹After February 10, 1910, no further script was obtained from Myers_w till March 7, 1910. The first script from Myers_v in that interval was on Feb. 15, and the first H.V. script was on Feb. 16, 1910.

subject by Myers_v, although the association of Lethe with Dante is far less familiar to me than its associations with Plato or with Virgil. Taking all circumstances into account, I regard the incident of March 22, 1910, as marking the recovery of a memory *deliberately withheld*. It is, to my mind, another of several signs of intelligent direction shown throughout the series of incidents which culminated with Mrs. Willett's script of February, 1910. We must put the omission of Dante, on February 4 and 10, and the reminder of that omission on March 22, in the same class as the re-arrangement of topics drawn from H.V. script, and the significant choice of quotations from Swinburne.

The problem to be solved is clearly stated by $Myers_w$. Just as the words, "Ask Piddington," are constantly used by $Myers_v$ and $Myers_{H,v}$ to draw attention to a point of special value in the accompanying script, so $Myers_w$ on June 5, 1910, also emphasises the importance of the evidence for Selection in Mrs. Willett's script in words which may fitly conclude these notes:

> Write the word Selection. Who selects, my friend Piddington? I address this question to Piddington. Who Selects?

III.

THIRD REPORT ON MRS. HOLLAND'S SCRIPT.

By ALICE JOHNSON.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS paper is concerned primarily with certain cross-correspondences between Mrs. Holland's script and that of Mrs. Piper produced some months earlier, namely, during her 21 sittings with Mr. Dorr from March 9 to May 26, 1908, which were reported in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., Part LX., published in April, 1910.

It happened that Mrs. Holland produced only two pieces of script (on March 4 and 10, 1908,) during the period of Mrs. Piper's sittings, and neither of these contains anything connected with the sittings. Her next script, dated July 23, 1908, is concerned with the important cross-correspondence of *Sevens* dealt with in my Second Report on her automatic writing (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. p. 238). After that she wrote nothing more until Nov. 25, 1908,¹ when she began again to write regularly, that is as a rule once a week.

The prelude to this period was my interview with Mrs. Holland on Nov. 24, 1908 (see my Second Report, op. cit. p. 241), when I gave her a short account of the main points in the cross-correspondence of *Sevens*, mentioning that Mrs. Piper had been having sittings with an acquaintance of ours in America, and had given the phrase "We are seven." Mrs. Holland was much interested in hearing of this case, and it seems probable that her talk with me about it stimulated her automatic faculty into fresh activity. The contents of her

 1 Except a piece of script produced in my presence on Nov. 24, 1908, and not dealt with here.

writing, however, cannot be thus accounted for, since I had not mentioned Mr. Dorr's name, nor said anything about any of the other topics of the Piper sittings, of which I then knew very little. Yet Mrs. Holland's script on the following day (discussed in detail below) referred to "the other George not G. P.," and soon after gave the letters "G.B.D.F.A.,"¹ the first three of which are the initials of Mr. Dorr's name.

I saw her again on Nov. 28, 1908, and went over this script with her. She told me the sources of some of the quotations in it, and pointed out that the letters were the five lines of the bass clef. I told her that the first three of them were also the initials of a person known to me (without mentioning his connexion with Mrs. Piper), but that I thought her interpretation was probably the correct one. I said nothing of the cross-correspondences contained in the script, since I did not discover them till some months later.

Mcanwhile I had on Oct. 20, 1908, sent her Vol. XXII. of the *Proceedings*, containing Mr. Piddington's report of the Piper sittings in England, 1906-1907; and she had already seen the first report on Mrs. Verrall's automatic writing (*Proceedings*, Vol. XX.), as well as my first report on her own script in Vol. XXI. Her knowledge of all these matters must be borne in mind in considering the script of this later period.

Possible Telepathy from the Investigators.

It is also to be noted that these cross-correspondences did not occur in Mrs. Holland's script until after Mrs. Verrall knew of the occurrence of the topics in Mrs. Piper's trance. Mrs. Verrall knew nothing about Mrs. Piper's sittings at the time they were taking place; but after they were completed the records were sent to England and were put into her hands for study in October, 1908. Similarly Mrs. Holland's "Sevens" script, and her "Sesame and Lilics"² scripts were produced after Mrs. Verrall knew of the occurrence of those topics in the scripts of other automatists.

Mrs. Sidgwick, Mr. G. W. Balfour, and Mr. Piddington, as well as Mr. Dorr, must also be regarded as possible telepathic

> ¹See Mrs. Verrall's paper above, p. 197. ²See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. p. 319.

agents in this case, for they too were engaged in studying the Piper records during part of the period that Mrs. Holland was producing these scripts, Mrs. Sidgwick having read the records both before and after Mrs. Verrall, Mr. Balfour next, and Mr. Piddington beginning his work on them about Feb. 10, 1909. Some slight evidence for telepathy from Mrs. Sidgwick and Mr. Piddington to Mrs. Piper in trance is, I think, to be found in his report on the English sittings of 1906-7, the strongest case being that of the "Steeple" incident (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. pp. 38-46), when the word "Steeple" was given in the Piper script a few days after Mr. Piddington dreamt or imagined that I had told him it formed the subject of a cross-correspondence in some other scripts. It is to be noted, however, that he had told Mrs. Verrall of this before the word came out in the Piper script.

Similarly there are a few cases (see especially "Comus" and "Shelley's Skylark" below, pp. 253 and 272) where a subject suggested by Mr. Dorr to Mrs. Piper in trance is reproduced in Mrs. Holland's script, and where, therefore, it is conceivable that Mr. Dorr may have exercised some telepathic influence on Mrs. Holland. There is, however, no evidence for telepathy from Mr. Dorr apart from Mrs. Piper; no reference to him being made in the Holland script except in connexion with the Piper sittings.

The general question of what influence may be exercised on the automatists by telepathy from one another is deferred to the theoretical discussion at the end of this paper. I merely note here what persons may, through their normal knowledge of the Piper records, be regarded as possible telepathic agents in relation to Mrs. Holland.

From Nov. 25, 1908, to May 19, 1909, Mrs. Holland produced twenty-two pieces of script. Three of these contained contributions to the *Sesame and Lilies* cross-correspondence, and were quoted in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 319-326; ten are quoted in connection with other cross-correspondences below. Two later ones, carrying on the cross-correspondence *Proscrpine*, are added.

It will be seen that other automatists besides Mrs. Piper, in particular Miss Verrall, are also concerned in these crosscorrespondences, while connexions are further shown with some later American sittings with Mrs. Piper, Dec., 1908,— March, 1909, four of which were held by Mr. Dorr and six by Miss Theodate Pope, a friend of Dr. Hodgson's and a member of the Society, who has had a long experience of Mrs. Piper's trance phenomena, and who kindly undertook to continue Mr. Dorr's experiments.

Finally, some of the cross-correspondences reappear in Mrs. Willett's scripts of Fcb., 1910, reported in Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, which were linked up with the Piper sittings by his question, put to $Myers_w$, "What does the word Lethe suggest to you?"

For the convenience of the reader I insert overleaf a tabular list of the cross-correspondences, arranged in the order of their emergence in Mrs. Holland's script, with the dates on which the same topics occurred in the scripts of other automatists.

THE QUESTION OF CHANCE COINCIDENCE.

The first thing to strike the eye in this table is the long periods of time over which several of the topics are distributed among the automatists, and this at once raises the question whether some of the cross-correspondences may not be due to chance.

The mere probability that the same word or phrase may occur through chance alone in two given scripts by two different writers is the same, whether the two scripts were produced on the same day, or with an interval of a hundred years between them. But that they should be contemporaneous adds another and a very important factor to the coincidence.

And when we try to determine whether the coincidence is due to telepathy (either from incarnate or from discarnate minds), a fresh element is introduced into the argument.; for, since we must suppose the contact between two minds which constitutes telepathy to take place at a certain time, it would be much more reasonable to attribute a coincidence between two scripts to telepathy if they were produced on the same day than if there was a long interval between them.

On the other hand, the scripts merely record the emergence of some of the subliminal impressions of the automatists, and

Mrs. Willett.		Feb. 10, 1910	(Feb. 10, 1910 (Mar. 7, 1910	Feb. 10, 1910 Mar. 7, 1910	$\begin{array}{c} 4, \ 1910 \\ 5, \ ,, \\ 7, \ ,, \end{array}$		
Mrs.		Feb.	(Feb. (Mar.	Feb. Mar.	(Feb. Feb. Mar.		
The Macs.				July 26, 1908	Sept. 12, 1908		July 19-29, 1908
Mrs. Verrall.				Aug. 26, 1908	$\frac{\mathrm{Mrs.\ Forbes.}}{\mathrm{Feb.\ 6,\ 1910}}$		Aug. 19, 1908
Miss Verrall.	$\begin{cases} Oct. 30, 1908 \\ Nov 4 \end{cases}$			(Sept. 10, 1908 (Sept. 19, ', Jan. 26, 1909 Aug. 19, 1909	(Sept. 23, 1908 (Oct. 24, ,,		$\begin{cases} Aug. 12, 1908 \\ Aug. 16, \\ Aug. 22, \\ \end{cases},$
Mrs. Piper.		$ \begin{cases} Mar. 30, 1908 \\ Mar. 31, & , \\ Apr. 6, & , \end{cases} $	Dec. 9, 1908	Mar. 24, 1908		$ \begin{pmatrix} Apr. 6, 1908 \\ Apr. 22, ,, \\ May 4, ,, \end{pmatrix} $	
Mrs. Holland.	Nov. 25, 1908	Nov. 25, 1908	Nov. 25, 1908 Mar. 24, 1909 Feb. 16, 1910	Nov. 25, 1908 Mar. 24, 1909 Nov. 10, 1909 Mar. 2, 1910	Nov. 25, 1908	Dec. 9, 1908	Dec. 9, 1908 Dec. 23, ,, Dec. 30, ,,
Cross-Correspondence.	(1) Convolvulus and Shell, Nov. 25,	(2) Echo and Narcissus, -	(3) Nightingale,	(4) Proserpine,	(5) Door-Key, ¹	(6) Birds and Turkeys, -	(7) Sesame and Lilies. ² -

LIST OF CROSS-CORRESPONDENCES.

				Feb. 10, 1910					
_				$\begin{array}{c} 1909\\ 1909\end{array}$					
				June 27, 1909 Aug. 24, 1909					
	Sept. 23, 1908	Apr. 30, 1908	**						
	. 23,	30,							
	Sept	Apr.							
1908	1908		1908	1908	1910	1908		1908	
20,	19,		20,	$\frac{27}{16}$,	5,	5,		Ď.	
Nov.	Nov. 19, 1908		Apr. 20, 1908	{ Apr. May	Feb.	Sept. 5, 1908		Sept. 5, 1908	
08	00 m	Ś	ŝ	x	<u> </u>		~^^	e 1	_
19	" 190 1y 1	190 ,,	190	190	190	or. 2]	ty 1;	uy 12	
4, 19 8	21, 190 21, 190 34-May 1 908	$ \begin{array}{c} 12, 190 \\ 13, \\ $	23, 190	23, 190	$\begin{array}{c} 4, & 190, \\ 8, & \\ 9, & 190, \end{array}$.6-Apr. 2] 908	81-May 1: 008	2-May 12 908	
$ \begin{bmatrix} May & 4, 19 \\ Mox & 8 \end{bmatrix} $	$\begin{cases} \text{May } 12, & \dots \\ \text{May } 12, & \dots \\ \text{Dec. } 21, & 1908 \\ \text{Mar. } 24\text{-May } 13, \\ 1908 \end{cases}$	$ \{ \begin{array}{cccc} May & 12, & 1908 \\ May & 13, & , \end{array} \} $	Mar. 23, 1908	Mar. 23, 1908 $\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \mathrm{Apr.} & 27, 1908 \\ \mathrm{May} & 16, & \end{array} \right\}$	(May 4, 190) (May 8, 1, Dec. 9, 190)	Mar. 16-Apr. 21, 1908	Mar. 31-May 13, 1908	Apr. 22-May 12 1908	
1908 May 4, 19	$\begin{array}{ c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c$	1908 $\left\{ \begin{array}{llllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllllll$	1909 Mar. 23, 190	1909 Mar. 23, 190	$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	1909 1909	1909 Mar. 31-May 1; 1909 1908	Apr	
	30, 1908 30, 1908	1908	1909		1909	1909 1909	$\begin{array}{c} 1, & 1909 \\ 19, & 1909 \end{array}$		
Dec. 16, 1908 $\left M_{\rm AC} \frac{4}{M_{\rm CC}} \right _{\rm M}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			1909	<u> </u>	1909 1909	$\begin{array}{c} 1, & 1909 \\ 19, & 1909 \end{array}$	Apr. 14, 1909	
	Dec. 30, Dec. 30,	1908	1909	10, 1909	1909	- Apr. 1, 1909 Apr. 11, 1909	$1909\\1909$	Apr. 14, 1909	
Dec. 16,	Dec. 30, Dec. 30,	1908	1909	10, 1909	- Feb. 10, 1909	- Apr. 1, 1909 Apr. 11, 1909	- Apr. 11, 1909 May 19, 1909	Apr. 14, 1909	
Dec. 16,	Dec. 30, Dec. 30,	Dec. 30, 1908	1909	10, 1909	- Feb. 10, 1909	- Apr. 1, 1909 Apr. 11, 1909	- Apr. 11, 1909 May 19, 1909	Apr. 14, 1909	
16,	Dec. 30, Dec. 30,	Dec. 30, 1908	· Feb. 10, 1909	Feb. 10, 1909	- Feb. 10, 1909	- Apr. 1, 1909 Apr. 11, 1909	- Apr. 11, 1909 May 19, 1909	Apr. 14, 1909	
Dec. 16,	30, 30, 30	1908	1909	10, 1909	1909	Apr. 1, 1909 Apr. 11, 1909	$\begin{array}{c} 1, & 1909 \\ 19, & 1909 \end{array}$		

² See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 264-326.

¹See Mrs. Verrall's paper above, pp. 193-204.

these impressions may not be recorded until some time after they arise; while, again, the transmission (from whatever source) to the second automatist may not take place until some time after the first record has been made. Thus there may be a real telepathic connexion between two scripts, in spite of their production at different dates.¹ But since the only ascertainable dates are those of their production, it is obvious that the strength of the evidence for a telepathic connexion depends —partly at least—on the shortness of the interval between the dates.

It depends also, of course, on the number and degree of the coincidences in proportion to the total amount of script. In cases of this type, however, no exact calculation of probabilities can be made, since the data are not only indeterminate in number,—it may sometimes be a matter of opinion whether a coincidence should count as such or not,-but they are also incommensurable in value. We can only judge roughly by a common sense estimate whether the total amount of coincidence is decidedly more than we should expect to occur by chance. The argument is of the same kind as those used in discussing many literary questions. For instance, it is believed that Shakespeare drew his materials for Julius Caesar from North's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* on account of the numerous resemblances in the plot, characters, etc.; and evidence in such a case, while it can never be made mathematically demonstrable, may be more than enough to satisfy the reasonable requirements of scholars. For this conclusion, the study of Julius Caesar alone may suffice; it would not be necessary to analyse all the works of Shakespeare in order to estimate what proportion the coincidences with North's Plutarch borc to Shakespeare's whole output. Similarly it is possible, I think, for readers of the *Proceedings* to judge whether the cross-correspondences there recorded are beyond what can reasonably be attributed to chance, without reference to the unpublished portions of the scripts.

I have explained above that Mrs. Holland was practically

 1 It is noteworthy that when a statement is made in one script as to the occurrence of a topic in the script of another automatist, if any time is mentioned, it is generally stated incorrectly. Several instances of this are given below.

producing no script during the first and main batch of the Piper sittings in question, so that contemporary correspondences could not have occurred. But in my view the total bulk of coincidence between her scripts of Nov. 25, 1908, to May 19, 1909, and the Piper scripts of the period March 9 to May 26, 1908, as shown in the detailed record below, is too great to be reasonably ascribed to chance.

The same principles of reasoning apply to cases where a topic recurs several times in different scripts by the same automatist. These too are coincidences which may or may not be due to chance; that is, the topic may have been mentioned independently on different occasions, or the later mentions may be connected with the first. If the topic is associated with the same phrase or the same idea more than once, or if the second mention follows closely on the first, it is probable that the two are causally connected. Thus, in the complicated cross-correspondence of *Proscrpine* (No. 4 below) Proserpine is referred to four times in Miss Verrall's script; the first two references coming so close together that they seem to form parts of one allusion. On the other hand the third and fourth references are less obviously connected with the first two.

Proserpine is also referred to four times in Mrs. Holland's script. On the last occasion (Mar. 2, 1910), the same quotation is repeated as on the first occasion (Nov. 25, 1908), which seems a link between the two. But the last occasion is near in point of time to Mrs. Willett's allusion to Proserpine (on Feb. 10, 1910), which is linked with Mrs. Holland's first script by the fact that in the writing of both automatists the Nightingale is referred to, as well as Proserpine. This to my mind points to the conclusion that none of these coincidences is due to chance alone, but that Mrs. Holland's scripts are linked to one another by memory, and to Mrs. Willett's by telepathy (whether through the agency of an incarnate or of a discarnate mind).

In considering the question of chance coincidence, it has also to be noted that when a number of cross-correspondences occur in one piece of script, the probability that they are due to something beyond chance is greatly increased. Thus Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, contains five. The first of

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these, "Convolvulus and shell," is weak, taken alone, but the presence of four others in the same script strengthens it. Again, "Confirmation" (No. 10, on Dec. 30, 1908) is a weak one, taken alone, and in any case may, I think, be attributed to chance, and I only quote it to complete the record of the script in which it occurs.

Again, when several cross-correspondences in a single script appear in another single script by a different automatist, written at a different time, the improbability that these coincidences are due to chance is very great. Thus Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 10, 1910 (see table) refers to three cross-correspondences—"Echo," "Nightingale," and "Proserpine"—that appear in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, while the latter script contains also the cross-correspondence "Door (=Dorr) Key," which reaches its climax in Mrs. Willett's scripts of Feb. 4 and 5, 1910 (see Mrs. Verrall's paper above, pp. 193– 204). The combination of all these seems to me far beyond what can reasonably be attributed to chance.

A few more specific facts may be given, bearing on this question.

Classical Allusions in Mrs. Holland's Script.

The reports of Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper in Proceedings, Part LX., show that-in consequence of his deliberate plans of experiment with her-her trance utterances during those sittings were full of classical allusions. Now several of the cross-correspondences here dealt with are concerned with classical topics. These had hitherto been comparatively rare in Mrs. Holland's script, though references to literary subjects in general are very frequent. Since April, 1906, Mrs. Holland has been aware that Mrs. Verrall's script contains a good deal of Latin and Greek, and it might be supposed that this knowledge would have influenced her subliminally to refer to classical subjects. But the whole of her script from the beginning of 1905 to the end of July, 1908, which consists of 160 pieces of writing, contains only twenty-two references to such subjects, *i.e.* on an average, one reference in seven scripts. On the other hand, in the period

now under consideration (Nov. 25, 1908, to May 19, 1909) she produced twenty-two pieces of script, in which seventeen classical references are to be found, that is, on an average, more than two references in every three scripts. The references are thus more than five times as numerous during this period as they were before. The following is a complete list of them:

(1) Nov. 25, 1908.	Quotation from The Burden of Itys.
(2) ,,	"Sweet Echo, fairest nymph."
(3) "	Quotation from The Garden of Proserpine.
(4) Dec. 30, 1908.	Quotation from Prometheus Unbound.
(5) ,,	The Plciades.
(6) "	The Muses on Helicon.
(7) Jan. 13, 1909.	Caryatides.
(8) Feb. 10, 1909.	Caduceus—The dog tooth Mercury.
(9) March 24, 1909.	Quotation from The Garden of Proser- pine.
(10) "	Quotation from Atalanta in Calydon.
(11) Apr. 1, 1909.	The Charonic Staircase.
(12) Apr. 10, 1909.	Diotima—the 5th line of the 3rd Speech.
(13) Apr. 11, 1909.	The Stygian River.
(14) "	Cassiopcia swings low in the midnight sky.
(15) Apr. 14, 1909.	The Cyclops.
(16) "	"In valour is not Love a Hercules."
(17) May 19, 1909.	Perseus, Medusa, and Andromeda.

Out of these 17 classical allusions, 15 form the subject of cross-correspondences,¹ and in the case of two only, viz. Nos. 7 and 12, has no correspondence been found with the scripts of other automatists.

¹Thirteen of these are quoted in the present paper: two, "The Pleiades" and the "Muses on Helicon," belong to the "Sesame and Lilies" cross-correspondence (*Proc.*, Vol. XXIV. p. 324).

Date of mention in Mrs. P.'s trance	Subject of Cross-correspondence.	Date of appearance in Mrs. H.'s Script.		
Mar. 23, 1908.	City in flames; Dido; Burned; Juno.			
Mar. 24, "	Fairy roses.			
23	Styx.	Apr. 11, 1909		
Mar. 30, "	Lime-leaf.			
Mar. 31, "	Floating statue in the			
	air.			
,,	Echo and Narcissus.	Nov. 25, 1908.		
Apr. 13, "	Drawing of dot and circle.			
Apr. 21, "	Rock of Ages.			
>>	Syringa.			
Apr. 27, "	Pegasus. Soaring wings.			
May 4, "	Turkeys and Birds.	Dec. 9, 1908.		
May 12, "	Some verses by Byron.			
"	Daughter of the Sun.			
>>	Cyclops.	Apr. 14, 1909.		
22	Medusa's Head.	May 19, 1909.		
>>	Clouds.			

Cross-correspondences elaimed by the Piper controls to have appeared in Holland script.

Thus, out of 16 cross-correspondences claimed by the Piper controls to have occurred in Mrs. Holland's script, 5 appeared later.

The question how far the knowledge of classical topics shown in Mrs. Piper's trance is to be regarded as supernormally acquired was fully discussed in the papers by Mrs. Verrall and Mr. Piddington in *Proceedings*, Vol. XX1V., and does not concern us here. The details of these subjects mentioned in Mrs. Holland's script were no doubt all familiar to her, except in the cases of the "Charonic staircase" and of the quotation from Ovid (see below, pp. 246-50). But the present paper deals mainly with the evidence for supernormal connexion between Mrs. Holland's scripts and the scripts or trance-utterances of other automatists,—evidence which is not affected, one way or the other, by the question of whether the knowledge shown in any individual trance utterance or script has or has not been normally acquired.

I now give the cross-correspondences in detail, in the chronological order of their appearance in Mrs. Holland's script.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCES.

- (1) Convolvulus and Shell.
- (2) Echo and Narcissus.
- (3) The Nightingale.
- (4) Proserpine.

These topics are contained in Mrs. Holland's script of November 25th, 1908, as follows :---

"Then an octave struck the <u>answer</u>."¹ Make no mistake.

- (1)² Curling wreaths of smoke that take fantastic forms— Convolutions. Convolvulus the clinging creeping flower —The Morning glory—Fragile bells of morning—blue and purple as it were sunrise skies—
- (2 and 3) I might perhaps get the verses I remembered to you—if not my own—yet mine by right of memory—

"Oh Memory cast down thy wreathed shell." ³

Not the shape here but the sound—the echoing repeating sound—"Sweet Echo—fairest nymph that dwells unseen."⁴

(4) "Pale beyond porch and portal Crowned with faint leaves she stands."⁵

The other George-not G. P.-he goes to the other one-

[Here follows the passage quoted in Mrs. Verrall's paper above, p. 197.]

¹ R. Browning, A Toccata of Galuppi.

²The numbers in brackets are not part of the scripts, but are inserted for convenience of reference.

³Oscar Wilde, The Burden of Itys. ⁴ Milton, Comus.

⁵ Swinburne, The Garden of Proserpine; "faint" should be "calm."

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The first part of the above script seems to reflect some topics occurring in two consecutive scripts of Miss Verrall's, produced three or four weeks earlier, viz.:

(October 30th, 1908.)

The blue flowers were periwinkles. A mossy bank beside the stream and convolvulus too.

F. W. H. Myers.

(November 4th, 1908).

No you grow confused wait. A round shell hold it to your ear the sound of the sea a network of lines over the surface.

The bluebells that was the other clue. Put them together.

I interpret this as meaning that the convolvulus suggests something rather similar to itself (since both are of spiral habit), namely, a shell in which one may hear the murmuring sound that is supposed to be an echo of the sca-waves. "Periwinkle," in the first script, is also a shell, as well as a flower.

The same association of ideas appears in Mrs. Holland's script : convolutions—convolvulus or morning glory—fragile bells, blue and purple, the form of which suggests the "wreathed shell," which in turn leads on to the "echoing repeating sound" to be heard in it.¹

¹ The association between the flower and the shell is perhaps derived from Wordsworth's lines :

"I have seen A curious child, who dwelt upon a tract Of inland ground, applying to his ear The convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell, To which, in silence hushed, his very soul Listened intently."

(The Excursion, Book IV.)

(2) Echo and Nareissus; and (3) The Nightingale.

Mrs. Holland's quotation from *The Burden of Itys* is the first line of one verse, the whole of which is as follows:

"O Memory cast down thy wreathèd shell! Break thy hoarse lute O sad Melpomene! O Sorrow, Sorrow keep thy eloistered eell Nor dim with tears this limpid Castaly! Cease, Philomel, thou dost the forest wrong To vex its sylvan quiet with such wild impassioned song!"

Itys (or Itylus) was the son of Zethos and Aëdon; the latter laid a plot to kill her sister-in-law Niobe's son, and killed her own son by mistake. Being pursued by her husband, she was turned into a nightingale (*Greek*, $\partial \eta \delta \omega \nu$). According to another version of the legend, Itys was the son of Tereus and Proene. Tereus, having fallen in love with Proene's sister Philomela, deserted Proene, who avenged herself by killing Itys and serving him up at his father's table. Tereus pursued Proene and Philomela, who were changed into a nightingale and a swallow, or a swallow and a uightingale, respectively. In Oscar Wilde's poem (as in Swinburne's *Atalanta in Calydon* and *Itylus*) it is the nightingale who is the mother of Itys.

The chief idea then that is implicit in this quotation made by the script is the *Nightingale*; cf. Miss Pope's sitting below.

Mrs. Holland told me the source of the quotation, and afterwards wrote out for me the whole verse from memory. But I found that her version was not quite correct; instead of "O Sorrow, Sorrow," she wrote "O Echo, Echo." Thus the words *Shell* and *Echo* are prominent in her version, and it was perhaps this combination that suggested to her the next quotation from *Comus*, which contains the same two words. It is the first line of the song sung by the Lady, when lost in the forest, to attract her two wandering brothers:

"Sweet Echo, sweetest nymph, that liv'st unseen

Within thy airy shell

By slow Meander's margent green,

And in the violet-embroidered vale

Where the love-lorn nightingale Nightly to thee her sad song mourneth well: Canst thou not tell me of a gentle pair

That likest thy Narcissus are ?"

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The script through this quotation again gives *Shell* implicitly, and in the same way the *Nightingale* and also Narcissus, who is naturally associated with Echo, Echo being the nymph who was in love with Narcissus.

Echo and Narcissus had been given by Mrs. Piper, with special reference to the "poetical memories associated with" them, as shown in the following extracts from the records of Mr. Dorr's sittings:

(2) Echo and Narcissus.

(March 30, 1908.) (Waking-stage.)

- I love the beautiful Echo! Walking through the forest Echo greets me everywhere! Narcissus smiles at my feet and I am surrounded by love.
- Tell Mr. Dorr, "I say my utterances echo, echo everywhere, if that is he. I think he will understand what I mean by *echo*, if that *is* he!"

• • •

I get a laughing echo-music.

- (March 31, 1908.) G. B. D. I have just recalled from yesterday's waking-stage that you spoke of *Echo* repeatedly; was that a message?
 - Yes. From Mrs. [Holland] and as [my] own utterances to the spirit of the Light reminded me of what I had written there a few days ago I brought it here to you. "Echo, Echo everywhere !" And I wrote, "As I wandered through woodland paths Echo greeted me and Narcissus sprang up about my feet." You will receive this ere long.
- (April 6, 1908.) G. B. D. "Laughing winds—I love the beautiful echo, I walk through the forest, etc." Was that a symbol?
 - Yes, and poetical memories associated with my readings of mythological characters and subjects.

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(3) The Nightingale, etc.

The Nightingale was given by Mrs. Piper later, as follows:

Extract from record of Miss Pope's sitting of Dec. 9th, 1908.

[The controls on being asked to give "a message for England," *i.e.*, for some of the other automatists to reproduce, replied :]

Tis not that I love Cæsar less but Rome more R. H. G. P. Yes, don't you know it?

MISS POPE. Yes.

Repeat—Softly [Miss Pope repeats the line.]

G. P. has one which I think good.

The nightingale has a lyre of gold.

- Myers and Hodgson with the help and encouragement of G. P.
- The lark is on the wing.
- No more, too many may lead to confusion, besides the light is getting faint. . . .
- Listen before I go I want to tell you that I am not creeping like some ghostly cricket where a house has burned.

Message (two lines were made, like the number 11).

MISS POPE. What do those two lines mean ?

Emphasis. We shall get on famously after a while. I saw and helped Mrs. Holland.

Four "messages" are included in this passage:

- (a) "'Tis not that I love Cæsar less, but Rome more." Nothing corresponding to this has been found in the other scripts.
- (b) "The nightingale has a lyre of gold." This is the first line of a poem by W. E. Henley, belonging to a series of short poems called *Echocs*. Thus "Echo" is implicit in this quotation, while "Nightingale," as already seen, is implicit in Mrs. Holland's quotations about "Echo."

(d) "I am not creeping like some ghostly cricket where a house has burned," which seems from the context to have been specially intended for Mrs. Holland. It is a quotation (incorrectly given; the actual line being: "Yes, you, like a ghostly cricket, creaking where a house was burned") from Browning's A Toccata of Galuppi's, while Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25th, 1908, begins with another quotation from the same poem, "Then an octave struck the answer" (see above). The latter quotation is repeated in Mrs. Holland's script of Mrs.

script of Jan. 20th, 1909, with the addendum:

"Take this from that if that be otherwise," as if to emphasise its importance.

For further allusions to the *Nightingale*, implicit in Mrs. Holland's script, and explicit in Mrs. Willett's, see below, under *Proscripte*.

(4) Proscrpine.

Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, quoted above, has:

"Pale beyond porch and portal

Crowned with faint leaves she stands."

The other George-not G. P.-he goes to the other one-

I take "the other George" to be Mr. George Dorr, which seems to indicate that a cross-correspondence with Mrs. Piper is being attempted.

In the latter's trance, the following allusions to Proserpine occurred :

(March 24, 1908.) (G. B. D. reads a few lines in Latin describing Juno's visit to the cave of Aeolus and asks:) Does this suggest anything to you?

> Yes, it suggests—I quoted part of that myself—I thought of Proscrpine and the seasons.

G. B. D. No, this has reference to the time when Juno tries to prevent Aeneas from reaching Italy.

¹ Hamlet, Act ii. Scene 2.

Yes, yes. Winds-Storm-waves-Neptune.

(After writing "Neptune," the hand expresses dissatisfaction with it and tries to cross it out) Proserpine Spring upward—and the Seasons—--

(Some question asked which was not noted.)

Yes, Light—no, I am thinking of Proserpine. Aphrodite Juno's child. Goddess (this word is crossed out) Niobe —Water drowned

Child—Eros—love—Venus—paramour—Where her feet trod —flowers—

Mr. Piddington observes that there are two natural links, apparently unknown to or unnoticed by Mr. Dorr, between Aeolus and Proserpine, the scenc of whose rape was Sicily. (1) It is when Aeneas and his flect arc "scarcely out of sight of the land of Sicily" (*Aen.* i. 34) that Juno resolves to go to Aeolus' cave and bid him help her against Aeneas. (2) The cave of Acolus was in Acolia (*Aen.* i. 52), *i.e.* the Lipari Islands, just north of Sicily. That Myers_P should say that the cave of Aeolus suggested Proserpine to him seems, therefore,—especially when combined with various incidents given by Mrs. Verrall in her paper on these sittings in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV.,—to indicate an intimate knowledge of the *Aeneid* on his part.

It will be seen that the trance-personality returned to the subject of Proserpine twice more during the sitting, in spite of Mr. Dorr's attempts to lead it off on to other lines. The story of Proserpine is clearly, though somewhat indirectly, indicated : "Juno's child—Goddess—Niobe." Here the train of thought seems to be: "Proserpine—Juno's child—No, the child of another goddess—a goddess who was a bereaved mother," which leads on to the other classical example of a bereaved mother,— Niobe. The words "Spring upward—Child—where her feet trod—flowers" seem to relate to the return of Proserpine in the spring and suggest reminiscences of the following passage in Tennyson's Demeter and Persephone¹ (another reminiscence

⁽Waking-stage.)

¹It will be remembered that *Demeter* and *Persephone* are the Greek names of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*.

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appropriate to $Myers_P$, for the poem is more than once quoted in the published works of F. W. H. Myers):

"So in this pleasant vale we stand again, The field of Enna, now once more ablaze With flowers that brighten as thy footstep falls, All flowers-but for one black blur of earth Left by that closing chasm, thro' which the car Of dark Aïdoneus rising rapt thee hence. And here, my child, tho' folded in thine arms, I feel the deathless heart of motherhood Within me shudder, lest the naked glebe Should vawn once more into the gulf, and thence The shrilly whinnyings of the team of Hell, Ascending, pierce the glad and songful air, And all at once their arch'd necks, midnight-maned, Jet upward thro' the mid-day blossom. No! For, see, thy foot has touch'd it; all the space Of blank earth-baldness clothes itself afresh, And breaks into the crocus-purple hour That saw thee vanish."

The subject of *Proscrpine* also appeared in the Mac script of July 26, 1908, in Mrs. Verrall's script on Aug. 26, 1908, and in Miss Verrall's script on Sep. 10 and 19, 1908, the automatist in each case being ignorant of the occurrence of the subject in the script of any other writer.

The reference in the Mac script was as follows:

(July 26, 1908.)

Erebus and terror—Hoc fecit Persephone— Eheu fugaces postume postume.¹

While the Piper script refers to the return of Proserpine (Persephone) in the spring, as well as to her being carried off, this alludes only to her sojourn in the infernal regions (Erebus). The ode of Horace which it quotes ("*Eheu fugaces, Postume, Postume,*"² Odes, II. 14) does not refer to Proserpine, but is quite appropriately associated with her, for it laments

¹For the context of this, see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. p. 309.

² "Postumus" is the name of the friend to whom the Ode is addressed.

over the brief and fleeting nature of all earthly joys, as compared with the eternal gloom of Hades.

This script was not seen by Mrs. or Miss Verrall until Sep. 26, 1908,¹ and it was not until October, 1908, that Mrs. Verrall saw any of Mr. Dorr's records of his sittings with Mrs. Piper.

Meanwhile Mrs. Verrall produced on Aug. 26, 1908, the following script:²

[In Latin: A guardian on the threshold, but beneath the threshold who?]³ And yet the words are guarded with the fence of the teeth. In books is wisdom who seeks shall find. Ask for the pomegranate flower—the goddess holds it in her hand. Flower and fruit red.

Here the Latin words, followed by the Homeric phrase "fence of the teeth," suggest the guardianship of Hades. In that case, the "guardian on the threshold" would be the three-headed dog, Cerberus, to whom the words "fence of the teeth," are especially appropriate, for his snarl and bark are always emphasised. "In books is wisdom, who seeks shall find" seems to mean that the reference is to some literary topic.

"Beneath the threshold who?"⁴ may refer to Proserpine, the goddess of the infernal regions. There is at any rate no doubt that Proserpine is the goddess with the pomegranate flower or fruit. The allusion to Proserpine, then, is the clearest point in this script.

The following allusions to Proserpine occur in Miss Verrall's script, produced in ignorance of her mother's, just quoted:

(Sep. 10, 1908).

A cup a white cup a flower I think she holds it in her hand [In Latin: a true goddess].⁵ [Drawing of flower]

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. pp. 264 and 311.

²It may be worth noting that this is the only allusion to Proserpine in 282 scripts by Mrs. Verrall, covering a period of nearly four years.

³Custos in limine—sed sub limine quis?

⁴It is possible that the words "sed sub limine quis?" are also intended to convey a pun on the word subliminal, meaning "Who do you suppose directs your subliminal activity?"

⁵ Dea vera, *i.e.* Venus (Virgil, $\mathcal{E}n$. I. 405).

thus the lotus flower but they are red too better to be a slave than rule among the dead who said it? [In Greek: amongst the dead.]¹

(Sep. 19, 1908.)

- A cap of liberty and a flaming torch the sparks shall burn the chaff which the wind scattereth. . . .
- four pomegranate seeds that was part of the eharm the seeds are eut seed pearls.

Of these two scripts, the first, referring to a goddess holding a flower in her hand, and to Hades, seems clearly connected with Mrs. Verrall's of Aug. 26; but the "true goddess" is Venus, not Proserpine, though it is Proserpine who rules among the dead.

In the second script, the "pomegranate seeds" that were "part of the charm" is an unmistakeable allusion to Proserpinc,² who was to be liberated from Hades on condition that she had eaten nothing while there. She had, however, taken a pomegranate³ and eaten seven of its seeds; but in spite of this was permitted to return to the earth every spring, though she had to go back to Hades for part of every year.

The "cap of liberty" and "flaming torch" of the first part of the script almost certainly refer to Proserpine too; the "cap of liberty" is the *pileum*, the characteristic head-covering of Mercury, or Hermes. In the representations of Proserpine's "Return," she is usually led by Hermes, wearing this cap. The "torch" is associated with underworld goddesses in general, and in this particular ease may refer to the torches lit at Mount Etna by Ceres, who carried one in each hand when she set out to search for her daughter Proserpine.

Returning now to the allusion to Proscriptine in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908 (see above, p. 229), we see that her quotation with its context follows closely the

²Mrs. Verrall noted "Proserpine" as a cross-correspondence between her own and her daughter's script on Sep. 26, 1908.

³ This pomegranate is called by Ovid (*Met.* V. 536) puniceum pomum, puniceum being an unusual word for red. Both Mrs. and Miss Verrall's scripts speak of the flower or fruit being "red."

¹ εν φθιμένοις (Homer, Od. XI. 489, 491).

sentiment of the Mac script and the Horace Ode therein quoted :

"Pale beyond porch and portal,

Crowned with calm leaves, she stands,

Who gathers all things mortal

With cold immortal hands;

There go the loves that wither, The old loves with wearier wings; And all dead years draw thither, And all disastrous things."

(Swinburne, The Garden of Proserpine.)

Mrs. Holland's script, however, quotes only the first two lines of the poem, underlining the words "portal" and "leaves." The words "Beyond porch and portal" have some resemblance to Mrs. Verrall's phrase "Beneath the threshold"; while the emphasis laid in both scripts on the idea of an *entrance* (Mrs. Holland, "beyond porch and *portal*"; cf. Mrs. Verrall, "A guardian on the threshold, but beneath the threshold who? And yet the words are guarded with the fence of the teeth") seems to link on this cross-correspondence with the elaborate one formed by a pun on the name of Mr. Dorr ("Door-Key," see Mrs. Verrall's paper above, p. 193) Mrs. Holland's contribution to which occurs in this same script.

PROSERPINE: CONTINUED.

The next script to be quoted refers only to Dis (Pluto), and not to Proserpine; but I include it under this topic because I believe that the reference—like some of Mrs. Piper's references to Proserpine—is derived from Tennyson's *Demeter and Perscphone*. The passage occurs in a script of Miss Verrall's, dated Jan. 26, 1909 :

. . . the shapes that haunt the dusk ¹ the twilight the kingdom of dreams you do not get the thought clearly wait flitting forms on the threshold between the Seen and the Unseen. [In Latin : flitting round the gates of Dis, flitting round.]²...

¹Tennyson, In Memoriam, XCV.

²Ostia Ditis circumvolitantia circumvolitantia.

This recalls to me the following lines from *Demeter*:

"Last as the likeness of a dying man, Without his knowledge, from him flits to warn A far-off friendship that he comes no more, So he, the God of dreams, who heard my cry, Drew from thyself the likeness of thyself Without thy knowledge, and thy shadow past Before me."

The same passage is, I think, the source of the phrase in Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 10, 1910, quoted below, p. 245: "Sleep, the dream that flits by night," which is immediately followed by the words, "Sleep and his twin Brother," probably derived from *In Memoriam*, LXVIII.: "Sleep, Death's twin brother."

Thus both scripts seem to associate these two poems together, and the sections of *In Memoriam* chosen are appropriate, for they refer to a dream about Hallam in which he does not seem to be dead, and to the trance in which Tennyson conceived himself to have communicated with Hallam.

The topic of *Proscrpine* recurs several times more in Mrs. Holland's scripts, and it is important to note the frequent association of it with the *Nightingale*, which was shown to be implicit in her script of Nov. 25, 1908.

Her next allusion occurs on March 24, 1909, as follows:

"We are not sure of sorrow And joy was never sure" The Thracian ships and the foreign faces.

The first of these quotations is from Swinburne's *Garden of Proscrpine*, the context being :

> "We are not sure of sorrow, And joy was never sure; To-day will die to-morrow; Time stoops to no man's lure."

The second is from the Chorus of Atalanta in Calydon:

"And the brown bright nightingale amorous Is half assuaged for Itylus,

For the Thracian ships and the foreign faces The tongueless vigil and all the pain." The next allusion to Proscrpine in any of the scripts is in Miss Verrall's of August 19, 1909, as follows:

The flowery mead—asphodel—Persephone—the chariot of Dis foam-flecked steeds Asphodelos
"No, no, go not to Lethe"¹
sleep too brings forgetfulness
In the intenser light that heralds in the dawn
When the grey clouds roll back from Day's portal to let the dawn ride forth—the horses of dawn and of death dawn and death

The first part of this script seems to be founded on a reminiscence of the passage from *Demeter and Persephone* given above, p. 236, but with the flowery "field of Enna" the script combines the Asphodel Meadow of Elysium, which is referred to in the last four lines of the poem:

"[Thou shalt] see no more The Stone, the Wheel, the dimly-glimmering lawns Of that Elysium, all the hateful fires Of torment, and the shadowy warrior glide Along the silent field of Asphodel."

The quotation from Keats is perhaps introduced next partly on account of the casual allusion to Proserpine in its context.

Next comes a script of Mrs. Holland's, dated November 10, 1909:

P_persiflage_persist_In penitence_Persephone_Penstemon_

Oh singer of Persephone from the far meadows desolate— Hast thou forgotten Sicily ?

Through the stilled groves the hidden piping thrills-

What forms are these coming—All white through the gloom— The voice of the bird—

The torture of the whirling wheel wherein the power of the philter lay . . .

¹ "No, no, go not to Lethe, neither twist Wolf's-bane, tight-rooted, for its poisonous wine; Nor suffer thy pale forehead to be kiss'd By night-shade, ruby grape of Proserpine;"

⁽Keats, Ode on Melancholy.)

Here, I think, are further allusions to the poem *Demeter* and *Persephone*; "the far meadows desolate" being probably the fields that remained barren in consequence of the grief of Demeter. "Hast thou forgotten Sicily?" suggests the "clouded memories"; and "the hidden piping," and "the voice of the bird," suggest the "sudden nightingale" in the passage from *Demeter* given below, p. 246.

"The hidden piping" has perhaps also a secondary reference to Mrs. Piper, whose name is not infrequently the subject of puns in the script.

"The torture of the whirling wheel" I take to be an allusion to the last four lines of the poem, quoted on p. 241 in connexion with Miss Verrall's script of Aug. 19, 1909.

> "What forms are these coming So white through the gloom ?

> > .

'Tis Apollo eomes leading His ehoir, the Nine."

is a quotation from the song of Callicles in Matthew Arnold's *Empedocles on Etna*. This seems to be brought in through a normal association of ideas, Empedocles and Persephone both belonging to Sicily. But, as observed above, the association between Proserpine and Sicily seems implicit also in the Piper trance-utterances.

Mrs. Holland's next allusion to Proserpine occurs in her script of March 2, 1910, the whole of which I quote:

> "Oh lark be day's apostle To mavis, merle and throstle— Bid them their betters jostle— From day and day's delight—¹

Pars thyma-pars casiam-melifontos

Plurima lecta rosa est et sunt sine nomine flores—crocus liliaque alba—

"Oh Prospero" "Oh Proserpine for the flowers now that thou lets righted fall"

¹R. Browning, Pippa Passes.

LXIII.]

Pale beyond porch and portal Crowned with faint leaves she stands Who gathers all things mortal In calm immortal hands

Pomegranate seeds—Cleft rosy at the heart. Dusky Dis—

Gallop apace you fiery footed steeds

Toss [?] jam-jam The other ignoramus is less tiresome— Foreshadowings—Overshadowings—

Take pains not to let them misunderstand the Latin attempt---but you are always behindhand---dealing with arrears of months ago----

Both hands send this—

F. W. H. M.

In the letter accompanying this, Mrs. Holland wrote :

Last night's script begins with a Browning [quotation]—*Pippa Passes*—tries to get a few Latin words, misquotes *Winter's Tale*, "Oh Proserpine, etc.," then Swinburne, finally *R. and Juliet*.

From "Take pains" my left hand insisted on holding the pen too,—a new and cumbrous plan.

For comments on the Latin in this script, see separate section below, p. 246.

The quotations following the Latin are:

(a) "O Proserpina,
 For the flowers now, that frighted thou let'st fall
 From Dis's waggon ! Daffodils
 That come before the swallow dares, and take
 The winds of March with beauty."

(The Winter's Tale, Act iv. Scene 4.)

(b) "Pale beyond porch and portal," etc., previously quoted by Mrs. Holland on Nov. 25, 1908 (see above, p. 229), from *The Garden of Proscrpine*.

(c) "Dusky Dis" from-

"Ceres. Since they [Venus and Cupid] did plot The means that dusky Dis my daughter got, Her and her blind boy's sandal'd company I have forsworn."

(The Tempest, Act iv. Scene 1.)

R. H.

The fact of this quotation coming from *The Tempest* no doubt accounts for the mention of Prospero in connexion with Proscrpine in the script.

(d) "Juliet. Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds, Towards Phoebus' lodging: such a waggoner As Phaethon would whip you to the west, And bring in cloudy night immediately." (Romeo and Juliet, Act iii. Scene 2.)

This script has many points of resemblance to Miss Verrall's of August 19, 1909, quoted above. In both the chariot and horses of Dis are connected—by a not unnatural association of ideas—with the horses of the Sun; but while Miss Verrall's script speaks of "the horses of dawn," Mrs. Holland's are those of the setting sun.

This carrying on, or recrudescence, of the topic of *Proserpine*, must be considered in connexion with its emergence in Mrs. Willett's script of February 10, 1910, in which script, as already remarked, we find that a number of the cross-correspondences involved in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, are—so to speak—gathered together and focussed,—namely, *Echo* (implicitly, see Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, p. 159, and Mrs. Verrall's paper, pp. 208-9), the *Nightingale* and *Proserpine*. The whole script is given by Sir Oliver Lodge (see above, pp. 148-50); I quote here the passages relating to the two latter cross-correspondences:

(The Nightingale).

The Nightingale but but I no no no begin again The nightin Nightingale but Shelley too as well Once more ye Laurels

Which only I remember which only you forget

.

(Proserpine).

There is a line of Swinburne's I want that Pagan singer of fair things and all dead things go thither and all forgotten days something like that Swinburne

Sleep the dream that flits by night Sleep and his twin Brothers not Brothers single Brother

The above references to the Nightingale and Shelley were interpreted by Mrs. Verrall (see above, p. 159) as alluding to Shelley's poem *Adonais*, Stanza xvii., an interpretation which seems to me sound; and Mrs. Verrall remarks that the two preceding stanzas refer to Echo and Narcissus, which are thus linked with the Nightingale in this poem, as in the two poems quoted by Mrs. Holland on Nov. 25, 1908, and in the one quoted by Mrs. Piper on Dec. 9, 1908 (see above, pp. 229 and 233).

The next phrase in Mrs. Willett's script,

"Which only I remember

Which only you forget"

is a reminiscence of the refrain in Swinburne's *Itylus*, whereas Itylus is also referred to in the passage from *Atalanta in Calydon*, quoted by Mrs. Holland on March 24, 1909. It is interesting to note that the phrase seems re-echoed in Mrs. Holland's script of Feb. 16, 1910, which begins:

> I shall remember while the light lives yet And in the darkness I shall not forget.

Mrs. Willett's phrase,

"And all dead things go thither And all forgotten days"

is misquoted from *The Garden of Proscrpine* (see Mrs. Verrall's paper, p. 206); while "the dream that flits by night" seems (see above, p. 240 and also Mrs. Verrall's paper, p. 211) to be a reminiscence of Tennyson's *Demeter and Persephone*.

These topics are reiterated in Mrs. Willett's script of March 7, 1910:¹

Write again the Nightingale I want that seen to Pluto not not Plato this time, but PLUTO Bees Bees the hum of Bees

¹For the context of this, see Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, p. 129.

Pluto (Dis) here is perhaps primarily associated with *Lethe*, the main topic of these Willett scripts, but is also of course elosely connected with Proscripte,¹ with whom the Holland script of March 2, 1910, associates bee-plants (see below) and Dis.

The association of the Nightingale with Proscrpine both in the Holland and Willett scripts indicates an additional telepathic link between them, for the two topics are by no means necessarily associated together,—in the same way that *e.g.* Ceres and Proscrpine would be,—and I do not think they are often found together in literature. They are, however, associated in the following passage from Tennyson's *Demeter and Perscphone*, which seems to have been the source of certain phrases in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 10, 1909 (see p. 241):

> "Thou camest, O my child, Led upward by the God of ghosts and dreams, Who laid thee at Eleusis, dazed and dumb, With passing thro' at once from state to state, Until I brought thee hither, that the day, When here thy hands let fall the gather'd flower, Might break thro' clouded memories once again On thy lost self. A sudden nightingale Saw thee, and flash'd into a frolic of song And welcome; and a gleam as of the moon, When first she peers along the tremulous deep, Fled wavering o'er thy face, and chased away That shadow of a likeness to the king Of shadows, thy dark mate."

LATIN QUOTATION IN MRS. HOLLAND'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 2, 1910.

Pars thyma-pars casiam-melifontos

Plurima lecta rosa est et sunt sine nomine flores—crocus liliaque alba—

On this Mrs. Verrall sends me the following notes:

January 27, 1911.

In Ovid, Met. V. 392, Proscripte is described as picking "violets or white lilies," (aut violas aut candida lilia carpit) and it is in

¹Cf. Persephone, Dis and Lethe mentioned together in Miss Verrall's script of Aug. 19, 1909, p. 241, above. This script had not been seen by Mrs. Willett.

this passage that she is said to have dropped her flowers in her fright.¹

There is, however, another famous account of the story in Ovid, Fasti IV. 393-620. Here Ovid describes the flowers which Proserpine and her companions pick, and Mrs. Holland's words come straight out of this (Paley's text, ll. 440-442):

> "Pars thyma, pars rorem, pars meliloton amant. Plurima lecta rosa est, sunt et sine nomine flores. Ipsa crocos tenues, liliaque alba legit."

(Some prefer thyme, some rosemary, some melilote: many a rose is plucked, and there are, too, flowers unnamed. She herself [*i.e.* Proscrpine] picks slender crocuses and white lilies.)

She has substituted for *rorem* the word *casiam*—which is closely associated with it in Virgil (*Georg.* II. 213), both being food for bees—and she has written "melifontos" for "meliloton" (it is a kind of clover). She has omitted the flowers named in the preceding II. 437-439, viz. : buttercups, violets, poppies, hyacinths, amaranth.

I can't help feeling a possible connexion with my article published in the *Classical Review* on March 1, 1910. But the connexion is subtle. I am speaking of passages in Virgil where white lilies are mentioned, and I name "cassia, vervain, thyme" among lowgrowing plants, the favourites of bees. I give the reference (above noted) to Virgil, *Georg.* II. 213, which combines "casiam" and "rorem," but I do not quote it. I am not dealing with Ovid, but the *Fasti* passage is very familiar to me (I have read it often with children in class), and it seems odd that on the day after the appearance of my talk about white lilies and bee-plants, Mrs. Holland should write about an Ovidian passage which deals with white lilies and bee-plants. Ovid, it is true, does not mention bees; but to the classical student thyme, cassia, and melilote are typical bee-plants.

If this is so, the question arises, is this knowledge wholly supernormal, or did Mrs. Holland see the *Classical Review* which usually comes out punctually on the first of the month? Even so, I don't see how she could have got any sense of connexion between Ovid's Proserpine (*Fasti*) and my article except supernormally.

The point of interest in this is that my article deals with Lethe, bees, and lilies.

¹It is from the *Metamorphoses* (probably known to him in Golding's translation) that Shakespeare takes his allusions, quoted by Mrs. Holland, to Proserpine in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*.

This is the article referred to in Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, p. 163, in connexion with the passage about Pluto and Bees in Mrs. Willett's script of March 7, 1910, quoted on p. 245.

It may, I think, be taken as certain that neither Mrs. Willett nor Mrs. Holland had seen this paper at the time of producing the scripts referred to;¹ but I have read it carefully with a view to judging what could be inferred from it by non-classical readers. Mrs. Verrall mentions bees in connexion with Lethe, but not with Pluto, and it appears to me very unlikely that Mrs. Willett should have derived this latter connexion from Mrs. Verrall's paper, even if she had seen it. As to Mrs. Holland, Mrs. Verrall has stated fully in her note above the facts bearing on the question of possible connexions between Mrs. Holland's script and her paper, and I can find no other points in the paper from which, as it appears to me, Mrs. Holland could have deduced anything that emerged in this script.

If, then, any connexion exists between the scripts and Mrs. Verrall's paper, it would seem that it must be telepathic in origin, for the scripts reflect, not what is stated in the paper, but some of the topics that would be associated with it in Mrs. Verrall's mind.

In regard to Mrs. Holland's substitution of *easiam* for *rorem* in the Latin quotation, Mrs. Verrall has quite recently found that there is a difference of reading among the editors of Ovid in respect to line 440 of *Fasti*, Book IV. The older editions in common use in the early part of last century read *easiam*, and it is pretty certain that this would have been the reading known to Mr. Myers as a boy. *Casiam* is also the reading of the latest edition of the Corpus (1894). Merkel, however, (1841) reads *rorem*, which was the reading familiar to Mrs. Verrall.

The context of the Ovid quotation in Mrs. Holland's script has also to be considered.

"Proserpina" is mentioned twice only in Shakespeare: Winter's Tale, Act iv. Scene 4 (quoted by Mrs. Holland), and Troilus and Cressida, Act ii. Scenc 1, "as Cerberus is at Proserpina's beauty."

¹I have made special enquiries on this point in regard to Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Verrall has done the same in regard to Mrs. Willett.

Dis is mentioned twice only, in the *Winter's Tale* and *Tempest*, both quoted by Mrs. Holland. The *Troilus and Cressida* passage does not refer to the story of Proserpine, so Mrs. Holland has included in her script of March 2; 1910, the only two references by Shakespeare to the story, both of which are derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

She follows them up with a quotation from *Romeo and Juliet*: "Gallop apace, you fiery-footed steeds."

"Fiery-footed steeds" is a translation of Ovid, Met. II. 392, where in his account of the story of Phaethon he speaks of: "ignipedum vires . . . equorum" (the strength of the fiery-footed horses).¹

This, then, is another unmistakeable allusion by Mrs. Holland to Ovid, as represented in Shakespeare.

Thus her script of March 2, 1910, represents—not only a combination of the two Ovid versions of the story of Proserpine with Shakespeare's two allusions to one of those versions (a combination which may possibly be found in some passage of literary criticism, though we have not been able to trace any such), but in addition an allusion to another Ovid story, viz. that of Phaethon.

The script shows at least more knowledge of Ovid than can be derived from Shakespeare, who was apparently unacquainted with the *Fasti*.

As to the actual quotation from the *Fasti*, it is of course impossible to prove that Mrs. Holland had not casually seen this somewhere, and reproduced it from her subconscious memory. That she was not aware of having recently seen any Latin phrases is shown by her letter to me, quoted above, where she remarks that the script "tries to get a few Latin words"; for it is her custom to tell me whenever she can trace the origin of such in her script.² Enquiries made later have failed to throw any light on this.

¹The word *ignipes* (Mrs. Verrall tells me) is used only twice in Latin poetry: (1) by Ovid, as above; (2) by Statius, *Theb.* I. 27, in a passage deliberately recalling the passage in Ovid.

²Latin phrases, generally very familiar ones, occur occasionally, but by no means often, in her script. Greek words are still more rare. In several cases she has traced these latter to words casually seen in the midst of her ordinary English reading, and reproduced in an apparently mechanical and unintelligent way.

It may be worth adding that Tennyson in his Demeter and Persephone, which has already been mentioned as the source of several of the factors in this cross-correspondence, follows elosely Ovid's version of the story, and that the same version seems to lie behind Mrs. Piper's references to Proserpine on Mareh 24, 1908, and Mrs. and Miss Verrall's references in Aug. and Sep. 1908.

It was, as shown above, $Myers_P$ who originated the "Proserpine" eross-correspondence, and who in other cases had shown evidence of knowledge of Ovid. Mrs. Holland's Ovidian references (made, it is to be noted, before any reports on these Piper sittings had been published) were to passages known to Mrs. Verrall; whereas the Piper Ovidian references to "Lethe" were not known to Mrs. Verrall. But in both cases it is "Myers" who claims to be the communicator of the Ovidian references, and with Ovid, as we know from the autobiographical passages in *Fragments of Prose and Poetry* (p. 17), Frederie Myers was intimately aequainted.

(5) Door Key.

For the details of this eross-correspondence, see Mrs. Verrall's paper above, pp. 193-204.

(6) Birds and Turkeys.

Mrs. Holland at the end of a long script produced on Dec. 9th, 1908, and immediately after a passage quoted in connexion with the "Sesame and Lilies" incident (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. p. 320), writes as follows:



and a path between-

I attached no meaning to this.

On May 11th, 1909, I saw Mrs. Holland and read over with her a quantity of her recent script, so that she might as far as possible identify the quotations which I had not traced. On coming to the "Mallard" and drawing of birds, she said that it reminded her of a College song, "Let All Souls' men have their mallard."

Later when it occurred to me that this might have a possible connexion with a phrase in Mrs. Piper's script, I asked Mrs. Holland to look up this song, which she found in *The Minstrelsy of Isis: Poems relating to Oxford*, edited by J. B. Firth. The first verse is as follows:

> "Griffin, Turkey, Bustard, Capon, Let other hungry mortalls gape on, And on their bones with stomachs fall hard But let All Souls men have the mallard."

The mallard feast is, it appears, held at All Souls' College within a night or two of All Souls' Day (*i.e.* November 2nd), and this was an old drinking song associated with the ceremony.

The corresponding parts of Mrs. Piper's script are:

- (April 6, 1908.) G. B. D. Now shall I give you a new message? (Hand assents.)
- G. B. D. It refers to the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers here and the first settlement of this country.

"The breaking waves dashed high

On a stern and rock-bound coast."

Do you understand what "Pilgrim Fathers" means ?

Something about birds or turkeys

- (G. B. D. explains. The hand suddenly rushes down to the paper and writes :) Pilgrim's Progress ! Yes, Pilgrim Fathers.
- G. B. D. Now you understand about the "breaking waves" and the "rock-bound coast"? I think you can make a mental picture of it which may help you in giving it to the other Lights.

Good, I understand well. Breaking waves ?

G. B. D. Yes, breaking on a stern and rocky coast.

(April 22, 1908.) G. B. D. I have just discovered the association in R. H.'s mind between turkeys and pilgrims that made the Light write the one when I spoke of the other,— Pilgrim Fathers, Fast Day, Thanksgiving and Turkey.

(Hand expresses great satisfaction) I could not think of the word

(It was evident in the action of the hand that Thanksgiving is the word meant, and R. H. the speaker.)

G. B. D. You might add it and turkeys to the message.

(Hand expresses that it will.)

(May 4, 1908.) [On "Thanksgiving" being mentioned :] I said Turkeys and Birds to Mrs. Holland, and Mrs. V. also.

For the sake of English readers it may be well to explain that Thanksgiving Day is an American national holiday appointed—in Massachusetts, at least,—by proclamation by the Governor of the State. The last Thursday in November is always the day appointed. It is a feast day which commemorates the celebration by the Pilgrim Fathers of their first harvest in America. On that occasion they found wild turkeys in the woods and brought them home to add to their feast. Hence turkeys have always been the staple of Thanksgiving dinners.

Fast Day commemorates another incident in the history of the early settlers in Massachusetts. After they had been there about two years their supplies gave out, and as the expected ship from England did not arrive, great suffering resulted, and the Governor ordered a day of fasting and prayer to be observed. This being done the ship arrived while the people were praying in church. Within the last few years, Fast Day, which was gradually transformed into a festival, has been re-christened Patriots' Day.

The pictorial form used in Mrs. Holland's script on this occasion may possibly have been derived from Mr. Dorr's suggestion to Mrs. Piper, "I think you can make a mental picture of it," whereas the ideas that were apparently most prominent in Mrs. Piper's trance consciousness,—" birds or turkeys" and " breaking waves,"—are roughly represented in Mrs. Holland's drawing. The fact that the little known English festival alluded to by Mrs. Holland and the well-known American one alluded to by Mrs. Piper both occur in November adds somewhat to the correspondence.

(7) Sesame and Lilics.

For the details of this cross-correspondence, see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 264-326.

(8) Comus.

Mrs. Holland writes on December 16th, 1908:

.

The glassy cool translucent wave—

I want her to draw a recumbent figure not this one the drawing one-Helen could help. . . .

.

"The glassy cool translucent wave" is quoted from the first part of the Attendant Spirit's invocation to Sabrina in *Comus.* The first few lines of this (with a few other passages from *Comus*) had been read by Mr. Dorr to the Piper controls on May 4th, 1908, and on May 8th he had suggested that they should "make one of the other Lights give the name of Comus, or of Circe, or make some reference to the poem,—quote some lines from it, perhaps." Again on May 12th he repeated

> I read you "Sabrina fair, listen where thou are sitting, Under the glassy cool translucent wave." Perhaps this, as a quotation, may help you to give it to the other Lights.

Thus, besides the lines to "Sweet Echo" quoted above, p. 231, part of the very passage that Mr. Dorr suggested on this occasion was reproduced by Mrs. Holland.

A number of allusions to *Comus* were made in the Piper sittings, for a full report of which see Mrs. Sidgwick's paper in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 196-9.

The "recumbent figure" mentioned in Mrs. Holland's script as to be drawn by "Helen" is perhaps the nymph Sabrina, for river deities are normally recumbent in Greek art. The Piper controls had also said on May 12th, 1908, that they would give to Miss Verrall "Caves, nymphs, water-nymphs and Maid of the Sea, Maidens fair twining their golden locks." Again in Miss Pope's sitting with Mrs. Piper on December 21st, 1908, Myers_P, indicating a date with more accuracy than usual, wrote :

[Mrs. Verrall] also wrote, or Helen did, Water nymphs, sprite. Recently within three Sabbaths.

Miss Verrall produced the following script on November 20th, 1908:

A hand long and narrow the fingers close together [drawing of hand] white as alabaster the blue depths of ocean Of his bones are coral made ¹—in the caves of ocean where the sea nymphs dwell—mermaids the lure of the sea—lorelei [drawing of bow and arrow] and nought shall save the fisherman whom once that net hath trapped

The arrow, which appears in this script, is often introduced

into the Verrall scripts, apparently as a symbol of a crosscorrespondence. (An instance is to be found in Miss Verrall's script of Oct. 24, 1908, also in the Mac script of Sept. 12, 1908, both quoted in Mrs. Verrall's paper above, pp. 193-6.)

Miss Verrall's script here closely reproduces the subjects named in Mrs. Piper's trance, and is also a sort of paraphrase of the latter part of the Attendant Spirit's invocation to Sabrina, namely:

> "By Leucothea's lovely hands, And her son that rules the strands; By Thetis' tinsel-slippered feet, And the songs of Sirens sweet; By dead Parthenope's dear tomb, And fair Ligea's golden comb, Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks Sleeking her soft alluring locks; By all the nymphs that lightly dance Upon the streams with wily glance;

> > ¹ The Tempest, Act I. Scene 2.

LXIII.]

Rise, rise, and heave thy rosy head From thy coral-paven bed, And bridle in thy headlong wave, Till thou our summons answered have. Listen and save!"

"Leucothea" means the white goddess, so that "white as alabaster" would be a suitable phrase to apply to her; and the "mermaids the lure of the sea" and the "Lorelei" of the script are equivalent to the "Sirens" and "Ligea." In Heine's ballad of the "Lorelei" who lures the fisher boats on to the rocks:

> "Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet Dort oben wunderbar, Ihr goldnes Geschmeide blitzet Sie kämmt ihr goldnes Haar;
> "Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme Und singt ein Lied dabei; Das hat eine wundersame Gewaltige Melodei."

If it be admitted that the resemblances between Miss Verrall's script and the passage from *Comus* are too great to be put down to chance, and that the script really refers to that passage, whereas Mrs. Holland's script actually quotes from another part of the same passage, the case may be compared with the one given by Mrs. Verrall in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., pp. 297-8, where the first stanza of a French poem ("La vie est vaine") is closely paraphrased in the Mac script, while the second stanza of the same poem is quoted in a script of Miss Verrall's.

(9) Time and Eternity; Prometheus.(10) Confirmation.

These cross-correspondences are contained in Mrs. Holland's script of December 30th, 1908, the whole of which I quote:

Fer-Fervent-fervency-Forth on the vigil-each take part Knights of the yet undaunted heart.¹

¹Misquoted from R. L. Stevenson's Our Lady of the Snows: "Pour forth and bravely do your part, O knights of the unshielded heart!"

Alice Johnson.

- (9) The solemn beat of Time swinging through the spheres to Eternity—
- Here Oh here—we bear the bier of the Spectres of many a vanished year—Spectres we of the dead time be— We bear Time to his tomb in Eternity—"Sun-treader life and light be thine for ever"—"Lest [sic] oft is peace in Shelley's mind than calm on waters seen"—
- (7) Con—Context is lacking—Not constant remembrance— Con—"Art thou poor yet hast thou golden slumbers—oh sweet content—to add to golden numbers golden numbers. The Pleiades—Stars in her hair were 7—No the Muses on Helicon—Coniston—
- (10) Coney Island—Confirmation strong as proofs of Holy Writ —Conlan—Conrad—Connacht—Connecticut—Concord
 - Confirmed—confirmed oh that is stronger made which was before bound up with ribs of iron"—

F. W. H. M.

[the signature is followed by drawings of a bird and other objects which seem to have no significance.]

The passage marked (7) in the above belongs to the crosscorrespondence "Sesame and Lilies," see *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV., p. 324.

(9) Time and Eternity; Prometheus.

It has been suggested to me that the first phrase in the part of the above script marked (9) is a reminiscence of Henry Vaughan's poem:

> "I saw Eternity the other night, Like a great Ring of pure and endless light, All calm, as it was bright; And round beneath it Time, in hours, days, years, Driven by the spheres, Like a vast shadow moved, in which the world And all her train were hurled.

Yet some, who all this while did weep and sing, And sing and weep, soared up into the Ring; But most would use no wing. O fools, said I, thus to prefer dark night Before true light! To live in grots and caves, and hate the day Because it shows the way, The way, which from this dead and dark abode Leads up to God, A way where you might tread the Sun and be More bright than he! But, as I did their madness so discuss, One whispered thus, 'This Ring the Bridegroom did for none provide, But for his Bride.'"

There is a certain resemblance between these passages of the poem and the Platonic phrase in Miss Verrall's script of Nov. 19, 1908, quoted below, p. 259.

It seems to me probable that it was from this poem that Browning derived the word "Sun-treader" in the line quoted shortly afterwards by Mrs. Holland. This, combined with the idea of "Time and Eternity," would make a natural association of ideas between the three quotations that follow in her script, viz.:

 (a) "Here, oh here: We bear the bier
 Of the Father of many a cancelled year! Spectres we
 Of the dead Hours be,
 We bear Time to his tomb in eternity."

This is from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, Act IV., and is sung, after the release of Prometheus, by the "Train of dark Forms and Shadows," which represent "the past Hours."

(b) "Sun-treader, life and light be thine for ever! Thou art gone from us."

From Browning's Pauline; the "Sun-treader" being Shelley.

(c) "Less oft is peace in Shelley's mind Than calm in waters seen."

From Shelley's To Junc: The Recollection.

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Prometheus.

The subject of *Prometheus* occurred a good many times in Mr. Dorr's sittings with Mrs. Piper.

On March 24th, 1908, Mr. Dorr read to the control some lines from the beginning of Mrs. Browning's translation of the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, explaining, without mentioning its title, that it was "the beginning of a play of Aeschylus, and Shelley wrote about it also." To which the control replied, "Yes, I understand, let me recall—who was it that was bound to the rock?" At the next sitting, on March 30th, the control wrote :

> Posthemus—Unbound. I tried and tried to get it through. [On Mr. Dorr remarking that the name aimed at was associated in Latin with the word *vinctus*, the control added] *Bound*. I spelt it right that time.

Mr. Dorr then read several more verses from the translation of *Prometheus*, and further talk ensued on the subject. In the waking-stage of this day the name "Prometheus," which had not been mentioned by Mr. Dorr, was given for the first time by the control, with a few remarks about him. On March 31st Mr. Dorr suggested that "Prometheus" would be a good message to take to the other automatists, and mentioned various ideas associated with the name which might help in conveying it, such as the vulture that gnawed his breast, the rock to which he was bound, and his gifts to man. On April 7th, in the waking-stage, came the words:

> Fire—From careless man—he taught them all his wiles and wisdom. Shelley! He taught them all he knew. And they were envious of him—Poor Prometheus! What would we have known but for him!

Prometheus was referred to again as a message to be taken with "Fire" and "Art," on April 13th, 14th, 22nd and 27th, and May 4th, 8th, 12th and 13th.

The following script about Prometheus was produced by Mrs. Verrall on Sept. 23, 1908:

[In Greek. He wrapped up beforehand the fillets and so also the

veils; he brings in also the nard. For in a narthex was hidden the fire by which Prometheus made men like unto gods]¹

> In a narthex stem conveyed² By the god who disobeyed Broke the fate, mankind to save So gave freedom to the slave. And Ocean's nymphs his loneliness deplore Floating melodious to the distant shore Where the dim form of man's immortal friend Waited the issue and foreknew the end.

There is something else wanted to make this complete—more than Foreknowledge goes to make a god, and more than sympathy with suffering. Can't you fill the void in the story?

Not perhaps yet, try later.

This is the only mention of Prometheus in 282 scripts by Mrs. Verrall, covering a period of nearly four years.

On the Greek in this script, Mrs. Verrall sends me the following note:

The word $\pi\rho o\dot{v}\kappa\dot{a}\lambda v\psi\epsilon\nu$ means "wrapped up or hid beforehand," and there is a grammar mistake over the word $\mu i\tau\rho a$. The word for fillet is mitra, fem., so that its accusative plural should be mitras: tas mitras would be "the fillets" (as I knew). The word in the script ought to come from a singular mitron. But there is no such word. There is, however, a word miton, meaning thread; the accusative plural of which would be ta mita. If this were what is intended the sentence would very well represent an attempt to indicate crosscorrespondences: "he concealed beforehand the threads." Anyhow concealment is clearly an important element in this M. V. script.

Time and Eternity.

A reference to "Time and Eternity" occurred in a passage in Miss Verrall's script of November 19th, 1908, as follows:

> Time's hour glass whose sands never run out—Time and eternity. [In Greek: Time is as it were an image of eternity given (?) to men.]³

¹ προυκάλυψεν τὰ μίτρα ώσαύτως και τὰ καλύμματα εἰσφέρει και τὸν νάρδον. ἐν γὰρ νάρθηκι καλυμμένον τὸ πῦρ ῷ Προμήθευς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους θέοισιν ἐοικότας ἐποίησε. ² Æschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, passim.

³χρονος ωσπερ εικων τις εστι του αιωνιου τοις ανθρωποις δεδωμμενος.

Alice Johnson.

I asked Mrs. Verrall in March, 1911, whether she could trace the origin of the Greek in this script, and after a little investigation she replied:

I find the phrase "Time an Image of Eternity" in Plato's *Timaeus*, which Helen has read and known well.

(Ch. x.) ποιεῖ μένοντος αἰῶνος ἐν ἐνὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἰοῦσαν αἰώνιον εἰκόνα, τοῦτον ὃν δη χρόνον ὠνομάκαμεν.

Translation (by R. D. Archer-Hind) "[while God was ordering the universe], he made of eternity that abides in unity an eternal image moving according to number, even that which we have called time."

There is no doubt whatever that the H. V. script reproduces this: it has the words $\epsilon i \kappa \omega \nu$ (image) and $a i \omega \nu$ (eternity), $a i \omega \nu \omega \omega$ (the eternal), and $\chi \rho \delta \nu \omega$ (time).

The passage is difficult, and R. D. A.-H. has a long note on the chief difficulty,—that *time* is described as an *eternal image* of eternity. The H. V. script gets out of the difficulty by leaving out the adjective (eternal) and inserting the qualifying $\delta\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho$, "as it were," "Time is, as it were, an image of the Eternal given to men." The word for given is ungrammatical, though it is plain enough what is meant; and the gender of "image," $\epsilon i\kappa\omega\nu$, is incorrect.

This interpretation by Mrs. Verrall of Miss Verrall's script as reminiscent of the *Timaeus* was made in ignorance of the suggestion made to me by another friend about a month carlier, that Mrs. Holland's phrase about "Time and Eternity" was reminiscent of Vaughan's poem; but it will be seen that there is a close resemblance between the *Timaeus* passage and the poem, which happened to be unknown both to Mrs. and Miss Verrall.

Miss Verrall's script deviates from its original source in describing Time as given to men, and this seems the only link if link it can be called—between her scripts and the "Prometheus" scripts of Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Verrall, both of which refer to Prometheus' gifts to men.

Another unmistakable link, however, is provided by Mrs. Holland's script, which was the latest of the four, and which combines the topics "Time and Eternity" and "Prometheus" in a single quotation from Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*.

I wish to lay special stress on this case, because it seems to me to fulfil the condition suggested by Mr. Piddington in his well-known experiment of the "Latin Message," which he gave to Mrs. Piper's trance personalities at the end of 1906. The suggestion he made to them, translated into English, runs as follows:¹

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

Now here Mrs. Verrall's script of Sep. 23, 1908, states explicitly "There is something else wanted to make this complete"; possibly meaning that a cross-correspondence is being attempted. The Greek part of the same script also refers to something wrapped up, or eonecaled, beforehand, i.e. to some hidden design in the references. Between this and Miss Verrall's script of Nov. 19, 1908, I think it may fairly be said that "no connexion is discernible." But in Mrs. Holland's script of Dec. 30, 1908, a "hidden connexion" between the two earlier ones is revealed.

Mrs. Verrall, it is true, refers to the Prometheus of Aeschylus, while Mrs. Holland refers to the Prometheus of Shelley; but this connects the Holland script with the Piper sittings, in which Shelley was mentioned as well as Aeschylus, while the Piper trance utterances are clearly connected with Mrs. Verrall's script.

(10) Confirmation.

The passage marked (10) in Mrs. Holland's script of Dec. 30, 1908, contains two quotations from Shakespeare:

(a) "Trifles light as air
 Are to the jealous confirmations strong
 As proofs of holy writ:"

(Othello, Act III. Scene 3.)

 (b) "Confirm'd, confirm'd! O, that is stronger made Which was before barr'd up with ribs of iron!" (Much Ado about Nothing, Act IV. Sc. 1.)

Note also that the syllable "con-" occurs thirteen times in the script besides in these quotations:

Con—Context—Constant—Con—Content—Helicon—Coniston —Coney—Conlan—Conrad—Connacht—Connecticut—Concord.

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XXII., p. 313.

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Alice Johnson.

A connexion is perhaps intended with Mrs. Verrall's script of April 30, 1908, which, like Mrs. Holland's, claims to come from Frederic Myers, and contains the word "confirmation" with two other words beginning with "con-" and clearly indicates that a cross-correspondence is intended. The passage is as follows:

> Not the only test word has been given between you and Helen there are other words to be similarly used when the time comes. And confirmation could I think be obtained by others help. Anyhow why not try for contemporary corroboration. Thus: Conversation about a dulcimer, ask to whom that recalls something.

A slight contribution to the same cross-correspondence is to be found in Mrs. Piper's sittings as follows:

(May 12, 1908.)

(Waking-stage.) [after reference to a number of messages :] They told me to take Winged Victory, and Spire, Conformation Altar—Altar—and Chancel

I have travelled many miles to get those to you, George

(May 13, 1908.) G. B. D. Then she spoke of Conformation.

Confirmation it should be.

(11) Mercury.
(12) Exile.
(13) Shelley's Skylark.

These topics occur explicitly or implicitly in Mrs. Holland's script of February 10th, 1909, as follows:

(11) And e'en with Paradise devised the Snake. Man's forgiveness give and take.¹
Beat beat in a regular muffled cadence—Caduceus— The dog tooth Mercury has not yet begun to bud— Propert—Property—Prospice finem—
¹Oh, Thou, who man of baser Earth didst make,

And e'en with Paradise devise the Snake: For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man Is blaeken'd—Man's forgiveness give—and take! E. FitzGerald, Omar Khayyam. (12) St. Bridget's Day—St. Bride—Our lady of the mantle green— The Phoenix—

"By feathers green across Casbeen

Are with the splendid anguish gilt."¹ The black lyn— Oh Bay of Dublin my heart you're troubling "² Not Lord F. Cavendish he died long ago—his wife— The man in a grey coat who drove the car— "As at the best it is but this most foul strange and unnatural—³ "Leave your home behind lad and give your friends your hand "—⁴

In terra pax-donum [sic] donum dulce donum.

(13) Hail to thee blythe [sic] Spirit Bird thou never wert⁵—

Not even a goose.

(11) Mercury.

In this apparently disjointed script, the way in which one topic leads on by association of ideas to another can be traced, not perhaps completely, but to a rather striking extent. The Snake of the first quotation, combined with the word "cadence," seems to suggest "Caduceus." The Caduceus, or herald's staff, was originally an olive stick, round which were twined festoons of wool. Later the festoons became serpents,

¹A. C. Benson, *The Phoenix*. The marks of omission between the two lines quoted are in the original script.

²Oh, Bay of Dublin! how my heart you're troublin',

Your beauty haunts me like a fever dream.

Lady Dufferin, The Bay of Dublin.

³ Murder most foul, as in the best it is,

But this most foul, strange and unnatural.

Hamlet, Act I. Sc. 5.

⁴Leave your home behind, lad,

And reach your friends your hand.

A. E. Housman, A Shropshire Lad (III. The Recruit).

⁵Shelley, To a Skylark.

as is frequently found in representations of the Caduceus in Greek art.

The Dog Mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*) is a very common plant having small green flowers, which blooms in April and May. Its foliage is some of the earliest spring green. The mention of the Caduceus shows that the script is alluding not only to the flower, but also to the god Mercury.

Compare with this Miss Verrall's script of April 20th, 1908, as follows:

Minos and Rhadamanthus and a third

- [In Greek: Hermes, leader of souls]¹ the symbol of his office [here follow two drawings of the Caduceus, or herald's staff, the symbol of Hermes or Mercury] and the souls follow
- A holly leave or something like that green and prickly a holly wreath

Troy Laodamia saw a vision too

This script of Miss Verrall's is connected with some utterances in the waking stage of a Piper sitting of March 23rd, 1908 (see the cross-correspondence "Troy and Joy," in Mrs. Sidgwick's paper in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 182-185), when Mercury was mentioned by Mrs. Piper as one of the items of the crosscorrespondence.

(12) Exile.

The next topic seems to be another re-emergence of a crosscorrespondence between Mrs. Piper and Miss Verrall, the one entitled "Exile and Moore" in Mrs. Sidgwick's paper (op. cit. pp. 186-189); and here again the original cross-correspondence is reproduced only partially. It began with Mrs. Piper, who, on March 23rd, 1908, wrote "Exile," which "came out with Moore," or "connected with the word Moore."

Miss Verrall's scripts on this topic are, it will be remembered, as follows:

(April 27th, 1908.)

The shamrock for Ireland and an English rose An open book—Dominus illuminatio mea²

¹ Ερμης ψυχοπομπος.

² The motto of Oxford University. An open book is part of the Oxford arms.

A golden harp the harp that once through Tara's halls¹ The lute with a single string Watts' picture

(May 16th, 1908.)

- By the waters of Babylon² the song of exile in a strange land
- singing in a tongue unknown but the music is sweet and music is a universal language
- Garay mekon no it is useless the harp upon the willows write that too the harp that once through Tara's halls A seven-stringed lute the lute of Orpheus Eurydice clamat³

Here Miss Verrall quotes twice a line from a poem of Moore's, referring to an Irish harp, and also refers to exile and the harp of the exiled Jews in Babylon. Watts' picture mentioned in her first script is probably the picture of Orpheus and Eurydice painted in 1869 and now hanging in the Watts gallery at Compton, in which Orpheus holds a lute with all the strings broken but one; for it seems clear that the two scripts are connected together, and Orpheus and Eurydice are explicitly mentioned in the second one. In the waking stage of Mrs. Piper's trance on March 30, and again on March 31, 1908, Orpheus and Eurydice had been mentioned (see Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. pp. 105-6) and Mr. Piddington in his discussion of these sittings shows that Orpheus and Eurydice belong to a group of Ovidian references connected with the answers given by Myers_P to Mr. Dorr's question about Lethe (op. cit., pp. 115-120) and gives reasons for thinking that Myers, also had in mind Watts' picture of Orpheus and Eurydice (op. cit., pp. 130-132), which is thus described in F. W. H. Myers's "Stanzas on Mr. Watts' Collected Works": 4

> For here the Thracian, vainly wise, Close on the light his love has led ;— Oh hearken! her melodious cries Fade in the mutter of the dead :—

¹T. Moore, "The harp that once through Tara's halls The soul of music shed, Now hangs as mute on Tara's walls As if that soul were fled."

- ³ Trans. Eurydice cries out. Cf. Virgil, Georg. iv. 494.
- ⁴ Fragments of Prose and Poetry, p. 191.

² Psalms 137, verses 1-4.

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"Farewell! from thy embrace I pass, Drawn to the formless dark alone: I stretch my hands,—too weak, alas! And I no more, no more thine own."

The poem deliberately recalls the famous passage in the Fourth *Georgie*, to which Miss Verrall's script of May 16, 1908, also alludes, the last four lines of this verse being a translation of *Georg.* iv. 497-8.

The same topics arc referred to later in the Mac scripts and in Mrs. Willett's script, given below, but the next script in chronological order dealing with the general subject of "Exile" is Mrs. Holland's of Feb. 10, 1909, quoted above. This contains nothing about a harp or lute, but consists of a number of variations on the theme of Exile, chiefly associated with Ireland in general (and so perhaps by implication with the harp, as the emblem of Ireland), though not with Moore in particular, viz.:

(a) "St. Bridget's Day—St. Bride—Our Lady of the Mantle Green."

The green which is so marked a characteristic of the Dog Mercury mentioned earlier in the same script seems to lead on to St. Bridget. Her Day is February 1st. She founded the important religious house at Kildare, of which she became Abbess, and which attracted scholars from all parts of Ireland, as she was a great patroness of education and the fine arts. She died in 523, and is regarded as the chief woman saint of Ireland, being often spoken of in association with the Virgin. She is called St. Bride of the Mantle and the Foster Mother of Christ,¹ from the legend that she was miraculously transported to Bethlehem on the night that Christ was born; she then took the child in her arms and covered it with her mantle and nursed it all through the night. In the Hebrides she is regarded as "the aid-woman of mothers."

There is a story of Fiona Macleod's,² which begins with an

¹The legends and folk-lore connected with St. Bride and referred to in the text are chiefly taken from *Carmina Gadelica*: Hymns and Incantations, with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete; orally collected in the Highlands and islands of Scotland, and translated into English. By Alexander Carmichael (Edinburgh, 1900).

² "St. Bride of the Isles" in the volume Spiritual Tales.

account of the banishment of St. Bride's father from Ireland immediately after her birth, when he went to Iona, taking her with him, so that she was an exile from Ireland. There may possibly be some allusion to this banishment in the script, though Mrs. Holland tells me that she never read the story, and I have failed to find any foundation, either historical or legendary, for its opening.¹ The subjects associated with St. Bridget in the script seem at least to refer to Scotch as well as to Irish legends of her. Thus "the Snake";—the Serpent was supposed in Scotland² to emerge from its hollow among the hills on St. Bride's Day, and a propitiatory hymn was sung to it:

> "To-day is the Day of Bride, The serpent will come from its hole; I will not molest the serpent, Nor will the serpent molest me."

One of the customs of St. Bride's Day was the pounding of the serpent in effigy.

Innumerable charms to guard against various evils, or to assist all sorts of domestic arts and operations, are associated with the name of "the golden-haired Bride," and it was perhaps the invocations of St. Bride and the Virgin in connexion with the important functions of the kindling and "smooring" of the fire that led on the automatist to write next of the Phoenix. But St. Bridget is especially associated with the spring, for "it is on her day... [that] the death of the year is done with and the birthday of the year is come,"³ and this makes another connexion with the Phoenix, regarded as a symbol of the Resurrection.

The name Bridget is derived from Brighid or Brigit, the Celtic goddess or Muse of Song, daughter of the Dagda, who, like Orpheus, had a wonder-working harp.⁴

¹The story as a whole is founded on "The Genealogy of Bride" in Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (Vol. I. p. 165). I fancy that "Fiona Macleod" (the literary secondary personality of William Sharp) invented the opening part in consequence of his great affection for Iona and interest in St. Bride, so that he liked to imagine that she, as well as St. Columba, had actually lived there.

²It is well known that there are no snakes in Ireland, since they were banished thence by St. Patrick, who was born about half a century earlier than St. Bride.

³Lady Gregory, A Book of Saints and Wonders, p. 12.

⁴ Cours de Littérature Celtique, Vol. I. p. 56.

PART

from Mr. A. C. Benson's poem of this title, as if to imply that the whole of it was in the mind of the scribe. It is as follows: 1

"By feathers green, across Casbeen, The pilgrims track the Phoenix flown, By gems he strewed in waste and wood And jewelled plumes at random thrown.
"Till wandering far, by moon and star, They stand beside the fruitful pyre, Whence breaking bright with sanguine light, The impulsive bird forgets his sire.
"Those ashes shine like ruby wine, Like bag of Tyrian murex spilt; The claw, the jowl of the flying fowl Are with the glorious anguish gilt.
"So rare the light, so rieh the sight, Those pilgrim men, on profit bent, Drop hands and eyes and merchandise,

And are with gazing most content."

This poem seems a sort of conglomerate of the older oriental myth of the Phoenix with its later forms, as adopted into early Christian symbolism. Ambrose, *e.g.*, used the Phoenix as a symbol of the Resurrection and there is a famous Anglo-Saxon poem on the subject, probably written in the latter half of the eighth century and attributed to Cynewulf.² The poem

¹ In answer to enquiries about this poem, Mr. Benson writes to me: "I dreamed the whole poem in a dream, in 1894, I think, and wrote it down in the middle of the night on a scrap of paper by my bedside. I have never had a similar experience, and, what is more curious, it is a lyrie of a style which I have never attempted before or since.... I really can offer no explanation either of the idea of the poem or its interpretation. It eame to me so (apparently) without any definite volition of my own that I don't profess to understand or to be able to interpret the symbolism."

It is quoted here in full, by the kind permission of the author and of the publisher, from *The Poems of A. C. Benson* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1909), p. 263.

²See Stopford Brooke's *History of Early English Literature*, in which a translation of a great part of the poem is given.

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describes the Paradise in which the Phoenix lives alone,—a Happy Isle, like the Elysian Fields of Homer or the Earthly Paradise of Dante. Once in every thousand years, attended by troops of birds, he flies far to the Syrian land, where in a desert place on a high tree he makes his nest for death. There "in a season of calm weather," when the wind is still and the clouds are cleared away and every storm under heaven is hushed, he builds his nest and sets it on fire. The young Phoenix, who rises out of the ashes, gathers together the relics of the parent body and, covering them with herbs, takes them in his claws and flies back with them to his native land. "All men and all the birds flock to see his flight, but he outstrips their sight and comes alone to his happy isle, where once more he dwells in the grove, delighting in the welling streams."

The life-history of the Phoenix, then, might possibly be regarded as another illustration of the idea of Exile.

(c) "The black lyn, etc." Here the script returns definitely to Irish associations: the name "Dublin" or "Duibh-linn" mcans the black pool. Next comes a quotation from a song by an Irishwoman, Lady Dufferin, whose best known poem is 'The Irish Emigrant," and afterwards a reference to the Phoenix Park murders, probably suggested by the previous mention of the Phoenix. Then come two further quotations referring to the general topic of exile from home. "Dulce donum" (sweet gift) is of course a misquotation of "dulce domum" (sweet home), but there seems a double meaning in it, for it immediately follows the words "in terra pax," and the peace brought down to earth might be called a "sweet gift."

Exile—Continued.

The following references in the Mac scripts seem specially connected with Miss Verrall's scripts of April 27th and May 16th, 1908, quoted above, which had not been seen by the Mac family at the time the following scripts were obtained.

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(June 27, 1909)

And Tara's harp is hung.

(August 24, 1909)

You see it is just as well to send it by driblets.¹ Easier for you to see contact with Helenns (sic). The mind is mased (sic) by the mass of material.... He only grasped a shadow Eurydice I mean—you forget-poor wretch.

Both these scripts purported to come from the Sidgwick control, who is the one associated with evidential matter in the Mac scripts of 1908 dealt with in Mrs. Verrall's paper in Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. pp. 264-318.

The words "he only grasped a shadow" are a translation of Virgil, Georg. iv. 501, "Presantem nequiquam umbras," so that in this Mac script, as well as in Miss Verrall's script of May 16, 1908, the allusion is not only to the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, but also to Virgil's version of that story, which is the one used by F. W. H. Myers in his poem quoted above.

Miss Verrall's script returns to the subject on Feb. 5, 1910, in the following phrases:²

> When the sound of the harp is mute .

and the waters of Babylon

.

This must be regarded as a normal reminiscence of the cross-correspondence on "Exile," which was known to Miss Verrall at the time; but it seems to be supernormally connected with the emergence of the same topic in Mrs. Willett's script five days later.

Mrs. Willett, on Feb. 10, 1910,³ immediately following on the

¹This sentence no doubt refers to Miss Mac's custom of sending the scripts at intervals to Mrs. Verrall, "Helenn" being of course Miss Verrall.

² For the whole of this script and a discussion of it, see Mrs. Verrall's paper above, p. 212.

³ For the whole of this script, see Sir Oliver Lodge's paper above, pp. 148-150.

passage quoted above (p. 244-5) under the Cross-correspondence "Proserpine" wrote:

> Swinburne. By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept when we remembered thee oh Zion... Homer and Horace the thought allied but I cannot get it clear Watts Watts you are getting dim Enough

As explained in Mrs. Verrall's paper above (p. 209) there is probably a double reference here,—to the title of Swinburne's poem, Super Flumina Babylonis, as well as to the opening words of Psalm 137. Mrs. Willett had seen Miss Verrall's script of April 29, 1909 (quoted in Mrs. Verrall's paper above, p. 186), in which the phrase "By the waters of Babylon" occurs, but she did not know that it had at any time formed part of a cross-correspondence, or that there had been a cross-correspondence on the topic Exile. Considering how much evidential matter is contained in this whole script of Mrs. Willett's, there seems strong ground for supposing, as suggested by Sir Oliver Lodge (see above, p. 155), that "Watts—Watts" belongs to the same general topic and refers to the picture by Watts, which was presumably alluded to by Miss Verrall on April 27, 1908 (see above, p. 265).

It is noteworthy that while in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, certain cross-correspondences that had emerged separately in the scripts of other automatists,—viz. "Echo," "Nightingale," and "Proserpine," were all associated together; so in Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 10, 1910, another single cross-correspondence, hitherto disconnected,—viz. "Exile,"—is added to this group, a link being found in the notion, common to all, of the contrast between memory and forgetfulness. This idea is clenched in the passage from Mrs. Holland's script of Feb. 16, 1910, already quoted:

> I shall remember while the light lives yet And in the darkness I shall not forget.

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(13) Shelley's Ode "To a Skylark."

At the end of Mrs. Holland's script of Feb. 10, 1909, and apparently quite disconnected from what precedes them, occur the first two lines of this pocm (see above, p. 263). This is another case (*ef.* the cross-correspondence "Comus," No. 8 above, p. 253) where a quotation suggested by Mr. Dorr to be given through "one of the other Lights" appeared in her script.

It was referred to in Mrs. Piper's trance as follows:

(May 4th, 1908.)

G. B. D. You spoke of Shelley's poem the Skylark the other day;¹ perhaps you could get one of them to quote for you some lines from it.

We will impress her to write it.

(Waking-stage.)

Which would you rather be, G.? A mermaid at the bottom of the sea [*i.e.* Sabrina, see cross-correspondence "Comus"] or a spirit blithe and gay and free [*i.e.* Shelley's Skylark]? Answer that when you are free. No hurry about it.

(May 8th, 1908.)

- G. B. D. We agreed the other day upon Shelley's poem the Skylark as a message.
 - (The hand makes successive upward-darting movements like a lark ascending).
- G. B. D. And you were going to try and make one of the other Lights write some lines from that. And if you can do that, I think you may be able to make them write some lines from *Comus* too. They both must be familiar to some among the other Lights.

(Waking-stage.)

We said Ode, and we said Skylark, and we wrote them. And she drew a bird.

Again in the sitting with Miss Pope on Dcc. 9th, 1908, quoted above, p. 233, comes the phrase "The lark is on the wing," which seems to be a reminiscence of the same message.

¹*I.e.* on April 22nd, 1908; see cross-correspondence "Cyclops and Hercules" below, p. 281.

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(14) Charon and Styx.

Mrs. Holland's script of April 1st, 1909, begins as follows:

Charonic. The staircase for the unheard unseen feet of the returning.

The word "returning" is clearly used here in the sense of *revenants* (ghosts).

In her script of April 11th, 1909, occurs the following passage:

The present occupant of my old rooms—News of him—No —I was not concerned with that last message—it was Myers—Not here the other side of the herring pond— "Piper sit thee down and write In a book that all may read."¹ The Stygian River—

In the letter accompanying this, Mrs. Holland told me that she regarded "The Stygian River" as a quotation from E. A. Poe. It occurs in the first lines of his poem *Lenore*:

> "Ab, broken is the golden bowl! the spirit flown forever! Let the bell toll! a saintly soul floats on the Stygian River."

Mr. Piddington, seeing these scripts shortly afterwards, wrote to me of the first:

This is an undoubted reference to the $\kappa\lambda\hat{\iota}\mu a\xi$ $\chi a\rho\omega\nu\epsilon\iota os, i.e.$ Charon's (or Charonean) staircase, "a staircase in the [Greek] theatre, leading up to the stage as if from the world below, by which ghosts entered."²

Charon's staircase is referred to, I am told, in Donaldson's *Theatre of the Greeks* and Haigh's *Attic Theatre*.

I wrote on April 24th, 1909, to ask Mrs. Holland what, if anything, was suggested to her mind by the passage quoted above from her script of April 1st, and she replied on April 27th, 1909: "I cannot see that Charon, the ferryman of the

> ¹ W. Blake, Introduction to "Songs of Innocence." ² Liddell and Scott's Greek Dictionary.

Styx, has any earthly—or unearthly—eonnection with a stairease." Later enquiries elicited that she had not either read or seen Donaldson's *Theatre of the Greeks* or Haigh's *Attie Theatre*, and she adds: "I have no knowledge of the Greek Theatre."

It is to be noted that these enquiries were not made until after the second script—that of April 11th—had been written. The latter obviously purports to be inspired by Dr. Hodgson (though his name is not mentioned), and refers to some message alleged to have been given in America at a sitting with Mrs. Piper, who is not infrequently alluded to in this punning manner in the Holland script. "The present occupant of my old rooms" may perhaps be taken to mean Mr. Dorr, who, though not occupying Dr. Hodgson's rooms in a literal sense, was taking the place he had so long held in regard to Mrs. Piper's sittings.

The message is stated to be "The Stygian River," whereas "Styx" had been elaimed (see below) in Mrs. Piper's tranee as a message that had been given to Mrs. Holland.

The following are the passages in which "Charon" and "Styx" were referred to by Mrs. Piper:

(March 16, 1908.) G. B. D. Who was Charon ?

I remember Charon perfectly well

G. B. D. What did he do?

I remember father, if I understand the name

G. B. D. No, you have not got it yet

Oh, I am thinking of Aeneas's father¹

G. B. D. I would like to have you take off with you the word Charon to work over. Charon was associated with a river; try and recall it . . .

Yes, I will think it all out for you; give me time

¹For the context of this extract, see Mrs. Verrall's paper, *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. p. 72. On Mareh 10th Mr. Dorr had asked Myers_P what was the name of Aeneas's father. Mrs. Verrall explains that it was appropriate that the mention of Charon should recall the father of Aeneas, for it was on his visit to his father in Hades that Aeneas used the services of Charon.

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- (March 17, 1908.) What was that word you asked me about, beginning with C?
- G. B. D. It is Charon

Spell it

- G. B. D. Shall I spell it in Greek ? (Hand nods assent. G. B. D. spells it accordingly in Greek letters. Hand dashes down before the word has been quite spelt through and draws vehemently a series of parallel lines)
- G. B. D. What does that mean?

Sticks . . .

STICKS

G. B. D. [after an attempt to get the English letters of Charon written as he gives the Greek ones:] What has Charon to do with Styx ?

(Rough drawing of boat is here made) Boat

More

G. B. D. Tell me more about Charon and what he had to do with the Styx.

Ferry. FERRY

- (March 23, 1908.) (The hand draws a series of short straight parallel lines)
- G. B. D. Did you try to give¹ anything besides these?

Ferry.

- G. B. D. Did you write Ferry?
 - I did certainly. Time may come, time may go, but I go on for ever. Ferry

¹This question refers to the messages attempted to be transmitted to other automatists. Mr. Dorr means: Did you try to make one of the other automatists do anything besides drawing a series of lines?

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G. B. D. Then you wrote "ferry" at the end of these verses?

Then I signed Ferry. Myers and I drew several lines (Two more straight parallel lines are here drawn)

(March 24, 1908.) G. B. D. You drew a picture of the Styx by short straight lines. Whom did you give this to?

Helen. Also Mrs. H. [i.e. Mrs. Holland]

(March 30, 1908.) G. B. D. [referring to what messages have got through :] Styx?

Yes, three (hand draws three parallel lines)

G. B. D. Angels, written with the word procession?

Yes- She did not understand Sticks.

On April 14th it is stated that Styx has now been given to "the other Lights" and is done with. On April 21st, on Mr. Dorr reading out this statement, the word "Styx" is spelt correctly for the first time, it having been previously spelt "Sticks."

It will be seen that a claim is made that "Styx" has been transmitted to Miss Verrall and Mrs. Holland. Charon and Styx occurred a year later, as shown above, in Mrs. Holland's script, and an echo of the same subject is perhaps to be found in Miss Verrall's script of Sep. 5, 1908, quoted below, p. 282, which contains the words:

Go not to Lethe and the river of wailing too Upon the shore they stood and stretched their arms.

The "river of wailing" is Cocytus, a river in Hades very near the Styx, and it is the unburied dead who stand there, stretching out their arms in longing for Charon to come and carry them across. This same script contains, it will be seen, another cross-correspondence with Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Piper on "Hercules."

(15) Medusa's Head.

In the middle of a long script of Mrs. Holland's on April 11, 1909, part of which is quoted above, comes the phrase:

Cassiopea swings low in the midnight sky—A shallow Spring sky—not the velvety tropic depths of dark that we have seenIt is true that the constellation of Cassiopeia is at its lowest "in the midnight sky" from the middle of February to the middle of April. Cassiopeia, as the mother of Andromeda, is intimately connected with her rescuer Perseus. Their story is described in Mrs. Holland's script of May 19, 1909, as follows:

- Pershore—pericarp—Persia—Perseus—The Fateful Head— Medusa—The mirrored shield and the winged sandals of swiftness—
- Take this for sign—One eye only among the three—passed from one to another that each might see by turns—
- She is still within sound of the sea but not by such rocks as Andromeda knew while she waited for the coils of the sea monster to lift curling among the slow ripples at the margin of the sand—

Mrs. Piper's references to Medusa's Head were as follows: March 31st, 1908.

(Waking-stage.)

- (A word is whispered indistinctly which G. B. D. first wrote down as Fefeus and then as Theseus, the first part of the word still remaining thick and indistinct)
- Took the head through the air and then the blood dropped down and Pallas made it—
- I said P---- theus! I don't know what he's talking about!

During the next sitting; on April 6th, Mr. Dorr enquired "whose head was it and who took it? But don't try to answer this now, leave it to tell me in the subliminal." In the waking stage of the same day Mrs. Piper said:

War, Minerva

Took the head and out of the head the blood dropped down to the earth and out of the blood sprang the winged horse.

(April 7th, 1908.)

[On the above sentence being read by Mr. Dorr to the trance personality, the hand wrote:]

Horse. Peg--

G. B. D. Are you not confused here over two memories?

Perhaps I am, read and clear me.

G.B.D. I won't read now, but you understand what Pegasus stood for, don't you?

I understand pretty well.

- G. B. D. You remember his flight into the sky? You have just spoken of it [Pegasus and his flight into the sky had been mentioned earlier in the sitting]
 - Oh yes, I said it to her but perhaps she did not understand. Medusa's head—
- G. B. D. Now you will remember this tale and that it is a different one from that of Pegasus-

Minerva comes in here, I faintly recall it 1

The details already mentioned were repeated in the waking stage of this day, and at the next sitting, on April 13th, when Mr. Dorr mentioned "Medusa," the hand wrote:

P---- cut off the head

ø

Later in the sitting Mr. Dorr suggested that "Medusa's head" would be a good message to take to the other Lights, adding: "Describe it if you can as you have to me, carried through the air and dropping blood." In the waking stage of this day the name Perseus was given clearly for the first time.

Medusa's head was mentioned again on April 14th, 21st and 22nd, and on April 27th Mr. Dorr remarked: "It may help you to give it if you recollect the effect the head had on those who beheld it." At which the hand made a gesture expressive of great horror and wrote, "*Bad*, wicked."

On May 4th "Snakes" was associated by the trance-personality with "Medusa's head," and on May 8th Mr. Dorr talked further about it as a message.

¹When Perseus cut off Medusa's head, the blood sinking into the earth produced the winged horse Pegasus. Minerva caught and tamed him and presented him to the Muses. On May 12th the trance-personality wrote that it had been received by Mrs. Holland, who had written "Blood—Horse— Head, etc.," and on May 13th, 1908, in connexion with Medusa's head, it wrote:

Doesn't Pallas come in here ? Her gift- head.

It has been seen that Mrs. Holland, like Mrs. Piper, refers to the head of Medusa, Perseus, and the gifts of Pallas (namely, "the mirrored shield and the winged sandals of swiftness," by which Perseus was helped to find Medusa and to cut off her head). But she makes no reference to Pegasus, and she brings in other details of the Perseus myth,—such as the three Grey Sisters and the rescue of Andromeda from the sea monster, which are not mentioned by Mrs. Piper.

(16) Cyclops and Hercules.

Mrs. Holland's script of April 14th, 1909, contains the following:

The Cyclops—— "In valour is not Love an Hercules Still climbing trees in the Hesperides"¹ Kennst du das Land?²

The Isle of the Hesperides, as a sort of earthly Paradise, seems here to lead on to the country described in Mignon's song:

"Kennst du das Land, wo die Citronen blühn, Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-Orangen glühn, Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht, Die Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht.

"Kennst du den Berg und seinen Wolkensteg? Das Maulthier sucht im Nebel seinen Weg, In Höhlen wohnt der Drachen alte Brut; Es stürzt der Fels und über ihn die Fluth."

¹ Love's Labour Lost, Act iv. Sc. 3.

² Goethe, "Mignon's Song" in Wilhelm Meister's Lehrjahre.

Here, as in the garden of the Hesperides, we have citrons and oranges (the golden apples of the Hesperides being supposed to be the oranges of Spain); and also a dragon.

On May 12th, 1908, Myers_P had claimed that "Cyclops" had been given to Mrs. Holland, and the topics Cyclops and Hercules,—or, at least, subjects associated with Hercules,—had been put together in Mrs. Piper's trance as in Mrs. Holland's script, as will be seen from the following extracts:¹

- (April 22, 1908.) [Hand makes drawing and writes "Centaur," then] (Hand reaches out and touches G. B. D. on both eyes and then upon the centre of the forehead, where it presess heavily)
- G. B. D. Do you mean to describe a creature with a single eye in the centre of his forehead? [*i.e.* a Cyclops]

Yes. Sophocles

G. B. D. Do you mean that Sophocles wrote of such a one?

(Hand assents.)

- [Mr. Dorr now goes over a number of the topics that had been chosen for transmission to the other automatists. the last mentioned being "Atlas." The hand then writes:]
- Mrs. Verrall has written a few verses from Browning which I, Myers, gave her recently from Euripides.² Where she has selected the verses, the words appeal to me and describe one of our messages here.
- [Mr. Dorr notes that he did not know that Browning had translated any of Euripides' plays, but found that the

¹Part of the record of this sitting has already been quoted in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. (pp. 27 and 191-2) in connexion with the garden of the Hesperides —the subject of a cross-correspondence between Mrs. Piper's and Miss Verrall's scripts. I give part of it again here to show how this topic became associated with the Cyclops in Mrs. Piper's trance.

²In commenting on this passage in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 25-28, Mr. Piddington points out that it seems to refer to a cross-correspondence between Mrs. Verrall and Mrs. Holland of which neither Mrs. Piper nor Mr. Dorr could at that time have had any normal knowledge. Mrs. Verrall's scripts on March 4th and 25th, 1907, had contained references to the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides, and Mrs. Holland's script of April 16th, 1907, had referred to Browning's translation of the same play. See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. pp. 212-220, not published till some time after Mr. Dorr's sittings.

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book he had brought with him to the sitting—A. W. Pollard's *Odes from the Greek Dramatists*—contained extracts both from Browning's translation of the *Hercules Furens* and from Shelley's translation of the *Cyclops*. He proceeded to read aloud some passages from the former, one of which was:

"And next to the melodious maids he eame, Inside the Hesperian court-yard : hand must aim At plucking gold fruit from the appled leaves, Now he had killed the dragon, backed like flame, Who guards the unapproachable; he weaves Himself all round, one spire about the same."

On hearing these lines, the trance-personality wrote:]

- I am listening carefully—Apple—correct. She quoted it in answer to apple.
- [From the context, "she" appears to mean Mrs. Verrall. Mr. Dorr then read some verses from Shelley's *Cyclops*, explaining that it was a translation from the Greek, and the trance-personality, on being asked whose verses they were, answered :]

Did he write Ode to the Sky Lark?

[Mr. Dorr assented, and said that he wished to give "Cyclops" as a message to be taken to the other automatists. In the waking-stage of this day came the words :]

Cyclops—head, snakes.

Atlas, globe on his head and shoulders

Cyclops had one eye in his forehead

Cyclops was—Centaur, no, that's mixed ! Half head, half body, tell him that. Say, snakes from the head.

Here it is evident that the idea of the Cyclops is confused with Centaurs and other topics,—such as the garden of the Hesperides and Atlas,—associated with Hercules, and it certainly seems remarkable that this combination of unconnected ideas should occur both in Mrs. Holland's and in Mrs. Piper's script. On April 27th and May 8th, 1908, the Cyclops is again referred to as a message to be taken, and on May 12th Myers_P claimed, as stated above, that it had been given to Mrs. Holland.

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Meanwhile, on April 22, 1908 (see above), he had maintained that Mrs. Verrall had quoted Browning's lines about the Hesperides. This is perhaps one of the instances in which, as Mrs. Verrall has observed, the trance personalities seem not to distinguish between her and her daughter's scripts. Miss Verrall, on September 5th, 1908, produced the following script, part of which refers to the same subjects as Browning's lines:

> The garden of the sun the golden apples that the dragon guarded Who stole the apples froward mortal Hesperides three nymphs no no go not to Lethe¹ and the river of wailing too Upon the shore they stood and stretched their arms.

THE PRINCIPLE OF SELECTION IN THE PRODUCTION OF SCRIPTS.

"To choose is to create."-O. W. Holmes.

In discussing the cross-correspondence of *Sevens* in my second report on Mrs. Holland's script,² I gave a detailed analysis of the various elements in the case, showing the use made in it both of fragments of the automatists' normal knowledge and —apparently—of telepathy between the different living persons concerned; and pointing out certain features which, in my view, indicated that the whole scheme might be attributed to "some other intelligence, which, surveying and selecting from these diverse elements,—namely, the ideas normally arising in the minds of the automatists and of Mr. Piddington, and the play of telepathy between them,—diverted them all to its own purposes and so shaped the event." The present section is an attempt to develop further the theory there suggested of the part which I conceive to be played in the construction of cross-correspondences by this principle of Selection.

In the great majority of the scripts of all the automatists here dealt with, including those between which cross-correspon-

¹Keats, Ode on Melancholy. Lethe, it will be remembered, had been suggested as a subject for cross-correspondence in this same sitting of April 22, 1908, with Mrs. Piper. (See Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. p. 191.)

² Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. pp. 254-263.

dences are to be found, the actual contents of each script relate to facts, topics, or ideas known and more or less familiar to the writer who produces it. In this the scripts resemble ordinary cases of experimental thought-transference, where the idea that the agent wishes to transfer relates to something familiar to the percipient, and telepathy is manifested by the percipient's sclection, out of a number of more or less familiar ideas, of the particular one that had been thought of by the agent. Similarly, when a cross-correspondence occurs between scripts, there seems to be a selection, out of one automatist's ideas, of something corresponding to what another has written.

For the automatic writing does not, of course, reproduce all the ideas in the mind of the automatist. It resembles rather those dreams which represent one or two trivial ideas chosen apparently at random out of the dreamer's stock of thoughts. We can often trace the source of a dream to something recently seen or heard, but we can seldom or never give a satisfactory explanation of why that particular thing, rather than a number of other possible things, should have recurred in the dream. It can sometimes be attributed to a train of thought, leading on from one idea to another; or sometimes to a slight external stimulus mingling in the train and shaping or distorting it. But why the train of thought should go in one direction rather than another, why one external stimulus should affect it perceptibly and another not, remains mysterious.

The same normal, though obscure, psychological processes with which we are all familiar in dream and reverie are also at work in automatic writing. Here, too, we can often trace the ideas and the phrases to something that has recently passed through the automatist's mind or to a discoverable train of thought. And it is probable that, the more we knew of the circumstances, the more of these links of normal causation would be discovered, though even then the question of what determined the emergence of one idea rather than another would be difficult to solve.

But while many of the individual scripts considered by themselves seem explicable by normal causes, some other factor has to be assumed for the coincidences between them, granting, as I think it must be granted, that these are too

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numerous to be put down to ehanee. As another person may enter a room and break in on the reverie of a solitary thinker, and by speech or action may turn or influence the course of his thoughts; so this other factor of telepathy (whether from the incarnate or the discarnate), which seems to act frequently, though intermittently, and with varying degrees of force, tends to influence the scripts in such a way as to bring them into harmony with one another.

The telepathie influence in these eases produces, as is well known, harmony, and not uniformity. One script does not give the exact words of another, but expresses the same idea, or sometimes another aspect of the same idea, in different The absence of any exact resemblance between the words. two may be due to one of two causes: either (a) telepathy has partially failed, so that the result is only partially successful, or (b) there is a deliberate intention on the part of the telepathie influence which acts on the scripts to make them express the same idea differently. Of eourse we eannot assume that there is any such deliberate intention unless we have some fairly definite evidence of it. If two scripts express ideas which are elearly parts of one whole,-for instance, if one gives "Julius" and the other "Caesar,"---the whole idea is better-*i.c.* more precisely-expressed than if both gave "Julius," for Julius would apply to many more people than Julius Caesar.

On the other hand, if one seript gave "Brutus" and the other "Caesar," we should infer that there might have been some telepathy between the two seripts, but that, if so, it was only partially suecessful; the second seript, we should suppose, ought to have given "Brutus," but only got somewhere near it by giving "Caesar."

In ordinary experiments in thought-transference between two living persons, eases like this often oceur, when the pereipient does not reproduce exactly the thought of the agent, but gives something more or less approximating to it, as if the attempt had fallen short. But it seldom, if ever, happens that the pereipient gives something which definitely supplements or adds to the agent's thought in such a way that the two between them give a more complete representation of one idea than is to be found in either alone, whereas this supplementary character is often found in the scripts relating to the more complicated cross-correspondences.

To illustrate the difference, compare two cases given above, "Birds and turkeys" (p. 250), and "Comus" (p. 253). In the first, the scripts of Mrs. Holland and Mrs Piper do not supplement one another; they express two separate and distinct, though similar, things,—not two parts of one idea. It seems probable, therefore, that the difference between them was not deliberately caused, but that it happened unintentionally. The case thus resembles a partially successful experiment in thought-transference.

In the second case, "Comus," Mrs. Holland quotes a phrase from the address to Sabrina, while Miss Verrall gives a paraphrase of another part of it, and these two scripts, with Mrs. Piper's trance utterances, supplement one another, giving a more complete representation of this part of the poem than any one of them alone. Here, then, the differences between the scripts afford some evidence of design; the supplementary element in them seems to be what Mr. Balfour calls "purposive."¹

A more definitely complementary relation between two scripts is seen in the case of "Echo" and "Nightingale," in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, and Mrs. Piper's of Dec. 9, 1908 (see pp. 229 and 233), where Mrs. Holland gives "Echo" explicitly and "Nightingale" implicitly, and Mrs. Piper reverses the process.

A somewhat similar kind of complementariness is seen in the distribution of separate parts of a cross-correspondence between different automatists. Thus in the "Door—Key" case (see Mrs. Verrall's paper above, pp. 193-204), Miss Verrall's script mentions "Door" and Mrs. Holland's gives a drawing of a key, whereas both words had occurred in the Mac script. Again, in the "Sesame and Lilies" case (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 264-318), Mrs. Verrall's script mentions "Lilies," and Miss Verrall's alludes indirectly to "Sesame," shortly after the complete phrase "Sesame and Lilies" had appeared in the Mac script.

A further step, and one affording stronger evidence for design on the part of an intelligence external to all the

¹See Proceedings, Part LXII. p. 45.

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automatists, is found in cases of the converse type, where one automatist's script ingeniously links together two entirely dissimilar topics that have previously appeared separately in the scripts of two other automatists,—a plan that had been suggested in Mr. Piddington's Latin Message, and that seems to have been successfully carried out in the case of "Prometheus" and "Time and Eternity" (see p. 256), where these topics, which had occurred respectively in the scripts of Mrs. and Miss Verrall, were combined by Mrs. Holland in a single quotation.

An amplification of this process is seen where cross-correspondences that had seemed already complete reappear, in the form of factors in a larger scheme, in a later script by another automatist. Thus, "Proserpine," which had already formed the subject of a cross-correspondence between Mrs. Piper, the Macs, and Mrs. and Miss Verrall, recurs in Mrs. Holland's script of Nov. 25, 1908, woven in with some other crosscorrespondences—*e.g.* "Echo" and "Nightingale"; while Mrs. Willett's script of Feb. 10, 1910, repeats these topics, combining with them the hitherto separate cross-correspondence of "Exile," and finding a fresh link of association between them all in the notion of the contrast between memory and forgetfulness (see p. 271).

A similar blending of several simple cross-correspondences into one complicated whole was shown by Mr. Piddington to occur in the "Light in West" case (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. pp. 241-280).

It must, I think, be admitted that cross-correspondences of so elaborate a character as these differ in a marked way from ordinary cases of experimental thought-transference, which seem to involve nothing more than a momentary effect produced by one mind on another, the effects produced at different moments having no coherence or connexion with one another.

The cross-correspondences point rather to an intelligence which is continually thinking, continually making plans, continually developing them and adapting them to circumstances. We have to consider how far this intelligence can be identified with the subliminal selves of the automatists.

The script of each automatist taken by itself seems, indeed, to indicate great activity and intelligence on the part of her subliminal self. The latter can, to begin with, draw on a wider range of subjects than is accessible to the supraliminal, for the subliminal memory is more extensive than the supraliminal. Not only is there a great variety in the topics introduced, but great ingenuity is shown in expressing them in different ways: *c.g.* by a number of different quotations appropriate to the same subject; by altering the quotation to make it suit; by various devices for emphasising different words in it which are not emphasised in the original; by the choice of quotations which refer to a topic indirectly through their context, and so on.

So far as all this goes, there is nothing provably beyond normal subliminal powers, and it would be a natural result of the long continuance of any automatic activity that the subliminal self should become more and more developed. It must also be largely influenced by the knowledge which the automatists have in course of time acquired normally, both of their own and of other scripts. For they cannot be kept permanently in ignorance of each other's scripts, or of the discussions on them, since, sooner or later, they see the articles published about them. Nor can they help speculating on the subject themselves, and being influenced by the speculations of others.

In any case, the scripts of each automatist undoubtedly suggest an active intelligence, with idiosyncracies of its own, and working on its own account,—something as different as possible from a mere channel for the utterances of another mind, as different as possible from the ordinary conception of "spirit control," which implies that the mind of the automatist is in abeyance, while he mechanically reproduces phrases, as it were dictated to him from outside.

It has generally been assumed that the best evidence for communication from the spirits of survivors could be obtained under such conditions, where everything came as directly as possible from the spirit, while the mind of the automatist was as much as possible put out of action. The idea is, of course, a very plausible one on the face of it.

It has further been assumed that this condition is most likely to coincide with a state of deep trance, and that the deeper the trance, the more complete is the "possession" by

Alice Johnson.

the spirit, and consequently the better are the results obtained. For this idea, there is, it seems to me, little or no evidence. We do not find in practice that what comes through an automatist in trance is constantly better than what comes through an automatic writer, whose mental condition shows little or no signs of dissociation.

Further, a study and comparison of a great number of scripts seem to show that activity on the part of the subliminal self is by no means necessarily an obstacle to the influence of an outside mind. For the great development of subliminal action which is, I think, to be found in the recent scripts has coincided with a great development in the supernormal connexions between them, which have become both more numerous and more complex. This fact points either to a freer play of telepathy between the automatists, or to a stronger telepathic influence from outside, acting on all of them, and tending to produce connexions between them. Or it may be, as I am inclined to think, that there is both more telepathy between them, and more telepathy from a source external to all of them.

This hypothesis is, in effect, one that occurred long ago to Mr. Myers, who had, I think, a quite extraordinary faculty for forcseeing the trend of events in psychical research. In reference to a case where the vision of a death was seen,—not at the time it occurred, but at the time when the news of it reached a third person,—he observed :

I conjecture that a current of influence may be started by a deceased person, which, however, only becomes strong enough to be perceptible to its object when reinforced by some vivid current of emotion arising in living minds. I do not say that this is yet provable; yet the hint may be of value when the far-reaching interdependencies of telepathy between the two worlds come to be better understood.¹

What is here foreshadowed is a simple kind of co-operation between two minds—the discarnate and the incarnate—as if two men were pulling at one rope in the same direction, so that the total pull would depend simply on the sum of their efforts. But if co-operation between the two minds be once started, it might develop into a much more complicated relationship, and it seems clear that when Mr. Myers was speaking of "the far-reaching interdependencies of telepathy between the two worlds," he was thinking of the possibilities of its development. For his whole thought was coloured by his strong belief in the possibility of quite new things happening—things that had never happened in the world before, but that were the normal growth and outcome of previous happenings.

Now the normal result of physical evolution, as we know it, is that as we rise in the scale from the inanimate to the animate, from the plant to the animal, from the animal to man, we find at each step a more definite and complete individuality,—a tree is more of an individual than a rock, and a dog more than a tree,—and at the same time, with each upward step, we find more and more points of contact—more and more complicated relationships—between the individual and the world outside him. As he becomes more active and vital and distinct from the world, the more closely is he also bound up with it.

These conceptions are familiar enough, so far as concerns the physical universe. But if we conceive the same process carried on into the relationship between the incarnate and the discarnate, it might produce a result something like what we see in the scripts. Suppose that the discarnate mind has a definite plan and purpose of getting some rather complicated idea expressed, and that it is able by telepathy to influence the incarnate minds of the automatists. Their minds meanwhile are actively working and producing; but what actually emerges in the script is to a great extent determined by the discarnate influence, which we may suppose is constantly selecting from their thoughts and turning their ideas into channels that fit its own purposes. Where one phrase that has just been written in the script may suggest to the automatist's mind a good many others naturally associated with it, the discarnate influence selects out of these something appropriate to the whole cross-correspondence and gets that one expressed in preference to the others. The mental activity of the automatist thus gives a wider choice to the discarnate influence, and enables it to express itself in a great variety of ways, affording scope for subtle and complicated connexions between the scripts.

Т

There would here be a collaboration between the two minds somewhat similar to that between the minds of a skilled hypnotist and his subject. The hypnotist does not exercise compulsion on his subject or directly produce any mechanical effect on him; but their two minds are working together towards the same end,—both desiring a certain result, *e.g.* of healing, to be produced. It is impossible, with our present knowledge, to distinguish the parts they play, but often the co-operation of the two minds and wills brings about a result which, apparently, neither could produce alone.

There have been some remarkable cases where the scripts afford evidence of knowledge beyond the automatist's normal scope (apart from supernormal connexions with other scripts), as, apparently, in Mrs. Holland's quotation from Ovid's *Fasti* given above, (p. 246), and in the references to "Lethe" by Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Willett. The importance and interest of these eases is not to be undervalued. But I think it possible that those in which the automatist collaborates, in the way suggested, with the spirit belong actually to a more advanced type, and that what we are witnessing here is a new step in evolution, eapable of great developments in the future.

There is, at least, one point on which all serious students of the subject seem to be agreed, viz. that these scripts do represent a new development; if there is nothing in them beyond telepathy between the automatists, it is at all events telepathy of a more advanced and potent kind than has ever been met with before,—something that both stimulates and restrains, that both gives and withholds; something that can keep a definite and intelligent plan in mind over a long period of time and bring it to fruition at last,—a fruition that none of the persons concerned in the matter,—neither the automatists nor those to whom their scripts are entrusted,—are able to foresee.

All this, however, might be attributed to the subliminal self of one of the automatists; and when I first brought forward the theory of cross-correspondences,¹ I remarked that if they were not the work of a spirit, which was very far from being proved, the most likely hypothesis was that they were

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XXI., pp. 369-391.

concocted by the subliminal self of Mrs. Verrall. This hypothesis has been adopted since by our leading critics,—by Mr. Podmore; implicitly, as I understand, by Professor Pigou; and later by Mr. Bayfield in the discussion included in his review of Mr. Podmore's last book in *Proceedings*, Part LXII.

The reason why the plan of cross-correspondences might with some show of plausibility be attributed to Mrs. Verrall was that hints of it appeared in her script (though they passed undetected by herself) some time before there were any discoverable allusions to the subject in the scripts of other automatists. This did not, of course, prove that the plan originated in Mrs. Verrall's mind, because it might have been transmitted to her telepathically by its originator; but it did tend to show that if any one of the automatists had originated it, she was probably the one. Further, many of the cross-correspondences started in her script, so that it might be supposed in these cases that she was the telepathic agent from whom the others derived them. There are, however, other important cases in which the topic appeared first in the scripts of other automatists, and there are even some in which Mrs. Verrall's script is not concerned at all; so that we have now reached a point where, on the supposition that the whole of the cross-correspondences are worked exclusively by the automatists, we should have to assume that several of them, besides Mrs. Verrall, are capable of the task. Or else we should have to assume a sort of telepathic committee meeting of the subliminal selves of the automatists, at which they scheme together and settle on their different parts.

We know that the subliminal self has considerable powers of romancing, of dramatic personation, of expressing ideas in a form altogether foreign to the supraliminal self; we often find an apparently deliberate obscurity of utterance, a veiling of meaning, as if the subliminal wished to protect itself from supraliminal interference by concealing its real aim. There seems, in fact, no limit to the degree of invention or of ingenuity that it can display, in so far as the performances of the automatist owning it are concerned. There is therefore nothing surprising in finding a romance, or an epic, or a realistic personation, running through a long series of the scripts of a single automatist.

PART

It has never been maintained, then, that the whole scheme of cross-correspondences, and many individual cases among them, were beyond the inventive capacity of Mrs. Verrall's subliminal self. The difficulty lies in *the execution of the plan*; in the appropriate distribution of the parts among different automatists, who *ex hypothesi* are not in communication with each other except telepathically; for to carry out such a plan would seem, as already said, to involve much greater powers of telepathy than the experimental evidence so far obtained would warrant us in assuming.

Nevertheless the question whether any mind beyond those of the automatists is concerned remains open; spirit agency is not yet proved conclusively. And before this is conclusively proved it may seem premature to discuss by what particular processes it might work, so that some justification is required for the attempt to formulate so dubious a speculation as the one here brought forward. In the end, of course, our case must rest on concrete evidence. We have appealed to science and to science we must go to have our claims settled. But my present argument is addressed in part to some of the a priori objections to the hypothesis of spirit agency. People start with certain theories of its nature and find that the facts do not correspond. They are apt to think that the scripts are either produced by the influence, say, of Mr. Myers, or they are not. They find in them passages which are rather silly, rather incorrect, rather illiterate, and in every way unlike Mr. Myers. They then say that Mr. Myers, as we knew him, cannot have produced those passages, and that therefore the scripts cannot be inspired by him. Even if they admit that some part may be inspired and some not, they generally conceive of the failure as being due to some mechanical difficulty of control, the automatist being on this view a more or less complicated and delicate instrument, on which the spirit is a more or less efficient and skilled performer.

This conception does not, to my mind, fit the facts. The scripts appear to me rather to represent the combined mental activity of two or possibly more personalities. These combinations we call for convenience $Myers_P$, $Myers_V$, $Myers_H$, etc. If we attempt roughly to allot functions to the members of

the combination, we may say that the automatist provides, as it were, ready-made material out of which the spirit weaves his design, as the finished products of one trade may provide the raw material for another. But we must never allow ourselves to suppose that any material metaphor can afford us more than a hint of certain aspects only of the phenomenon. In particular, we must keep in mind that we are dealing not with physical but with mental facts, to which the laws of arithmetic do not apply. For instance, if a given passage in a script is the product of two minds, it does not follow that the more of one mind is in it, the less there is of the other.

Finally, I would suggest, as a working hypothesis, that the best evidence is to be looked for not from a suppression of the automatist's personality, but rather from its free development in collaboration with a personality less limited than itself, because already freed from space and matter.

APPENDIX A.

THE "DIAMOND ISLAND" INCIDENT.

In my first report on the automatic writing of Mrs. Holland I quoted a piece of script produced by her in India on January 17th, 1904,¹ the concluding part of which was as follows:

"We few, we happy few, we band of brothers"-2

- Dear old chap you have done so much in the past three years—I am cognisant of a great deal of it but with strange gaps in my knowledge—If I could only talk with you—If I could only help you with some advice—I tried more than once did it ever come—There's so much to be learnt from the Diamond Island experiment—
- well meaning but very ignorant—bound to be tinged by the channels through which they are conveyed—Help me —give me the help if not yet of your belief of your sympathy—Take the message to you all I cannot yet fully and [ending in illegible scribble].

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XXI. p. 235. ² Henry V., Act IV. Scene iii.

I stated in a foot-note to this script that I was unable to conjecture the meaning of the phrase "Diamond Island experiment;" and Mrs. Holland, who was accustomed to tell me of any facts within her knowledge that could throw light on the script, had made no comment on it. Nor did it convey mything, as far as I could learn, to those who read the *Proceedings*.

On Nov. 24th, 1908, Mrs. Holland, being in England, came to see me and told me among other things that she thought this phrase must be an allusion to wireless telegraphy, since Diamond Island (which she believed to be near Diamond Harbour at the mouth of the Hoogli river) had a wireless station on it. Some time later Mrs. Verrall, hearing of this interpretation, pointed out to me that it followed that the whole of this part of the script was intended to be addressed to Sir Oliver Lodge, and I then perceived that most of the message evidently was intended for him. But on communicating with him on the subject, though he recognised the appropriateness of the general tone and substance of the message, the phrase "Diamond Island" awoke no chord in his memory. He told me, however, that the Lodge-Muirhead system was at work between Burma and the Andaman Islands, and he wrote to his friend and partner in this matter, Dr. Alexander Muirhead, F.R.S., on Feb. 24, 1910, to ask:

Do you remember whether any wireless experiments were conducted across the mouth of the Hoogli or anywhere in that neighbourhood? If so, ean you name the place? . . . I should rather like to know whether they tested the Andaman installation first at the Hoogli or wherever it was. They must have tried it somewhere . . . Is there a wireless station on the Hoogli, do you know?

Dr. Muirhead replied on Feb. 26, 1910:

I believe Mr. Simpson, the man who put up the Andaman Wireless, has been conducting some experiments between a pilot boat . . . and Calcutta. . . . The Andamans circuit is between Diamond Island, at the mouth of the Irrawaddy in Burma, and Port Blair . . .

Thus it appears that Mrs. Holland's conjecture of a connexion between Diamond Island and wireless telegraphy was correct, but that she had located it wrongly, viz., at the mouth of the Hoogli, whereas it is really situated at the mouth of the Irrawaddy, in Burma. From enquirics made with Sir Oliver Lodge's help, I find that towards the end of August, 1904, operations were begun for linking up the Settlement of Port Blair in the Andaman Islands with the general telegraph system of India by establishing wireless telegraph stations at Port Blair and at Diamond Island, which was already connected by cable to the mainland. The distance to be spanned was 3052 miles. The system chosen was the Lodge-Muirhead, with which preliminary experiments had already been carried on for three months in the early part of 1904; the 150 feet masts were made in the Calcutta workshops, the scientific apparatus being supplied by the Lodge-Muirhead Co. in England. The work, which was executed by the Indian Government Telegraph Department, went on for several months, the circuit being in complete working order first on Feb. 10th, 1905.

This installation was an event of some importance in the history of wireless telegraphy, for it was one of the first installations in the British Empire connecting different land stations; the main developments of wireless telegraphy having previously been for the purpose of connecting shore stations with ships.

Sir Oliver Lodge of course knew of the Burma-Andamans installation, but had entirely forgotten that the Burma end of the installation is on Diamond Island¹ (which is a very small island, not marked on most atlases).

When I questioned Mrs. Holland about her knowledge of these matters, she told me that she had known at or about that time that the Lodge-Muirhead system of wireless telegraphy was being experimented with in India, but she could not say whether it was before or after the date of the script, which had conveyed no meaning to her when it was written.

In reply to a question what normal means of acquiring information about experiments on Diamond Island existed in India in January, 1904, Mr. M. G. Simpson, of the Government Telegraph Department, who had superintended the setting

¹From a letter on the subject which he has recently found, it appears that the geographical fact did actually come under his eye, but awakened no conscious attention, in March, 1903.

up of the installation, wrote to Sir Oliver Lodge from Calcutta on April 18th, 1910:

. . . In 1902 I was at home, but some of my officers did some wireless experiments in July at Diamond Harbour. They were not very successful, but a paragraph or two appeared in the local press about them. I came out here in December 1902, and in 1903, January, I put up a little temporary station at Sangor Island at the mouth of the river and another on a small Government steamer, the "Guide," and we worked out to the Sandheads where the pilot vessel is stationed 40 miles from Sangor. This was reported in due course and found its way into the papers. During the whole of 1903 there was a weekly financial paper, Capital, in Calcutta constantly jibing at Government for their dilatoriness with regard to wireless and urging them to come to terms with the Marconi Co. In Jan., '04, apparatus began to arrive from Elmers End [Messrs. Muirhead & Co.'s works in Kent] and in February we started out from Calcutta to try and link up Diamond Island with the Andamans. I can't be quite certain now, but I think it is more than probable information of this intention appeared in the local press. At first we established communication over a short distance, Elephant Point to Amherst, and it was not till April, 1904, any actual experimenting was done on Diamond Island.

The seript referring to the Diamond Island experiment was written, as stated above, in January, 1904; but from Mr. Simpson's letter it appears not impossible that Mrs. Holland may already have seen references to the subject in one of the Indian papers. She herself knows nothing in detail of wireless telegraphy, and she eould not remember that any of the friends she was accustomed to see at that time had spoken to her of the subject or took any interest in it. It happened, however, that she had heard a lecture by Marconi in 1901 or 1902, and had rather regretted that an Italian was (as she erroneously supposed) ahead of Englishmen in the subject. Consequently she was pleased when she heard of the Lodge-Muirhead system being used. She wrote to me on March 19th, 1910:

I am sorry that I cannot be certain, after the lapse of so many years, if I heard or read any mention of the Lodge-Muirhead system before writing the script of Jan. 17th, 1904.

My impression is that I must have seen some newspaper reference

to it, since I am as sure as I can be, when dealing with anything so far away, that I did not hear any conversation about it.

I left India in April, 1904, and returned there more than two years later.

My ignorance of the matter is shown by my belief—until just lately—that Diamond Island was near Diamond Harbour in Bengal, instead of in Lower Burma, where it is really situated.

It is clear then that Mrs. Holland's reference to the "Diamond Island experiment" cannot be regarded as strictly evidential, since she may have had normal knowledge of it.

The script nevertheless is remarkably appropriate in several respects as a message to Sir Oliver Lodge. It was written on Jan. 17th, 1904, the third anniversary of Mr. Myers's death, which was also the end of Sir Oliver Lodge's three years' Presidency of the S.P.R. I take the phrase—"you have done so much in the past three years" to refer to this. The tone of affectionate intimacy running through the whole script is also especially appropriate.

Mrs. Holland knew the date of Mr. Myers's death and that Sir Oliver Lodge had been President of the S.P.R. in 1903; but when I asked her if she knew in January, 1904, that he was an intimate friend of Mr. Myers's and that he had been President for three years, she replied:

Feb. 20th, 1910.

. . I did not realise then that Sir Oliver Lodge was an intimate friend of Mr. Myers's. There were references to him, of course, in [Human Personality], especially in reference to early experiments with Mrs. Piper; but I did not know there was a friendship of long standing, and I certainly did not know in Jan., 1904, that he became President of the S.P.R. after Mr. Myers's death. I am surprised to hear that he held it for three years,—I thought it had been for two . . . It never struck me before that this message was to Sir Oliver Lodge. . .

It is further significant that, as Sir Oliver Lodge tells me, Mr. Myers had been keenly interested in his work in wireless telegraphy and it was while with Mr. Myers and stimulated by him that he devised the fundamental plan for "tuning" which in some form or another is necessarily used in all systems of wireless telegraphy and was first patented by him in 1897. The term "syntony" was invented for him by Mr. Myers and Dr. A. T. Myers. Sir Oliver Lodge had, as is well known, been experimenting for years on the theoretical side of the subject, and it was partly, or even largely, his discoveries between 1888 and 1894 which, in the energetic hands of Mr. Marconi, in 1896 and onwards, led to the development of wireless telegraphy for practical purposes. Mr. Myers had been much interested in this development and anxious that the results of his friend's work should not be unduly exploited by others.

While the script is thus thoroughly characteristic of the relation between Mr. Myers and Sir Oliver Lodge, the fact that it is connected in point of time with the first important cross-correspondence between Mrs. Holland and Mrs. Verrall—the "Selwyn Text Incident"¹—seems to lend weight to the supposition that what we may call the "Diamond Island script" may have been at least partially inspired by the surviving personality of F. W. H. Myers.

I may add that the patent referred to above for "Improvements in Syntonised Telegraphy without Line Wires" is the important one which, by Mr. Justice Parker's judgment delivered in the Chancery Division of the High Court on April 28th, 1911, has just been renewed to Sir Oliver Lodge for another term of seven years.

Appendix B.

A further detail in the "Sevens" Cross-correspondence.²

In the Journal of the American Society for Psychical Research for March, 1911, Professor Hyslop comments at length on a number of points in this case, and in the midst of his discussion gives an interesting interpretation of certain words spoken in the waking stage of Mrs. Piper's trance on May 8th, 1908. After an apparent attempt to translate the Latin verses of the Tavern Club motto, in which the only word audible to Mr. Dorr was "Habit," she said

> "We are Seven I said Clock! Tick, tick, tick! Stairs."³

¹See Proceedings, Vol. XXI. pp. 219-239.

²See Proceedings, Vol. XXIV. pp. 222-263. ³Op. cit. p. 223.

This was supposed by Mr. Dorr to be an allusion to Longfellow's poem, *The Old Clock on the Stairs.* Prof. Hyslop has now ascertained that there is a clock on the staircase of the Tavern Club leading up to the dining-room, and that at banquets, when there are no guests present, it is the habit of the members to assemble downstairs, and there at a fixed hour to sing the Latin verses, and then go upstairs to the dining-room. It seems, therefore, that the words, "Clock ! tick, tick, tick ! Stairs." might appropriately have been uttered by Hodgson_P among the reminiscences evoked by the verses. Whether or not Mrs. Piper had any normal knowledge of this clock it is, of course, impossible to say.

Appendix C.

Some further Cross-correspondences between Mrs. Piper's Trance and the Scripts of other Automatists.

As stated above, four sittings with Mrs. Piper were held by Mr. Dorr and six by Miss Pope, during the period Dec. 7, 1908, to March 1, 1909. At only four of Miss Pope's sittings were attempts made to send "messages" to the other automatists, and some of these were merely repetitions of "messages" attempted in Mr. Dorr's previous series. Part of Miss Pope's record of Dec. 9, 1908, and an extract from that of Dec. 21, 1908, are given above, pp. 233 and 254, and part of her record of Jan. 13, 1909, is as follows:

 $(Myers_P \text{ communicating.})$

LUX UBE

Lux UBE

[These three letters, especially the E, look like an attempt to write Greek letters, which had been attempted earlier in the sitting]

Lux

[Soon afterwards came another attempt to write Greek words, with the explanation:]

The first Greek words were strength, star, to give light, to help free souls. . . .

- Helen wrote gathering clouds, clouds are gathering in the west and she also wrote Lux.
- She also wrote winding stream or winding sheet and I am not sure which. It sounds like stream and I go on for ever
- Then another thing was written. Arrow, light and swift as an arrow. The bird is on the wing.¹ Then Mrs. Verrall wrote as did Mrs. Holland also clouds before dawn.
- Meadow violets blooming and Larkspur Garden Steep banks or Bank.

Lux Ube is perhaps an attempt at the motto Ubi crux ibi lux and the above seems to reflect in a fragmentary way Miss Verrall's script of Nov. 5th, 1908, which was as follows:

- Mist on the high peaks of the mountains at sunrise when the clouds in the valley grow rosy in the growing light. Lucifero radio Phoebus iam diffugat umbras et sub luce nova nova lucent omnia.²
- Green fields and pastures new³ that was the idea a new day and a new undertaking the old order changeth⁴ but still the harmony remains throughout.
- a butterfly in the sunshine and pink hollihocks against an old brick wall
- a cottage garden old-fashioned flowers mingled together and grass green paths between the beds hic et ubique.⁵

On Nov. 10, 1908, Miss Verrall's script contained the following:

> The two horns of the moon & between them a cord—thus Diana's shafts speed swiftly—the arrow by day.

Mr. Dorr's four sittings were mostly occupied with attempts to carry on his experiments in trying to revive the literary memories of F. W. H. Myers. As in his earlier series, the results obtained appeared at the time to be incoherent, rambling, and worthless, but have turned out on further investigation to

¹Cf. "The lark is on the wing," written at Miss Pope's sitting of Dec. 9, 1908. ²*Trans.* Now Phoebus with light-bearing ray puts to flight the shadows and beneath the new light all things shine anew.

³ Milton, Lycidas. "Fields" should be "woods."

⁴Tennyson, The Passing of Arthur. ⁵Here

be of considerable interest. The most important parts of them consist of connexions with later scripts of Mrs. Willett, and with the more or less contemporary scripts of Mrs. and Miss Verrall, as described in Mrs. Verrall's paper above (pp. 176-90). Mrs. Verrall deals only with the classical allusions; I supplement her account with a few further correspondences, which add to the cumulative evidence for connexion between these Piper sittings and Miss Verrall's scripts.

In a sitting with Mrs. Piper held by Mr. Dorr on March 1, 1909, certain messages were said to have been given to Miss Verrall, as follows:

Tell Piddington chirades. H.

G. B. D. What is that word?

Charades.¹

Helen Trailing Trail Trellis.

G. B. D. Is that word "trailing"?

Yes. Very good.

Sea Season Rolling. Roll Waves. I got these through Helen V.

(G. B. D. reads from F. W. H. Myers's paper "In Memory of Henry Sidgwick" the verse from Tennyson's "The Voyage" beginning

.

.

"For one fair Vision ever fled,"

when the hand wrote :)

.

Wait for this. I have already referred to this particular verse with Helen.

G. B. D. Helen who ?

V.

¹Mrs. Verrall informs me that parts of a charade were, as she believes, distributed between her and Miss Verrall's scripts between Nov. 12 and Dec. 21, 1907. There is therefore some point in connecting "charades" with H. V. script.

(a) Trailing.

The following are extracts from Miss Verrall's scripts:

(Nov. 24, 1908.)

grapes purple a vineyard on the sunny South a sloping hillside with trailing vines.

(Feb. 10, 1909.)

night in her sable cloak.

I saw the sable gardents (*sic*) of the night sweep through her marble halls.

This is a misquotation from Longfellow's "Hymn to the Night":

"I heard the trailing garments of the Night Sweep through her marble halls!

I saw her sable skirts all fringed with light From the celestial walls!"

(March 18, 1909.)

The tangled boughs a matted screen branches branches held When Birnam wood shall eome to Dunsinane.¹ a moving forest . . .

a twisted spiral a pole black & yellow & green upon it twined around green trailing up the rod

(b) Sea, Rolling waves and "The Voyage."

The following extracts from Miss Verrall's script refer to these topics:

(Dec. 12, 1908.)

- From the deep the wailing of the waters the salt spray dashes over the rocks thalassa thalassa²
- the deeps of deliverance the sea-king's child the whitemaned steeds
- Far back through creeks & inlets making eomes silent flooding in the main.³

¹ Macbeth, Act v. Sc. 3. ² The sea, the sea.

.

³ A. H. Clough, "Say not the struggle nought availeth."

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(Dec. 15, 1908.)

Birds on the sea shore the sea gull's cry [In Greek: Of the sounding sea.]¹

(Jan. 22, 1909.)

On the face of the waters-when the deeps are stirred.

(Feb. 1, 1909.)

a ship a ship comes sailing but never a ship for me² the sound of great waters when the bed of ocean rocks we know the merry world is round and we may sail for evermore.³

(Feb. 3, 1909.)

Beneath the white cliffs by the tossing sea.

¹ πολυφλοσβοιο θαλασσης (Homer).

² Cf. "Oh what comes over the sea, Shoals and quicksands past; And what comes home to me, Sailing slow, sailing fast?

> A wind comes over the sea With a moan in its blast; But nothing comes home to me Sailing slow, sailing fast."—C. G. Rossetti.

³ Tennyson, The Voyage, last two lines.

IV.

NOTE ON THE CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE "CUP."

Being a suggestion as to the meaning and source of the word "Cup" employed successfully as a message for cross-correspondence by Mrs. Piper's trance-personalities in the sittings of 1907.

By MRS. A. W. VERRALL.

In the majority of the "Concordant Automatisms" resulting from the experiments with Mrs. Piper during her visit to England in 1906-7, described by Mr. Piddington in Proceedings, Vol. XXII., the leading word was framed by one or more of the automatists concerned in a literary setting, so that it emerged as part of a poetical quotation, or as the subject of a more or less claborate literary allusion. Thus in the Concordant Automatisms grouped round the idea of "Light in West" (Section xix.) and culminating in references to East and West by three automatists on April 8, 1907, Dante, Browning, and Tennyson were laid under contribution. Were this habit confined to the scripts of Mrs. Holland, my daughter and myself, it would hardly require comment. Those scripts are full of literary reminiscences, easily accounted for by the previous education and the general tastes and interests of the automatists. The employment of a quotation to introduce a transmitted word may be due to some necessity to conceal the intention from the normal consciousness, always ready to interfere and inhibit phenomena where the script is produced without trance.

But with Mrs. Piper the case is otherwise. Neither her previous history nor her general tastes and interests lead us to expect literary allusions in her trance utterances. Nor are such literary allusions found in the records of her earlier sittings. Their introduction is a new and noteworthy occurrence, and only comes into prominence in the English sittings.

For this, various explanations may be suggested. The expectation of the sitters is a factor not to be omitted. The type of mind, again, of the other automatic writers deliberately brought into close connexion with the trance-consciousness of Mrs. Piper may be supposed to have produced some effect upon that consciousness. Moreover, Mrs. Piper had opportunity of reading the report of my script (Proceedings, Vol. XX.) and so of acquainting herself with the sort of phraseology which was presumably to be expected from Myersy. And my question addressed to Myers_P, as to his associations with the words αυτός δυρανός ακύμων, directed the attention of the trancecontrols towards literary subjects. Whatever explanation is adopted, the fact remains that in these English sittings Mrs. Piper's trance-personalities showed an acquaintance with English poetry never shown by them before, and often associated that poetry with words selected for transmission, using it as a sort of framework for the transmitted phrase, much in the same fashion as did the other automatists concerned. Not only were there allusions in the Piper trance to Browning and Tennyson in the course of references to the "answer to the Latin message" which emerged amid similar allusions in the Holland and Verrall scripts, but in one case (Section xviii.) two lines of Wordsworth suggested a group of "cross-correspondences," some of which were successfully reproduced by another automatist, but without any trace of the quotation which accompanied them in the Piper script:

> "I wandered lonely as a Cloud That floats on high o'er Vales and Hills."¹

An examination of the series of Concordant Automatisms described by Mr. Piddington shows that among the contemporary successes² only three emerged without a literary setting

¹ My point here is not whether or not Mrs. Piper was normally acquainted with Wordsworth's poem. That may very well have been the case. The noteworthy point is the selection in her trance for cross-correspondence of a group of words combined by literary associations.

 2 I exclude "Celestial Halcyon Days" (Section x.), where Myers_P referred to an expression in an earlier script of mine, not to a contemporary experiment.

furnished by one or other of the automatists concerned, namely, those described in Sections v., xiii., and xxii. In the case of Section v., "Library, my own name, and Mrs. Sidgwiek's," these three ideas were woven together, both in Mrs. Piper's script and my own, into a story, untrue indeed and improbable, but with a certain superficial plausibility which, serving as a framework, may perhaps have enabled the triple combination to appear in both scripts. Only two cases remain in which the Concordant Automatisms emerged, so to say, bare, with very little setting or decoration. I have nothing further to add on the subject of Section xxii., "Laus Deo," but something may, I think, be learnt from a further consideration of the cross-correspondence on "Cup," described in Section xiii. (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. pp. 179-192).

The word "Cup" was announced as a cross-correspondence by Hodgson_p on March 18, 1907 (p. 179); the word "Cup" appeared in Mrs. Holland's script (p. 191) on the morning of March 19;¹ and on the evening of March 19, a Cup was drawn and the word written in my script (p. 181). On no other occasion during the period eovered by these sittings with Mrs. Piper did the word "Cup" oceur in either Mrs. Holland's script or mine. In neither of those scripts is the word "Cup" the subject of a literary quotation. In Mrs. Holland's seript, it is applied to a stone eavity, eventually intended to hold water. In my script the Cup is said to be of silver; it is drawn with a stem, foot and bowl, and no handle. Nor is there any indication of literary allusion in the announcement of a erosscorrespondence by Hodgson_P. But two English poems are referred to several times during the sittings with Mrs. Piper, either of which is easily associated with the word "Cup," a cup being prominent in both. FitzGerald's poem, The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, centres round the "Cup" which is to be filled with "Ruby Vintage," and the word occurs eight times in the seventy-five stanzas of the first edition. In Browning's Rabbi ben Ezra the speaker's meditations eulminate in the eomparison of man with a "Cup"; this image is earried

¹The water drops have not as yet begun to wear the stone—After the cup has been worn in the stone the falling drops can be collected—but not before— At present there is only a damp spot—inadequate for thirst quenching. through the concluding eight of the thirty-two stanzas, and the word "cup" occurs three times.

Allusions in the Piper script to Omar Khayyam are made on Feb. 12, 13, March 12, 19 and 20, 1907. On February 12, in a would-be evidential communication from a supposed dead friend of the sitter, a spontaneous reference was made to the poem. The allusion was not at first understood but was later recognised, after it had been described as a quotation from the Book of a Dreamer in a Persian Garden. On Feb. 13, Mr. Piddington being the sole sitter, further remarks were made about a "Persian Garden," which was now said to be a cross-correspondence for Mrs. Verrall devised by Hodgson_P with the concurrence of Myers_P. The word "Paradise," pointing to a passage in F. W. H. Myers's Fragments of Prose and Poetry (p. 5), had occurred in the trance on January 30, when I was the sitter, and may have led on, by an easy association of ideas, to the selection of "Persian Garden," as a cross-correspondence for transmission to me. The word "Paradise" recurred on March 6 as a subject of cross-correspondence, and was shortly followed by the word "Bird," a connexion more popular than literary. Both words occur in Omar Khayyam: "Bird" twice in stanza vii., and "Paradise" in stanzas xi. and xii. But no allusion to the poem was suggested by the controls on Feb. 13 or March 6. On March 12, however, Omar Khayyam unmistakably again makes an appearance, again not as a subject for cross-correspondence, but as an attempt at a vcrifiable reminiscence from Hodgson_P, addressed to the sitter, Mr. John Russell. The poem reappears in Mrs. Russell's sittings on March 19 and 20.¹ I quote all extracts bearing on these definite allusions to the poem.

Extract from Record of Sitting with Mrs. Piper held on February 12, 1907.

(Present: Mr. Piddington in charge and Mr. X. as sitter; Z communicating:)

[At a previous sitting on February 11, the sitter Mr. X. had asked the communicator, Z, if he remembered a certain friend whose foreign

¹Neither Mr. Russell nor Mrs. Russell was introduced by name. For further account of these sittings the reader is referred to *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. Section xiii. tri-syllabic name began with P. In connexion with that enquiry the following statements were made. Note by M. de G. V.]

- Do you remember one evening when we were talking about the possibilities of this life. I said wait until I get over and I will show you.
- And the Book of the man who said he sat and dreamed about this life
- until he had drunk the wine. . .
- But he referred to a quotation of a Hindoo who said he drank his wine.
- J. G. P. Rector, we must get this clear.

Change the machine kindly [*i.e.* the pencil] and it may help me in making it clearer. I said P---- reminded me of the Persian Garden.

(Sitter fails to understand.)¹

You are stupid but you never used to be.

SITTER: You had not found me out then, Z.

Oh, I know you fully old chap but don't you understand what I am driving at.

I think I do, but I don't understand the reference to the SITTER : Persian.

> It was a saying that the Persian in his garden dreamed all day about God and the Universe and Life in general but never got any further then-beyond his dream. This was P-----.

[repeated in answer to difficulties of reading:]

I say never got beyond his dream

[Here followed attempts to remind Mr. X. of evenings spent with Y. at his house. Later the communicator returned to the subject as follows:]

Got, understood yet my reference to the Hindoo dreamer? I said well it's no use if there is no life beyond. I said, when I was in the body, if there was no life beyond there is no justice in this life.

¹ The name, a foreign one, mentioned by the Sitter bears some resemblance in sound to the name Pehleví in Omar Khayyam, stanza vi. where it follows on the stanza which introduces two Persian names, Irám and Jamshýd, as well as the word "Garden."

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Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on March 12, 1907.

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick in charge, and Mr. John Russell as sitter.)

[The word Dawn had been mentioned by $Hodgson_P$ in the course of attempts to remind the sitter of incidents that would be familiar to him. Note by M. de G. V.]

SITTER: What is Dawn?

What. Don't you remember?

SITTER: I am not sure whether I do.

What is Dawn do you ask?

SITTER: Yes.

Don't you remember my description of a poem in which I gave you. and you thought it a good thing or point.

by Fitzgerald.

SITTER: Again, please.

By Fitzgerald.

SITTER: I have forgotten, but I will see when I get home.

[Later in the same sitting, Hodgson communicating says:]

Do you remember Fitzgerald and a joke they made on me, made about my being Irish.

SITTER: Irish what?

Don't you remember the joke I made about being Irish?

SITTER: No.

Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on March 19, 1907.

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick in charge, and Mrs. John Russell as sitter; Hodgson communicating:)

Don't you remember a poem I used to recite to you of Fitzgerald's, about drinking up the wine of life.

Don't you remember it, and how fond I used to be of it?

SITTER: I can't remember your reciting it.

- Yes I tried to make J. understand, but it was useless. I tried so hard. I used to recite it for you, it was about a Hindoo or a Persian I can't remember which.
- SITTER: Yes, I remember the poem, but I don't remember your reciting it.

Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on March 20, 1907.

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick alone, Myers communicating:)

Hodgson told her [*i.e.* Mrs. Verrall] to say a line or two from the poem I . . .

No man ever came back to tell us what is before us.

E. M. S. (reading over) Is that the poem?

(Rector communicating)

Yes I do not get in all the words clearly but I do my best. He [*i.e.* Myers] repeats.

No man ever came back from whence he has gone to tell us of the shore.

It is Persian,

- E. M. S. Persian?
 - Yes, he says: Rector, if you can tell Mrs. Sidgwick what I say at all clearly, she will certainly understand my meaning.
- E. M. S. I understand. You have given Mrs. Verrall a line from a Persian poem?

Yes he made her write Omar and left it as she seemed tired.

There is no doubt as to the references to Omar Khayyam on these four days. The combination of Dawn and Fitz-Gerald on March 12 would alone determine the allusion. The poem begins with a description of the coming of Dawn, "Awake, for Morning in the Bowl of Night..." and the word Dawn comes in the first line of the second stanza.¹ Again, on Feb. 13

¹I quote throughout from the First Edition.

and March 19, the allusion is explicit, in spite of the extraordinary confusion between Hindoo and Persian, which is made by both trance-communicators and is, as Mrs. Russell notes, absurd as coming from Dr. Hodgson. The words, "dreamed about this life—until he had drunk the wine" (on Feb. 12), and again "drinking up the wine of life" (on March 19), point to the second stanza, and especially to its concluding line:

"Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the Sky I heard a Voice within the Tavern cry, 'Awake my Little ones, and fill the Cup Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry.'"

On March 20, $Myers_P$ definitely claims that $Hodgson_P$ has succeeded in conveying to me a line from a Persian poem. The name Omar fixes the allusion, and the words, obviously intended to represent a line from the poem, may with certainty be referred to the conclusion of the third stanza:

> "You know how little while we have to stay, And, once departed, may return no more."¹

It may therefore be regarded as certain that allusions to FitzGerald's poem, probably to particular stanzas, were made by the trance-personalities in Mrs. Piper's sittings on Feb. 12, March 12, March 19, and March 20, 1907.

The allusions to Browning's *Rabbi ben Ezra* were on April 24 and 29, and May 6 and 8, 1907. On April 24, a group of words contained in the second, third, fourth and fifth stanzas of the poem and also the name Ezra were brought out during the course of attempts on the part of the trance-personalities to indicate what line of Browning had been aimed at in the triple cross-correspondence described as "Browning, Hope, Star."² On April 29, one of these words, "Vaunt," was mentioned by Myers_P in my presence as the subject of a cross-correspondence, but it had no context and I did not connect it with anything. On May 6 and May 8, the word "Vaunt" was again spoken of to Mrs. Sidgwick as the subject of a

¹In the words "before" and "shore" of Myers_P I am disposed to see reminiscences of the three rhymed words of stanza iii., namely, "before," "door," and "more."

²See Proceedings, Vol. XXII. p. 413; and also Section vi.

cross-correspondence which $Myers_P$ hoped to complete. I quote the extracts in question:

Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on April 24, 1907.

(Present: Mrs. Sidgwick alone; Hodgson communicating).

Do you remember my words Mars the planet. Jove. Mars Egla

(Rector communicating).

- He [*i.e.* Hodgson] is giving me the words as he thinks they appeared [*i.e.* in Mrs. Verrall's writing.]
- [After recapitulating some cross-correspondence, Myers communicating, says:]

Ezra What vaunts life Vaunt transcends Did you understand

E. M. S. Not quite. What is it that transcends life?

The star spark flame Do you understand it now?

Yes. I believe whereas it is difficult to get through the words one after the other I believe I can make you understand that I know what I gave her [*i.e.* Mrs. Verrall.]

I now recall the transcends and Vaunt did they not appear?

[Later in the same sitting]

One word more. I gave Mrs. Verrall Vaunt and transcendentalism.¹

¹See Mr. Piddington's Report, *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. p. 374, for an explanation of the substitution of "transcendentalism" for "transcends."

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Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on April 29, 1907.

(Present : Mrs. Verrall and Miss Johnson ; Myers communicating).

[After reference to the word "azure," which was only read with difficulty:]

I also referred to the word Vaunt and I want you to look it up.

M. DE G. V. You want me to look up the word Vaunt?

Yes in your writing.

Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on May 6, 1907. (Present Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Johnson; Rector communicating).

We will go on with it [*i.e.* "Cloud" as a cross-correspondence] or other words.

e*.

E. M. S. Particularly with the word Vaunt and what you meant to bring out with that.

> Yes certainly we gave her the word [*i.e.* mentioned it when Mrs. Verrall was present] but there is so much more we could say about it or concerned with it.

Extract from Record of sitting with Mrs. Piper held on May 8, 1907. (Present Mrs. Sidgwick and Miss Johnson; Myers communicating).

I am still interested in Vaunt and shall complete it.

It is therefore certain that these two poems, FitzGerald's and Browning's, both of them easily associated with the word "Cup," were referred to by the trance-personalities in the course of the sittings. Before deciding whether the "Cup" of March 18, 1907, was associated with either or both, we must examine carefully the statement in the trance of that day.

As is described by Mr. Piddington,¹ the words claimed to come from $Hodgson_P$, and were thus written :

"Cup used

C C"

¹ Proceedings, Vol. XXII. p. 179, Section xiii.

The word "used" is marked as not certain in Mr. Piddington's account of the sitting, but I have myself little doubt that it is correct. Mrs. Sidgwick points out that the word is almost exactly like the word "used" in other places, and says that she would be satisfied with the reading "Cup used C.C." if it made any sense in the eontext. T feel, with Mr. Piddington, the difficulty, arising from an acquaintance with the usual phraseology of the Piper script, of attributing to the controls the elliptical or condensed eonstruction required if the meaning of "Cup used C C" is to be "Cup has been (or, 'is to be') used as a eross-eorrespondenee." This objection would disappear if the word "used" could be regarded as forming part, not of the control's remark, but of the phrase to be transmitted. I should punetuate thus, "Cup used"; then-after a pause-"C C,"-the explanation "cross-correspondence" being appended to the phrase "Cup used." to show that the two words just written were a message for transmission to other automatists. There would be no difficulty in the selection by the controls of that particular eombination, if any meaning attached to it.¹ The question thus arises,—is there any point in the addition

(1) of a word following upon Cup;

(2) of the particular word "used."

To both these questions I think that an affirmative answer ean be given.

(1) A reference to the sitting of January 30th, 1907, shows a reason for avoiding the single word "Cup" as a subject for transmission to me. I was the sitter on January 30th, and among other words, said to have occurred in my earlier script, "Chalice" was mentioned. This reminded me, as I noted at the time, of an allusion in my earlier script to the Latin *Cyathus*, Cup, the connexion of which with Christian ritual I had quite recently been investigating. Of this I said nothing at the sitting, but shortly afterwards "Cup" was mentioned without context by Myers_P. As therefore my attention had on January 30th been called to the word "Cup," that word alone was not a good choice for a cross-correspondence with me. A

¹Sec *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. p. 287, where a particular kind of sea and sky, "Sea and Sky Blue," is indicated as the subject of a cross-correspondence.

similar difficulty had arisen in another case.¹ The word "Wreath," intended for a cross-correspondence, had been mentioned in my presence on January 21, 1907; on January 23 Rector apologised to Mr. Piddington for the blunder, and on March 4 Myers_P, after hearing that "Laurel wreath" had appeared in my script, explained that "laurel" had been added to "wreath" to make the cross-correspondence evidential. It is thus consistent with the previous conduct of the controls, since the word "Cup" had been mentioned in my presence, to add another word when employing "Cup" as a subject for crosscorrespondence.

(2) Without going so far as to say that "Cup used" recalls Rabbi ben Ezra to a student of Browning, I yet assert that if it is desired to distinguish by a single epithet the cup of ben Ezra from the cup of Omar, used is well chosen. The distinction between the two conceptions of a cup lies just in the use of the vessel, and the word *use* is introduced into one poem and not into the other. Omar's cup is to be filled with "Life's Liquor" (ii.), with "Wine Red Wine" (vi.), with what "clears To-Day of past regrets" (xx.); it is to drown the memory that "without asking" we are "hurried hither" and "hurried hence" (xxx).; the "Ruby Vintage" is to be drunk "with old Khayyam," and, "when the Angel with his darker Draught draws up," we are to "take that" without shrinking (xlviii.). Rabbi ben Ezra on the contrary bids us look not "down but up! to uses of a cup" (30); and asks God "who mouldest men ... to take and use Thy work" (32). It would be difficult to find a single word better suited than "used" to distinguish between the two cups and at the same time to recall the culminating stanzas of Browning's poem.

A further point for consideration is whether by an examination of the script of the other two automatists concerned in the cross-correspondence any reason is found for associating the Cup of March 18, 1907, with either *Omar Khayyam* or *Rabbi ben Ezra*. Neither the slowly-forming stone cup of Mrs. Holland's script of March 19, 1907, nor the silver cup of my script of the same day, represents the earthenware cup of Omar and ben

¹See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. Section ix., especially pp. 101, 102; and note the above quoted statement by Rector on May 6th, 1907, about the additions that could be made to a word inadvertently mentioned in my presence.

Ezra, though the ultimate purpose—"thirst quenching "-of the uncompleted cup described in her script¹ recalls the purpose of Browning's eup,-to slake the thirst of the Master when the eup has been made perfect as planned. In my script I find two points where it is possible to see a connexion with Browning's poem, but neither is certain. My scripts of March 19 and 20, 1907, are plainly intended to be continuous,² and the second script aims, as Mr. Piddington has pointed out, "at giving expression to one thing St John's College, Cambridge." It reaches this goal "by devious bye-paths," in the course of which it passes from the *Feast* of St. John the Baptist to the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, kept at St. John's College, Cambridge, thus perhaps recalling the "festal board" of Rabbi ben Ezra (30). The second point of possible connexion is eontained in a later script of March 26, 1907, of which I here quote the whole:

Write again later—out of doors—but now say this:

what turns the wheel, the four-spoked wheel of time? [drawing of a four-spoked wheel] from left to right revolving.

With this script may be compared the phrases in stanzas 26 and 27 of *Rabbi ben Ezra*, "feel why time spins fast," and "time's wheel runs back or stops." There is no reason, however, as far as I know, why the wheel of time should be four-spoked.

No one of these scripts is sufficiently distinctive to be applied to Rabbi ben Ezra, if taken alonc. But I should not expect to find accidentally within nine days, in the scripts of three different automatists, four references presenting such parallelism to the ideas and language of Rabbi ben Ezra, as is presented by the four in question, which are summarized in the following tabular form:

Date.	Automatist's phrase.	Browning.
Mar. 18	P. "Cup used"	Uses of eup $(30)^3$
		Use Thy work (32)
Mar. 19	H. "Thirstquenching"	To slake Thy thirst (31)
	"inadequate"	Amend perfect the cup
		(32)

¹See above, p. 306, foot-note. ²See *Proceedings*, Vol. XXII. p. 183. ³The numbers in brackets refer to the stanzas of *Rabbi ben Ezra*.

Date.	Automatist's phrase.	Browning.
Mar. 19	V. "Feast Feast"	festal board (30)
Mar. 26	V. "What turns the	God, whose wheel (25) time
	wheel"	spins (26)
	"Wheel of Time."	Time's wheel (27) times
		in Thy hand (32)

The persistency of allusions¹ to *Rabbi ben Ezra* in the Piper trance is shown in a sitting of Mr. Dorr's with Mrs. Piper in 1908, when on May 8 the first line of the poem, "Grow old along with me," was selected as a subject for cross-correspondence with me. It was not reproduced in my script, nor were any of the cross-correspondences from *Rabbi ben Ezra*, mentioned on April 24, 1907, successfully transmitted by the trance-personalities. "Cup," however, which is a word in the poem, was transmitted, as above described, but when it was mentioned in Mrs. Piper's trance on March 18, 1907, it was not connected with Browning or assigned to any specified automatist.

Some confirmation of the view set out in this paper is supplied by other evidence from the sittings with Mrs. Piper in February and March, 1907. From these sittings I infer that the "Cup used," of March 18, whatever it may have meant, was not the cup of Omar Khayyam. The sitting of Feb. 12 as well as the immediately preceding sitting of March 12 and the two succeeding sittings of March 19 and 20 contain allusions to *Omar Khayyam*—allusions, it may be said in passing, that show an acquaintance with the poem at once more intimate and less directly expressed than would be expected were the source in Mrs. Piper's own mind. Words associated with the poem are selected for transmission. The connexion of the word "cup" with FitzGerald's poem could not fail to be known to one who associated with that poem "Dawn," "Wine of Life," and "no man ever returns," etc., but no such association

¹There have also been quotations from the poem in other scripts : on January 7, 1904, Myers_H quoted from stanza 25 (*Proceedings*, Vol. XXI. p. 215):

"All I could never be—

All men refused in me

This I was worth to God whose wheel the pitcher shaped,"

and on Oct. 20, 1906, H. V. script has (stanza 3) "folly wide the mark." Neither of these scripts was known to Mrs. Piper, or to Mrs. Sidgwick, when allusions to the poem were made by $Myers_P$ in April, 1907.

is suggested for the "Cup used CC." Even had the suggested cross-correspondence consisted of the single word "Cup," I should be indisposed, under the circumstances, to connect it with *Omar Khayyam*. When we remember that between "Cup" and "CC" was inserted a word wholly inappropriate to Omar Khayyan's cup, I think it is clear that on March 18 there was no intention on the part of Hodgson_P to suggest any association between "Cup used CC" and the cup of Omar Khayyam.¹

This is not the place to discuss in detail whether there is a historical link between the two poems, or whether a student of literature would naturally pass from the thought of FitzGerald's Omar Khayyam to the thought of Browning's Rabbi ben Ezra. The first edition of Omar Khayyam was published in 1859, and, though not generally known till some time later, it was enthusiastically praised and eagerly read by a small group, among whom were Swinburne and Dante Rossetti. In the autumn of 1861 Robert Browning came to live in London, and often saw Rossetti, who had been a friend of his for some years. It is probable that a poem which had so strongly impressed Rossetti was not unknown to Browning. In 1864 Rabbi ben Ezra was published in the volume called Dramatis Persona. If any one reads and compares the two poems, noticing especially the treatment in both of the image of the Potter, he will find it difficult to believe that the work of the carlier poet was unknown to the later poet. The comparison of man to the Potter's Clay is not new; as Fitz-Gcrald reminds us, it is found "in the Literature of the World from the Hebrew Prophets to the present time"; it is as appropriately employed by the Hebrew as by the Persian thinker. But the form of stanzas 26 and 27 of Rabbi ben Ezra suggests that the view there represented is not only an expression of personal belief, but a refutation of some existing theory, and a comparison with stanzas xxxvi. and xxxvii. of Omar Khayyam suggests whose that theory was.

¹The view that "Cup used" is, in fact, a reminiscence of *Rabbi ben Ezra* need not imply a deliberate reticence on the part of the controls. The phrase may have been a first emergence, provoked by the interest of the experimenters in Browning, of allusions to *Rabbi ben Ezra*, definitely formulated on April 24, 1907.

Omar Khayyam says that he "watch'd the Potter thumping his wet Clay," and thereupon he urges his auditor—

> "Ah, fill the Cup;—what boots it to repeat How Time is slipping underneath our Feet: Unborn To-morrow and dead Yesterday, Why fret about them if To-day be sweet!"

Rabbi ben Ezra bids his auditor-

"note that Potter's wheel,

That metaphor!"

and goes on:

"Thou, to whom fools propound,

When the wine makes its round, Since life fleets, all is change; the Past gone, seize To-day!

> Fool! all that is, at all, Lasts ever, past reeall;

Earth ehanges, but thy soul and God stand sure."

If accident, and not acquaintance with FitzGerald's poem, produced so apt a criticism of Omar's theory of life and expressed it by a different interpretation of Omar's metaphor, the coincidence is remarkable. But that there are remarkable undesigned coincidences in the history of literature, as elsewhere, it is not for a student of Psychical Research to deny.

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MISS VERRALL'S SCRIPT OF MARCH 16, 1908: A CORRECTION AND AN ADDITION.

By MRS. A. W. VERRALL.

THE script in question is quoted and commented on in *Proceedings*, Vol. XXIV. pp. 297, 298. It runs as follows:

La vie est brève Un peu d'espoir Un peu de rêve Et puis bonsoir.

The end of the story.

Like a crimson petalled rose the rose of Sharon.

When the proof was sought he told them that the only means of obtaining it was to persevere in the attempt to prove the connexion.

Gautier and Hugo those together types to be compared.

Unless there is a possibility of setting the two side by side there would be no opportunity.

is is the now at his ease [drawing of flower] note this flower.

When I wrote the paper on "A New Group of Experimenters" in *Proceedings*, I thought that the two-stanza poem, of which the second verse appears in the above H. V. script, was by Victor Hugo. This, however, is not the case. On the first occasion—many years ago—when I made the acquaintance of the poem, it was attributed to Victor Hugo, and having never had reason to question the authorship, I accepted that statement without further consideration. But on being informed of my mistake, soon after the publication of *Proceedings*, Part LX., I took some pains to ascertain the authorship of the poem. This, with some difficulty, I have done.

The poem is quoted in Du Maurier's Trilby (published 1894), which also contains an English poem based upon it. But the author is not there named. In one well-known book of reference the poem is quoted incorrectly-the first and third lines of the two stanzas being transposed, so that " amour " and " haine " appear in different stanzas, and the poem begins "La vie est brève"-and in the same book it is incorrectly attributed to Alfred de Musset. In 1902 the two stanzas were set to music by Madame Teresa del Riego and published, together with an English version by the composer. Madame Teresa del Riego has set and translated the transposed arrangement of the two stanzas, though her song is named, "La vie est vaine," from what, in her arrangement, is the first line of the second stanza. But she has printed on the fly-leaf, besides her own version, the original lines by Léon de Montenaeken and the "author's own English version." Here the two stanzas are not transposed, but run as in my paper in *Proceedings* with "amour" and "haine" in the first stanza, which begins "La vie est vaine." A third stanza is added which runs as follows:

> "La vie est telle Que Dieu la fit; Et telle quelle... Elle suffit."

This third stanza was, to the best of our belief, unknown to the automatists concerned in the cross-correspondence, as well as to me, until, in the course of enquiries as to the authorship of the lines, Miss Mac came across the words set to music and wrote to me on April 30, 1911. The further information thus obtained, though it shows that what I called a "two-stanza poem by Hugo" is in fact by Montenaeken and contains a third stanza, does not affect the correspondence between the H. V. and Mac scripts, nor the complementary nature of that correspondence. For on March 16, 1908, an H. V. script, containing internal evidence that it was incomplete and required supplementing, quoted the second stanza of a French poem, of which the first stanza appeared independently, three months later, in the script of some new automatic writers whose script, by order of their

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"communicators," was sent to me as containing messages intended for me. To all the automatists concerned the two stanzas of the poem, and two only, were known, as they were to me; by one automatist, my daughter, as by me, the author was thought to be Victor Hugo.

But it will be observed that the H.V. script does not attribute the lines to Hugo. Taking that script as it stands, without preconceptions of any kind, there is no more reason to attribute the verses to Hugo than to Gautier. Both those names appear later in the same script, and neither is claimed as the author of the opening lines. But, believing as I did, that the opening lines were a quotation from Hugo, I naturally supposed the lines thus quoted to represent the poem of Hugo later alluded to in the script, as representing a type to be compared with a poem of Gautier. Of Gautier's work I was completely ignorant, as was my daughter. I looked through a collection of his poems—which I do not possess—to see if I could find a poem comparable with "La vie est brève," but I could find none.

So much for my mistaken statement; I pass to the consideration of the H.V. script. It is clear that the inclusion of these lines in a script which also suggests a comparison of the types of Hugo and Gautier would be completely justified if, for instance, there existed poems by Hugo and Gautier characteristic of their respective authors and referring to the topic which is the subject of the poem whose second stanza is quoted in the script,—the emptiness and brevity of life. That being so, and it being certain that the lincs are neither by Hugo nor by Gautier, it remains to be seen whether any poems by Hugo and Gautier can be found which fulfil these conditions, and whether any clue to those poems is contained in the H. V. script. I believe that there are such poems, and I have been led to their discovery by means of what was written in my own script and in the script of other automatists. I relate the circumstances in detail, prefacing my account with a statement about my own knowledge of the two poets at the time (October 1910) when my own scripts werc produced.

(1) I had no acquaintance with Gautier, except what was derived from looking at the index and turning over the pages

of his collected poems, as just above described, some time in the winter of 1908-9, to see if I could find a parallel with "La vie est brève."

(2) Much of Victor Hugo's poetry is exceedingly familiar to me. But certain volumes—among them *Toute la Lyre*— I had never seen until, in April or May 1910, after his authorship of "La vie est brève" had been challenged, I went to the University Library and looked cursorily through the volumes which I do not possess, turning over their pages and glancing at all poems with short lines such as there are in "La vie est brève," for which I was looking.

The clue to what I now believe to have been the intention of the H. V. script of March 16, 1908, was obtained as follows:

My script of October 3, October 4 and October 10, 1910, emphasized the word "Meditation." On September 22, 1910, I had seen this word in the record of a sitting of Mrs. Piper's of July 16, 1910.¹ There the word was introduced into a verse apparently indicated as a subject for cross-correspondence. It appeared to me, however, when I read the record, that the intention was to emphasize, not the lines uttered, but the actual word "Meditation."

Whether or not my impression was correct, it was, beyond all doubt, reproduced in my script of Oct. 3, 1910, and probably again in my scripts of Oct. 4 and 10, 1910. They run as follows:

Oct. 3, 1910. 10.20 p.m.

Meditation and $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\dot{\alpha}\omega^2$ are much the same—and you will find recorded that Mrs. Piper has a hand in the combination.

Your first impression about Meditation was right.

Write to-morrow earlier, in the day, and again for a good message on Wednesday.³

¹See below, p. 331, for extracts from Mrs. Piper's sittings with comment.

² The use in Latin Bucolic poetry of the word *meditor* (to practise) is similar to the use of $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\dot{a}\omega$ in Greek. Milton follows the classical use of *meditor* in the phrase "to meditate the Muse."

³See below, pp. 325, 335, for Wednesday's script.

Oct. 4, 1910. 4.10 p.m.

Samaritan-write down a word that is in your mind-it is the only way to clear the lumber out.

Satisfied he is not but well content.¹

MIno not quite that.

It is not easy when you keep rejecting the words which come first to your mind.

Meditation is a good long word in M — will that fill your gap? and ask about the Golden Numbers.¹

It seems impossible to get you to distinguish sometimes between your thoughts and ours, —and you constantly overlook idiosyncracies wh.² ought to tell you who the writer is —

Oct. 10, 1910. 11.30 a.m.

No ordinary effort will be spared

Meditation, Fancy's Child-no

Sweet Meditation heavenly maid

and apt alliteration's artful aid.

Then there are Augustine's Meditations³—but they are not what I want.

It is a purely poetic association with the word.

Pacing in the cloister slow

no cloister's shade

¹In a script of Mrs. Holland's (Dec. 30, 1908) quoted in Proc. Vol. XXIV. p. 324, and known to me, occur the words "content" and "golden numbers." I can offer no explanation of the reminiscence here of that script.

The word "golden" has perhaps some special association, unknown to me, with Théophile Gautier. See Swinburne's Memorial Verses (to Th. G.)

"In types of clean chryselephantine verse.

.

Who gave thee words more golden than fine gold." .

.

"The sunrise of whose golden-mouthed glad head,"

and his Sonnet with a copy of Mlle de Maupin

"This is the golden book of spirit and sense,"

and again his Théophile Gautier,

"Sa parole de marbre et d'or."

.

²Such as the abbreviated "wh." for "which," a characteristic in the letters of F. W. H. M.

³ Augustine's Confessions is, I suppose, meant.

But you do not seem able to complete

Meditation heavenly maid. That will do for to-day.

There is no cross-correspondence between my script and Mrs. Piper's, as I had seen the record of her sitting. But the repetition of the word in three scripts of mine within a week emphasizes the word "meditation," and on some other occasions I have found meaning in cases where my script has repeated emphatically a word originally introduced by a normal association. At the time I was unable to see any point in the reiteration of the word "meditation."

In the early part of January 1911, I came across an allusion in a book,¹ which I was reading, to "Gautier's axiom." The same sentence contrasted "the rose" and "the laurel." This struck me, as in recent scripts there had been some association of rose and laurel, and on January 7, 1911, I noted "Gautier's axiom" as a point to be looked up, but I did nothing further in the matter at that time.

On Jan. 21, 1911, I saw my daughter's script for the period Sept. 7, to Nov. 22, 1910, which I had not seen before, and found an unmistakable cross-correspondence between M. V. script² of October 5 and H. V. script of October 6, 1910. Stringed instruments appeared in both scripts; my script certainly, and my daughter's probably, quoted from Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*; my script had, in emphasized writing, "toute la lyre"—the title of a volume of Victor Hugo's poems; and, further, my script represented that it was dealing with the second of two groups wanted: "I do not think you have got the first word at all. What you have is the second word."

The cross-correspondence between our scripts on a "stringed instrument" was noted ³ by me on January 21, 1911, but

¹ Men and Ghosts, by Edith Wharton.

² The cross-correspondence is here summarized. See below, pp. 335 ff., for the scripts and full comments.

³The reader may not assent to my view as to the correspondence between the scripts; but, in any case, it is certain that I noted my own impression on seeing my daughter's script, as "c.c. on stringed instrument." I made no attempt to connect it with anything else. It is, however, to be remembered that my part of this crosscorrespondence was produced on the "Wednesday" on which I was told, in the script of October 3, 1910, to write "for a good message."

On Jan. 27, 1911, I had an opportunity of looking for "Gautier's axiom," in which I expected to find a comparison or contrast between the rose and the laurel. Mrs. Wharton's sentence runs as follows: "He had but one idea in his beautiful obstinate head. He wanted the laurel and not the rose, and he kept on repeating Gautier's axiom and battering... at his limp prose." The allusion is unmistakably to the following lines, contained in the first poem of Gautier's first volume:

"Ce qui charme s'en va, cc qui fait peine reste,

La rose vit une heure, et le cyprès cent ans."

In his preface to the volume, Gautier expounds the views condensed into the couplet above quoted,—his admiration for the beautiful and his conviction of its evanescence. The motto at the head of this poem is a quotation from Malherbe's famous lines on the death of his friend's child, thus : "Ce monde où les meilleures choses ont le pire destin." The name of the poem is "*Méditation*."

Here, therefore, we have a poem of Gautier-

(1) characteristic of the author,

(2) closely associated with the topic of "La vie est brève,"

(3) bearing a title—*Méditation*—a word emphasized by the repetition in my script (Oct. 3, 4, 10, 1910) of the word, which had been mentioned in Mrs. Piper's trance (July 8, 16, 1910) as a subject for cross-correspondence.

These facts naturally struck me, and having thus found a connexion between the M. V. "Meditation" (Oct. 3, 4, and 10) and Gauticr, I looked back at the intervening script (Oct. 5) to see if it also were connected with the subject. I then noted that this script, already emphasized by forming part of a cross-correspondence, contained the words "toute la lyre," which are the title of a volume of Victor Hugo.¹

¹I had not noticed this before. My note runs: "Jan. 27, 1911. Toute la lyre is the name of a vol. of V. Hugo, I think."

On Jan. 28, 1911, I went to the University Library to see whether anything in Victor Hugo's *Toute la Lyre* threw light on the script. The volume was not one of those known to me, but I had looked through it, as above described, in search of the lines "La vie est brève," in April or May 1910. I now found in it two poems of interest in the present connexion, thus: (1) The last poem of Book IV., dated "Le Jour des Morts, 1872"—the year of Gautier's death—is addressed "à Théophile Gautier." It describes the early friendship of the two poets, dwells on the old age of the present writer ¹—

"Moi, blanchi par les jours sur ma tête neigeant,

Je me souviens des temps écoulés,..."

and recalls Gautier's preface and his poem "Méditation" by allusions to his search for the beautiful.

"Va chercher le vrai, toi qui sus trouver le beau."

(2) In the sixteenth poem of Book III., called "Epitaphes d'Enfants," the ending of a child's short life is regarded as a subject not of regret but of rejoicing, thus exactly reversing the sentiment of Gautier. Gautier laments the evanescence of the beautiful, which perishes like a rose, or the child of Malherbe's lines:

"Ce qui charme s'en va, ce qui fait peine reste,

La rose vit une heure, et le eyprès cent ans."

Hugo, on the contrary, envies the brevity of the child's life:

"Enfant, que je te porte envie! Ta barque neuve échoue au port; Qu'as tu donc fait pour que ta vie Ait sitôt mérité la mort?"

Thus, following the hints of "meditation" (in M. V. script of Oct. 3, 4, and 10) and of "toute la lyre" (M. V. script of Oct. 5), we have arrived at poems by Hugo and Gautier, characteristic of their respective authors and dealing with the emptiness and brevity of life. Hereby a meaning is given to the remarks of H. V. script of March 16, 1908, which, after quoting the stanza

¹Cf. M. V. script: "The minstrel was infirm and old." *Toute la Lyre*, Hugo's final volume, might be described, not indeed as the Lay of the Last Minstrel, but as the Minstrel's Last Lay.

beginning "La vie est brève," says that "Gautier and Hugo" are "types to be compared."

Moreover, an explanation is now forthcoming for the choice of the word "rose" to serve as a second link in the crosscorrespondence on the two-stanza poem, "La vie est brève," between the H. V. and Mac scripts. The introduction of a second topic, not associated with either stanza of the French poem, is strong evidence, as I noted in my paper on the subject (Proc. Vol. XXIV. p. 299), that the correspondence on the French poem is not accidental. Still stronger evidence of design is now furnished by the identification of the poem of Gautier, which, according to the H. V. script of March 16, 1908, presented a type for comparison with Hugo. For Gauticr's poem, based on Malherbc's lines, chooses as a type of the evanescence of beauty the short-lived "rose," and this gives point to the introduction of a "rose" in the H. V. script. The choice of a rose to combine with each stanza of the French poem as topics for transmission is, as I recognised Proc. Vol. XXIV. p. 297), not inappropriate, and might, for instance, be accounted for by a familiarity with Malherbe's poem on the death of his friend's little daughter:

> "Et rose, elle a vécu ce qui vivent les roses, L'espace d'un matin."

I did, indeed, detect and note at the time references to Malherbe's lines in the Mac scripts; thus,¹ on July 21, 1908, "why did the rose fall so young and fresh—" and on July 26, 1908, "alas for the faded faded petals—hélas elle est morte dans sa jeunesse quand tout est frais et nouveau."

But it requires a knowledge not of Malherbe but of Gautier to see the appropriateness of introducing Gautier's name into the H. V. script of March 16, 1908, with its "brevity of life" and its "rose"; and it takes a knowledge both of Gautier and of Hugo to suggest in the same connexion that those types should be compared. That knowledge neither my daughter nor I possessed at the time when her script was written.² I have acquired it since by following up hints

¹The scripts are quoted in *Proc.* Vol. XXIV. pp. 308, 309.

²That is perhaps recognised in the remark about the lack of opportunity, unless there were a possibility of putting the two side by side; it was long before such an opportunity occurred.

given in script. It is, of course, possible—though I do not myself accept as sufficient such an explanation,—that the hints suggested by the words in my own script, "Meditation" and "toute la lyre," were due to subliminal memory of what I had seen in turning over the pages of Gautier and Hugo, after I was acquainted with the H. V. script of March 16, 1908. But my subliminal memory does not account for the choice, as a subject for transmission to other automatists, of the word "Meditation" in Mrs. Piper's sittings of July 1910 —before the appearance of the word in my script—nor for the cross-correspondence between M. V. and H. V. script, which drew my attention to the words "toute la lyre." And I am as certain as I can be of anything, that in March 1908, neither my daughter nor I had any knowledge whatever:

(a) of Gautier's Méditation;

(b) of Hugo's *Epitaphes d'Enfants* or of any poem in *Toute* la Lyre;

(c) of any reason why a comparison of the types of Hugo and Gautier should throw light on the conjunction of a rose with the last stanza of a poem commemorating the emptiness and brevity of life.

To make the dates and sequence of incidents clear to the reader, I append a chronological table, showing the chief incidents.

(1) March 16, 1908.	H. V.	La vie est brève; rose; Gautier and Hugo to be compared.
(2) July 27, 1908.	Mac.	Vain is life; rose.
(3) Sept. 26, 1908.		Mrs. Verrall receives Mac script and notes cross- correspondence on "La vie, etc."
(4) Dec. 1908.		Mrs. Verrall, accepting Hugo's authorship of "La vie, etc.," fails to find comparable poem by Gautier.

[PART

(5) April, 1910.		Proceedings, Part LX. (Vol. XXIV.), issued from printers, with account of cross-correspondence on "La vie, etc."
(6) May, 1910.		Mrs. Verrall, hearing that "La vie, etc.," is not by Hugo, looks through all Hugo's poems.
(7) July 8, 1910.	Piper.	Meditation.
(8) July 16, 1910.	Piper.	Meditation.
(9) Sept. 22, 1910.		Mrs. Verrall sees records of Piper sittings in July 1910.
(10) Oct. 3, 1910.	M. V.	Meditation.
(11) Oct. 4, 1910.	M. V.	Meditation
(12) Oct. 5, 1910.	M. V.	Toute la lyre.
(13) Oct. 6, 1910.	H. V.	Dulcimer.
(14) Oct. 10, 1910.	M. V.	Meditation.
(15) Jan. 7, 1911.		Mrs. Verrall notes refer- ence by Mrs. Wharton to Gautier's axiom con- nected with "rose" and "laurel."
(16) Jan. 21, 1911.		Mrs. Verrall sees H. V. script of Oct. 6, 1910, and notes cross-corre- spondence on "stringed instrument."
(17) Jan. 27, 1911.		Mrs. Verrall finds Gautier's <i>Méditation</i> .
(18) Jan. 28, 1911.		Mrs. Verrall finds <i>Epi-</i> taphes d'Enfants and a poem to Gautier in Hugo's <i>Toute la Lyre</i> .

APPENDIX A.

"MEDITATION" IN MRS. PIPER'S SITTINGS.

The following extracts from Mrs. Piper's sittings of July 8 and July 16, 1910, show how the word "Meditation" was there introduced:

Extract from Sitting of July 8, 1910. Sitters, Lady Lodge and Sir Oliver Lodge, the latter taking notes: contemporary notes are in round brackets, later additions in square brackets.

(Waking-stage.)

Myers. Meditation.

(Very faint. Then she began to whisper a poem fast and lowtoo low to hear properly. All I could record was this.)

> , meditation sleeping dead Laurels round . ever grow.

Meditation links it. (These words were said at end of stanza as a sort of explanation. The stanza sounded quite like poetry, but it was whispered very fast. I said "Could Myers repeat it again," on which it seemed to be repeated, and this time all I got down was this.)

> Churchyard tree walked with gorgeous feet about the sleeping dead. Meditation links it Life open peace completes the semblance.

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

Extract from Sitting of July 16, 1910. Sitters, Miss Johnson and Sir Oliver Lodge, the latter taking notes.

(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 (O. J. L. in reading mis-read the word before "feet.") Cautious he *said* Got it ? Cautious.

O. J. L. Yes I see, cautious feet.

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.

[This must be an instance of an accepted but erroneous suggestion.—O. J. L.]

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 [This is certainly incorrectly deciphered.—O. J. L.] (O. J. L. tried to repeat this, emphasizing Helen.) Yes V Got it? O. J. L. No, I haven't.

> Helen V Wait for it wait for it

O. J. L. Yes, yes.

What precisely was the intention of the above, I feel unable to determine, but note the following points:

(a) Meditation, on July S, emerges as from Myers_P and is, on July 16, referred to as from him by $Hodgson_P$.

(b) Meditation is repeatedly said (twice on July 8, and again on July 16) to "link" something; it will play a part.

(c) Meditation was at first supposed by Sir O. Lodge to be the title of a poem; his note of July 13, 1910, gives a list of poets in whose works he had failed to find a poem called *Meditation*. After Hodgson_P has learnt that no poem called *Meditation* has been found, he says that the word will play a part and accepts the suggestion that he means a cross-correspondence. This suggestion is not spontaneous.

(d) The fragmentary lines of July 8, completed on July 16, have not been identified, nor have they been found in any other automatic script.

(c) "Elegy" is given twice as a clue to the identification of the poem; the sitter's suggestion that Gray's Elegy is intended is accepted, but erroneously.

(f) The poem in question is said not to be one by Frederic Myers.

(g) The last two lines of the poem are emphasized as a subject for transmission.

Possible points of contact with the *Méditation* of Gautier are to be found in (b), (c), (c), (g). Gautier's poem called

Méditation, and described by him as an Elegy,¹ does "link" or "connect" parts, otherwise unconnected, in the H.V. script of March 16, 1908, and the important lines of Gautier's poem are the last two, which allude to Malherbe's poem, and introduce the rose and the characteristic "axiom."

"Ce qui charme s'en va, ce qui fait peine reste, La rose vit une heure, et le cyprès cent ans."

It has been suggested to me that the "Churchyard tree" of Mrs. Piper's waking stage (July 8, 1910) may be an attempt to represent Gautier's cypress, a tree evidently selected by him for its associations with places of burial. This suggestion perhaps receives some support from the parallelism which is thus presented between

(a) the substitution in Mrs. Piper's trance of "Churchyard tree" for "Laurels," and

(b) the expectation in my mind that the axiom would concern a rose and a *laurel*, whereas in fact it concerns a rose and a *cypress*.

This expectation was derived, in my ignorance of the poem, from my reading of Mrs. Wharton's book, and is due solely to the form of her sentence, not to any statement of hers. The "laurel" of immortality is preferred by the personage in her story to the fleeting beauty of the "rose." I read this story for the first time in January 1911, soon after the publication of the book. If therefore the parallelism with Mrs. Piper is other than accidental, its explanation must be found elsewhere than in my mental activity, whether consciously or unconsciously exercised. The association in my mind between "cypress" and "laurel," in connexion with "Meditation," demonstrably came into existence only in January 1911, and not earlier, and cannot therefore be held accountable for the combination by Myers_p, six months before, of "Mcditation" with "Laurels" and "Churchyard tree."

 $^1{\rm Gautier}$ divides his early poems into "Elégies," and "Paysages," and *Méditation* is numbered as Elégie xii.

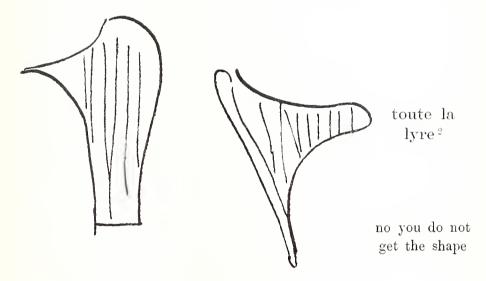
Appendix B.

CROSS-CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN M. V. AND H. V. SCRIPT ON "STRINGED INSTRUMENT."

The scripts, produced independently and within twelve hours of one another, run as follows:

M. V. Script. Oct. 5, 1910. 10.15 p.m. Cambridge.

how often has the tune been played before? then say minstrel the minstrel was infirm and old¹



ap hoel

I do not think you have got the first word at all. What you have is the second group.

Hoel's lays³

That is better.

¹Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel, introduction, 1. 2.

²Name of a volume of Victor Hugo's poems, the last published.

³Confused recollection of Gray's *Bard*, I. 2 (last line): "High born Hoel's harp or soft Llewellyn's lay."

H. V. Script. October 6, 1910. 10 a.m. London.
Aslant lines aslant. I cannot get it clear
a peak of Darien¹ a damsel with a dulcimer²
The lonely road
[Drawing of snake with tail in mouth] thus
Ye have heard with your ears
More later

My daughter and I compared notes on January 21, 1911, as to scripts produced since our last comparison on September 7, 1910. Her script of October 6 was the first obtained by her since we parted. Between the two scripts above quoted there seems a distinct correspondence.

Both allude to a stringed instrument, named in one ease, but not in the other. The "lines aslant" of H. V. script perhaps have some relation to the two drawings in M. V. seript, both of which show "lines," though not "aslant," and evidently represent some stringed instrument, said not to be satisfactorily executed, and not to give "the shape" wanted. Clearly neither represents a lyre. A dulcimer is, it appears,³ an irregularly shaped four-sided wooden instrument over which are stretched metal strings. The first drawing might represent strings stretched over solid wood; the second clearly shows a frame on the left-hand side and so approximates to a harp. Taking together the two drawings and the explanatory phrase written beside them, "toute la lyre," I am disposed to think that the intention was to represent not a particular musical instrument, but the general idea of stringed instruments.

Not only is there, as I think, a correspondence between these scripts on a "stringed instrument," but also on Scott's poem, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel.* M. V. script has the word "Minstrel," quotes the second line of the poem, and ends with the word "lays." Here, then, the reference to Scott's poem is explicit. H. V. script, with its "the lonely road," suggests a reference to two passages in the poem,

¹Keats, Sonnet on first looking into Chapman's Homer.

²Coleridge, Kubla Khan.

³Neither my daughter nor I had any precise idea of a dulcimer, other than that it was a stringed instrument. namely, the first line, "The way was long," and, more definitely, the second and third lines of the final verses:

"And did he wander forth alone? Alone in indigence and age."

I have no explanation to offer of the words "a peak of Darien" in H. V. script. The phrase was known by my daughter as a quotation from Keats's Sonnet. She had no other associations with it, and did not know of its application to S.P.R. cases¹ until I told her of it, on January 21, 1911.

The snake in H. V. script, taken together with the following words, suggested to us "the deaf adder" that stoppeth her ears, and may probably be taken to mean that the intention of the script, though stated, has not been understood.

There is no indication in either script of cross-correspondence with any other automatist. But the paragraph in M. V. script about the "second group" suggests that the important point of the script, whatever that point may be, was to be the second of two phrases. In this connexion it should be noted that the M. V. script was produced on a day (Oct. 5, 1910) appointed two days beforehand in M. V. script (Oct. 3, 1910) thus: "Write to-morrow and again for a good message on Wednesday." If I am right in considering that the common topic of M. V. script of October 5 and of H. V. script of October 6 indicates the second of two associated phrases, it would be reasonable to look to M. V. script of October 3, 1910, for the first phrase.

¹See Sir O. Lodge's paper on Mrs. Willett's script above, p. 141. My daughter had not read proofs of his paper.

VI.

THE HYPNOIDAL STATE OF SIDIS.

By T. W. MITCHELL, M.D.

OUR knowledge of the efficacy of suggestion in the treatment of morbid conditions is apt to bias our judgment in regard to the value of other psychotherapeutic measures and in regard to the interpretation of the results obtained by the employment of such measures. We know how powerful and how far reaching is its action, we know how subtle and indirect may be its use, we know so well the difficulty of eliminating its possible influence in every form of treatment whatsoever, that we may be inclined to aseribe to its virtues results that are in part at least dependent upon other factors. And although it is probable that the importance of suggestion in the domain of psychotherapy can never be gainsaid, and that the increased suggestibility brought about by the induction of hypnosis cannot be denied, yet we are bound to examine any mode of psychic treatment that is put forward by responsible men, and to appraise without prejudice the theoretical considerations advanced by them in explanation of their results.

We know the efficacy of suggestion, and we know it is a good rule of method not unnecessarily to multiply our causes; but we also know that no scientific dictum has been more productive of advance in knowledge than that which tells us to examine our residues. The history of Science affords us many instances in which the neglect of residual phenomena in experimental research has led to the overlooking of important facts, and prevented investigators from making discoveries which, had they paid due attention to their residues, they could hardly have missed. The great chemist Cavendish probably missed the discovery of Argon because in his estimate of the nitrogen of the air he neglected a residue which his experiments showed him could not be more than 1-120th part of the whole. More than a hundred years afterwards this residue was accounted for by the discovery of Argon.

Now in the history of psychotherapy, from its earliest beginnings down to our own time, we find many cases where the circumstances under which curative results have been obtained render it difficult for us to range these results under the category of the therapeutics of suggestion. The mesmeric operator, by a prolonged series of passes, induced a trance condition which in itself appears to have had a curative influence. In other instances benefit was obtained when no evidence of the mesmeric state was to be found. We try to hypnotize a patient and fail, but while he lies quiescent we give him curative suggestions which seem to be effective. We ask a patient to lie quietly with closed eyes while we murmur therapeutic suggestions in a monotonous voice, and sooner or later he derives great benefit from this process.

Such cases as these may be regarded as the residual phenomena of the therapeutics of suggestion, and just as Cavendish and his successors too readily assumed that all the so-called nitrogen of the air was the same as the nitrogen of nitre, so we may be missing some important truth if we too readily assume that all these therapeutic results are due solely to suggestion. The value of suggestion during hypnosis is well attested, and the possibility of effecting physiological and psychological change by its means is supported by a large amount of experimental evidence. But evidence of this kind is greatly lacking in regard to suggestion without hypnosis, and until it is forthcoming we are justified in receiving with some suspicion accounts of the therapeutic efficacy of suggestion in the waking We seem bound to consider whether some state of state. consciousness intermediate between waking and hypnosis may not be artificially induced and utilized for the purpose of giving therapeutic suggestions. We should also keep open minds in regard to the possible influence of agencies other than suggestion in every form of psychotherapeutic practice.

The scientific investigation of states of consciousness intermediate between waking and hypnosis is a contribution to psychology and psychotherapy which we owe practically to one

man—Dr. Boris Sidis of Brookline. A research into the nature of suggestibility carried out by him some thirteen or fourteen years ago led him to formulate certain laws and conditions of normal and abnormal suggestibility. In order to get suggestibility in the waking state he found that certain conditions have to be complied with. Attention must be fixed, but it must be distracted from the suggestion. There must be monotony of impressions, limitation of voluntary movements, and consequently a limitation of the field of consciousness. He regards hypnosis (abnormal suggestibility) as "a disaggregation of consciousness, a slit, a scar produced in the mind that may extend wider and deeper, ending at last in a total disjunction of the waking, guiding, controlling consciousness from the reflex consciousness." Normal suggestibility he believes to be of a like nature—"it is a cleft in the mind, only here the cleft is not so deep, not so lasting, as it is in hypnosis or in the state of abnormal suggestibility; the split is here but momentary, evanescent, fleeting, disappearing at the very moment of its appearance."¹

According to Sidis there is no suggestibility without disaggregation of consciousness. Suggestion in the waking state is effective only when limitation of the field of consciousness is produced by the conditions under which the suggestion is given. Suggestibility is an attribute of the subconscious, and only when there is a disaggregation of consciousness as a whole is it possible to appeal directly to the subconscious. Now in the treatment of psychopathic disorders we often find it desirable to get into communication with the subconsciousness of our patients, not primarily for the purpose of giving suggestions, but in order that we may discover mental material which has become dissociated from the waking consciousness. So far as I can discover from the writings of Dr. Sidis, it was in order to determine whether certain cases of amnesia were merely disaggregative, and therefore curable, or absolute and incurable, that he first made use of the conditions of normal suggestibility as a means of gaining access to the subconscious for diagnostic or therapeutic purposes. The same end may be obtained by the induction of hypnosis, but hypnosis cannot always be easily induced, and sometimes it is objected

¹ The Psychology of Suggestion (New York, 1906), p. 88.

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to. But "where hypnosis is not practicable, and the subconscious has to be reached, we can effect a disaggregation of consciousness, and thus produce an allied subconscious state by putting the patient under the conditions of normal suggestibility."¹ Sidis maintains that by keeping the patient for a short time under the conditions of normal suggestibility we induce a peculiar mental state which he has named the hypnoidal state. The process by which it is induced he calls hypnoidization.

Many different methods of hypnoidization may be employed, but they all fulfil the main requisites for the production of normal suggestibility, namely, monotony and limitation of voluntary movement. In his work, *The Psychology of Suggestion*, Sidis gives the following account of his original method: "The patient is asked to close his eyes and keep as quiet as possible, without, however, making any special effort to put himself in such a state. He is then asked to attend to some stimulus, such as reading or singing. When the reading is over, the patient, with his eyes still shut, is asked to repeat it, and tell what came into his mind during the reading, during the repetition, or after it. Sometimes, as when the song-stimulus is used, the patient is simply asked to tell the nature of ideas and images that entered into his mind at that time or soon after."²

In his Studies in Psychopathology (1907) he writes: "As modifications of the same method, the patient is asked to fixate his attention on some object, while at the same time listening to the beats of a metronome; the patient's eyes are then closed; he is to keep very quiet, while the metronome or some other monotonous stimulus is kept on going. After some time, when his respirations and pulse are found somewhat lowered, and he declares that he thinks of nothing in particular, he is asked to concentrate his attention on a subject closely relating to the symptoms of the malady or to the submerged subconscious state."³

Writing in 1909 on The Therapeutic Value of the Hypnoidal State, he says: "The procedure of hypnoidization is quite

¹ Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, March 14, 1907, p. 325.

² The Psychology of Suggestion (New York, 1906), p. 224.

³ Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Mar. 14, 1907, p. 325.

simple and may be described as follows. The patient is told to close his eyes and keep very quiet. He is then asked to attend to some monotonous stimulus such as the beats of a metronome, or listen to a continuous note produced by a tuning-fork, or to smell some pleasant odour, or simply to submit himself to a gentle massage in which touch and pressure are of uniform intensity. This should be carried out in a room where it is dark and quiet. Fatigue, physical and mental, especially emotional, is a favourable condition. A prolonged warm bath with relaxation is favourable. A predisposition to sleep is helpful. It is therefore best to make the first attempt at hypnoidization late at night, when the patient is both tired and sleepy. In most cases darkness, quietness, repose, fixation on a bright point and listening to the monotonous buzzing of an inductorium are conditions favourable to the induction of the hypnoidal state, even at the very first attempt."¹

It may be observed that the first description is specially applicable to the investigation of cases of amnesia. The second method described would apply more particularly to the use of hypnoidization as a means of discovering dissociated complexes of a pathogenic nature. In the last description stress is laid on the induction of the hypnoidal state as an end in itself.

By the use of these or similar methods a state of eonsciousness is induced which differs from full waking but is not hypnosis or ordinary sleep. The patient is apparently awake and in possession of all his faculties, but scraps of dissociated memories, which he cannot ordinarily recall, keep rising into consciousness. The whole feeling-tone becomes one of acquiescence and indifference. Pulse and respiration become diminished, but are liable to occasional disturbances. Fluctuations of sensory acutences, sudden apparently unaccountable starts, and a slight tendency to resist any change of posture of limbs or body, without actual catalepsy, may be observed. But the condition is essentially an unstable one and constantly varies in depth. At one moment the patient may be practically in the ordinary waking state, at another he may be on the very brink of hypnosis or of sleep. Yet on the whole it is a state

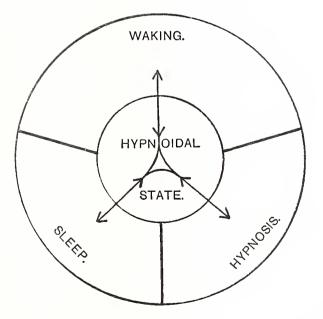
¹ Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Aug. 19, 1909, p. 247.

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of rest and calm. Mental and physical activity are relaxed, emotional excitement becomes stilled, and suggestions meet with little resistance.

The hypnoidal state is an intermediate territory, on the border-land of waking, sleep, and hypnosis. In the course of a valuable experimental study of sleep¹ in man and the lower animals, Sidis discovered that the hypnoidal state is a phase of consciousness which is passed through in every transition from one of these states to another. In passing from the waking state to ordinary sleep or hypnosis, there is always a longer or shorter hypnoidal stage. In the practice of hypnoidization the patient sometimes drops into hypnosis, or he may fall asleep without touching on hypnosis. And so also, in awakening from sleep or from hypnosis, the hypnoidal state has to be passed through. Sidis found that the farther we descend in the scale of animal life, the more important does the hypnoidal state become in relation to bodily rest and recuperation, and he concludes that it is the primitive reststate out of which both sleep and hypnosis have been evolved.



The relation to each other of waking, sleep, hypnosis, and the hypnoidal state may be represented in a diagram in which

¹ Journal of Abnormal Psychology, Apr.-Sept., 1908.

the primitive hypnoidal state is regarded as a nucleus from which the segments of the larger circle, waking, sleep, hypnosis, have arisen. The transition from one of these segments to another can take place only through the central territory with which they each have direct relations.

The spontaneous occurrence of the hypnoidal state in man is as a rule merely a transitory stage in the alternation of waking and sleep. From the point of view of evolution it is a vestige derived from a long race of ancestors, a rudimentary function which has been superseded by the more highly specialized rest-state, sleep. But it can be artificially induced and maintained by the methods which have been described, and it can be utilized with effect in the treatment of psychopathic disorders.

The therapeutic use of the hypnoidal state is a somewhat complex subject, for hypnoidization may be employed merely as an adjunct to other methods or as a curative measure in itself. To understand the claims which Sidis puts forward for it at the present time, we cannot do better than to examine the types of cases in which it has been used by Sidis himself at various stages in the development of his practice of it. The first record of his use of hypnoidization I have been able to find is in the account of the well-known Hanna case, given in full in Multiple Personality by Sidis and Goodhart. This was case of total amnesia, following a severe injury. а The patient, a cultured clergyman, was reduced to the mental condition of a new-born child. All his former acquisitions and memories seemed to have entirely disappeared, and he had to start learning everything again from the beginning. When he was put into the hypnoidal state various fragmentary experiences of his past life emerged into consciousness, demonstrating to his observers that his lost memorics were mercly dissociated and not destroyed. The same method was made use of in other cases of amnesia, and it was found to be of great assistance in effecting the resurrection of dissociated mental material and its reintegration in consciousness.

With the progress of his studies in psychopathology, the reintegration of consciousness became, for Sidis, the aim of all therapeutic endeavour in connection with maladies that are associated with, or produced by, mental dissociation. The LXIII.]

recurrent psycho-motor states of functional psychosis, insistent ideas, imperative concepts, persistent or periodically appearing emotional states, so-called psychic epilepsy and other states of dissociation, all lent themselves to treatment by hypnoidization. By its means the dissociated complexes could be recovered, the psychogenesis of the malady could be traced, a synthesis of consciousness affected, and the patient thereby cured. As his confidence in his method increased, Sidis gradually extended its employment, until at the present time he seems to use it in every kind of disorder in which psychotherapy is indicated. Writing in 1909, he says: "All cases of a psychopathic character admit of treatment by hypnoidization. This, however, is too broad a statement, as the hypnotic state is far more powerful and attains its end in a shorter time than the hypnoidal state. In those cases therefore where hypnosis can be used, it should by all means be employed. There is, however, a far larger number of cases where hypnosis is not quite easy to induce, either on account of the patient himself or on account of unfavourable external circumstances. In such cases, and they form the vast majority of psychopathic cases, the hypnoidal state is of the utmost importance from a diagnostic, psychopathological and therapeutic standpoint."¹ It is thus as a substitute for hypnosis, when the induction of the hypnotic state is for any reason impossible, that Sidis recommends treatment by hypnoidization.

Now, it might be inferred that in using the hypnoidal state as a substitute for hypnosis, we should have to rely mainly upon the *suggestibility* of the state in the one case as in the other. We might suppose that suggestion during the hypnoidal state is the essential part of the treatment. But surprisingly little stress is laid by Sidis on this part of the technique. The most that he says of it is that "the suggestibility of the state, if skilfully handled, is apt to increase the therapeutic efficacy."² Nor is it in its usefulness as a means of enabling us to get into touch with dissociated mental complexes, and thereby to assist in their reintegration in consciousness, that the sole or chief therapeutic value of the hypnoidal state exists. He says, "once the hypnoidal state is

> ¹ Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Aug. 26, 1909, p. 291. ² Ibid. p. 246.

induced by any of the various methods of hypnoidization, we can either attempt to follow up the history and the development of the malady, or we may chiefly work for the therapeutic effect and treat the present symptoms. It is, however, advisable from a purely practical therapeutic purpose to combine the two procedures, as the cure is then far more effective and far more stable. In cases where the history of the origin and development of the disease could not be traced on account of the age or unintelligence of the patient, the therapeutic effects alone of the hypnoidal state have been utilized. The results are not so satisfactory so far as scientific information is concerned, but they are nevertheless of great benefit to the patient."¹

It would appear, then, that Sidis ascribes some special therapeutic virtue to the hypnoidal state, quite apart from the suggestibility which characterises it, and apart also from the assistance which it gives us in tracing the pathogenesis of psychopathic disorders. On what, then, does this special therapeutic virtue depend? According to Sidis, it depends on the fact that through the hypnoidal state access is gained "to the stores of potential subconscious reserve energy, which by a liberation of energy bring about a reassociation and synthesis of the dissociated mental systems underlying the symptoms of the discase. The therapeutic value of the hypnoidal state consists in the liberation of reserve energy requisite for the synthesis of the dissociated systems."²

Before going on to consider this contention, it will be well to examine the practice of hypnoidization in regard to its value as a method of employing suggestion, and as a means of facilitating the recovery of lost or dissociated memories.

If Sidis is right in supposing the hypnoidal state to have curative value in itself, it will be very difficult to determine how much importance we should ascribe to suggestion during the state, even when it is persistently used and relied upon by the physician as the essential therapeutic measure. Sidis gives practically no detailed record of his use of therapeutic suggestion in the hypnoidal state, and other observers who have reported their experience of hypnoidization have done so

¹ Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Ibid. p. 247.

² Journal of Abnormal Psychology, June-July, 1909, p. 155.

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almost exclusively with reference to the recovery of dissociated memories.

Perhaps the best example of the use of suggestion as an exclusive therapeutic measure in the hypnoidal state is to be found in the practice of Dr. Bramwell's method of treatment by suggestion. I think there can be little doubt that by his method of giving suggestions Dr. Bramwell induces in his patients a state of consciousness which is identical with the hypnoidal state of Sidis. But in this mode of treatment there is, besides the suggestions, a prolongation of the hypnoidal state; and if the hypnoidal state in itself has therapeutic virtue, it is manifestly difficult to be sure how much of Dr. Bramwell's good results is due to suggestion and how much to the postulated virtue of the hypnoidal state. If, however, we disregard the supposed virtues of hypnoidization by itself, there is good evidence to show that in some cases valuable results may be obtained by the use of suggestion in the hypnoidal state.

The value of hypnoidization in the resurrection of dissociated memories is that which is perhaps most firmly established. And this applies not only to the restoration of the forgotten experiences of ordinary amnesia, but to the recovery of dissociated memories that are of pathogenic significance. The most striking work that has been donc in this connection is to be found in the publications of Freud and his school on psycho-analysis; but the general principle of the reintegration of dissociated mental complexes as a curative measure in the treatment of the psycho-neuroses has been arrived at independently by several workers. Sidis himself has insistently taught that reassociation of dissociated complexes effects a cure of psychopathic disease.

But although Sidis uses the hypnoidal state for psychoanalytic purposes, in so far as by its means he brings back to consciousness pathogenic experiences that cannot be recalled by ordinary association, he does not believe, as the Freudians do, that this process is in itself curative. He thinks that "the information of the psychogenesis given to the patient is valuable only in so far as by a systematic course of direct and indirect suggestion, by mediate associative and immediate associative suggestion, by substitution, disintegration, and synthesis, both in the waking and hypnoidal states, we help to *transform* the associative course and emotional tone of the patient's mental life."¹

We must remember that Sidis admits that all the lost memories that can be recovered by hypnoidization can be more easily recovered if hypnosis can be induced. The realm of the subconscious laid bare in patches in the hypnoidal state is the same as that which is laid bare in its entirety during hypnosis. But those who are familiar with Freud's views will remember that he deprecates the use of the hypnotic state for purposes of psycho-analysis, on the grounds that whilst in hypnosis the resistances to the emergence of pathogenic memories are lessened in some directions, they are made more intense in others. The region of consciousness laid bare by the induction of hypnosis does not always contain all the pathogenic material whose recovery is necessary, and the psychic force which prevents the emergence of this material into the waking consciousness is at least equally effective in preventing its emergence into the hypnotic consciousness. In my own experience I have found this resistance to be very great in the hypnotic states of patients suffering from the graver forms of hystcria.

If then, in such cases, hypnoidization be no more efficacious than hypnotization, it would seem that Freud's method is the best for the purpose of psycho-analysis; but I think it is possible that in some cases the hypnoidal state may have a superiority over hypnosis in this respect which Sidis does not explicitly claim for it. Indeed, it seems probable that the hypnoidal state may be the best condition of consciousness in which to make use of Freud's technique. Sidis has expressed the opinion that some of Freud's success may be due to the unconscious use of the hypnoidal state, and the conditions under which Freud conducts his analysis render this supposition not improbable.

But in expressing this view Sidis is not referring to Freud's success in conducting the psycho-analysis. He does not mean that by the unconscious use of the hypnoidal state Freud renders easier the discovery of pathogenic complexes. What he means is that Freud by his method of conducting the

¹ Journal of Abnormal Psychology, June-July, 1909, p. 154.

analysis unconsciously induces the hypnoidal state, and that his *therapeutic* success may be due in part to the virtues inherent in the hypnoidal state rather than to the psychoanalysis. This inherent virtue of the hypnoidal state is the most interesting claim made by Sidis in regard to the practice of hypnoidization. In his later writings he insistently maintains that the use of hypnoidization alone, without suggestion or psycho-analysis, is sufficient to cure certain morbid conditions. He bases this claim on the fact that he has found the hypnoidal state effective towards this cnd, and he interprets his results as being due to a release of reserve energy which has been locked up in the inhibited and dissociated systems or complexes.

The principle of reserve energy is based upon a wide generalization of facts, namely, that far less energy is utilized by the individual than is actually at his disposal. In the struggle for existence, those forms of life which have accumulated a store of reserve energy that can be drawn upon in emergencies, have the best chance of survival. The more complex an organism becomes, the greater is its need to avoid reaction to every passing stimulus. Such unrestrained reactions must be inhibited or there will be a wasteful expenditure of energy, which will leave the organism unprepared for occasions of stress in its struggle for life. The inhibitions increase with the growth in complexity of the nervous system, and they are brought about by the multiplicity of associations that are formed in the course of phylogenetic and ontogenetic experience. Nothing so clearly marks off the higher from the lower races of mankind as the amount of inhibition they show in regard to instinctive or immediate response to external stimuli. The inhibitions exercised by civilized man are a consequence of the multiplicity of associations which all his mental complexes have acquired, and it is the increase of inhibitions that has led to that accumulation of reserve energy, ever ready to be called upon in emergencies, which has made him master of the world.

When we weigh the considerations for and against a certain line of conduct, the delay in our response to the stimulus is due to the inhibitions exercised by the manifold of associated complexes that have been aroused to function.

These complexes exercise an inhibitory influence on the complex which has been stimulated. We are familiar in experimental psychology with the notion of a stimulus-threshold, and the effect of an increase of associations is to raise the stimulus-threshold of a complex. A complex that has many associations will not be so readily aroused to function as one that has few.

Now if a complex from any cause becomes dissociated, it drops out of the personal life and cannot be set in action through its ordinary sensory or associative channels. It will then appear as if its stimulus-threshold were very high. But in fact, if we can by any means tap the dissociated complex, its threshold will be found to be very low. And this is what we should expect. Cut off from association with other complexes which were wont to exercise upon it an inhibitory influence, it now reacts to minimal stimuli and manifests itself with great intensity. Freed from the restraining influence of its normal associations, its locked-up energy is expended in wasteful and inappropriate activity. This is well illustrated in attacks of so-called psychic epilepsy and in the psychomotor reactions of other dissociated states.

In a dissociated complex energy is held in reserve which cannot be drawn upon for the requirements of the individual, and if by any means this energy comes to be released, it is expended in ways that are worse than useless as regards the adjustment of the organism to its environment. And even when no dissociation has occurred, the inhibitions exercised by associated complexes may, under certain circumstances, be so great that a complex may be practically cut off from the functional life of the individual, and its reserve energy rendered unavailable. Here the result is due, not to the dissociation of the complex, but to the raising of its threshold so high that normal stimuli are inadequate to arouse it to function. In the one case we have a complex with a very low threshold, functioning only sporadically and excessively because it is dissociated. In the other we have a complex, still functionally related to its associated complexes, but with a stimulus-threshold so high that it cannot be overstepped by the ordinary stimuli of life. In one case energy is stored and then wastefully expended; in the other

case energy is stored, but it is unavailable. In both cases, so long as the dissociation or the inhibitions continue, nervous energy is lost to the individual and his mental and physical life is impoverished.

Now these are the conditions met with in functional psychosis and in the psychoneuroses, and if we can restore the dissociated functions, or break down the inhibitions, we shall liberate the reserve energy of the dissociated and inhibited complexes, re-establish normal associations, and restore the patient to health. Sidis maintains that this end can frequently be obtained by means of the hypnoidal state. In this state there is a lowering and redistribution of thresholds. Access is gained to the reserve energy of dissociated complexes, and the energy so available assists in repairing the breaches of associative continuity. The high thresholds of inhibited complexes are lowered and reserve energy is liberated. "The overacting dissociated systems with their automatic reflex reactions may form associations with other systems and thus become inhibited as well as controlled in their function by the voluntary activity of personal consciousness, while the inhibited systems with their raised thresholds and accumulated reserve energy are set to function."¹ The reintegration of the dissociated and inhibited complexes is accompanied by a new feeling-tone, a fresh emotional energy, which sometimes amounts to a complete transformation of personality.

These are the principal points which seem to claim attention in regard to the hypnoidal state. It is maintained by Sidis that a definite state of consciousness, different from waking, sleep, and hypnosis, is brought about by subjecting the patient to the conditions of normal suggestibility, namely, monotony and limitation of voluntary movement. It is a state in which there is a variable and fluctuating disaggregation of consciousness, whereby a partial and intermittent access to the subconscious may be obtained. The intercourse with the subconscious so established may be utilized for the purpose of giving therapeutic suggestions, or for the recovery of the submerged memories of simple amnesia and for the discovery of dissociated complexes of pathogenic significance. Finally, the hypnoidal state may be employed as

¹Boston Medical and Surgical Journal, Sept. 9, 1909, p. 360.

a therapeutic agency in itself, by virtue of its power of lowering and redistributing the thresholds of inhibiting and inhibited complexes, and so releasing reserve energy which assists in the restoration of normal associations. This, according to Sidis, is its chief therapeutic value, and it is a claim which, if substantiated by the experience of other observers, will entitle the method of hypnoidization to be considered a discovery of the first rank, and a most noteworthy contribution to psychotherapeutics.

I do not desire on this occasion to enter into any critical examination of the views put forward by Sidis in explanation of his therapeutic results. For practical physicians the most important matter at the present time is the fact that such results have been obtained by the use of the methods which Sidis has described in his writings on the hypnoidal state. The whole subject is relatively new, and I do not think we have had sufficient experience of the method to be justified in having very decided views one way or another in regard to its uscfulness. My own experience, so far as it goes, tends to corroborate in every respect the claims put forward by Sidis. I have observed the good effects of the hypnoidal state apart from any other measure, and whether or not his doctrine of the lowering and redistribution of thresholds and the release of reserve energy affords an adequate explanation, I have little doubt that continued treatment by hypnoidization is sometimes of marked benefit in psychopathic disorders.

SUPPLEMENT.

REVIEWS.

An Adventure (Macmillan & Co., St. Martin's Street, London, 1911).

THIS is the title of a book by Miss Morison and Miss Lamont (assumed names) which has been widely read and has made a considerable sensation. It describes a visit to the Petit Trianon on August 10th, 1901, when various people and things were seen which the two ladies afterwards concluded were hallucinatory, and "wondered whether [they] had entered within an act of the Queen's [Marie Antoinette's] memory when alive, and whether this explained [their] curious sensation of being completely shut in and oppressed" (p. 23). What exactly entering into an act of memory is we do not know, but it does not appear to be a dream state, since the authors continue: "What more likely, we thought, than that during those hours in the Hall of Assembly [on August 10th, 1792]...she had gone back in such vivid memory to other Augusts spent at Trianon, that some impress of it was imparted to the place" (pp. 23-4). Besides, the story ends up with a tour of the interior of the Petit Trianon in the company of a solidly real modern French wedding party (pp. 10, 25). If, however, the authors do not mean a dream state by "entering into an act of memory," their theory appears to involve their own bodily transportation through what is now a solid wall (see V., pp. 87-89). A good deal of evidence would be required before a phenomenon of this kind could be accepted as a fact.

However, we need not trouble ourselves about the "act of memory" theory, as it does not seem to us that, on the evidence before us, there is sufficient ground for supposing anything supernormal to have occurred at all. The persons and things seen

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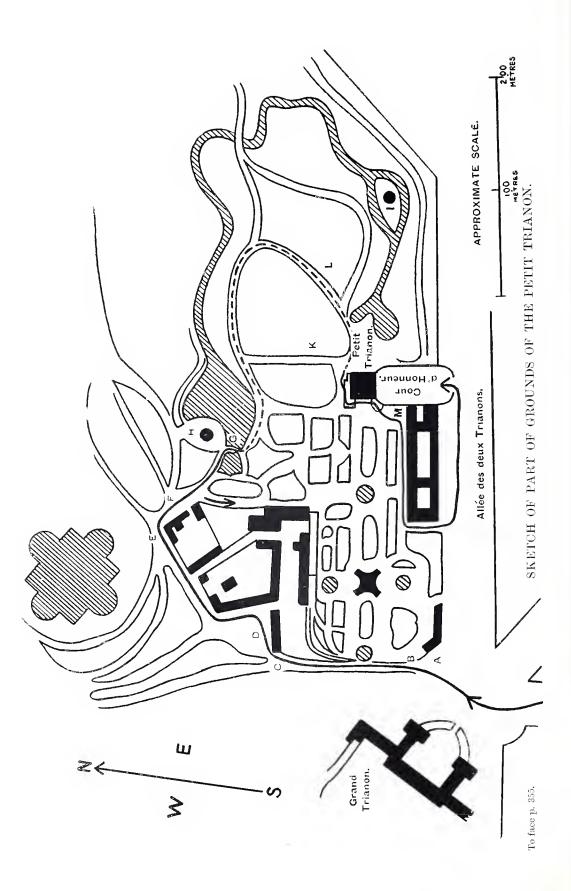
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were, we should judge, the real persons and things the seers supposed them to be at the time, probably decked out by tricks of memory (and after the idea of haunting had occurred to them, pp. 11, 20) with some additional details of costume suitable to the times of Marie Antoinette (p. 24). No detailed account of the experiences was apparently written till three months later, Nov., 1901.¹ and it is unusual to be able to rely on one's memory for details of things seen after even a much shorter interval of time. Vagueness of memory is the more likely to have occurred in this case, as the ladies, who at best do not seem to be very good at topography, were not apparently attending closely to their surroundings; they are eareful to explain that they were talking about England and mutual acquaintances as they walked (pp. 3, 4), and continued their "conversation about other things after every interruption" (p. 102). It may easily be due to this comparative absence of mind at the time that they failed later to recognise the places where they had been. "Not only was there no trace of [the old paths]," says Miss Morison of a visit made three years later. "but the distances were contracted, and all was on a smaller scale than I recollected" (p. 36). This erroneous impression of size about a place new to one, and where one does not know one's way, is a common experience.

It may be worth while to examine the narrative more systematically. We have in the book separate accounts by the two ladies, but these are not strictly independent, as they wrote them after talking their experiences over. Still, the accounts differ in some respects, and, as often happens when two people walk together, they did not always notice the same things. Our friend, M. Sage, who lives at Paris, and has on previous occasions made some investigations for us, kindly walked over the ground with their accounts before him, and sent us, with his comments, plans and pieture post-cards, some of which we reproduce here. The plan we give below is a sketch by M. Sage giving an enlarged representation of a portion of a map of the palaces and gardens of Versailles by M. Mareel Lambert, Architecte des Domaines de Versailles et des Trianons. The line and letters on the plan explain M. Sage's view of the route taken by Miss Morison and Miss Lamont. It should be observed that the plans in their book do not profess to be more than diagrammatic.

¹The papers written then are, we are told, "still in existence" (p. 103). Does this mean that the two narratives at the beginning of the book do not exactly reproduce these papers?





The two ladies having reached—by a route which their description leaves doubtful, but which is unimportant—the intersection of the Allée de la Reine with the Allée des deux Trianons, should have followed the latter in the direction away from the Grand Trianon, and would shortly have arrived at the main entrance of the Petit Trianon. Instead they took the "Chemin Creux," passing on their right the Musée des Voitures (\mathcal{A} , on map), out of a window of which (the dwelling-house of the gardien forms part of it) a woman was shaking a cloth, and on their left the Grand Trianon. They followed the Chemin Creux to C, then turned to the right, passing behind farm-like buildings and eottages, and noticing farm and garden implements (p. 16), probably at D, reached the crest of the rising ground at E, and turned into the garden of the Petit Trianon.

It was here that they began to feel as if they had lost their way, and as if something were wrong (p. 17). "An extraol linary depression had come over" Miss Morison (p. 4). It was the latter part of the afternoon of a hot day spent in sight-seeing, and when they began to realise that they had lost their way a feeling of oppression was perhaps not unnatural. Miss Morison attributed it to fatigue (p. 102), but afterwards thought that the fatigue was the result, not the cause, of the uncomfortable sensations (p. 102), and remembers herself as not at all tired (p. 4). Miss Lamont describes the feeling as eerie, and culminating in an impression of something uncanny (p. 18), but is careful to explain (p. 103) that she "did not mean that she had the least idea at the time that any of the people encountered were unreal or ghostly," and that "this was still more true of the scenery." Nevertheless, remembering this feeling of "dreamy unnatural oppression" (p. 11), a week later, they agreed that the place was haunted (pp. 11, 20).

On entering the garden they saw two men (probably at F, a spot close to the entrance to a gardener's yard, and where M. Sage also found garden labourers at work) whom they describe as dressed in "greyish green coats with small three-cornered hats" (Miss Morison, p. 4), "in official dress greenish in colour" (Miss Lamont, p. 17).¹ This description does not seem to correspond to the dress of either officials or gardeners at Trianon now. The former, M. Sage informs us, wear cocked hats, and the latter have by way of uniform a $k \ell p i$ (the kind of cap French soldiers wear) with a broad red band. This last may possibly have given an impression to Miss Lamont which crystallised into official dress. But whatever

¹ "Greenish" becomes "green" in later references.

the dress was, it seems clear that at the time they took the men for gardeners. "We spoke of them as gardeners," Miss Morison says, "because we remembered a wheelbarrow of some kind and

says, "because we remembered a wheelbarrow of some kind and the look of a pointed spade" (p. 4), and again she speaks of "connecting the sound [of the running man] with the gardeners" (p. 5). In later years they decided that these men probably represented in the "act of memory" two brothers Bersy, attendants on Marie Antoinette, who, research shows, were likely to have been on guard somewhere about that spot in 1789.

They asked these men their way and were told to go straight on. If that meant by the path marked on our plan with an arrow it would have been the shortest way to the entrance of the house from the point F. They, however, appear to have taken it to mean the path towards G—the Rocher bridge. Just before reaching G they would be, as their description requires, at a point where their path ended, being erossed by another. They would then have a kiosk, (the Belvédère, H,¹) in front to their left and a rustic bridge (the Rocher Bridge, G) to their right (see view of these, below, taken from another point).

The ladies do not admit, however, that either the bridge or the kiosk have any resemblance to those they saw, and further conclude from researches made in 1908 and 1907 (pp. 48 and 67) that besides these and not far from them there were in 1789 another kiosk and another rustic bridge, now no longer existing, which may have resembled what they remember. Much stress is laid on these two items as evidence of supernormal vision. It is unfortunate for their theory that neither lady saw more than one kiosk or one bridge in that region on their first visit, nor does Miss Lamont appear to have done so on the subsequent one when she regarded her experience as supernormal (p. 30). (For the diagrams on pp. 53 and 62 do not represent what they saw at any one time, but are only their hypothetical reconstructions of the results of their researches.) That no more kiosks or bridges were seen than now exist goes to confirm our conjecture that it was the existing ones which they saw.

It is true, however, that the descriptions of the kiosk in the book, "A light garden kiosk, circular and like a small bandstand" (in Miss Morison's account, p. 4); or "A building consisting of some columns roofed in" (in Miss Lamont's account, p. 18)—do not correspond well

¹This building, judging from post-eards and map, seems to be ealled indifferently by the names "Belvédère," "Pavillon de Musique," and "Kiosque." to the Belvédère, and are more like the Temple de l'Amour (see illustration). On the other hand, Miss Lamont in January, 1902, went to see the Temple de l'Amour, and decided that it was not the building they had seen in 1901 (p. 26), and on the same occasion took for granted that the Belvédère was that building, "for coming upon it from behind, all the water was hidden from "her (p. 30). Is it possible that they saw both buildings in 1901 and retained a kind of composite mental picture of them? We understand from M. Sage that the Temple de l'Amour (I on the map) is visible from the points—among others—marked K and L on the map, and if the ladies made a *détour* through either of these points in approaching the house, which there is some reason to think they did, they would have had a view of it in front and to the left, which might have merged itself in memory with that of the Belvédère. It must be remembered that the grounds are not large (the distance as the crow flies from the Belvédère to the Temple de l'Amour is only about 300 yards), but they are carefully laid out, and-except in the formal French garden-planted with trees and shrubs so as to give an idea of size and distance and prevent the plan of the grounds from being obvious from any one point. That, in fact, is the meaning of Jardin Anglais (English garden, p. 8).

Near the kiosk sat a man in slouched hat and cloak whose appearance the ladies disliked, and who they afterwards thought might be the Comte de Vaudreuil, well known at the Court of Marie Antoinette.

At the junction of the paths a man ran up to them from behind and directed them to the right as the way to the house. They heard but did not see his approach. This running man may, as Miss Morison at first supposed, have been one of the gardeners they had spoken to, who, observing that they still did not realise the way, pursued them to put them right. This would accord well with his curious smile (pp. 7, 19), for most of us are slightly amused when others lose their way in a place familiar to ourselves. Why, on the other hand, in the "act of memory" a messenger bringing to Marie Antoinette news of the approach of the mob, as they afterwards supposed the man to be, should smile is not explained. The sudden appearance and disappearance of this man is easily accounted for, M. Sage thinks, as the paths are narrow and tortuous and the shrubs thickly planted. Miss Morison speaks of a "rock (or whatever it was) that shut out the view at the junction of the paths" and over or through which she supposes the

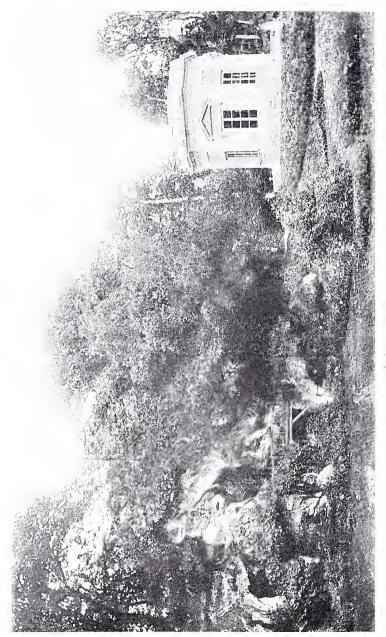
PART

man to have come (pp. 5-6). Neither any mysteriousness in the man's appearance and disappearance, nor any strangeness in his costume seems to have struck the ladies at the moment. It was only a week later, on talking it over, that they "realised for the first time, the theatrieal appearance of the man who spoke to [them], the inappropriateness of the wrapped cloak on a warm summer afternoon, the unaccountableness of his coming and going" (p. 12). His accent puzzled them somewhat. It is suggested, as fitting with the "act of memory," that it may have been Austrian pronunciation of Freneh (p. 22) or Breton (p. 65), but M. Sage remarks "il-y-a de bizarres accents en Seine-et-Oise," and much cannot be based on that.

It is interesting to note that "the rock or whatever it was that shut out the view at the junction of the paths" (pp. 5-6) becomes definitely an "isolated rock standing up as we saw it behind the running man" on p. 71, to correspond with what the authors regard as the aspect of the garden in 1789. On p. 54, "he stood in front of a rock, and seemed to come either over, round, or through it." On p. 113, "he came over and stood with his back against rocks of considerable size piled on one another." It seems rather odd, by the way, that a messenger in a hurry should come over a rock, and very mysterious that he should come through it, unless, indeed, the implication is that the rock was identical with the grotto in which, according to tradition, the Queen sat when the messenger came to her (p. 58). About this grotto we are told (p. 61) that "though a 'ruisseau' passed through it, persons could go freely out at both ends"; but then how could it be at the same time an isolated rock (p. 71) and where was the "ruisseau"?

After the rustic bridge, the way by which the ladies approached the house is too vaguely indicated to be securely traced. M. Sage thinks it most likely that they followed the dotted line (see map). Miss Morison says the "pathway led under trees; it skirted a narrow meadow of long grass, bounded on the further side by trees, and very much overshadowed by trees growing in it. This...shut out the view of the house until we were close to it" (pp. 7–8). Miss Lamont says: "We then followed a narrow path till almost immediately we came upon the English garden front of the Petit Trianon" (pp. 19–20). Near the house Miss Morison saw a lady, unnotieed by Miss Lamont, wearing a pale green fichu and sitting on a seat on the grass. She took her at the time for a tourist (pp. 8, 9), but now supposes it may have been a vision of Marie





THE BELVÉDERE AND ROCHER BRIDGE.



THE TEMPLE DE L'AMOUR AND PETT TRIANON.



Antoinette, who they find possessed in 1789 green bodices and white fichus (p. 75.) A green bodice with a white muslin fichu over it would look greenish. The idea seems to have been suggested by a report heard by Miss Lamont in November, 1901, "that on a certain day in August Marie Antoinette is regularly seen sitting ontside the garden front at the Petit Trianon, with a light flapping hat and a pink dress" (p. 22). This legend, however, they tell us, "is of course ineápable of proof" (p. 74).

The Petit Trianon has terraces on its north and west sides—the west one fitting in architecturally with the French garden. From this terrace the ladies looked over into the Cour d'honneur on the south (the only way into the house for visitors), inaccessible from where they were, and then moved towards one of the long windows, which was unshuttered (p. 9). These movements seem sufficient to suggest to any one watching them that they wished to get into the house and did not know how to proceed, and probably account for a young man politely coming to them and showing them the way round. He "looked inquisitively amused" as he did so (pp. 10, 20), like the running man.

There are, however, two mysterics connected with this man. In the first place the ladies thought he came out of a door which he banged behind him, and four years later (p. 80) identified the building from which he came as the disused chapel (M on the map) from which no openable door on to the terrace has existed for many years. A door now inaccessible from inside once opened on to what is now a small separate terrace or balcony, and they make out to their satisfaction that there was once a connection on a level between this terrace and the one on which they stood. We do not profess to be able to follow their reconstruction of the altered terrace with complete conviction, but assuming them to be right about this, their suggestion is that they were approached by a ghostly man walking along a ghostly terrace. The chapel door in question is only partially visible now from the terrace on which they remember standing, and another door observed by M. Sage about 10 ft. further west and suggested by him as a more plausible alternative is not visible from the terrace at all. On the whole our own suggestion would be that a noise as of a banging door occurred simultaneously with the approach of the man, and suggested to them in recollection that he came through a door.

The other mystery we have already referred to. It is that, as the ladies neither remember walking so far round as is necessary in order to get from the west side of the house to the Court of Honour, nor entering the Avenue des deux Trianons by so narrow a path as the present one, they think they may, in order to reach their destination, have been transported by a roadway that existed through the buildings in Marie Antoinette's time where there is now solid building with no gates (pp. 88, 89)! We may remark that in the incident of "the chapel man" the ladies themselves played in the supposed act of memory the part of intruders observed by the Queen while sitting in front of the house, while in the incident of the running man their part was that of the Queen herself. This, how-

ever, may be what happens in "acts of memory." These are the principal ineidents of the "Adventure." In others there seems even less solid foundation for a supernormal explanation. We ought perhaps to refer to supposed hallueinatory music heard by Miss Lamont on a subsequent visit in 1902, and believed by her to have been of the date of Marie Antoinette-"faint music as of a band, not far off" (p. 29). She ascertained that no band was playing in the grounds for the public benefit on that day. She wrote down from memory about 12 bars, but these are not reproduced in the book, and have not been found consecutively in any music examined. They may of course be so characteristic as to be convincing, but even in that case may have been an appropriate hallueinatory reproduction of Miss Lamont's general recollections of eighteenth century music. On the other hand, a more realistic explanation may be afforded by the faet that a good deal of exercising of soldiers goes on constantly in the neighbourhood of Versailles and the Trianons, and that snatches of military band music might well be heard, M. Sage tells us. It is true that in a later part of the book the sounds are said to be "of a band of violins" (p. 94), but as they were faint and intermittent it seems not impossible that there was some uncertainty about the instruments.

In conclusion, while gladly admitting that Miss Morison and Miss Lamont have produced a very readable book and have taken praiseworthy trouble in looking up historical facts and traditions, we cannot honestly say that they appear to us to have added anything of interest on the positive side of Psychical Research. The foundations on which the supernormal claims of the "Adventure" are built are too slight, and too little allowance is made for the weaknesses of human memory both in adding to and subtracting from facts—weaknesses from which there is no reason to think the writers of this book suffer less than the rest of the world.

LXIII.]

Review.

The Tenth Declamation of (Pseudo-) Quintilian. A Lecture delivered in the Hall of Corpus Christi College on May 11, 1911, by ROBINSON ELLIS, Corpus Professor of Latin Literature. (London and Oxford, Henry Frowde. 1s. net. Pp. 24.)

This last work of the *doyen* of Oxford Latinists may be read with interest and profit by all psychical researchers, for, as the Professor himself points out in his preface, the declamation he has selected for translation "is interesting spiritualistically. I do not suppose that any ghost story has ever been recorded so circumstantially, and this is my chief reason for selecting it." The declamation is a plea supposed to be made on behalf of a mother whose only son had died, but reappeared to her looking well and happy on the night after his cremation, and regularly afterwards, growing more confident and substantial and ultimately materializing completely, embracing her and conversing with her all night. The lady at last got the ghost to promise to appear also to his father, and then told her experience to her husband. The result, however, was different from what she expected. The father "was afraid to see his son" (ch. 6 s.f.), whose return from his tomb he apparently considered quite improper. So he employed a magician to pronounce incantations in order to confine the ghost within the sepulchre, and, to make assurance doubly sure, also closed up the sepulchre with iron clamps. The effect was immediate. The ghost ceased to pay his nightly visit of consolation, and after his third failure, the mother made inquiries, and discovered what had been done. Her indignation was so intense that she brought an action for cruelty (malae tractationis) against her husband. Hence the declamation.

Of course it cannot be inferred that the declamation was suggested by any actual case. But its author shows fine logical acumen and knowledge of human nature. He shows the true spirit of psychical research, and had evidently reflected more than most on the problem of the relation of the living to the departed, while his work is at any rate good evidence of the state of opinion and sentiment at the time. It is astonishing how very modern it all sounds. The whole story might have happened yesterday, except that a modern British father, troubled with a ghost-seeing wife, would either have had the ghost laid by a priestly exorcist, or have appealed to a doctor to certify his wife for admission to an asylum. But no change of times and religious profession has altered the ordinary practical attitude and sentiment towards the *revenant* that won't stay dead. The judges doubtless decided against the mother, and would do so still, and so long as such is the uormal attitude, it is no wonder that the seeds of scientific knowledge which a rare chance scatters are slow to take root in the unpropitious soil of social prejudice.

It is worth noting that the author of the Declamation had a very good notion of psychical evidence. He is careful to note that the phantom could not be ascribed to expectant attention, because "alarm, not grief, was uppermost when the ghost first stepped suddenly before me" (ch. 13), and that the mother only gradually became convinced of its genuine objectivity (ch. 14). He argues strenuously against the supposition that it was a dream or subjective illusion, and traces a growth in confidence and materiality in the apparition itself (ch. 6). He scores good points by emphasizing that the lady had no reason not to expect her son's appearance after the incantation, and that her sentiment was logically far more natural and rational than her husband's, whose psychology, in palliating his dread of the abnormal under the guise of solicitude for his wife's health, he depiets very subtly. He elearly ranks himself among the preeursors of pragmatism by enuneiating the mother's "right of believing" in the more consoling interpretation of her experiences (ch. 13). And, lastly, he very definitely raises two of the chief cruxes about such psychical evidence generally-viz. how is it that in advanced eases, whether spontaneous or experimental (spiritistic), these phantoms seem to 'materialize'? and how is it that apparently fatuous exorcisms seem to be efficacious in laying 'ghosts'? The second of these questions is probably the more urgent of the two for psychical researchers to answer: for they might hope to discover why phantoms materialize if they could only catch them. If, however, 'ghosts' have been rendered thoroughly distrustful by men's instinctive unfriendliness, and shrink from the unsolicited insults of exorcists, it may take the psychical researcher a long time to convince them that he is not merely a modern disguise of the old exorcist, but genuinely appreeiative of a genuine apparition. And then we may possibly eease to encounter uniform failure in our attempts to interview 'ghosts'!

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LXIV.

AUGUST, 1911.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETINGS.

THE 137th General Meeting of the Society was held at Morley Hall, George Street, Hanover Square, London, W., on Tuesday, January 31st, 1911, at 5 p.m., MR. H. ARTHUR SMITH in the Chair.

PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT, F.R.S., read part of the paper on "Poltergeists, Old and New," which is printed below.

The 138th General Meeting was held in the same place on Tuesday, May 16th, 1911, at 5 p.m., the President, Mr. ANDREW LANG, in the Chair.

MR. LANG delivered the Address which is printed below.



I.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Delivered on May 16th, 1911.

BY ANDREW LANG.

SINCE the noble peer who, to the carnal eye, seemed "but a landseape painter" informed the village maiden that he was "Lord of Burleigh; Burleigh House by Stamford town"; no mortal-not even the village maiden-has been so much surprised as I was, when invited to be President of the Society for Psychical Research. This is, indeed, "the burden of an honour unto which I was not born." My illustrious predecessors have been eminent in the most severe sciencesinvolving an extensive knowledge of the mathematics, in the first place; and, in the second, a personal and intimate acquaintance with the natural history of the fugitive molecule, and the shy and retiring ion. Among such distinguished predecessors I may be permitted to mention Professor Barrett, of the Old Guard. We argue glibly, now, for or against "telepathy." The idea of such intercommunication of distant minds, or brains, or both, not through the normal channels of sense, is as familiar to modern savages, "vacant of our glorious gains," as it was to Hegel; and, again, as it is to the untutored Gaelic-speaking Celts of North-Western Scotland. The term "telepathy" we owe to Mr. Myers. But Professor Barrett, as early as 1870, introduced what we now call "telepathy" to the notice of the British Association itself at Glasgow, of all places, and presently he made the earliest experiments of note in "thought-transference" between persons in normal conditions. Our obligations to Professor Barrett do

not end with his introduction of thought-transference to the British Association at Glasgow, which, I fcar, like the Turkish passengers in Thackeray's poem "The White Squall" "thought but little of it."

I can think of no work published under the auspices of the Society which contains more stable evidence of the existence of strange neglected faculties in human nature, than Professor Barrett's two papers on "The So-called Divining Rod." 1 In the five hundred pages of this book, which is not in the least degree sensational, or rhetorical, a book which demanded serious disinterested labour, we really have proof, I think, of some process by which the human intelligence obtains information-marketable, practical information-in ways which are still obscure to psychological science. A faculty which had been dismissed to the limbo of popular superstitions turns out to be a fact, and a serviceable fact. I cannot but regret and condemn the flippancy of my Lord Byron, the poet. His mother-in-law, Lady Milbanke, was a dowser or waterfinder, with the divining rod. On her regretted demise, Lord Byron said that she would find the faculty useful in the place where, according to his teleology, she had gone !

Some of my predecessors in this Chair have been distinguished moral philosophers; others have been statesmen; others metaphysicians; others have been psychologists, learned in the mechanism of the brain and the nerves.

One was a poet with a note of his own, unique and unmistakable, the differentia of a poet; he was a keen and gracious literary critic too; a scholar, whom I first knew in the merits of his Latin verse; in fact was universally gifted. He, over and above all this, was a humourist. Yet he turned away, in seeking an aim for his energy, from all these things, and devoted himself to Psychical Research. He studied the *arcana* of body and mind; he made himself an authority about hypnotism—recognised as such by the authoritative; he was the Founder, it may be said, and the inspirer of modern Psychical Research, and, happy in his friends, he was accompanied by others who could temper, by a sagacious and humorous scepticism, the enthusiasm of his nature. That poetic enthusiasm, however, was indeed bridled in him, as I have

¹Proceedings, Vol. XIII., pp. 2-282; Vol. XV., pp. 130-383.

already suggested, by a gift extremely rare among the earnest, of a keen sense of humour, an exquisite irony.

No Society with aims like ours, not, indeed, novel, but new in our age, could be more fortunate than ours was in the leadership of that group; of Mr. Henry Sidgwiek, Mr. Edmund Gurney, Professor Barrett, Mr. Frederie Myers, and latest lost, Mr. Podmore, whose mission was to throw eold water on too sanguine brethren. In our other Presidents we have been happy enough to possess men of the highest intelligenee in the most varied fields of life and action; while, in the only lady who has presided over us, we recognise the patience and open mind of Seienee, truly so called, with the resolute fairness and absence of bias, and, if I may use a term not really frivolous, with the sportsmanlike quality—which is far from being universally present even in seientifie historians; and even in leaders of physical seienee.

On this matter of fairness much is to be said: for the peeuliarity of many of our honourable adversaries is that they believe us to have a bias, and themselves to have none. Now every thinking and rational being is, naturally, of bias and prejudiee all compact. The essential mark of the scientific temperament is to know that bias we *all* have, and to guard against it. Monsieur Charles Riehet states the ease well in our *Proceedings* (Vol. V., p. 22). "There *is* such a thing as good faith, perfect, stainless, absolute; but we almost never meet it, and should not even expect it in ourselves. Strive as we may, we are always led on, more or less, to give a coup de pouce, that is, to press our conclusions in the direction which we prefer. We may resist the temptation; but that is unavailing, for, if we do, we press too hard in the opposite direction, which is just as bad and dangerous."

Exactly; but not as dangerous to *ourselves*. In such delieate equilibrium let us tip the balance *against* our desires. We may be wrong, either way, but if we give that little touch, that *eoup de pouee*, against our inclinations, at least our eonseiences are clear. Besides not much ean be lost to the eause of knowledge by the tiny tip of the balance against our inclinations. If we have no evidence so firm that it eannot keep its equilibrium against a mere *coup de pouce*, then our evidence is almost *négligeable*. Indeed it is true that the subjects which we study are extremely evasive; like tricksy *follets* which play at hide and seek with us. But this is not a peculiarity of our topics alone. How often does it happen that, in history, we *almost* lay our hands on the truth, but are disappointed by a mutilated document! In the study of Homer and his age, we are baulked by the spoliation of ancient burial cairns, and by a blank in an important passage of Diogenes Laertius. The fairies have spirited away the essential words; "the *Irruntarinia* have taken them," as the natives of Central Australia say—but we pursue our studies, historical and archæological; and in psychical research, in spite of all the evasions of the truth for which we seek, we should not be more easily daunted than in history and archæology.

It is in no conventional humility that I recognise my too patent inferiority to each and every one of the former Presidents of our Society, and to many of its actual members, whom I would gladly see in my place. Not only am I ignorant of physiology and experimental psychology, but I have only once, by accident, seen a person under hypnotic influence, and I never but once was in the same room with a professional medium,—a famous medium she was,—but a complete failure on that occasion ! I have lately been taxed by the author of a book on our subject (a book which I happened to review) with my "aristocratic" aversion (he called it "aristocratic") to paid mediums. But surely the reasons for my sentiment are conspicuous enough. If there be such faculties as telepathy, premonition, clairvoyance, and the powers of holding intercourse with the dead, and summoning them up in material form, we have good reason to think that such faculties cannot be turned on at will, punctually, for money down. As *The Scholar-Gipsy* says :

"It needs heaven-sent moments for this skill."

Consequently the punctual paid medium, being human, and earning a livelihood by his or her alleged faculty for making tables float in air, or jump about the room, is tempted to cheat, and gets caught by the ankle, like Eusapia, where her ankle should not be. Our records abound in examples of the detection and exposure of paid mediums, to whom the most honourable amateur medium must speak in the words of the poet:

"Said Fanny, though tears it may cost, I think we must part, my dear Sue, For *your* character's totally lost, And I have not sufficient for two."

The most honourable people who have had what they think supernormal experience are subject to illusions of memory, and the temptation to give that tiny *coup dc pouce*. We must be most carefully watchful of ourselves and of each other: while of the paid medium I wish that we could steer clear altogether. We would never be trysted with a paid medium if I had my way. I have therefore never resorted, for scientific or other purposes, "to them that mutter and peep," professionally. My qualities, in this field of study, are first, I venture to think, a fixed desire to be sportsmanlike—"at least as far as I am able" and, in the second place, familiarity with the historical, the folk-lorish, and the anthropological aspects of the topics which we study.

These aspects do not greatly interest the Society, for what the Society desires is "modern instances," fresh evidence from just persons ready to submit to cross-examination. But in my own mind the enormous volume of historical and anthropological reports of supernormal phenomena, and their striking uniformity with alleged modern experiences, produces the conviction that so much smoke can only be explained by the existence of some fire. I must not speak of the psychical experiences of savages; these, for want of contemporary records duly attested, are illustrative, not evidential. Nor must I, for the same reason, dilate on the strange stories of the psychical experiences of men of genius. This is a most curious theme. Among such cases, in various degrees, I have observed those of the wraith of Byron, seen by Sir Robert Peel; of incidents in the lives of George Sand, Goethe, Dickens, Thackeray, Lord Nelson, Dr. Donne, Shelley; the last words of de Quincey-a most pathetic story;-the experiences of Sir Walter Scott; and-not in the supernormal exactly, but in the "subliminal" way—a record, from his own pen, of the Duke of Wellington. But this is "the blue smoke" of literature; and of history, you will say. Still, with this blue smoke there is some fire, as the cause thereof. The Duke of Wellington, in a private letter of his, published in Sir Herbert Maxwell's *Life* of that great man, could not guess that he was playing into the hands of Mr. Myers's theory of the Subliminal Self, and Mr. Myers obviously never read the letter.

To be fair is the first thing of all, and I dare to say that the Society has been fair. It is not in human nature not to make mistakes, and never to be inclined to accept evidence which examination proves to be erroneous; never to indulge in hypotheses which criticism demonstrates to be worthless. But when the Society has been deceived, it has not concealed the fact, and, as to hypotheses, as a Society we have none. The Society, as such, has no views, no beliefs, no hypotheses, except perhaps the opinion that there is an open field of inquiry; that not all the faculties and potentialities of man have been studied and explained, up to date, in terms of nerve and brain. Now this opinion is also, I presume, entertained by the most stalwart and emancipated "rationalists." Their belief, however, I suppose, is that everything in human nature can be, and probably will be, explained on terms, chemical and biological, satisfactory to themselves. The members of the Society, as a rule, perhaps, though not necessarily, are not absolutely sure of that: perhaps there are other things to be discovered, though what these other things may be, at present we know not. This mere conception of the possibility of the existence of faculties not readily to be explained in terms of what, in the airy currency of speech, we call "matter," is, I think, that in the Society which irritates so many people. If other members of the Society agree with me in the hope (in my own case the belief) that many orthodox theories of all kinds are apt to be upset in the course of time, that new fields of knowledge are perhaps to be annexed, our attitude may, doubtless, be called Romantic. Yet in other fields I have seen my early romantic aspirations made actual; I have seen a vast region of the historic past, in which from boyhood I fervently believed, thrown open by the spade of the excavator. I have seen Homer's "golden Mycenae" and "Crete of the Hundred Cities" won from the realm of dreams by Dr. Schliemann, and by Mr. Arthur Evans, and their followers.

Therefore I may not live to see, but I hope that later generations will see, certain world-old world-wide beliefs find scientific recognition. Hegel believed in almost all the "supernormal" phenomena which we, not necessarily believing in them, have the audacity to study: and the brain of Hegel was not, as Mr. Carlyle said of Mr. Keble's, "the brain of a rabbit."

I spoke of my desire to be fair, and in my desire to be fair I have deliberately exhibited my bias, my romantic prepossessions. I would, as a matter of taste, prefer certain facts to be established, rather than not. I would even welcome with pleasure an indisputable Poltergeist; not that I think him a desirable inmate of the universe-far from it. When I say Poltergeist, I mean an authenticated instance of the queer disturbances and movements of objects, of which history is so Thus in a very early Life of St. Dunstan we find that, full. as a boy, he was a Somnambule, in mature life was a centre of flying and falling stones, and, before death, was bodily levitated, bed and all, before the eyes of the bewildered monks. These are not saintly miracles. Men would rather conceal than invent them about a holy man, and they are parallel in character to those modern instances on which Mr. Barrett lately read a paper, and to Claire Claremont's case, as given in the journals of herself and Shelley. In short I am not certain that this kind of thing never occurs. But to suggest to little poltergeistish boys, by a gentle correction, that they should not be mediums, appears a sagacious measure. I have lived to see many so-called scientific certainties proved to be fleeting phantasms of hypothesis, and more of them, I think, will go by the primrose path to the gulf and grave of Lachmann-and other learned persons! But these expressions of bias are only made in a spirit of fairness, and I must not, dare not, say that the scientifically orthodox would rather prefer that there were no Poltergeist; even nothing corresponding to what we call "Telepathy." The orthodox believe themselves, I am aware, to be wholly destitute of bias and prejudice,—and surely they ought to know! But were I to think myself destitute of bias, I would be mournfully bereft of humour; and, were I to conceal the circumstance. I would be equally devoid of honour.

None the less, I do not, at present, believe in a *Poltergeist*: in fact, for the moment, you have a sceptical President, who gives the *coup de pouce* against his inclinations. Other prejudices possess me which I shall later divulge. As they are on the sceptical side, perhaps they ought not to be called "prejudices," but "the intuitive monitions of stalwart commonsense, and genuine inductive science." (I have always heard that Inductive science is "true and tender," and Deductive science "an old offender.")

Meanwhile, though entirely destitute of hostile bias, our critics are, certainly, a little careless and inaccurate. Perhaps this error springs from a strong consciousness of intellectual superiority. They should remember that their native genius can scarcely be superior to that of the great Napoleon, who fell, to the regret of the Whig party, and of Lord Byron, and Mr. Hazlitt, by plunging into wintry Russia without waiting for the arrival of his supplies, and without even providing instruments calculated to prevent his cavalry from slipping about on the frozen roads. With the same Napoleonic confidence in their own intellectual superiority, our adversaries criticise us without taking the trouble to read what we have written; or even to re-read what they have written themselves. This negligence can only arise from their sense of intellectual Thus a friend of my own, whom I do not name, greatness. was criticising the Society's Census of Hallucinations. "Thousands of persons," he wrote, "were asked whether they had ever seen apparitions, and out of these people some hundreds, mostly intelligent foreigners, replied in the affirmative." There was no truth in these assertions! Of the persons who answered the questions (which, of course, did not ask "whether they had seen apparitions") in the affirmative, 1499 were of British birth, 185 were not, and, of course, were therefore "unintelligent." "For all that I can see, foreigners is fools." I had vainly warned my scientific friend that his statistics, as to the proportions of British subjects and undesirable aliens, were incorrect. Confident in his intellectual superiority, he rushed, like Napoleon, on his doom, and published his fantastic statistics. I might also mention a foreign critic, foreign but not unintelligent, Herr Dr. Parish, author of a popular work, Hallucinations and Illusions. He, too, criticised the Society's

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Census of Hallucinations. He got rid of the phenomena by misstating the facts in the report under his eyes, and by then explaining away stories which, as he gave them, were of his own unconscious manufacture. He also accused the reporters of not taking the very precautions which they did take and especially emphasised !

Again, Dr. Pierre Janet (foreign, I admit, but intelligent), in his work, *Les Névroses et les Idées Fixes* (1898), made much use of Miss Goodrich Freer's valuable paper on "Crystal Gazing" in the Society's *Proceedings*. But he attributed this lady's experiences not to herself, but, now to "a young girl," now to "a poor seeress," now to "a rather mystic person." He then triumphantly explained the experiences—by the theory which Miss Goodrich Freer had herself advanced in the vast majority of cases, namely, by the revival of memories—but he did this without saying that the lady had anticipated him.¹

This kind of criticism "is not cricket," perhaps; but nobody is ever consciously unfair. We are all only subject to the hallucinations of our bias, to Bacon's "spectres of the cave" (idola specus), and men of science, like Sir David Brewster, have before now given, not the coup de pouce, but the coup de botte, to their own signed and written statements of their own strange experiences. Almost equally painful examples of this error, the error of superior persons in thinking themselves infallible, may be gleaned from a work no older than yesteryear, Studies in Spiritism, by Miss Amy E. Tanner, Ph.D.² Miss Tanner is a Doctor of Philosophy, of what University I know not. On some points I think, against my bias, that she is right in her criticisms, but am open to conviction if she can be proved to be wrong. On her first page she states that "the Psychical Rescarchers" (under correction I suppose her to mean the Society for Psychical Research) "have printed voluminously, persistently calling their work 'scientific,' and maintaining that they have 'proved' certain facts bearing in the most fundamental way upon personal survival after death." "Whereby we have" drawn to ourselves "a large following," and so forth, and so forth. Dr. Tanner must have overlooked, "In the mad pride of intellectuality," as her country's chief

> ¹See my Making of Religion, Appendices A and C. ²Appleton & Co., London and New York, 1910.

poet says, the perpetual protests of the Society that, as a Society, it never expresses any collective opinion. No Society The Folk-Lore Society may publish my theories of does. Totemism. But they also publish those of several benighted members who are so misguided as to reject my views. The British Academy publishes, but is not committed to, the opinions of Mr. Ridgeway as to who the Romans really were,and so on, in every case. If Mr. Feilding and other observers thought that Eusapia did some inexplicable things in their presence, and said so in our Proceedings, other members of our Society arose and said, in the same work, that the performances might be very easily explained by the old familiar tricks. But so superior are our critics that this simple fact—every member may air his own opinions, and the Society has contracted itself out of all responsibility for every opinion-is unknown to our censors. By sheer force of native genius, they may say what they please, quite independent of the simple truth. Not only does the Society abstain from offering any opinion as to the Society's having "proved" certain facts bearing in the most fundamental way upon personal survival after death, or any other facts, but the Society continually publishes the essays of members who maintain, in certain cases, that no such proofs have been produced. A member is very welcome to disprove, if he thinks he can, all evidence even for Telepathy. The members who argue on the negative side, as regards communication with the dead, in the Proceedings of the Society are, I think, more numerous than the members-if any such members exist-who argue in the affirmative: who say that such communications are proved. Of course if our critics say "you should not publish the observations of members with whom we do not agree," of members who take the affirmative side, I understand them, and partly sympathise with them. But, unluckily, the constitution of the Society obliges us to hear all parties, and to side with none.

My own bias, to proceed in the path of confession, curls away from Mrs. Piper and from all professional mediums. A case of abnormal psychology so curious as hers is worthy, indeed, of the study of orthodox psychologists, and I would be the last to complain if our Society left her for three or four years in the hands of *savants* who think, like Dr. Hall, that they might

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succeed in exorcising all her "sub-personalities," all her "communicators," and making her a perfectly normal human being; which she is, apparently, when she does not voluntarily pass into a very curious and enigmatic mental condition. As to the real nature of that condition—as to whether, when apparently entranced, she is acutely conscious—the reports of Dr. Hall and Dr. Tanner are too self-contradictory and too casual to enable me to form any opinion. One cannot even be certain that on all occasions the condition is absolutely the same.

My own opinions are almost identical with the hesitations of the late Professor William James as described by him in the Proceedings. Much more evidence than has been published is needed before I can enter into the way of belief in the identity of Mrs. Piper's "communicators" with the dead men that they profess to be. As at present instructed, I believe in nothing of the sort. In the matter of experiments I prefer to deal with highly-educated British subjects, such as the ladies to whom we are obliged for so many automatic writings. I have read with much interest and some agreement Dr. Tanner's criticisms of what are called "Cross-Correspondences," But criticism of her criticisms in detail I must leave to writers better acquainted than myself with those perplexing documents. At the lowest they illustrate the singular workings of the subconscious mind, especially in the matter of impersonation. T have read, for example, passages in the documents which bring to my ears the very accents of the voice of one of the "communicators," and imitations of his style which, I think, the conscious self of the most consummate parodist could not compose. In short, there are cases in which communicators are at once so perfectly impersonated and so thoroughly false, that our rude forefathers would have regarded the subconscious self as a synonym for the Devil. If this view were correct it would give a great shock to the Rationalist.

After prolonged study of the documents, I find myself in complete bewilderment over the Cross-Correspondences, with a tendency to think that, in matters so vast, so various, and so incoherent, it must needs be that patient ingenuity will discover correspondences which some minds will accept as the result of design, and others as the result of fortuitous coincidence. Between chance coincidences, and subconscious memories; by supposing, for example, that Mrs. Verrall had read the Neoplatonists though she believed she had not, Dr. Tanner can explain away most things. Yet if she has herself read Plotinus, Porphyry and Iamblichus in the original Greek, I am sure she will admit that she could not entirely forget the circumstance; these writers demand more serious application than an ordinary novel.

When it comes to three cases of predictions automatically written, Dr. Tanner is puzzled. Subconscious memory will not explain, but why not try chance coincidence? Apparently Dr. Tanner does perceive, though many other critics do not, that the theory of chance coincidence may be overworked.

On one "supernormal" point I have to confess myself resolutely credulous, namely telepathy. The word "telepathy," of course, is a merely technical term to cover a variety of incidents, some of which, but not all, might be explained on the hypothesis that minds may intercommunicate by other means than the channels of the senses. On this point I am convinced by personal experience, by experiments, made in my presence, and by others, carefully and contemporaneously recorded by friends whom I can entirely trust, and by spontaneous experiments of the same and other friends. Of course the evidence which, in the circumstances, is sufficient for me, need not be convincing to, or, perhaps, need not even be thought worthy of a moment's consideration by other people.

Still, I am wholly convinced. When Dr. Tanner's ally, Dr. Stanley Hall, writes, "only when conditions can be so controlled that, *e.g.*, a teacher can announce beforehand that, on such a day, hour, and place he will demonstrate these things, can or will they be accepted by any sound scientific mind," one is merely amazed by the learned Doctor's attitude. For my part I should at once regard the "teacher" as a humbug. If either Keats or Wordsworth had announced that, in a teacher's lecture-room, on January 29, 1820, at three fortyfive P.M., he would write an ode of immortal merit, and if he *did* write it,—we all see that he must have composed his poem before he made his promise, and committed it to memory. "The wind" of poetic inspiration "bloweth where it listeth," and so does the telepathic breeze, which requires a harmony of an unguessed-at kind between two or more minds. Thus experimenters may now hit on the "heaven-sent moment," and now miss it. If "sound scientific minds" will not believe in telepathy till its conditions can be punctually produced to order, they can never believe in it at all. I see no reason to suppose that the existence of telepathy can ever be demonstrated to the satisfaction of this order of scientific intellect. But, believing in telepathy myself, I take pleasure in the opinion that we do not yet know all about everything; that, if we persevere, we may discover numbers of curious and interesting things.

II.

POLTERGEISTS, OLD AND NEW.

BY PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT, F.R.S.

PERHAPS I may be permitted to express my own gratification, and I venture to say that of the whole Society, in the announcement we have just heard, that Mr. Andrew Lang has accepted the office of President for the ensuing year. It is an appropriate coincidence that this announcement should synchronize with the reading of a paper on a subject to which Mr. Lang has devoted so much historical research and literary skill.

The term "Poltergeist" is translated Hobgoblin in our German dictionaries, but that is not the equivalent, nor have we any English equivalent to the German word. It is derived from *polter*, a rumbling noise, or *poltern*, to make a row, to rattle; a *polterer* is a boisterous fellow, a *poltergeist* therefore a boisterous ghost. It is a convenient term to describe those apparently meaningless noises, disturbances and movements of objects, for which we can discover no assignable cause.

The phenomena are especially sporadic, breaking out suddenly and unexpectedly, and disappearing as suddenly after a few days, or weeks, or months of annoyance to those concerned. They differ from hauntings, inasmuch as they appear to be attached to an individual, usually a young person, more than to a place, or rather to a person in a particular place. Moreover, ghostly forms (except, if we may trust one or two witnesses, a hand and arm) are not seen. They appear to have some intelligence behind them, for they frequently respond to requests made for a given number of raps; the intelligence is therefore in some way related to our intelligence, and moreover is occasionally in telepathic rapport with our minds. For in one case, which I submitted to a long and searching enquiry, I found that when I mentally asked for a given number of raps, no word being spoken, the response was given promptly and correctly, and this four times in succession, a different number being silently asked for in each case. There are other characteristics which bring the subject of poltergeists into close connection with the physical phenomena of spiritualism. The movement of objects is usually quite unlike that due to gravitational or other attraction. They slide about, rise in the air, move in eccentric paths, sometimes in a leisurely manner, often turn round in their career, and usually descend quietly without hurting the observers. At other times an immense weight is lifted, often in daylight, no one being near, crockery is thrown about and broken, bedclothes are dragged off, the occupants sometimes lifted gently to the ground, and the bedstead tilted up or dragged about the room. The phenomena occur both in broad daylight and at night. Sometimes bells are continuously rung, even if all the bell wires are removed. Stones are frequently thrown, but no one is hurt; I myself have seen a large pebble drop apparently from space in a room where the only culprit could have been myself, and certainly I did not throw it. Loud scratchings on the bedclothes, walls and furniture are a frequent characteristic; sometimes a sound like whispering or panting is heard, and footsteps are often heard without any visible cause. More frequently than otherwise the disturbances are associated with the presence of children or young people, and cease when they are taken from the place where the disturbance originated, only to be renewed on their return, and then abruptly the annoyance ends.

If upon the cessation of the disturbances, investigators appear on the scene and ask for something to occur in their presence, and are sufficiently persistent and incredulous, they may possibly see a clumsy attempt to reproduce some of the phenomena, and will thereupon catch the culprit child in the act. Then we hear the customary "I told you so," and forthwith the clever investigator will not fail to let the world know of his acumen, and how credulous and stupid everybody is but himself. I will return later on to the psychological cause of this not infrequent simulation of mysterious phenomena, especially by children.

The point to which I am anxious to draw attention is the essentially temporary and fugitive nature of the phenomena, and that if we are fortunate enough to hear of them at once, and are able to visit the place whilst the disturbances are going on, the presence of the most skilful and incredulous observer will not affect the result—and under such circumstances I challenge the scornful to produce a single adverse witness. In fact, to any one who has made a serious and prolonged study of the subject of poltergeists, it is simple waste of time to reply to the arguments of those who assert that fraud and hallucination are adequate explanations of the whole phenomena.

In the Journal of our Society for 1884, the late Mr. Podmore published the report of his investigation of a famous case of poltergeist occurring in a house at Worksop.¹ The enquiry was made five weeks after the disturbances had ceased, and unfortunately he did not quote, as Mr. A. Lang points out, the contemporaneous and more striking account of the phenomena attested by an excellent witness, which Mr. Lang gives in full.² Nevertheless Mr. Podmore came to the conclusion that the evidence of the eye-witnesses he examined was unimpeachable, and that the phenomena were supernormal; and he adds at the conclusion of his report: "To suppose that these various objects were all moved by mechanical contrivances argues incredible stupidity, amounting almost to imbecility, on the part of all the persons present who were not in the plot."

Twelve years later, in 1896, without further personal investigation of this particular case, Mr. Podmore changed his views. For in a lengthy report on poltergeists, printed in Vol. XII. of our *Proceedings*, he suggests that fraud arising from love of notoriety among young people, and hallucination on the part of the observers, are the true explanation of the majority of poltergeist phenomena, including the above case. This, of course, is the popular view.

¹Journal S.P.R., Vol. I., p. 199, and also Proceedings S.P.R., Vol. XII., p. 46.

² The Making of Religion, Appendix B, p. 356.

In a review of one of Mr. Podmore's books dealing with poltergeists, published in Vol. XIII. of our Proceedingsand also in his great work on the "Making of Religion"our new President has taken the other side, and so cogently shown the unseientific character of the popular view, that I need not discuss the matter further. But more than two centuries ago, one of the earliest Fellows of the Royal Society, whom Mr. Leeky describes as a man of "incomparable ability," Joseph Glanvil, the author of Sadueismus Triumphatus, dealt with every objection raised by modern critics, and demonstrated that neither fraud nor hallucination was adequate to explain the poltergeist phenomena which were abundant in his day.¹ Like all other inexplicable supernormal phenomena, it is, as Glanvil says, simply a question of adequate and trustworthy evidence. With all deference, I venture to commend seepties who dogmatize on this question to Glanvil's work on the Vanity of Dogmatizing, a book of which Mr. Lecky remarks: "Certainly it would be difficult to find a work displaying less of credulity and superstition than this treatise."

I will now pass on to give some of the evidence that exists on behalf of the genuineness of poltergeist phenomena, beginning with recent eases that have eome under my own notice, and then briefly reviewing some of the other abundant evidence that exists in different places, and which stretches back to remote periods of time.²

THE ENNISCORTHY CASE.

The first ease I will relate has recently occurred at Enniseorthy, a town in Co. Wexford. My attention was drawn to the matter through a letter from the representative of a local newspaper, Mr. Murphy. After some eorrespondence, and in answer to my request, Mr. Murphy kindly drew up the accompanying admirable report:

Statement by Mr. N. J. Murphy.

The strange manifestations which took place at Enniscorthy last July, 1910, may perhaps interest some students of Psychology, and

¹My copy of Glanvil's *Saducismus Triumphatus* is the 3rd Edition, published in 1700. Glanvil was one of His Majesty's chaplains.

² Mr. F. W. H. Myers has given some remarkable and well attested cases of poltergeists in two of his papers published in the *Proc.* S.P.R., Vol. VII.

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more particularly the members of the Dublin Section of the Society for Psychical Research.

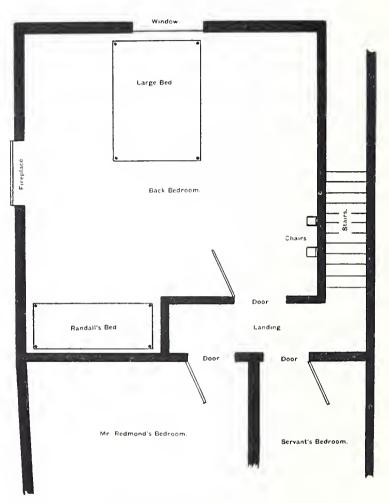
At the outset let me say that I am a journalist by profession and in pursuit of "copy" for the paper I represent, "The Enuiscorthy Guardian," I was brought into touch with those concerned in the manifestations, and introduced to the room where these manifestations occurred.

The "haunted" house was one in which a labouring man named Nicholas Redmond and his wife resided in Court Street, Enniscorthy. Redmond's earnings were supplemented by his wife keeping boarders. On the ground floor of the house are two rooms-a shop and a kitchen. Both are lofty and spacious, and the latter is situated under the room in which the manifestations occurred. The upstairs portion of the premises consists of three bedrooms. The floors of these bedrooms are of wood, and are all intact, the house being a comparatively new one. Two of the bedrooms look out on the street, and the third, in which the occurrences took place, is situate at the back of these. All three are entered from the same landing and are on the same level. Redmond and his wife slept in the front room immediately adjoining the room in which the occurrences described below took place. The rear bedroom was occupied by two young men who were boarders. They had separate beds. Their names are John Randall, a native of Killurin, in this County, and George Sinnott, of Ballyhogue, in this County. Both these men are carpenters by trade. I ean bear personal testimony to the occurrences which I am about to describe. I accepted nothing on hearsay evidence, and I place my experiences before your Society exactly as the circumstances occurred to me. Many of the details have already been published in the daily papers, and are quite true, much of what appeared having been written by myself.

Hearing strange rumours about the house, I proceeded to make enquiries. The owner of the house replied to my questions that the rumours I had heard of the house were quite true, and in response to my application for permission to remain all night in the "haunted" room, he replied : "I will make you as comfortable as I can, and you can remain as long as you want to, and bring a friend with you, too, because you will feel more comfortable." My next move was to procure a volunteer to accompany me, who was found in the person of Mr. Owen Devereux, of the "Devereux" Cycle Works, Enniscorthy. Together we went to the house on the

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night of the 29th July, 1910, and immediately proceeded to make a tour of inspection. Sinnott, Randall and the owner of the house having gone out of the room for a few moments, we made a close



BACK OF HOUSE.

FRONT OF HOUSE.

The above is a plan of the room where the young men slept.

inspection of the apartment. The beds were pulled out from the walls and examined, the clothing being searched; the flooring was minutely inspected, and the walls and fireplace examined. Everything was found quite normal. Sinnott's bed was placed with the head at the window. The window faced the door as one entered the room. Randall's bed was placed at the opposite end of the room at right angles to Sinnott's, and with the foot to the door. The two boys prepared to retire, Mrs. Redmond having placed two chairs in their bedroom for the use of the narrator and his companion. The occupants of the room having been comfortably disposed of—each in his own bed and chair respectively—the light was extinguished. This was about 11.20 p.m.

The night was a clear, starlight night. No blind obstructed the view from outside, and one could see the outlines of the beds and their occupants clearly. At about 11.30 a tapping was heard close at the foot of Randall's bed. My companion remarked that it appeared to be like the noise of a rat eating at timber. Sinnott replied, "You'll soon see the rat it is." The tapping went on slowly at first, say at about the rate of fifty taps to the minute. Then the speed gradually increased to about 100 or 120 per minute, the noise growing louder. This continued for about five minutes, when it stopped suddenly. Randall then spoke. He said: "The clothes are slipping off my bed : look at them sliding off. Good God ! they are going off me." Mr. Devereux immediately struck a match which he had ready in his hand. The bedclothes had partly left the boy's bed, having gone diagonally towards the foot, going out at the left corner, and not alone did they seem to be drawn off the bed, but they appeared to be actually going back under the bed much in the same position one would expect bedclothes to be if a strong breeze were blowing through the room at the time. But then everything was perfectly calm.

Mr. Devereux lighted the candle and a thorough search was made under the bed for strings or wires, but nothing could be found. Randall, who stated that this sort of thing had occurred to him on previous nights, appeared very much frightened. I adjusted the clothing again properly on the bed and Randall lay down. The candle was again extinguished. After about ten minutes the rapping recommenced. First slowly, as before. It again increased in speed and volume, and after about the same interval of time it again stopped. When the clothes were going in under the bed on the first occasion, Sinnott sat up in bed and said: "Oh, God! look at the clothes going in under the bed." He also appeared very nervous. The rapping having stopped on the second occasion, Randall's voice again broke the silence. "They are going again," he cried; "the clothes are leaving me again." I said, "Hold them and do not let them go: you only imagine they are going." He said: "I cannot hold them; they are going, and I am going with them; there is something pushing me from inside: I am going, I am going, I'm

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gone." My companion struck a light just in time to see Randall slide from the bed, the sheet under him, and the sheets, blanket and coverlet over him. He lay on his back on the floor. The movement of his coming out of bed was gentle and regular. There did not appear to be any jerking motion. Whilst he lay on the floor, Randall's face was bathed in perspiration, which rolled off him in great drops. He was much agitated and trembled in every limb. His terribly frightened condition, especially the beads of perspiration on his face, precludes any supposition that he was privy to any human agency being employed to effect the manifestations. Sinnott again sat up in bed, and appeared terrified also. Mr. Redmond, hearing the commotion, came into the room at this time. Randall said: "Oh, isn't this dreadful? I can't stand it; I can't stay any longer here." We took him from the floor and persuaded him to reenter the bed again. He did so, and we adjusted the bedclothes.

It was now about midnight. The owner of the house returned to his own room, and we remained watching until about 1.45, and during that time nothing further occurred. Redmond returned then to see how we were getting on, and took a seat by my side in Randall's bedroom. The three of us having sat there for about five minutes, the rapping again commenced, this time in a different part of the room. Instead of being near the foot of Randall's bed as heretofore, I located it about the middle of the room at a place about equally distant from each bed. It went on for about fifteen minutes, and then ceased. It was at this time fairly bright, the dawn having appeared in the eastern sky. Randall was not interfered with any further that night, and we remained watching till close on three o'clock, and nothing further having occurred we left the house.

On the following night I remained in that room from eleven o'clock till long past midnight. Neither Randall nor Sinnott were there, having gone home to the country for the usual week-end. I heard or saw nothing unusual.

Randall could not reach that part of the floor from which the rapping came on any occasion without attracting my attention and that of my comrade. I give up the attempt to explain away the strange manifestations. I hope some member of the Society may be able to do so.

NICHOLAS J. MURPHY.

1 George Street, Enniscorthy, August 4th, 1910. LXIV.

I have read the foregoing, and I corroborate the statements therein.

OWEN DEVEREUX.

August 4th, 1910.

In reply to my enquiry whether any further disturbances had since occurred, and that in any case I should wish to make a personal investigation of the matter, I received the following letter from Mr. Murphy:

ENNISCORTHY, November 11, 1910.

Dear Sir,-In reply to yours, I beg to say that the house in which the phenomena occurred is now vacant. The tenant, Mr. Redmond, and his wife, left Enniscorthy about the middle of August. Randall left the house on the Monday evening after the occurrence described took place. Nothing unusual was ever seen or heard in the house until Randall went to lodge there. However, I should be very glad to see you in Enniscorthy. Randall and Sinnott are in the town, and you can question them. Mr. Devereux and myself are always at your service, and we have no objection to our names and addresses being published.

Yours faithfully,

N. J. MURPHY.

I was not able to visit Enniscorthy until a few weeks later, when I spent a day examining the witnesses and the house where the disturbances occurred. The following notes written at the time give the result of my enquiry:

On Tuesday, December 6th, 1910, I visited Enniscorthy, and saw and closely questioned the eye-witnesses mentioned in Mr. Murphy's paper, with the exception of Sinnott and Redmond, who were away. I also saw the servant who slept in a small room adjoining the one in which the disturbances occurred. She scouted the idea of the boys playing tricks, and added an important fact, viz. that the large iron bed in which Sinnott slept along with another lodger had lost one of its castors; nevertheless, it was dragged across the room with the two young men in it, leaving a mark along the floor where the iron leg had scraped along. The bed, she told me, was so heavy that, even with no one in it, she had to get assistance when moving it. She was terribly scared by the disturbances,

and left the place as soon as she could. I begged her to write down what she had observed, and Mr. Murphy sent me her statement which follows.

I then visited the house where the disturbances took place. It was empty and unfurnished, and in the hands of the painters. The descriptions given by Mr. Murphy and by Randall are quite correct.

I had a long interview with Randall, and he impressed me very favourably; an intelligent, straightforward youth about eighteen years old. He undertook to write down a detailed account of what had occurred during the time he lodged with Redmond. This he did, and his statement is annexed. Randall is a Protestant, and I saw the rector of his parish, who knew the young man well and testified to his good character and trustworthiness. His letter to me is given later on.

I saw Mr. Devereux, the companion whom Mr. Murphy took with him. He owns a cycle shop in Enniscorthy, and is a skilled mechanic, an excellent witness. He corroborated Mr. Murphy's statement, and said he went to the house feeling sure he would be able to discover that one or other of the lads was playing a practical joke. But he was unable to unravel the mystery. He said that what occurred in his presence could not possibly have been done by Randall or his companion. I also had an interview with the previous occupant of the house. Nothing had occurred in his time.

Statement of Bridget Thorpe.

I was a servant in the house of Mr. Nicholas Redmond, 8 Court Street, Enniscorthy. I remember John Randall coming to lodge there. It was on a Monday night he first came. On the following Friday morning I heard John Randall and George Sinnott, another lodger, talking about the clothes being pulled off the bed. On Friday night I heard the bed running about the floor in Randall's room. I was then in my own room. On the next morning I heard John Randall say that he would not sleep in the house any more. I remember going into Randall's room one night with Mr. Redmond as we heard noises; and when we went in Riehard Roche, another lodger, who was there that night, was in one bed and John Randall in another. The bedclothes were all pulled through the bars at the foot of Roehe's bed. Roche was very much frightened. I frequently heard rapping in Randall's room. I always thought it came from the corner of Randall's room nearest to Mr. Redmond's room. On the night that Mr. Murphy and Mr. Devereux were there I heard footsteps walking about the lobby outside the door where they were. I often heard these footsteps. The night I heard the bed running about the floor, the floor shook as if a very strong man was pulling the bed around.

> (Signed) B. THORPE. Witnessed by N. J. MURPHY.

It will be noticed that Randall mentions two companions in the bedroom with him. This was for a short time the case, but one of them had left when Mr. Murphy visited the house.

Statement written by J. W. Randall.

On Saturday, the 2nd of July, 1910, I came to work in Enniscorthy as an improver in the carpentry trade. Monday, I went to lodge in a house in Court Street. There were two other men stopping in the same house as lodgers. They slept in the same room also, but shared a different bed at the other side of the room. My bed was in a recess in the wall at the opposite side. There was one large window in the room, which opened both top and bottom. The room was about 14 feet square and 10 feet high. There was one door opening into it. The window already described was in the back wall of the house nearly opposite the door opening into the room from the top landing. There were two other doors on the same landing opening into different rooms. There was also a fireplace in the room.

On Monday night, July 4th, we went to bed, and my first night in the strange house I think I slept pretty soundly. We got up at six o'clock the next morning and went to work. We left off work at six in the evening, and went to bed the same time as the night before, between 10 and 10.30 o'clock, slept soundly, and all went well, also on Wednesday.

Went to bed on Thursday night at 10.45, the three of us going as before. We blew out the light, but the room was then fairly lightsome. We had been only about ten minutes in bed when I felt the clothes being gently drawn from my bed. I first thought it was the others that were playing a joke, so I called out, "Stop, George, it's too old." (George being one of their names and the other Richard.) Then I heard them say, "It's Nick" (that is the name

of the man of the house). It wasn't any of them that had pulled the elothes off me, so they thought it was Nick that was in the room, and did not mind. At this time the clothes had gone off my bed completely, and I shouted to them to strike a match. When they struck a match I found my bedclothes were at the window. The most curious part was that the same time when the clothes were leaving my bed, their bed was moving. I brought back the clothes and got into bed again. The light was then put out, and it wasn't long until we heard some hammering in the room-tap-tap-taplike. This lasted for a few minutes, getting quicker and quicker. When it got very quick their bed started to move out across the floor, and that made us very frightened, and what made us more frightened was the door being shut, and nobody could open it without making a great noise. They then struck a match and got the lamp. We searched the room thoroughly, and could find nobody. Nobody had come in the door. We called the man of the house (Redmond); he came into the room, saw the bed, and told us to push it back and get into bed (he thought all the time one of us was playing the trick on the other). I said I wouldn't stay in the other bed by myself, so I got in with the others; we put out the light again, and it had been only a couple of minutes out when the bed ran out on the floor with the three of us. Richard struck a match again, and this time we all got up and put on our elothes; we had got a terrible fright and couldn't stick it any longer. We told the man of the house we would sit up in the room until daylight. During the time we were sitting in the room we could hear footsteps leaving the kitchen and eoming up the stairs; it would stop on the landing outside the door and wouldn't come into the room. The footsteps and noises continued through the house until daybreak. We got up at nine o'clock and went to work for a three-quarter day.

That night (Friday) when we went to bed about eleven o'clock we felt a bit nervous in going. We put out the light, and in a few minutes the footsteps started again, and noises. There were also noises like chips getting chopped in the kitchen. This night passed over not near so bad as the night before, but yet we were afraid to go to sleep.

Saturday we all went home for the Sunday, but returned Sunday evening. We went to bed Sunday night as before, and it passed over with very slight noises. On Monday night the noises started again after going to bed, and about a quarter of an hour their bed ran again. They then struck a light, and I got into the bed with them. There were terrible noises everywhere; on the walls, out on the landing, and downstairs. We left the light lighted for some time, and whilst it was lighted, what added more to our fright was a chair dancing out to the middle of the floor without a thing near it. We put out the light again after moving back the bed. Immediately the light was put out the bed ran again out on the floor. Richard had the matches always ready to strike. Every time we would hear the noise and feel the bed moving, we would shout: "Strike, Richard, strike; we're going again!" We were trembling from head to feet with fear. We left the light lighted till morning after that.

Tuesday night passed over about the same, and on Wcdncsday night there wasn't a stir. After hearing nothing on Wednesday night we thought it had stopped, but still we felt nervous. On Thursday night it started as bad as the first night, and several people remarked it being so bad on the night exactly a week after it had started. The bed ran out several times, and what never happened to any one of us before, George was lifted out of bed without a hand near him. He went home next day, and stopped at home for two days. So while he was away, Richard and I stopped in the room. The same noise still continued, and the bed ran also. We went home on Saturday as on the week before.

George came back again on Sunday night, and slept in the same bed with us again, and it wasn't extra bad that night. It went on about the same way every night until the following Friday night, when it was very bad. The bed turned up on one side, and threw us out on the floor, and before we were thrown out, the pillow was taken from under my head three times. When the bed rose up, it fell back without making any noise. This bed was so heavy, it took both the woman and girl to pull it out from the wall without anybody in it, and there was only three castors on it. After being thrown out of the big bed, the three of us got into my bed. We were not long in it when it started to rise, but could not get out of the recess it was in unless it was taken to pieces. It ceased about daybreak, and that finished that night's performance.

It kept very bad then for a few nights. So Mr. Murphy, from the "Guardian" Office, and another man named Devereux, came and stopped in the room one night. They sat on two chairs in the room, while we lay each in our own beds. We were not long in bed when I felt a terrible feeling over me like a big weight. I then felt myself being taken from the bed, but could feel no hands, nor could I resist going. All I could say was: "I'm going, I'm going; they're at me." I lay on the floor in a terrible state, and hardly able to speak. The perspiration was pouring through me. They put me back in bed again, and nothing more than strange knockings and noises happened between that and morning. We slept again in the room the next night, but nothing serious happened. We then got another lodging, and the people left it also. For the three weeks I was in the house I lost nearly three-quarters of a stone weight. I never believed in ghosts until that, and I think it would convince the bravest man in Ireland.

JOHN WILLIAM RANDALL.

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18 Main St., Enniscorthy.

I heard from Randall a few days ago (January 25th). Nothing has occurred in his new lodgings. The curious association of a particular person in a particular place at a particular time is very characteristic of all poltergeist phenomena.

> From the Rev. Canon Rennison. Kilpatrick Rectory, Wexford, Jan. 27, 1911.

Dear Sir,—I have known John Randall for the past five years, and I believe him to be a thoroughly truthful and trustworthy boy. I think you may rely on any particulars he has given you about the "haunted house" at Enniscorthy. He has always been a steady, well-conducted boy, so far as I know. I am very glad to hear you are reading a paper on the whole affair.

Yours very truly,

John Rennison.

My best thanks are due to Mr. N. J. Murphy, who kindly spared neither time nor trouble in assisting me in these enquiries.

THE DERRYGONNELLY CASE.

I now pass on to another Irish case of which I heard soon after the disturbances broke out, and was able to visit the spot while the poltergeist was still active, so that I was an eye-witness of many of the occurrences. I wrote a detailed account of what took place at the time, and it was published in the *Dublin University Magazine* for December, 1877, under

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the title of "The Demons of Derrygonnelly." No report of this case has yet appeared in our *Proceedings*, and I can only briefly summarize it here.

In 1877 Mr. Thomas Plunkett, of Enniskillen, a gentleman who has devoted much time to the geological and archæological investigation of the County Fermanagh, wrote to tell me of some mysterious disturbances occurring in a farmer's cottage near some prehistoric limestone caves he was exploring, and asking me to visit the place, which I did.

The place was a hamlet called Derrygonnelly, about nine miles from Enniskillen, and the cottage was some two miles further on. A more lonely spot could hardly be found in this country. Across the bog that lay before us rose the huge limestone cliffs of Knockmore, crowned by an escarpment of overhanging rock. The cottage itself was hidden in the hollow of a field, and no other house could be seen anywhere.

The household consisted of a grey-headed farmer who had recently lost his wife, and a family of four girls and one boy, the youngest about ten years of age, and the eldest, Maggie, round whom the disturbances arose, about twenty years old. The cottage had the usual large kitchen and dwelling-room, with earthen floors in the centre, and a smaller room opening from each side. In one of them Maggie and the girls slept on a large, old-fashioned four-post bed. The noises, rappings and scratches generally began after they had retired, and often continued the whole night through. Rats, of course, were first suspected; but when objects began to move without any visible cause, stones to fall, candles and boots repeatedly thrown out of the house, the rat theory was abandoned and a general terror took possession of the family. Several neighbours urged them to send for the priest, but they were Methodists, and their class leader advised them to lay an open Bible on the bed. This they did in the name of God, putting a big stone on the top of the volume; but the stone was lifted off by an unseen hand, and the Bible placed on top of it. After that "it," as the farmer called the unseen cause, moved the Bible out of the room and tore seventeen pages right across. Then they could not keep a light in the house, candles and lamps were mysteriously stolen, or thrown out. They asked their neighbours' help, and here I quote the old farmer's words : "Jack Flanigan came

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and lent us his lamp, saying he would engage the devil himself could not steal it, as he had got the priest to sprinkle it with holy water." "But that," the old man said, "did us no good either, for the next day it took away that lamp also." They were forced to keep their candles in a neighbour's house some way off, and fetch them at night, and keep them lighted.

During the evenings I spent in the cottage, the farmer and each of his children were independently examined. He gave me a concordant account of the singular freaks of this poltergeist, and their vain efforts to put a stop to it. Those who are interested can read the story, told by the old man, which I took down in writing, as it is published in full in my article already referred to.

My own observations were as follows: After the children, except the boy, had gone to bed, Maggie lay down on the bed without undressing, so that her hands and feet could be observed. The rest of us sat round the kitchen fire, when faint raps, rapidly increasing in loudness, were heard, coming apparently from the walls, the ceiling and various parts of the inner room, the door of which was open. On entering the bedroom with a light the noises at first ceased, but recommenced when I put the light on the window-sill in the kitchen. I had the boy and his father by my side, and asked Mr. Plunkett to look round the house outside. Standing in the doorway leading to the bedroom the noises recommenced, the light was gradually brought nearer, and after much patience I was able to bring the light into the bedroom whilst the disturbances were still loudly going on. At last I was able to go up to the side of the bed, with the lighted candle in my hand, and closely observed each of the occupants lying on the bed. The younger children were apparently asleep, and Maggie was motionless; nevertheless, knocks were going on everywhere around; on the chairs, the bedstead, the walls and ceiling. The closest scrutiny failed to detect any movement on the part of those present that could account for the noises, which were accompanied by a scratching or tearing sound. Suddenly a large pebble fell in my presence on to the bed; no one had moved to dislodge it even if it had been placed for the purpose. When I replaced the candle on the window-sill in the kitchen, LXIV.]

the knocks became still louder, like those made by a heavy carpenter's hammer driving nails into flooring.

At midnight we drove back to Enniskillen, and next day I telegraphed to Dublin to an acute and careful observer, president of one of our learned societies, to come down to help me in the investigation. He kindly did so. It was the Rev. Maxwell Close, M.A., a man honoured in Dublin for his great learning, remarkable critical insight and singular sobriety of judgment.¹ With him a day or two later, we again drove over in the evening the eleven lonely miles to the farmer's cottage. In spite of the vigilance of my friends, Mr. Close, Mr. Plunkett and myself, we failed to detect the slightest attempt at imposture by any of the family, and we were each equally certain that we were not the victims of hallucination. The noises were heard as before; we searched within and without the cottage, but no cause could be found.

The following night we made another visit with the same result. When we were about to leave some two hours later, the farmer was distressed that we had not "laid the ghost," and I asked him what he thought it was. He replied:

"I would have thought, sir, it do be fairies, but them late readers and knowledgeable men will not allow such a thing, so I cannot tell what it is. I only wish, sir, you would take it away."

"Have you asked it to answer a question by raps?" I asked.

"I have, sir," he said, "as some one told us to do, but it tells lies as often as truth, and oftener, I think. We tried it, and it only knocked at L.M.N. when we said the alphabet over." I asked him if it would respond to a given number of raps, and he said it would. This it did in my presence. Then I mentally asked it, no word being spoken, to knock a certain number of times and it did so. To avoid any error or delusion on my part, I put my hands in the side pockets of my overcoat and asked it to knock the number of fingers I had open. It correctly did so. Then, with a different number of fingers open each time, the experiment was repeated four times in

¹The Rev. Maxwell Close died a few years ago; he was one of the earliest members of the S.P.R., an obituary notice of him by the present writer appeared in the *Journal* S.P.R. for November, 1903.

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succession, and four times I obtained absolutely the correct number of raps. The doctrine of chances shows that casual coincidence is here practically out of the question, and the interesting fact remains that some telepathic rapport between the unseen agent and ourselves appears to exist, on this occasion at any rate.

Before leaving, it was now past midnight, the farmer implored us not to go without ridding him of this pertinacious poltergeist. So I asked my clerical friend to read a few words of scripturc and offer up a prayer. He did so, choosing appropriate passages from our Lord's ministry to the possessed, and a suitable prayer. It was a weird scene, the children were in bed, but not asleep, in the inner room, the farmer and Mr. Plunkett seated by the kitchen fire, Mr. Close seated on a stool at the open bedroom door, I holding a lighted candle for him, and seated just within the bedroom. The noises were at first so great we could hardly hear what was read, then as the solemn words of prayer were uttered they subsided, and when the Lord's Prayer was joined in by all, a profound stillness fell on the whole cottage. The farmer rose from his knees with tears streaming from his eyes, gratefully grasped our hands, and we left for our long midnight drive back to Enniskillen.

I am afraid this does not sound a very scientific account, but it is a veracious one.

Subsequent correspondence, and reports from Mr. Plunkett, showed that the poltergeist had fled from that night onwards, until some curious visitors, after reading my published description, had gone to the farmer's cottage, and tried to bring it back again. It came, they said, feebly and furtively, but whether genuine or Maggic's Irish desire to please the visitors, I have no means of knowing. The farmer is now dead, and Maggie, I believe, in service, but I have lost sight of them all.

In both the preceding cases the disturbances took place at night, in the next two cases they occurred in the day chiefly. The reason appears to be that only when the living radiant point, or psychic, is in a particular place, and more or less at rest, do the disturbances break out. The boy Randall was away from his lodgings all day at work; the girl, Maggie, was largely engaged in farm work outside, as well as housework within, and some phenomena took place in the day time when she was in the house, but were less marked until she went to bed. In the next case the psychic was evidently more powerful, a somnambulist and clairvoyant, and the disturbances arose when she was in the house, both in the daytime and at night. As in the case of dowsing, hypnosis, clairvoyance, telepathy and probably all psychical phenomena, the effect of education, the cultivation of the reasoning powers, alert consciousness, in fine, cerebral activity generally, usually diminish and ultimately inhibit the production of supernormal phenomena.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY CASE.

One of the most remarkable and carefully investigated cases of poltergeists is recorded in the *Atlantic Monthly*,¹ a leading American review, for August, 1868. This case is so little known and so admirable that I will briefly summarize it.

An Irish girl, 18 years old, named Mary Carrick, went to live as servant with a family in Massachusetts soon after her arrival in America. Six weeks after she came to the family, the house bells began violently ringing without any assignable cause. This would occur at intervals of half an hour throughout the day and evening. The wires were detached from all the bells, but the ringing still continued. The bclls were hung near the ceiling of the room, 11 feet high. They only rang when the girl was in the room or in the adjoining one, and were seen to ring by the family without any visible cause. The ringing was not a mcre stroke of one bell, but a violent agitation of *all the bclls*. A careful examination made by the writer of the article, Mr. Willis, showed that no mechanism of any kind was attached to the bells. So far the case is like the well-known "Bealings Bells" in Suffolk, described with

¹Like other articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, the name of the author, Mr. H. A. Willis, is not given in the text, but only in the Table of Contents. As the article was published 43 years ago, it is, I fear, hopeless to obtain any confirmatory evidence at the present day; but I have written to the Editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* with this object in view. As yet no further information has been obtained.

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great care by Major Moor, F.R.S., in 1834, a full account of which will be found in Dale Owen's "Debateable Land," p. 239 et seq.

But more remarkable phenomena followed in the American case. Loud and startling raps occurred on the walls, door and windows of any room where the girl was at work, and followed the girl from room to room, and could be heard in her bedroom at night when she was apparently fast asleep. A little later, chairs were upset, crockery thrown down, tables lifted and moved, and various kitchen utensils hurled about the room. This was during July. In August a careful daily record was kept. The writer of the article states that he saw the table at which the girl had been ironing suddenly lifted when no one was near enough to touch it. This also happened when a child was sitting on the table, and when the writer and other persons tried to hold the table down.

On the 6th of August, as Mary was placing the tea tray on a heavy stone slab, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, and weighing 48 lbs., the stone slab suddenly flew up, struck the tray and upset the dishes upon it. The writer states that this happened again in his own presence when he was carefully watching the girl, who was at the moment in the act of wringing out some clothes. The slab rose and fell back with such force that it broke in two, no one touching it. Soon after one-half of the slab was pitched on the ground and the fragments thrown about. Another day a large basket filled with clothes was thrown to the floor, a stool having on it a pail filled with water ran along the floor; a washtub filled with clothes was taken off its stand and flung to the ground, and the contents thrown about.

The girl would often start in her sleep and scream in terror, the family watching the girl and hearing the violent noises.

The result of all this disturbance greatly alarmed and excited the girl, who was ignorant and superstitious; it brought on a serious attack of hysteria, and she had to be taken to an asylum. All the noises ceased in her absence. At the end of three weeks she was sufficiently recovered to return to her work. None of the movements subsequently took place, but a month later she suffered from somnambulism. Many times when fast asleep she rose in the middle of the night, dressed herself, and went about her work downstairs in the pitch darkness, even studying some lessons she was doing, and returned to bed in an hour or two.

She was also clairvoyant, and one remarkable instance of this is given by the writer of the article.

The report concludes by saying it may be justly asked why no scientific men were asked to investigate the phenomena during the ten weeks they lasted. To this the writer replies that whilst the phenomena were in full force, a statement of the facts was sent to a leading scientific man in America, with an earnest request that he would investigate and report. The request was treated with absolute contempt; they were told that such things could not happen, and that it was all trickery.

The writer of the article then tried some experiments himself. He conceived that the sounds might possibly be electrically produced, and made some experiments to test this idea. When the bedstead on which the girl slept was insulated on glass nothing occurred, but when the insulators were removed the noises returned as violently as ever. A daily journal of the weather and of the disturbances was kept, expecting that the phenomena would be more frequent on dry clear days, but some of the most remarkable disturbances occurred on very rainy ones. With candour the writer therefore concludes that there is some difficulty in applying the electrical hypothesis.

Electricity has to bear a good many sins on its head, but we may safely exoncrate it from creating the poltergeist phenomena. The insulation experiments, tried not only on the bed, but also on tables and chairs, certainly inhibited the disturbances, but this inhibition was more probably due to the effect of suggestion either on the girl or on her unseen tormentors. Psychic subjects are exceedingly suggestible, and this often lays them open to perpetrate fraudulent imitations, especially when the enquirer feels confident trickery is an adequate explanation of everything.

THE PORTLAND, OREGON, CASE.

In the autumn of 1909 one of the leading newspapers on the Pacific coast published details of extraordinary disturbances and movement of objects which occurred in a house in Portland, Oregon. Subsequently an article on the subject appeared in the Pacific monthly, and the publicity thus given to the case led to its careful investigation by Dr. Gilbert and Mr. Thacher, two most competent investigators, who were requested by the American Society for Psychical Research to make a critical and full enquiry. The results of this enquiry are given in detail in the *Journal of the American S.P.R.* for September and November, 1910.

The phenomena were associated with the presence of a boy named Elwin March, who, at the time of these occurrences, was eleven years old, and lived with his grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer, at 546 Marshall Street, Portland, Oregon. The first disturbance took place on Oct. 28th, 1909. A reporter at once got hold of the story, witnessed some of the phenomena, and next day published a full report in the principal local newspaper. The consequent notoriety was so annoving to the Sawyers that they were glad to hand the boy, Elwin, over to Dr. Gilbert, who took him into his own house in Portland, and kept his whereabouts secret for a week until the reporters again ferreted him out. Meanwhile Dr. Gilbert had obtained a detailed statement of the first disturbances from eye-witnesses, but Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert failed to obtain any satisfactory evidence of supernormal phenomena, and, in fact, were convinced that the boy Elwin was the author of the later, if not of the whole of the occurrences. I will return to this presently.

On the other hand the other investigator, Mr. Thacher, whose report, published in the Journal of the American S.P.R. for Nov. 1910, is one of painstaking care, after a most searching investigation, says: Practically all the eye-witnesses were convinced that the movements were produced by supernormal agencies, and the witnesses were numerous enough and intelligent enough to create a presumption in favour of genuine poltergeist phenomena. Mr. Thacher remarks: "I began to collect testimony on Oct. 29 (the day after the first outbreak) and have watched closely all developments for a period of several months. I wrote out the story immediately after the events narrated, it is in substance a diary, and reflects the mental attitude of the witnesses at the time, which gives it a certain value in the final analysis and conclusion."

Let us now look at the evidence. A medical man, Dr. Ainley, testified on Oct. 29th, and made a signed statement next day that he was in Mr. Sawyer's house on Oct. 28th, and standing near the door, saw the telephone fall from its stand, no one being near it but the boy, Elwin, who had come past it and was then standing near him. Shortly afterwards a chair near the telephone rose up and then fell on the floor. It was picked up, and again it was raised and fell on the floor. No one was touching it, and no one was nearer than four feet (subsequently corrected to six feet) from the chair, and the movements occurred plainly in his, Dr. Ainley's sight. Another medical man, J. C. Ross, M.D., of Portland, also signed a declaration that he went to the house immediately after the disturbances, found the occupants frightened and bewildered, chairs, tables and pictures overturned; dishes lying broken on the floor, having by some unseen force been pulled off a sideboard. He, however, did not see any movements after he arrived.

Another witness who had been in the U.S. artillery deposed that he saw two chairs rise up and tip over in the dining-room, whilst the boy, Elwin, was in the kitchen and no one within ten or twelve feet of the chairs when they rose and fell over. Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer made very detailed depositions of the movement of various articles of furniture when no one was near them. A large glazed picture which hung on the wall, slid slowly down the wall to the floor and rested there without breaking the glass or doing any damage. Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer both saw this, and Mr. Sawyer added that the picture was lifted off the suspending hook, came slowly down, struck the ground at one corner, and then righted itself and stood leaning against the wall.

Another witness, Mr. Casson, said that, hearing of these disturbances, he went to the house and saw several knives and forks rise up an inch or two from the drain-board of the sink and fall over on to the floor. A small basket on the sink also rose up and fell over on the floor. He and Mrs. Sawyer, the only persons present in the room, were six or seven feet away from the sink, and the boy, Elwin, was in an adjoining room. Mr. Sawyer deposed to the plaster coming off the wall and pieces thrown into the room. One piece of plaster flew from the kitchen wall, hit a tailor's goose-iron which was on the table, which in its turn, though weighing over a stone, flew off the table on to the floor. Another day he saw a basket with some onions in it come off the table, and two cans of condensed milk followed it, and all fell on the floor. Then the bread can, with a pail containing some meat which stood in the pantry, fell on the floor, and a number of plates came off the shelf, and fell on the floor. Elwin, though in the room, was not near the things at the time this occurred. The basket that fell was replaced, and again thrown down; this was done several times running. Many other disturbances are reported, and numerous witnesses affirmed no visible agency could have caused them.

Now let us hear the other side. Dr. Gilbert, who had taken the boy to his house, found him cheating at a game, and also saw him deliberately move some objects, when he thought he was not observed. This was some time after the original disturbances, and when nothing had lately occurred. There can be no doubt the boy did practise several tricks in December, when removed from the Sawyers' house where the disturbances broke out, and Dr. Gilbert obtained a confession from him that he did so. Moreover, though at first he denied having had anything to do with the manifestations, when they first broke out at the Sawyers' house, yct Dr. Gilbert says he was so convinced of the boy's having tricked them all along that after severe cross-examination he obtained a qualified admission from the boy that he did do some of the earlier things. Hence the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Gilbert was that the whole phenomena were fraudulent, and no supernormal agency need be assumed. On the other hand, Mr. Thacher, who made a more prolonged and searching investigation, says with considerable justice: "Could the fact that the boy had been the centre of attention for several weeks, and that the interest was waning, together with the strong and constantly repeated wishes of the small group of persons about him that the movements without contact should be repeated, be sufficient to induce him to 'fake' the phenomena, and then lie about it [the earlier ones]? Or were all the witnesses utterly unreliable, and was the immediate family all bound together in the deception?"

Now it turns out that there were two persons who influenced

Dr. Gilbert's opinion, by attributing fraud to the boy at the outset; one stated that he found 38 threads fastened outside the window of the dining-room, by which the lad probably moved the objects. This evidence also led Dr. Hyslop, of the American S.P.R., at first to conclude that the whole thing was fraud. However, Mr. Thacher discovered that these adverse witnesses were absolutely untrustworthy. No one saw the witness find the threads, and none were to be found; even if the threads had been there, the witness could not explain how they could move various objects within the room. Finally, this witness was found to be a rogue, so that Dr. Hyslop eventually stated his evidence was valueless. The other witness who had stated that the boy himself pulled the plaster off and threw it, turns out to be the owner of the honse and anxious to discredit the whole story, as it was likely to depreciate his property; his statements were merely inferences of his own, he had seen nothing to support them, and Mr. Thacher shows they are entirely disproved, inasmuch as the plaster came from parts of the wall and ceiling which the boy, even if present, could not possibly reach.

On the one side we have two discredited witnesses, and on the other over twenty credible and disinterested witnesses who testify to these occurrences as being due to some unseen inexplicable agency. Take, for instance, Mr. Jerome Holmes' statement; he affirms in writing that when in the dining-room on October 28th in the afternoon he saw a chair, which was standing near the door, go right up in the air as much as three feet, and then, whilst it was poised in the air, it turned half over to a horizontal position, and then fell on the floor. No one was near the chair when it went up in the air. Elwin March had just gone out of the room and was outside the door when the chair rose up and fell. "The chair was plainly in my sight, and I am sure that no person in the room touched it during its movements," Mr. Holmes remarks, adding that when he stated what he himself clearly saw in broad daylight, people said to him, "Well, you must be crazy." Here as elsewhere, as regards the witnesses, it was against their interest to make up these stories.

That the disturbances, like other poltergeist phenomena, are more or less attached to a place, is seen from the fact that after Elwin and his grandparents had left Marshall Street, the phenomena did not follow them; but it is asserted movements of objects without contact occurred for a short time in the neighbouring house. Two witnesses told Mr. Thacher the facts, but declined to let their names be published, as they did not wish "to be mixed up in any spooky business." This evidence is, therefore, of little value.

There can be no doubt that this is an important case, not only, nor perhaps chiefly, from a psychical point of view, but from a psychological standpoint.

We find what appear to be undoubtedly genuine phenomena passing into fraudulent imitations by the lad around whom interest chiefly centred. As a recent American writer on the "Psychology of child development" says: "A child sees an elder writing with a pencil. When he has a chance he tries it. To an observer it is a case of imitation, but to the child it is an attempt to get a new experience with a pencil through the image furnished by the adult."

Other cases of trickery, and even confession to a part of the phenomena observed, are recorded in our *Proceedings*. In a poltergeist case occurring in 1895 at Ham, near Hungerford, Berks., Mr. Westlake saw the twelve-year-old child, who was the centre of the disturbances, deliberately move objects. In the case of Emma Davies at Wem, in Shropshire, Mr. Hughes, who investigated the case on behalf of our Society, obtained a partial confession from Emma Davies.¹ This led to a critical review of the case by my friend, Mr. C. C. Massey, who published a pamphlet which showed how inconclusive such subsequent confessions are, for objects jumped off tables and out of cupboards when the girl was outside the room, and under circumstances quite inconsistent with trickery. Mr. Massey remarks that it is probable the vanity of the girl was more gratified by the reputation of having duped the investigators than by that of being the medium of an unknown force.

The question then arises, are we to reject as worthless evidence of what appear to be supernormal phenomena because sometimes there are cases of subsequent imitation and trickery, and even occasionally confession of fraud? In cases of

¹For these and several other recent cases of poltergeist phenomena, see the full reports published in Vol. XII. of our *Proceedings*.

poltergeist, children are usually the centre of disturbances, and the superficial or prejudiced observer, knowing the love of mischief among children, and that in his and nearly every one's experience objects don't jump about without an assignable cause, naturally comes to the conclusion that any supernormal explanation is needless and absurd. But this *a priori* argument, which satisfies the man in the street, completely breaks down when a critical and historical study of the whole subject is made.

In the numerous trials for witchcraft recorded in different countries the so-called witches freely confessed that they did quite impossible things. One of the most tragic and heartbreaking series of confessions occurred in the village of Mobra, in Sweden, where in 1670, it is stated in the public register of the Lords Commissioners who tried the case, that 71 children freely confessed that they were engaged in witchery, that they were carried away by the devil; and being "separately and independently examined to see if their confessions did agree," the Commissioners state they "found that all of them except some very little ones, who could not tell all the circumstances, did practically agree in the confession of particulars." And the particulars consisted in describing the traditional devil, how they were carried through the air and down chimneys, that burning candles were stuck in their hair, but they were not burnt, that they were beaten with thorns, etc., etc. And all this upon oath, and in peril of their lives. In fact, 15 children, who so confessed, were thereupon burnt; 36 children, between 9 and 16 years old, considered less guilty, were publicly beaten once a week for a year, and forced "to run the gauntlet"; 20 more, mere babies, were lashed with rods for three Sundays at the The number of children more or less found Church door. guilty, we are told, was 300. In addition 70 women, all from this same village, were tried; 23 freely confessed their witchcraft and were burnt, the rest were imprisoned and afterwards executed.1

Obviously, therefore, we must not place too much reliance upon the confessions of children, nor of uneducated persons, who believe the superstitions of their day to be actual facts, and tacitly accept the opinion of their 'betters,' when told

¹See Glanvil, Saducimus Triumphatus, the last tract.

that they have taken part in the witchery of which they are accused.

THE DALE TOWER, GEORGIA, U.S.A., CASE.

One of the most recent poltergeists has occurred in Georgia, U.S.A., and is described in the *Occult Review* for May, 1911. The narrator is a medical man, T. Hart Raines, M.D., who as soon as he heard of the occurrences began an investigation, and whilst he did not witness the phenomena himself, he interviewed the three young men who collectively saw what occurred, and he personally visited the scene of the disturbance. Dr. Raines states that the young men are intelligent telegraph operators, and their veracity above suspicion: they are positive that they were not deceived nor hallucinated, and they have all signed a statement certifying to the truth of the facts.

The disturbances took place in a little railway telegraph tower at Dalc, Georgia, on the main line of the Atlantic coast The tower adjoins the railway track, and is the railroad. only house of any description within a quarter of a mile. During nine months in the year the tower is closed, and is opened for the tourist season from January to April. The three young men-Bright, Davies, and Clark-opened the tower on January 4, 1911, and were the sole occupants living in its two rooms, one room above the other, a trap-door closing the stair leading to the upper room. The first thing that occurred was the sudden, inexplicable flinging open of the trap-door, and the difficulty of keeping it closed. In spite of fastening it with stout nails and an iron bar, it would still fly open; mysterious footsteps were also heard on the stair, but a careful search revealed no cause for the disturbances. Then followed the raising and lowering of the window sashes in the upper chamber, in full view of the three occupants, no one being near the window. "To assure themselves against tricksters, the trap-door leading down to the floor below was closed and securely fastened, and raised only when necessary to descend to the ground. This precaution had no effect whatsoever on the phenomena, and soon various articles began to be levitated about the room in broad open daylight in full view

of all three occupants of the tower, when there was no possible chance for trickery or fraud. A can of condensed milk was seen to lift itself into the air and pass from one end of the desk to the other without the contact of a visible hand. A large dish-pan lying near the stove slowly lifted itself and rolled down the stairs and out of the tower and under it, from whence it had to be fished out with the aid of a long pole. A lantern was levitated on to the desk without having been touched, and in full view of all. On another occasion this lantern made a wild rush across the room and dashed itself into fragments against the wall. An ordinary can-opener flew wildly about the room and fastened itself in the centre of I [Dr. Raines] saw this can-opener, and can the ceiling. assure any one interested that the most expert could not perform a similar feat once in a hundred efforts. Frequently bolts and taps, such as are used in railroad construction work, would be hurled into the room, breaking a hole in the glass of the window scarcely large enough to enter through.

"On one occasion, when objects were being hurled about the room so persistently that the tower was hastily abandoned by all three occupants, a chair was dashed out of the upper window, and fell with such force that one of the rings was broken. This in broad daylight, with no one in the tower, and the only avenue of entrance or of escape guarded by the three occupants of the tower. I [Dr. Raines] saw the chair, and only a terrific blow could have so injured it."

The young men were now in a state of panic, and one of them walked seven miles to the nearest town, to resign his position, and he assured Dr. Raines nothing would induce him again to go through the eerie experience he had suffered. The last of the strange occurrences took place a few days before Dr. Raines visited the tower and made a searching investigation of the possibility of some outside person tricking the young men. This, he says, was impossible, nor could the vibration of passing trains have caused the phenomena, and any attempt to climb the stair would have been instantly detected by the operators, one of whom was always on duty. Dr. Raines is convinced that there was no chance of deception, that the operators were perfectly truthful and were not the victims of hallucination. In fact, the whole record exactly resembles other poltergeist phenomena in their sudden development and sudden cessation.

A recent case of poltergeist in Surrey was reported in the newspapers, and on inquiry I learnt the phenomena occurred as narrated; but I have been unable to visit the place and obtain the evidence at first hand.

THE VIENNA POLTERGEIST.

In the *Journal* of the Society for May, 1907, there is a report of a typical poltergeist occurring in a Vienna suburb. The report is sent by an eye-witness of some of the disturbances, Mr. Wärndorfer, a member of the S.P.R., living at Baden, near Vienna. Regarding this case Miss A. Johnson (Research Officer of the S.P.R.) writes to me as follows: "Mr. Wärndorfer, whom I know personally, is an unusually cool-headed and competent observer, and a very intelligent and open-minded man. He is genuinely interested in psychical research, and would, I feel sure, be prepared to give an impartial account of anything he witnessed." Miss Johnson adds that she believes Mr. Wärndorfer "is not convinced of the genuineness of this case, or of any telekinetic phenomena; what it amounts to is that he investigated this case carefully, and did not discover any fraud in it."

The principal points in the narrative are as follow: A smith named Zimmerl has a shop near Vienna (address given), where he employs two apprentices. The shop is at the end of a long court, in the *souterrain* of a large house inhabited by tradespeople, so that it is entered by going down a short, open stair. Zimmerl had had the shop some four years, but nothing unusual occurred until July, 1906, when a report appeared in a Vienna paper of the mysterious disturbances that had broken out in this smith's shop.

On July 16th, 1906, Mr. Wärndorfer visited the shop and heard from Zimmerl how tools, bits of iron, etc., had been flung about the place, and both the master and one of his apprentices had been hurt by one of these missiles. He had watched the boys, but could not detect any tricks on their part; in fact, when they were outside the shop the missiles still flew about, and from an opposite direction to where they stood, and where a solid wall intervened. The police had investigated the matter and could find nothing to account for the disturbances. The tools, etc., had to be put into boxes and moved outside, as they were afraid to work otherwise. The man was much scared, and lost customers through this mysterious annoyance. Once a pipe flew from one side of the shop to the other, and then came back and settled on the anvil in the middle of the room; another time the pipe was taken from Zimmerl's mouth and fluttered on to the lathe.

Mr. Wärndorfer made several subsequent visits, and heard still more remarkable accounts, and was able to witness many of the occurrences. On one occasion he saw more than a dozen objects thrown about, and was "perfectly certain none of the persons present could have thrown them"; one was thrown when he happened to be alone in the shop. He never saw the objects actually fly, but heard them fall; some dropped close to him, and three struck him on the head. In reply to enquiries from the S.P.R., Mr. Wärndorfer relates five cases of inexplicable movements of objects, which he witnessed in day-light, and of which he believes "the chances of mal-observation were very small indeed." One of these cases was as follows: A small glazed picture which he had seen hanging on the wall a few minutes before came fluttering through the air to the middle of the shop, where it fell on the floor, but did not break; in fact, it moved like a sheet of paper. At the time he was standing about a yard and a half in front of the picture, nobody being near it, nor in that part of the shop through which it moved. He did not see it leave its place, but saw it when it was about a couple of yards from where it alighted. Mr. Wärndorfer adds that he thinks "it would be very difficult, though not impossible, to throw or drop such a picture without its breaking." Another incident witnessed by Mr. Wärndorfer occurred when the smith was out of the shop and the two apprentices were drilling a hole in a piece of iron. He was watching their slow work and noticed that their four hands were all engaged at their work; of this he was "perfectly certain," when suddenly one of the boys screamed with pain; a pair of big iron compasses, which had been lying on the work-bench a yard behind the boy, had flown across and hit the boy sharply on the temple, causing a swelling and a little

blood. Mr. Wärndorfer saw the iron compasses ricochetting as it were off the boy's head and falling to the ground. He himself was five times hit—three times on the head, as already mentioned, and twice elsewhere, once rather severely, with pieces of iron and steel that unaccountably flew across the room and struck him.

The disturbances continued for two months, and then ceased. One of the lads, round whom the disturbances seemed to eluster, was taken to the police court and fined, though he denied all guilt, and there was no direct evidence of his having thrown anything. The boys were, nevertheless, dismissed, and the disturbances eeased. Mr. Wärndorfer, however, does not eonsider that this proves anything, and he is right, for if his observations were correct the boys could not have been the culprits.

The foregoing poltergeist closely resembles that which occurred at Swanland, near Hull, in 1849, and a narrative of which was written by an eye-witness, Mr. Bristow, and published by the S.P.R. Prof. Sidgwick, in 1891, interviewed a surviving witness of the phenomena, who confirmed Mr. Bristow's account. Here three workmen in a carpenter's shop were pelted with bits of wood, etc., which seemed to sail through the air "as if borne on gently heaving waves," and no visible cause could be discovered for the disturbances, which lasted about six weeks. The narrative given, if accurate, shows that any normal explanation of the phenomena is untenable.

It must be borne in mind that the evidence on behalf of the phenomena we have been considering rests upon observation and not upon experiment. We cannot repeat the phenomena at will, but must rest content with the statements of credible witnesses. Under such circumstances no single case, however well attested, can produce conviction of the supernormal character of the phenomena; inasmuch as our reason renders us instinctively hostile to the reception of any evidence which cannot be readily fitted in to the structure of our existing knowledge. We have, therefore, to rely upon the accumulation of testimony from many independent observers, in cases widely separated both in space and time. It is with the object of adding to the strength of the *faggot* of evidence, which exists on behalf of poltergeists, that this paper has been added to others on this subject already published in our *Proceedings*.

Every one will admit the truth of Glanvil's remark: "That which is sufficiently and undeniably proved ought not to be denied because we know not how it can be, that is, because there are difficulties in the conceiving of it"; and if the array of testimony from credible and competent witnesses in different countries and different ages concerning poltergeist phenomena be set aside, all testimony to strange and sporadic occurrences, such as meteorites, fireballs, red-rain, mock-suns, etc., must also be discredited. Few of us have witnessed the fall of meteoric stones to the earth, yet we believe in their existence in spite of the impossibility of their reproduction at our pleasure. The reason why we believe is of course the testimony of many trustworthy witnesses to whom we have given attention. In fact there are some phenomena in physical science which are as rare, elusive and inexplicable as those in psychical research. That strange phenomenon, to which the name of fire-ball or globe lightning has been given, is an example. "As we have hitherto been unable to reproduce a fire-ball by our most powerful electrical machines, some philosophers have denied that any such thing can exist! But as Arago says: 'Where should we be if we set ourselves to deny everything we do not know how to explain?' The amount of trustworthy and independent evidence which we possess as to the occurrence of this phenomenon is such as must convince every reasonable man who chooses to pay due attention to the subject. No doubt there is a great deal of exaggeration, as well as much imperfect and erroneous observation, in almost all these records. But the existence of the main feature (the fire-ball) seems to be proved beyond all doubt." These are the words of that eminent and genuine scientific man, the late Professor P. G. Tait, and the words I have italicized are, in my opinion, equally true of the phenomena of poltcrgeists. There has been, no doubt, much "exaggeration and erroneous observation" in connection with this subject, but this can also be said of the early stages of other new and striking additions to our knowledge.

Moreover, the evidence for poltergeist phenomena is strengthened when we remember the injury to themselves which the witnesses often suffered. As Glanvil says of Mr. Mompesson, "He suffered in his name, his estate, and in all his affairs, and in the general peace of his family. Unbelievers took him for an impostor, others thought it was a judgment of God upon him for impiety. He suffered also in loss of servants and the health and constant affrights of his whole household."

Conclusions.

The conclusions to which a study of the subject has led me may be stated as follows:

(1) That fraud and hallucination are inadequate to explain all the phenomena.

(2) That the widespread belief in fairies, pixies, gnomes, brownies, etc., probably rests on the varied manifestations of poltergeists.

(3) That in these phenomena occurring in all countries and going back to remote periods of time we have, as Mr. Lang suggests, one probable origin of Fetishism among savages, the belief that an inanimate object may be tenanted by what is thought to be a spirit.

(4) That the noises, sudden movements of objects, and other physical phenomena appear to be associated with some unseen intelligence which can respond, though fitfully and imperfectly, to an uttered and, there is some evidence to show, to an unuttered request; hence they must be in some degree related to our intelligence.

(5) That the disturbances are usually, though not invariably, associated with the presence of a child or young person of either sex, and appear to be attached to a particular place as well as to a particular person; some animate as well as inanimate *point d'appui* seems to be essential.

(6) The phenomena are sporadic and temporary, their duration varying from a few days to several months, disappearing as suddenly as they came.

(7) They produce annoyance to those concerned, and sometimes, though rarely, injury.

(8) They can be inhibited by suggestion, acting either upon the human radiant point or upon the unseen agency, or possibly upon both.

(9) The close connection of poltergeist disturbances with the

physical phenomena of spiritualism, suggests that the latter would be more effectually studied immediately after they were first noticed, and in the place where they first occurred in the presence of the child, or other "medium," round whom they centred. Further, we may expect simulation, and even confession of subsequent trickery, in the case of children, after the phenomena have ceased.

As the universe is founded on order and follows definite intelligible laws, we might expect to discover some analogy between the operation of seen and unseen causes. I fear, however, it will be a long time before we shall bring out of "the disorderly mystery of ignorance into the orderly mystery of science" these puzzling and freakish phenomena. We find, however, in meteorological disturbances, in the unseen physical phenomena of wind and weather, similar puzzling and apparently freakish occurrences. Albeit we have no doubt that long-continued patient observation and classification will ultimately reveal the complex and orderly physical causes at work in our fitful weather. But the scientific use of the imagination is necessary alike in meteorological and bizarre psychical phenomena, such as poltergeists.

The obvious question arises, why in the latter is a human radiant centre necessary? In inorganic nature we find in the behaviour of saturated solutions of salts a state of unstable equilibrium such that a particle of solid matter dropped into the quiescent liquid will suddenly create a molecular disturbance which spreads throughout the solution, causing solid crystals to appear and aggregate; a general commotion results for a short time, until the whole becomes a solid mass of crystals. Here we see the effect of a *nucleus* upon a previously quiescent state of things. Microscopists are familiar with similar phenomena. Especially in cell growth the presence of a nucleus is essential.

We may term the child, or other living person in poltergeist phenomena, the *nuclcus*, which is the determining factor. We ourselves and the whole world may be but nucleated cells in a vaster living organism, of which we can form no conception. Some incomprehensible intelligence is certainly at work in the congeries of cells and in the galaxy of suns and stars. But evolution in animate and inanimate nature is unlikely to be confined to the *visible* universe. Living creatures of different types and varied intelligence may exist in the unseen as in the seen. Possibly these poltergeist phenomena may be due to some of these, perhaps mischievous or rudimentary, intelligences in the unseen: I do not know why we should imagine there are no fools or naughty children in the spiritual world; possibly they are as numerous there as here. But why the conjunction of a particular locality and a particular human organism enables them to play pranks in the material world, we are as ignorant as the savage is as to why a dry day and particular material are necessary for the working of an electrical machine in the production of electricity.

At present our obvious duty is to collect, scrutinize, and classify these phenomena, leaving their explanation aside until our knowledge is larger.

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III.

LES PHÉNOMÈNES PHYSIQUES DU SPIRITISME : QUELQUES DIFFICULTÉS.¹

PAR LE COMTE PEROVSKY-PETROVO-SOLOVOVO.

LES "phénomènes physiques" du spiritisme semblent être plus que jamais à l'ordre du jour dans le monde des "psychistes." Les séances de Carancini; les expériences avec Eusapia Palladino à Naples (en 1908 et 1910) et aux États Unis; celles de M. de Rochas avec Bailey à Grenoble; les performances étourdissantes d'Ofélia Corralès à San José (Costa-Rica), etc., ont donné à cette sempiternelle question un regain d'actualité. Il peut paraître opportun au moment où elle se pose une fois de plus avec une acuité particulière; où, de l'incident du pied d'Eusapia saisi dans l'ombre du "cabinet" à New York² aux photographies de la soi-disant "Mary Brown," tout vient attiser la discussion-de jeter un coup d'œil sur l'état actuel du problème. Et pour s'en rendre un compte exact il sera utile de passer en revue les difficultés qui semblent militer contre l'authenticité des phénomènes; les objections qu'on peut y faire. La situation y gagnera certainement en netteté.

La plupart de ces difficultés sont du reste bien connues,³ quoique quelques-unes de celles que nous allons citer aient comparativement peu, je crois, retenu l'attention; elles ne sont pas toutes d'importance égale, mais certaines nous paraissent très sérieuses. Et leur force cumulative est en tous cas considérable. J'indiquerai à la fin de mon article la conclusion provisoire—à laquelle elles m'acculent. Pour le moment qu'il

¹This paper is printed in French, having been originally written for a French journal.—ED.

²Journal of the Society for Psychical Research, avril 1910, pp. 265-275; Psychische Studien, février 1911.

³On en verra quelques-unes enumérées par exemple chez Podmore, Studies in Psychical Research, pp. 110-115.

me suffise de préciser que, si depuis les vingt et quelques années que j'ai consaerées à l'étude du sujet sous ses différents aspects j'ai fait graduellement beaueoup de chemin dans le sens du seeptieisme et de la négation—je suis quand même et pardessus tout sineèrement désireux de traiter le problème avec une complète impartialité. Aux esprits et aux médiums de me prouver que je fais fausse route en penchant vers la négative pour certains faits ou soi-disant tels. Si cette preuve nous est jamais donnée, je m'inelinerai bien volontiers devant elle, ear je crois fermement que rien ne peut prévaloir contre ce qui est.

(1) Les phénomènes physiques du spiritisme sont très improbables a priori.

A la vérité il faut ici distinguer. Ils ne le sont pas tous également. Quelques-uns le sont même assez peu, et je crois que, si jamais le jour vient où l'authenticité, par exemple, des "raps" et de la télékinésie sera reconnue, nous les ferons rentrer dans le cadre de nos connaissances physiques sans difficulté. Mais que dire, par exemple, de faits tels que les matérialisations, les "apports" et le "passage de la matière à travers la matière"—surtout des deux derniers? Ne renversent-ils pas de fond en eomble—ou à peu près—nos notions actuelles? Ne contredisent-ils pas les lois les plus eertaines, sans parler de l'expérience non-interrompue de milliards d'hommes durant je ne sais combien de milliers d'années?

On me répondra que l'improbabilité apriorique ne suffit pas pour rejeter des faits bien établis; on pourra me rappeler les aérolithes, la circulation du sang, les ehemins de fer, le phonographe—que sais-je encore ? D'aeeord : je suis le premier de eet avis. Et tous ces exemples de négations aprioriques auxquelles la réalité vient donner un démenti éelatant sont fort instructifs. Mais—il s'agit de s'entendre sur le scns des mots " bien établis." Et il serait, je erois, mal aisé de disconvenir que plus un fait est en soi improbable, plus nous sommes autorisés à nous montrer dificiles en faits de preuves. Il ne peut y avoir là-dessus deux opinions.

Or dans le domaine du spiritisme que voyons-nous? Presque exactement l'opposé. Plus un phénomène est invraisemblable, moins les preuves qu'on avance en faveur de son authenticité sont satis-

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faisantes ! En effet. S'agit-il de "coups frappés," de lévitations de tables et de certains mouvements sans contact — les témoignages sont quelquefois excellents. Ils le sont même si bien que je doute qu'un chercheur véritablement impartial et bien au courant de la question puisse les rejeter. Si nous passons aux "matérialisations," beaucoup plus extraordinaires—nous voyons que nos "preuves" ont extrêmement baissé comme qualité. Sauf quelques observations jusqu'à un certain point curieuses et déconcertantes sur des apparitions de "mains" avec D. D. Home et peut-être avec Eusapia,¹ c'est surtout sur Katie King et Sir W. Crookes que nous devons nous rabattre. C'est maigre après un tiers de siècle. Ajoutons que certaines des observations de Sir W. Crookes relatives à "Katie King" ont pu paraître avec raison prêter à la critique.² Et en dehors d'elles je ne vois presque rien!

Tout de même c'est encore quelque chose évidemment ! Mais si nous faisons un pas de plus dans le domaine—je ne dirai même pas de l'improbable, mais humainement parlant de l'impossible; si nous passons aux "apports" et autres faits de ce genre—que trouvons-nous ? Pour le "passage de la matière à travers la matière"—peu de témoignages sérieux et pas un seul fait véritablement concluant. Pour les "apports" c'est moins encore. On sait que les preuves de leur réalité se rattachent pour la plupart au nom de Stainton Moses: en dehors de lui je ne connais presque pas de cas tant soit peu dignes de retenir l'attention.³ Or pour S. Moses il n'y a pas de

¹Voir cependant cc que je dis à ce sujet dans mon post scriptum.

²Voir par exemple les obscrvations de M. Podmore dans *Modern Spiritualism*, Vol. II., pp. 155-157.

³On pourra s'en rendre compte en lisant le chapitre consacré aux apports chez Aksakow, Animisme et Spiritisme (pp. 484-495 de l'original russe). Sur les six cas qu'il cite un a le Colonel Olcott pour témoin, ce qui suffit pour le disqualifier entièrement; un second est attesté par M. Robert Cooper—un spirite très honorable celui-là, mais comme témoin par trop "commode"; un troisième peut s'expliquer très facilement en supposant une entente préalable entre "une jeune dame douée de facultés médiunniques" qui n'est pas nommée et Mouck—un professionnel amplement démasqué. Les trois autres cas sont à la vérité meilleurs; mais là encore dans deux les témoignages sont loin d'être suffisants, et certaius détails essentiels nous viennent de seconde main. Reste finalement un seul cas relaté par Crookes et se rapportant à une séance avec Miss Kate Fox (Jencken). Mais cette fois il ne s'agit plus d'un véritable "apport," mais plutôt d'un transport d'objet (une sonnette) d'une chambre doute que la grande majorité de ses phénomènes (les apports y compris) puisse s'expliquer par de la fraude de sa part nécessairement eonsciente pour eertains cas, peut-être ineonseiente pour d'autres. Il est eertainement invraisemblable qu'un homme dans sa situation se soit amusé durant des années à mystifier ses amis les plus proches; mais il est infiniment plus improbable encore de supposer qu'il ait eu le don de faire venir on ne sait d'où, ni comment, à travers l'espaee, divers objets et de leur faire traverser portes et murs en leur conservant leur forme première. Et je pense que dans ce eas nous avons à ehoisir non—eomme on l'a dit—entre " a physical and a moral miracle "—mais plutôt entre " a physical impossibility and a moral improbability." Il est diffieile d'hésiter entre les deux.

(2) Les ineidents qui ont donné naissance à ce qu'on appelle le "spiritualisme moderne" sont indubitablement jusqu'à un certain point suspects.

Je veux parler des fameux "raps" qui se firent entendre en 1848 à Hydesville, puis à Rochester, en présence des sœurs Fox, et sans lesquels il n'y aurait peut-être pas de spiritisme à l'heure qu'il est. Il est hors de doute que des sons pareils peuvent être faeilement produits soit à l'aide des doigts du pied, soit avec les muscles du genou; il paraît également certain que les personnes qui expérimentèrent avec les Fox au tout commencement ignoraient que de pareils trues fussent possibles. Nous avons aussi d'autres circonstances suspectes : la non-réussite des expériences en 1851 avec deux des sœurs Fox par trois professeurs de Buffalo (Flint, Lee et

dans une autre. Il est vrai que Sir W. Crookes nous dit avoir lui-même fermé à clé la porte de eelle où avait lieu la séance. Le cas, je l'avoue, me paraît digne d'attention; mais comme il est à ce point de vue à peu près le seul de son espèce; comme d'autre part le récit qu'en fait Sir W. Crookes est évidemment distinct des notes qu'il a dû prendre immédiatement après la séance ct qu'il a pu y omettre telle ou telle eirconstance importante—on ne peut vraiment attacher à ce récit de valeur décisive. En y supposant une inexactitude des plus légères on pourrait voir dans le transport de la sonnette un fait de "télékinésie" tout au plus. Néanmoins je reconnais que l'incident décrit par l'illustre savant anglais est curieux; quelle pitié que les "esprits" se refusent comme règle générale à nous en donner de pareils ! (On en trouvera la description aussi dans les *Reseurches* de Crookes, p. 97.)

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Coventry);¹ le fiasco de Margaret Fox-Kane devant la "Commission Seybert";² celui de Kate Fox-Jencken avec Mme Sidgwick;³ la déclaration qu'aurait faite en justice en 1871 une parente des Fox, Mme Norman Culver;⁴ enfin la fameuse "confession" des sœurs Fox elles-mêmes en 1888;⁵ confession retirée ensuite, il est vrai, et à laquelle diverses circonstances enlèvent indubitablement du poids. Quoiqu'il en soit, tous ces incidents ne laissent pas que de jeter un jour quelque peu suspect sur les fameux "Rochester knockings," tout en ne nous permettant pas de conclure positivement dans le sens de la fraude.

(3) Suspettes aussi-et combien !---les conditions dans lesquelles ont lieu la plupart du temps les phénomènes.

C'est l'obscurité et le demi-jour si propices à la fraude et aux erreurs des sens; c'est l'injonction aux assistants de se tenir les mains, précaution qui peut avoir son bon côté mais qui gêne singulièrement toute investigation; de chanter ou de parler (aux séances d'Eusapia); de ne pas concentrer l'attention sur les phénomènes; c'est la défense constante de faire ceci ou cela, de s'approcher ou de regarder de trop près; c'est le médium assis seul et en liberté dans le "cabinet" à la plupart des séances de matérialisation; enfin c'est en général l'impossibilité de contrôler comme on le voudrait. Je ne crois pas qu'aucun spirite raisonnable puisse nier le bien-fondé de l'affirmation qui a dû être faite bien des fois et que de toute façon je reprends pour mon compte : les conditions qui favorisent les phénomènes favorisent également la fraude.

(4) Il y a plus: ee ne sont pas seulement les conditions dans lesquelles les phénomènes se produisent, ee sont les "lois" même qui soi-disant les régissent qui favorisent aussi la supercherie.

En effet : si les spirites étaient toujours conséquents avec eux-mêmes, ils se mettraient dans l'impossibilité de jamais

- ² Davenport, The Death-blow to Spiritualism, pp. 164-200.
- ³ Proc. of the S.P.R., Vol. IV., pp. 47, 48.
- ⁴ Maskelyne, Modern Spiritualism, pp. 24-27.
- ⁵ Davenport, op. cit., passim.

¹R. B. Davenport, The Death-blow to Spiritualism, pp. 132-144.

prouver que de la part du médium il y a eu trieherie! Trouve-t-on ce dernier à la place de l'apparition qu'un des assistants a saisie un peu brutalement à une séance de matérialisation-on nous affirme qu'il y a eu réunion des deux, mais dans des conditions anormales; et que l'apparition ne pouvant pas revenir vers le médium puisqu'on la retenait-c'est le médium qui a été attiré vers la forme matérialisée.¹ Trouve-t-on dans le "cabinet" des masques, voiles et autres objets servant au déguisement—on nous dit que ee sont les esprits qui les y ont apportés;² ou que la séance avant été brusquement interrompue ils n'ont pas eu le temps de dématérialiser les voiles.³ La main matérialisée est-elle subrepticement enduite d'une matière colorante quelconque, dont les traces sont ensuite relevées sur la main du medium ? C'est que la main matérialisée s'étant formée aux dépens de cette dernière et y rentrant une fois la séance terminée, a dû nécessairement y transporter les particules de la matière eolorante.⁴ La main matérialisée s'est-elle maladroitement montrée revêtue d'une manche identique à celles du vêtement du médium-on nous assure que ce ne sont pas seulement les membres et le corps du medium qui se dédoublent mais aussi ses habits. Nous donne-t-on des preuves de toutes ces énormités ? Oui-mais elles sont presque toutes telles qu'on pourrait à la rigueur s'en passer et eroire sur parole.⁵

¹Harrison, dans le Spiritualist, 29 décembre, 1876 (cité par Podmore, Modern Spiritualism, Vol. II., p. 108); lettre du Dr. A. R. Wallace au Light, novembre, 1882.

²Aksakow, Matériaux pour l'appréciation de l'écriture automatique (expériences personnelles) ainsi que de la matérialisation, pp. 279, 280, note (en russe).

³ Voir le chapitre correspondant dans Brackett, *Materialised Apparitions*; je n'ai lu cet ouvrage qu'en traduction russe.

⁴ Aksakow, Animisme et Spiritisme, p. 139 (original russe).

⁵C'est du reste ce qu'il faut bien faire pour l'affirmation de M. Aksakow quant au rôle des apports dans les séances de matérialisation; de preuves il n'en donne que je sache aucune. Pour ce qui est du dédoublement des vêtements (!) le seul incident de ce genre digne d'attention que je connaisse se rapporte à la fameuse expérience électrique de Crookes et de Varley avec Mme Fay: on y vit, paraît-il, qui "l'apparition" que parut dans l'ouverture du rideau et remit un livre à Cox portait la même robe que le médium et même ses bracelets (The Spiritualist, 1875, I., p. 151). J'ignore si la critique que M. Podmore a faite des expériences en question est tout à fait justifiée (Modern Spiritualism, Vol. II., pp. 158, 159), mais je ne puis ne pas attacher

Ce n'est pas tout: ces théories abracadabrantes sont généralement fabriquées ad hoc, pour expliquer tel ou tel cas particulier, alors qu'auparavant il n'en était pas question. En voici un exemple. J'ignore le nom du spirite qui a le premier lancé l'hypothèse d'une "main matérialisée" pour expliquer les transports d'objets "sans contact." Il paraitra à un sceptique assez probable que ce qui a pu donner l'impulsion première à cette hypothèse-la c'est quelque aventure désagréable arrivée à un médium aussi maladroit qu'ingénieux. Quoiqu'il en soit il est trop tard maintenant pour récriminer, et force nous est actuellement de traiter cette théorie avec égards. Mais que dire par exemple de l'hypothèse du "fil éthérique," du "fil matérialisé" émise par M. le Docteur Ochorowicz dans ses si intéressants articles sur ses expériences avec Stanislawa Tomczyk? Des centaines de milliers de spirites sont nés et morts depuis la date fatidique des "Rochester knockings" sans jamais avoir envisagé une telle possibilité. Et jusqu'à M. Ochorowicz, le médium le plus audacieux, le plus "sans gêne," ne se serait jamais permis de recourir à une explication pareille. Aujourd'hui c'est autre chose: de vastes et de nouveaux horizons s'ouvrent devant nous-et aussi de nouvelles facilités de tricherie et de nouvelles excuses à invoquer pour les médiums fraudeurs. Toujours cette même déplorable coincidence entre une "loi"ou soi-disant telle-et les conditions qui facilitent la supercherie.1

A noter encore que toutes ces théories si commodes pour eux ne semblent pas avoir été mises en avant en premier lieu par les "esprits" eux-mêmes—qu'on pourrait cependant croire le mieux informés. Esprits et médiums préfèrent en laisser l'initiative à de simples spirites (ou "psychistes")—quittes, sans

d'importance au fait que lorsque Mme Fay est venue en Russie en 1888-89 elle s'est obstinément refusée à les renouveler sous des prétextes éminemment mensongers (Rébus, 1889, p. 117); elle y a été en outre démasquée, et en général sa "médiumnité" est des plus suspectes qui se soient jamais produites.

¹ En écrivant ce qui précède je n'exprime pas d'opinion sur les expériences de M. Ochorowicz en elles-mêmes. S'il en a—je l'avoue—d'irrésistiblement suspectes, il y en a aussi de déconcertantes et difficilement explicables (*Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, 1910, No. 3-4, pp. 33-39). Je ne juge pas : je constate qu'il y a coincidence fâcheuse pour la cent et unième fois. Et je ne puis refuser à M. le Docteur Ochorowicz l'expression de mon admiration pour sa science et ses infatigables travaux. doute, à intervenir et à donner leur sanction une fois le terrain suffisamment préparé.

(5) La variété extraordinaire des conditions soi-disant exigées par les phénomènes est aussi de nature à donner raison aux sceptiques.

On nous dit par exemple que l'obscurité est une condition nécessaire-et à ce propos on invoque la photographie et je ne sais quoi encore. Et cependant Home, nous raconte-t-on, opérait presque toujours dans une lumière suffisante pour bien observer. Et cependant les "slate-writing mediums" américains donnent leurs séances en plein jour. Et même on vient nous dire aujourd'hui (MM. Feilding, Baggally et Carrington à propos d'Eusapia Palladino) que "plus les précautions étaient complètes, plus la lumière était forte, plus les phénomènes étaient nombreux."¹ (Voilà certes unc affirmation bien nouvelle et bien inattendue.) Tantôt la "chaîne des mains" est considérée comme étant de toute nécessité, à ce point que rien ne se produit plus une fois qu'elle est rompue; tantôt on s'en passe tout-à-fait-du moins en ce qui regarde le médium lui-même. Certains médiums n' "opèrent " qu'isolés des assistants et bras et jambes liés (comme les Davenport); d'autres ne consentent qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés et exceptionnellement à se laisser attacher les mains à celles des contrôleurs (Eusapia). Et pour la seule façon de contrôler les mains il y a des nuances! Sambor par exemple se laissait presque toujours tenir dans le sens strict du mot. Au contraire Eusapia ne l'admet pas; M. le Doctcur Ochorowicz nous a très ingénieusement expliqué pourquoi.² Et puisque je viens de citer son nom je me permettrai d'ajouter qu'à mon avis les conditions dans lesquelles se produisent à l'heure actuelle en présence de son médium Mlle Tomczyk les lévitations de petits objets vont certainement à l'encontre de ce que les spirites ont tâché de nous inculquer durant soixante ans. Pour les "apports": non seulement beaucoup de médiums à effets physiques n'en produisent pas du tout, mais les esprits de Home affirmaient (c'est Crookes qui nous raconte le fait) que la matière ne peut passer

¹ Proceedings of the S.P.R., Vol. XXIII., p. 323.

²Annales des Sciences Psychiques, 1896, No. 2, pp. 105-107.

à travers la matière; et cependant ... Enfin pour les matérialisations : une condition soi-disant essentielle-c'est la "transe" du médium qui doit être en plus isolé des assistants. M. Aksakow a même élaboré à ce propos une ingénieuse théorie d'après laquelle à chaque "matérialisation" partielle ou totale correspondrait une "dématérialisation" aussi partielle ou presque totale du corps du médium lequel pourrait par conséquent devenir "invisible." (Voilà encore une hypothèse bien commode à certain point de vue.¹) Et cependant non seulement les cas où médium et apparition auraient été vus simultanément ne sont pas après tout si peu nombreux; mais aux séances des médiums de profession américains on voit souvent apparaître une, deux, trois apparitions en même temps que le médiumet même en pleine lumière! La "transe" non plus n'est pas une condition sine qua non; le polonais Jan Guzik-pour ne citer que lui-n'est ni "entransé," ni même isolé du cercle lorsque se produisent ses "matérialisations"-aussi très sui generis, puisqu'avant lui nous n'avons jamais entendu parler, je crois, de matérialisations à caractère mi-animal (!). (Des bandes de toile enduites d'une substance lumineuse et apposées sur les jambes de Guzik—je parle d'après mon expérience personnelle-présentent un obstacle insurmontable à ces matérialisations-là.)

Et une fois matérialisées—comme elles se comportent différemment les apparitions! Aujourd'hui tel "esprit" parle qui soutenait auparavant qu'un esprit matérialisé ne peut parler.² Ou bien, alors que certains ne tarissent pas en babillages "de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis," un autre affirme qu'une fois revêtu temporairement d'une enveloppe corporelle un habitant de l'autre monde n'en sait pas plus que les assistants,³ etc., etc.

Et voyez les apports. Alors que pour produire le plus simple mouvement d'objet sans contact le médium doit l'avoir

¹C'est, comme on sait, la soi-disant disparition des jambes de Mme d'Espérance à une séance à Helsingfors qui a poussé M. Aksakow à formuler sa théorie (v. Un cas de dématérialisation partielle du corps d'un médium). M. Carrington a fait bonne justice de cet incident dans un intéressant article des Proceedings of the American S.P.R., Vol. I. pp. 131-168.

² Proceedings of the S.P.R., Vol. IV., p. 61.

³ Pareille affirmation a été faite en ma présence à une séance de Mme Corner (Florence Cook).

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les plus essentielles des phénomènes sont ainsi renversées de fond en comble, mais les spirites nc s'en montrent pas autrement préoccupés. Ils répondront sans doute que les "apports" appartiennent à un tout autre ordre dc faits que les mouvements sans contact (comme si c'était là une explication !)--et voilà tout.

L'impression qui se dégage de tout cela c'est que ces soidisant lois ne sont que le fruit de la fantaisie des médiums quand ce n'est pas de leur ingéniosité. Une seule—ou à peu près—ne varie presque jamais : les conditions de l'investigation ne sont pas telles que l'observateur les désire, mais telles que le médium les veut.

(6) A supposer les phénomènes authentiques ce n'est plus d'une seule force physique inconnue les produisant qu'il s'agirait mais de plusieurs.

En effet, comme le dit M. Podmore,² quelque sage que soit l'adage "entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem" il serait vraiment par trop parcimonieux le critique qui s'obstinerait à mettre sur le compte d'une seule et unique force physique des faits aussi différents que: les lévitations d'objets, (tables) avec contact; les transports d'objets sans contact; les lévitations et "élongations" du corps humain (Home); le passage de la matière à travers la matière (nœuds de Zöllner, etc.); les apports; les coups frappés; les sons musicaux et parfums (Stainton Moses); l'incombustibilité (Home); les matérialisations.

Il est clair que si tous ces faits sont authentiques, ce n'est pas par une "force" unique, mais bien par plusieurs, qu'ils doivent être produits. Rien d'improbable dans la supposition que non sculement une, mais de multiples forces inconnues peuvent opérer dans la nature : qui oserait le nier après toutes les découvertes de ces dernières années? Mais c'est la

¹Aksakow, Animisme et Spiritisme, p. 489 (original russe).

² Modern Spiritualism, Vol. II., p. 183.

concentration de plusieurs de ces forces inconnues en un même individu ou une même catégorie d'individus; c'est leur gravitation à toutes, pour ainsi dire, autour d'un même centre qui est invraisemblable. Comme le dit toujours M. Podmore, l'improbabilité apriorique de l'hypothétique force psychique est énormément accrue rien que par l'énumération des multiples fonctions auxquelles ladite force aurait à pourvoir.¹

(7) L'origine purement terrestre de toutes les traces permanentes qu'ait jamais laissées une séance spiritique est certaine.

La mèche que Crookes a coupée sur la tête de "Katie King" était formée de véritables cheveux, de l'origine la plus indubitablement humaine. Son vêtement—à en juger par les morceaux qu'elle y découpa pour les donner à ses admirateurs ne semble, non plus, avoir présenté rien de particulièrement enigmatique au point de vue de l'étoffe. Les multiples apports de Stainton Moses et d'autres médiums n'offraient et n'offrent non plus rien d'extra-terrestre. Dans certains cas—comme pour Anna Rothe et Bailey—on a même pu découvrir la boutique de fleurs ou d'oiseaux où ces braves médiums s'étaient approvisionnés en vue de la séance !

Et ainsi de suite. Si exception apparente il y a, c'est que l'objet, la substance en question n'ont pas été soumis à un examen digne de ce nom.

(8) Plus les eonditions d'une expérience médiumnique sont rigoureuses, plus les ehances de réussite de cette expérience diminuent.

A mesure que l'observateur élimine les causes d'erreur et met de plus en plus les "esprits" au pied du mur—les phénomènes décroissent en intensité pour disparaître souvent toutà-fait. Ou bien le médium s'arrange de façon a éluder l'expérience embarrassante qu'on veut lui imposer et offre à l'observateur autre chose. Près de 40 ans se sont écoulés depuis que Crookes dans un article fameux² exposait ce que

¹ Modern Spiritualism, Vol. II., p. 183. A noter cependant qu'une ingénieuse théorie développée par Myers dans Human Personality, Vol. II., pp. 530-543, permettrait d'expliquer par l'opération d'une même cause efficiente la plupart des phénomènes.

² Quarterly Journal of Science, v. Researches in Spiritualism, p. 6.

les phénomènes sont et ce qu'on est en droit d'exiger qu'ils soient—mais hélas! si depuis lors progrès il y a, c'est plutôt du progrès à rebours. L'échec presque constant des expériences véritablement décisives finit par devenir un argument négatif terriblement sérieux.¹

Les exemples abondent. Ils sont particulièrement frappants peut-être dans le domaine de l'écriture directe sur ardoises. d'observations apparemment très concluantes s'y Le nombre rapportant est fort imposant; mais l'investigateur veut-il s'entourer de précautions spéciales et excluant nettement la fraude-le crayon ne bouge plus. Plusieurs des cxpériences de Zöllner avec Slade sont un autre exemple de cette même particularité; l'astucieux américain s'arrange plus d'une fois de façon à tourner les "tests" vraiment décisifs et à présenter au savant allemand quelque chose d'autre ne leur ressemblant que superficiellement. Pour passer à un cas qui m'est personnel: avec Sambor des chaises s'enfilent sur ses bras alors que ses mains ne sont que tenues (quoique, ma foi, très bien tenucs !). C'est là un "phénomène " qui se renouvelle un nombre incalculable de fois et quelquefois presque sur commande. Voilà qui est fort bien-mais... un simple ruban de toile passé à travers les manches de la redingote du médium et celles de ses voisins fait invariablement "rater" ce "phénomène." Il en est ainsi, je crois, de tous les médiums. 11 leur arrive quelquefois de présenter des faits apparemment incompréhensibles, mais sitôt que nous exigeons des garanties spéciales ct en demandons alors la répétition-il ne se produit plus rien ou presque rien.

Il est vrai, il n'est que juste d'ajouter, premièrement, que dans l'ignorance où nous sommes des phénomènes présumés quelques-unes de ces "garanties spéciales" ont pu quelquefois faire violence à telle ou autre de leurs lois les plus essentielles et en rendre dès lors la production impossible;² ensuite que

¹Je dis "presque" parce que je considère que certaines expériences très probantes se rapportant aux mouvements d'objets d'un caractère plus ou moins élémentaire ont toutefois réussi.

² Je serais enclin à mettre dans le nombre la pleine lumière (quelque désirable qu'elle soit en principe) pour tous les phénomènes autres que les "raps" et les mouvements sans contact et lévitations de tables; l'interposition d'obstacles matériels compacts entre le médium et les objets à mouvoir (tels qu'une cloison métallique); peut-être aussi la prétention (bien des fois émise) de pouvoir faire la

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plus d'une fois il est arrivé aux observateurs eux-mêmes de négliger un détail important et par là de vicier l'expérience. Néanmoins et malgré ces réserves nécessaires, la difficulté subsiste. Là où le prestidigitateur ne peut rien le médium 99 fois sur 100 (ne scrait-ce pas plutôt 999 fois sur 1000?) ne réussit pas micux.

(9) Aussi voyons-nous que la presque totalité des "phénomènes physiques" a-t-elle été reproduite par les prestidigitateurs.

S'ils n'ont pas démoli tout l'édifice si laborieusement élevé au cours de quelques dizaines d'années par les médiums à effets physiques, ils n'en ont certainement laissé debout que quelques pans de murs ! Ils ont fait table rase des multiples témoignages accumulés en faveur de l'écriture directe sur ardoises ; ils ont reproduit ou expliqué les photographies spirites, les trucs des séances de matérialisation (par exemple la matérialisation graduelle de "l'esprit" devant les assistants); les "raps" (du moins certains "raps"); les phénomènes lumineux (du moins certains phénomènes lumineux); les procédés à l'aide desquels les médiums parvenaient à se debarrasser des liens dont on les chargeait; à sortir des sacs dans lesquels on les enfermait—ou à produire leurs phénomènes malgré ces liens et ces sacs, etc., etc.

Je ne connais rien de plus instructif sous ce rapport que la lecture des ouvrages spéciaux consacrés à nous narrer les trucs en usage chez les médiums (américains surtout).¹ L'ingéniosité des procédés qui y sont décrits tient quelquefois du prodige! Et on se dit en parcourant cette suite interminable

lumière à n'importe quel moment d'une séance. Pour ce qui est de la pleine lumière il est admissible *a priori* (quoique bien fâcheux !) qu'elle puisse véritablement nuire aux phénomènes; quant aux "obstacles matériels," comme nous ne repoussons pas *a priori* l'hypothèse d'une "matérialisation" de membres humains, il est compréhensible que ces membres ne puissent pas agir à travers une cloison métallique, ou le couvercle et les parois d'une boîte hermétiquement fermée. Un éclairage subit de la chambre où la séance a lieu pourrait à mon avis être préjudiciable au médium. On le voit, je fais encore la part assez belle aux "esprits," quelque sceptique que je sois à leur égard. En revanche je comprendrais l'attitude d'un investigateur refusant d'expérimenter avec un médium dont les mains seraient aussi mal tenues que celles d'Eusapia.

¹ Je recommande en particulier l'ouvrage de Carrington, The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism, fraudulent and genuine.

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de récits où l'investigateur, quelqu'alerte et intelligent qu'il soit, donne invariablement dans le panneau malgré les preeautions les plus minutieuses. Oui, eertes, ees sortes de recherches doivent être l'apanage de quelques-uns seulement! Oui, le témoignage de eelui qui n'a pas fait du sujet une étude spéciale (qui n'a pas en particulier étudié la prestidigitation) ne peut forcément valoir grand'ehose! Nous ne demandons pas à un assyriologue de trancher un problème ardu d'algèbre, ou à un chimiste de se prononcer sur la lecture d'un texte cunéiforme; nous ne regardons pas un chirurgien comme spécialement compétent en architecture et ne rechercherons pas l'avis d'un architecte relativement à un problème de chimie. A plus forte raison comment peut-on invoquer le témoignage du premier venu¹ dans une question aussi compliquée que celle de savoir si tel ou tel phénomène apparenment incompréhensible peut ou ne peut pas être dû à un "true"? Il est elair que pareille question relève des spécialistes.

Du reste j'aurai encore l'oceasion de toucher à ce sujet. Revenons à ce qu'ont réussi à faire nos prestidigitateurs et constatons que sur certains chapitres ils ont non seulement égalé mais surpassé les médiums. Les vases remplis d'eau et de poissons rouges; les lapins et oiseaux vivants que nous voyons surgir grâce à leur baguette magique, venant on ne sait d'où, devant nos yeux émerveillés dans des salles brillamment éelairées—valent bien les apports de Bailey, d'Anna Rothe ou même de Stainton Moses. Il faut bien croire d'ailleurs, que les adeptes de la magie blanche ont, somme toute, assez bien réussi dans leur imitation des phénomènes médiumniques, puisqu'il s'est trouvé des spirites—et non des moindres—pour affirmer que certains d'entr'eux n'étaient que des médiums honteux. (C'est ce qu'Alfred Russel Wallace notamment a fait pour plusieurs et en particulier pour Davey.¹)

¹ Et même si ee témoin n'est pas le premier venu, mais s'est illustré dans *un tout* autre domaine, la question ne me semble pas se poser très différemment. Je rappellerai à ce propos que eertains savants dont le témoignage en faveur des phénomènes médiumniques a été souvent cité comme ayant beaucoup de poids ont recounu ne rien comprendre à la prestidigitation (ainsi MM. Scheibner et Weber; Seybert Commission's Report, pp. 108-110).

Journal of the S.P.R., mars 1891. On me fera observer peut-être que même s'ils ont reproduit beaucoup de phénomènes les prestidigitateurs n'ont pas réussi à les reproduire tous ; ensuite que eertains prestidigitateurs, Davey par exemple, Nous sommes loin de méconnaître l'importance du fait que certains prestidigitateurs appelés à donner leur avis sur l'authenticité de quelques phénomènes se sont prononcés nettement pour l'affirmative (par exemple Bellachini et Rybka à propos de Slade et d'Eusapia; MM. Carrington et Baggally qui ont expérimenté avec cette dernière à Naples en même temps que M. Feilding sont également des experts en la matière); mais leurs verdicts sont contre-balancés par ceux d'autres spécialistes d'un caractère tout opposé. Il est fort naturel du reste qu'un Bellachini puisse tout comme un autre être pris au dépourvu par un truc qu'il ne connaît pas; aurait-il persévéré dans son attitude première s'il avait continué ses recherches? *That is the question*.

Puisque nous parlons en ce moment de prestidigitation, rappelons que les spirites insistent souvent sur le grand désavantage dans lequel le médium serait placé vis-à-vis du faiseur de tours de passe-passe, celui-ci opérant sur une estrade, avec ses propres instruments et appareils, souvent entouré d'acolytes; celui-là venant au contraire seul dans une maison étrangère, sans rien apporter avec soi; en proie à la suspicion; bref, à en croire certains "croyants," toutes les facilités seraient l'apanage du prestidigitateur et la situation du médium serait des moins commodes.

Voyons s'il en est vraiment ainsi. Tout d'abord :

(a) Beaucoup de prestidigitateurs—ou presque tous—viennent donner des séances en ville. Ils ne se font quelquefois accompagner de personne; ils empruntent très souvent aux assistants certains objets dont ils ont besoin, comme des montres, des mouchoirs de poche, des pièces de monnaie, etc.

(b) Beaucoup de médiums—surtout en Amérique et en Angleterre—donnent des séances chez eux et sc servent de leurs propres appareils (ardoises, etc.). Rien ne leur manque alors: tables et portes truquées, compères cachés au bon endroit et ainsi de suite *ad infinitum*.

Ensuite il faut se rappeler que le médium n'est nullement

étaient doués de facultés d'adresse et d'ingéniosité exceptionnelles, et qu'on ne peut avec vraisemblance attribuer au premier venu; enfin qu'il est théoriquement possible que deux phénomènes apparemment identiques puissent être dûs à deux causes absolument différentes. Je suis prêt à concéder ces quelques points, mais sauf pour le premier je ne leur vois pas une très grande importance.

tenu de produire les phénomènes quand même; qu'il a à sa disposition mille et une bonnes raisons pour n'en rien faire quand-pour une cause ou pour une autre-cela ne l'arrange pas (il peut même à la rigueur, s'il est à court d'excuses, ne rien dire après n'avoir rien produit et s'en aller comme était venu sans que sa réputation en pâtisse);¹ que il souvent une séance nulle lui donne pour ainsi dire un regain de mystère; enfin que généralement on exige beaucoup plus du prestidigitateur (qui n'a pas droit, lui, aux séances nulles!) que du médium comme phénomènes et que la majorité de ceux qui fréquentent les séances spirites savent (il faut leur rendre cette justice) se contenter de peu. Il n'irait pas loin le prestidigitateur qui se mettrait en tête d'imiter les médiums (ou du moins la plupart des médiums) au point de vue de la modicité des résultats! Enfin faut-il expliquer que bien souvent l'ambiance aussi est beaucoup moins favorable à l'émule de Robert Houdin qu'au médium? Et tout en admettant volontiers que dans nombre de cas ce dernier peut se trouver dans une situation des plus désagréables, je crois somme toute que les prétendus avantages qu'a sur lui le prestidigitateur sont exagérés. Les risques à courir seraient évidemment incomparablement plus sérieux pour le médium si, une fois démasqué, il était définitivement "coulé"; mais on sait bien que cela n'arrive jamais. La plus éclatante des "exposures" a-t-elle jamais mis fin à la carrière d'un médium ? Prière de me citer quelques cas!

(10) Presque tous les médiums à effets physiques connus ont été convaincus de fraude—et plutôt dix fois qu'une.

Dans la carrière de D. D. Home lui-même—pourtant unique à certains points de vue—il y a des incidents suspects.² Pour les autres c'est une suite interminable de scandales et de trucs démasqués, trucs souvent grossiers, d'autres fois d'une surprenante

¹ Pour des médiums plutôt bavards et, ma foi, très amusants quelquefois comme feu Sambor, j'en connais d'autres qui préfèrent garder un silence obstiné. Ce silence a ses avantages. Pour le médium il n'y a ni explications à donner, ni questions gênantes à redouter : il se tire d'embarras avec quelques monosyllabes du sens le plus vague—et ses affaires n'en vont pas plus mal : au contraire !

² Journal S.P.R., mai 1903.

ingéniosité (mais plus rarement). Les médiums américains viennent naturellement en première ligne. Et la série est loin d'être close !

Ce côté de la question est trop connu du reste pour que j'y insiste; mais puisque les spirites mettent souvent en avant l'argument qu'on peut très bien être médium et frauder par ci-par là quand même, soit dans un état d'inconscience, soit pour suppléer à un épuisement temporaire de la "force" médiumnique, je ferai observer que bien souvent-le plus souvent -quand on démasque un médium on constate la préméditation; que d'autres fois on se trouve en présence d'une véritable organisation systématique avant pour but la fraude sur une vaste échelle. Ce serait, assure-t-on, le cas pour la grande majorité, tout au moins, des médiums de profession américains--sans en excepter les "trance-mediums "-lesquels constitueraient ni plus ni moins qu'une vaste association embrassant presque tout le pays; association dont les membres se communiqueraient mutuellement tous les renseignements pouvant mieux faire marcher le commerce et se soutiendraient les uns les autres dans le louable but de mieux berner leurs clients. Pour ceux-là pas de doute que les excuses ordinaires des spirites ne tiennent pas debout.

Un autre de leurs arguments consiste à dire que de ce que tel phénomène ait été simulé il ne s'en suit pas qu'il n'y en ait pas d'authentiques; et pour un peu on irait jusqu'à jouer sur les mots et à prétendre qu'on ne peut *imiter* que ce qui existe; si donc on *imite* un phénomène quelconque c'est que celui-ci doit forcément exister par lui-même! (Je crois avoir vu quelque part ce raisonnement!) A ceci je répliquerai: si en étudiant une catégorie de "faits" ou soi-disant tels, nous constatons (α) que pas un de ces "faits" ne peut être—n'a été —rigoureusement prouvé; (b) que parmi ces "faits" beaucoup sont indubitablement d'origine frauduleuse; et (c) qu'ils peuvent être reproduits artificiellement; si, dis-je, nous constatons tout cela, que serons-nous en droit de conclure? Simplement ceci: que la catégorie de "faits" en question n'existe probablement pas!¹

¹Je posai un jour à un spirite très honorablement connu, aujourd'hui décédé, la question : quelle peut bien être à l'égard des phénomènes frauduleux l'attitude des "esprits" eux-mêmes? Il me fut répondu : "Une longue expérience m'a appris que ces esprits sont de simples canailles." Un "psychiste" des plus illustres auquel je faisais part il y a peu de temps de cette opinion s'empressa de s'y rallier entièrement.

(11) Les médiums payés sont loin d'être les seuls à frauder.

Lorsque, en 1882, fut organisée la Société anglaise des Recherches Psychiques ses fondateurs attachaient grande importance à la possibilité d'observer des phénomènes physiques en présence non de médiums payés mais de simples particuliers. Leur attente fut en très grande partie décue. Mais là où elle ne l'a pas été je crois que les savants anglais ont pu se convaincre que leur point de départ était faux et que, en excluant-ou à peu près¹-les médiums payés, ils ne faisaient nullement disparaître le seul stimulant qui pousse à la fraude. On ne trompe pas que par intérêt pécuniaire; nous n'en sommes pas encore là, Dieu merci ! Le rôle de porte-parole de l'Au-delà; d'intermédiaire entre deux mondes qu'un gouffre sans fond sépare; de canal par où, venant de la plus enigmatique des sources, s'écoule la mystérieuse force psychiqueest assez tentant pour pouvoir pousser bien souvent tout seul à donner le coup de pouce. A part cela, n'oublions pas que la table autour laquelle ont vient faire la "chaîne" est un puissant élément niveleur. Tel personnage éminent qui dans la vie de tous les jours laisserait à peine franchir au médium le seuil de son antichambre est tout heureux de l'avoir assis à ses côtés à une séance de spiritisme et pour un peu serait prêt à faire toutes ses fantaisies. De son côté le médium, s'il est suffisamment intelligent pour ne pas se contenter de simples satisfactions d'amour propre-satisfactions de contre-bande plus ou moins-saura faire fructifier ailleurs ces bonnes dispositions et en recueillir les résultats sous une forme plus tangible. Bref il y a pour un médium bien d'autres manières à tirer profit du spiritisme qu'en passant à la caisse au bout de chaque séance. Rappelons nous Home qui ne se faisait jamais payer lui.

Ensuite il existe plus de gens qu'on ne croit communément qui trouvent très amusant de mystifier leurs semblables sans raison apparente. Voilà encore l'origine possible de plus d'une médiumnité surprenante (voir plus loin). A noter que quand notre farceur en aura assez (on se lasse de tout!) rien ne l'empêche (telle Katie King annonçant qu'elle va quitter Florence Cook) de déclarer qu'il a perdu sa médiumnité—et voilà !

¹Tout en mettant en avant ce principe, ils ne s'y sont pas toujours conformés (témoins Eglinton, Eusapia, Mme Piper).

Pour ce qui est des conditions de contrôle l'observateur est certainement moins bien partagé (sauf des cas rarissimes) avec un médium privé qu'avec un professionnel. Quand on a affaire à ce dernier on tient généralement (sentiment bien naturel !) à en avoir pour son argent. Au contraire le premier vous fait une faveur en vous admettant; et cette faveur—comment la reconnaître sinon en ne se montrant pas trop exigeant, ni comme contrôle, ni comme phénomènes?

La confiance ne se commande pas. Tel individu en inspire une sans bornes à A, qui ne dit rien qui vaille à B. De ce que tel cercle spirite ait une confiance entière en la personne du médium, un des leurs, offrant toutes sortes de garanties comme situation, comme relations personnelles, comme désintéressement—il ne s'en suit nullement qui cet individu soit réellement au-dessus du soupçon. Du reste, à mon humble avis, tout homme, quelqu'il soit, affichant des prétentions extraordinaires et en elles-mêmes invraisemblables doit être présumé eapable de tromper jusqu'à ce qu'il ait apporté une preuve péremptoire de la vérité de ses allégations.

Enfin je crois qu'aucun de ceux ayant étudié les faits d'altération de la personnalité, de double conscience, etc., ne niera la possibilité de la fraude inconsciente. De ce que médiums tricheurs et spirites fanatiques aient usé et abusé de cette excuse pour couvrir la fourberie la plus manifeste, il ne faut pas conclure qu'il ne puisse y avoir là une part de vérité. Mais s'il en est vraiment ainsi—le degré de confiance qu'on peut avoir dans tel ou tel personnage à l'état de veille n'a plus rien à voir à la question.

Pour finir je me permettrai de démander: sont-ils après tout si nombreux les cas où des phénomènes tels que les apports ou la matérialisation aient été constatés en présence de personnes honorablement connues et jouissant de l'estime et de la considération générales ?

(12) Si des phénomènes et de ceux qui les produisent nous passons à ceux qui les observent—nous serons tout d'abord amenés à constater qu'un très grand nombre de témoignages s'y rapportant est dénué de toute valeur.

Pourquoi? Parce que ces témoignages émanent très souvent d'individus dont la crédulité sans bornes, la cécité à tout indice de fraude, le manque de sens critique, le fanatisme, ont fait un tort irréparable au spiritisme et même aux recherches psychiques en général, Dieu sait pourquoi censées en être solidares! Rarement, je crois, le proverbe, "Mon Dieu, préservez moi de mes amis," a trouvé meilleure application. La crédulité des spirites! Que d'exemples ridicules, burlesques, quelquefois presque repugnants, ces quatre mots suffisent à évoquer dans notre mémoire à tous, nous autres "psychistes"!

Oui, il faut se le dire : dans ce domaine étrange il est certains témoins—honnêtes ou du moins se croyant tels—dont les déclarations les plus catégoriques n'ont absolument aucune valeur. Quoiqu'ils affirment, le critique doit passer outre à toutes leurs assertions.

Je viens d'écrire les mots "honnêtes ou se croyant tels." Cela ne les empêche pas de travestir la vérité à chaque pasconsciemment ou semi-consciemment. Un désir intense que ceci ou cela soit ne nous pousse-t-il pas à fermer les yeux avec obstination—avec violence, pourrais-je dire—sur tout ce qui est contraire à notre "marotte"—pour parler vulgairement? Dès lors, *au point de vue pratique* la question de savoir si certains de ces témoins sont de bonne foi perd son intérêt.

Ils sont convaincus fermement que les phénomènes existent; c'est entendu. Aussi ne veulent-ils plus rien connaître de tout ce qui ne parle pas en faveur de cette authenticité. Ils passeront outre à tous les indices de supercherie de la part du médium. Il n'en sera pas question dans les comptes-rendus qu'ils feront de ses phénomènes; au contraire, tout ce qui lui semblera favorable sera exagéré ct souligné. Un scandale éclatera-t-il ? le médium sera-t-il pris la main dans le sac ? Ils commenceront par réserver leur indignation pour celui qui l'aura démasqué;¹ ils accepteront ensuite de sa part les excuses les plus boiteuses : enfin il y a beacoup à parier qu'ils feront tout pour étouffer l'affaire, pour ne pas l'ébruiter.

Allons plus loin. Supposons que des spirites dans cet ordre (ou plutôt ce désordre!) d'idées ont livré à la publicité la description de phénomènes étonnants qu'ils auraient observés.

¹Je me rappelle avoir lu il y a bien des années dans la *Revue Spirite* comme quoi quelques sceptiques qui avaient saisi "l'apparition" à une séance de matérialisation américaine avaient été roués de coups "non seulement par les amis visibles et présents," mais aussi soi-disant par les invisibles.

Supposons qu'il leur aura été démontré par A + B qu'ils ont été grossièrement mis dedans. Supposons que, par extraordinaire, ils se seront laissés convaincre. Mais comme (1) on n'aime pas généralement à reconnaître son erreur; (2) comme il est entendu que les phénomènes existent tout de même *en général* (de ce que telle maison vende des vins frelatés il ne faut pas conclure, n'est-ce pas, qu'il n'y ait que cela dans le commerce, etc.)—il est assez vraisemblable, je crois, que les spirites en question ne rectifieront pas et préféreront garder de Conrart le silence prudent.

Je crois qu'on pourrait aller plus loin encore. Supposons un de ces spirites "ultra" à une séance où le médium est entouré de sceptiques plus ou moins mal disposés. Les esprits refusent obstinément de se manifester. Le médium est énervé; l'assistance gouailleuse. Notre spirite sait pertinemment que les phénomènes existent : ne les a-t-il pas observés cent fois ? Alors pouvons-nous être absolument sûrs que cette fois-là—la cent et unième—s'il en a l'occasion, il ne fraudera pas lui-même ad majorem spirituum gloriam ?

La tentation pour lui doit être en tous cas terriblement forte.¹

En dehors de ces fanatiques extrêmes il existe encore d'autres catégories de spirites au sujet desquels un doute léger peut (sans calembour) se présenter à l'esprit. Il en est soit qui se sont fait du spiritisme une situation ou un gagne-pain;

¹ Tout récemment encore on m'affirmait chose pareille d'un spirite de St Pétersbourg occupant une haute situation. Après tout je ne dis pas que pareil fait s'est nécessairement produit; je dis que théoriquement il peut très bien se produire. Je ne parle ici et plus haut que des spirites fanatiques. Mais j'ai été frappé des privautés que prennent quelquefois avec la vérité d'autres spirites-pondérés, prudents, non exempts de quelque scepticisme. Tout d'abord, que de scandales étouffés ! Humainement cela est très compréhensible ; mais le tableau général est dès lors forcément incomplet. Le silence gardé sur des expériences négatives (et au cours desquelles le médium a été convaincu de fraude) venant à la suite d'autres, positives celles-là et proclamées "urbi et orbi," me semble aussi devoir être évité. Enfin que dire d'une description d'une série d'expériences faite sur un ton où on ne voit guère percer de doutealors que l'expérimentateur est au moment même persuadé qu'un des résultats obtenus est dû à la fraude? La publication-dans une revue ou un ouvrage spécial-de récits émanant de personnages dont le témoignage vaut très peu aux yeux de celui qui les publie me paraît également peu désirable. On pourrait sans doute multiplier ces exemples; je ne cite que ceux que j'ai présents à la mémoire et qui me sont personnellement connus.

soit qui s'en servent pour faire leur chemin dans tous les mondes; soit qui—pour des raisons que je n'ai pas à approfondir—se sont particulièrement inféodés à tel ou tel médium. Dans un compte-rendu de séances récemment publié j'ai pu lire quelques lignes consacrées à décrire les précautions prises non plus contre le médium mais contre un des assistants appartenant apparemment à une de ces catégories; d'où je conclus que je ne suis pas le seul à m'en méfier quelque peu!

Enfin, disons le franchement: les séances spirites sont loin d'être toujours récréatives; et les longues heures d'attente fréquemment infructueuse passées dans l'obscurité ou dans un soi-disant "demi-jour" vous donnent quelquefois l'envie irrésistible de varier un peu la monotonie d'un passe-temps qui pour être hautement instructif et plein des plus transcendantes espérances n'en est pas moins souvent fort ennuyeux. Heureux celui qui n'a jamais éprouvé cette tentation-là ! D'illustres personnages n'y ont-ils pas succombé ?¹ Et, comme ici comme ailleurs, "il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte," ce qui n'était à l'origine qu'une facétie sans lendemain, finit par devenir une habitude invétérée. On se met à mystifier systématiquement sans en tirer aucun profit.

Je crois en avoir fait, hélas, la triste expérience. Dès 1904 j'avais conçu des doutes sérieux au sujet du rôle joué dans les séances du cercle dont je faisais partie par X—avec qui j'étais du reste depuis plusieurs années déjà dans les meilleurs termes.² Le succès brillant de la plupart des séances auxquelles X assistait et contrôlait, et la non-réussite de celles auxquelles il n'était pas présent nous donnèrent tout d'abord l'éveil—à moi ct à quelques autres membres de notre cercle. A un certain moment nos soupçons devinrent même si irrésistibles—que je crus devoir m'en ouvrir à X lui-même. Les assurances qu'il me donna furent si catégoriques et apparemment si sincères que mes doutes s'évanouirent—ou je les forçai à s'évanouir. Ainsi nous avions véritablement été témoins de

¹Notamment feu le professeur Mendéléew aux séances de la commission nommée en 1875 par la Société Physique près l'Université de St Pétersbourg (Aksakow, *Divulgations*, p. 109 [en russe]); tricheries assez anodines du reste; et le professeur Bianchi à la seconde séance de Lombroso avec Eusapia (Annales des Sc. Psych., 1891, 6, p. 331).

² Voir Proceedings S.P.R., Part LV., pp. 403, 404.

phénomènes surprenants—et avec quatre médiums différents! Les esprits avaient décidément fait des prodiges en notre faveur; et avec les "apports" seuls dont ils nous avaient gratifiés: (une grosse pomme de pin; des photographies de personnes inconnues; une collection de monnaies russes du dixhuitième siècle; une ancienne monnaie grecque; deux clés; une brochure; une bande de toile; une boîte de cold-cream vide cachée dans un fauteuil et découverte le lendemain matin; un petit thermomètre trouvé également le lendemain de la séance sur le rebord d'une armoire—tous objets d'origine inconnue,¹) avec ces seuls "apports," dis-je, on pouvait former tout un petit musée.

Et cependant . . .

Bref—un peu moins de six ans après que nos premiers soupçons eussent pris naissance (en février 1910)—l'événement les confirmait d'une façon irréfutable. Il fut constaté indubitablement que X laissait le médium—ou soi-disant tel—agir à sa guise. Une petite lampe électrique soudainement allumée au beau milieu de la séance, d'un côté, les confidences du soidisant médium de l'autre, nous révélèrent que X lâchait la main du médium quand ce dernier lui en manifestait discrétement l'envie. Il la lâchait même si bien que leurs deux mains avaient quelque peine à se retrouver ensuite! A part cela il n'y a pas de doute pour moi que X a triché aussi pour ainsi dire directement.²

Il est certain que la preuve positive qu'il ait également fraudé ou laissé frauder aux séances antérieures (deux avec Sambor en mai 1902; séances avec la sœur de Sambor, Mme W.; avec le Dr. Sch., un médium privé; avec Luba Morozow de Vladikavkaz; enfin avec Jan Guzik³ immédiatement avant la séance décisive) fait défaut; et il est douteux que nous l'obtenions jamais. En tous cas la forme sous laquelle X réfuta mes soupçons en 1904 lui rendrait, à mon

¹ A une séance de Sambor (13 mai, 1902) il y en eut aussi "d'apportés" de la chambre d'à côté—où nous nous rendions durant les entr'actes.

² En particulier, lors de "l'apport" de la monnaie grecque—pendant une suspension de séance—le médium (Luba Morozow) ne se trouvait même pas dans la chambre. En revanche X y était lui. Il y a aussi d'autres observations du même genre se rapportant à X—notamment à la séance où on le démasqua.

³Il y fut pourtant constaté que Guzik avait à un certain moment une main libre, X étant un de ceux qui le contrôlaient. avis, assez difficile un aveu. Eh bien, soit: j'admets qu'il y a doute (quant à la fraude) pour ces séances. Mais comme dès notre première tentative sérieuse de tirer la question au clair, nos soupçons quant au rôle joué par X recevaient une confirmation éclatante—comment attacher une valeur quelconque à toutes les expériences anterieures où il lui était possible de tricher?

Et notez que ce personnage extraordinaire est loin d'être le premier venu. C'est un homme cultivé, intelligent, d'un commerce très agréable, dessinateur et écrivain à ses heures; occupant une situation officielle élevée (avec cela rien du "bureaucrate" dans le mauvais sens du mot). Il jouit même à certain point de vue d'une très honorable notoriété en Russie et ailleurs; et j'ajouterai qu'il a toujours fait profession de s'intéresser sérieusement et sans fanatisme au spiritisme.

Notez aussi qu'il ne s'est jamais fait passer pour médium. Il se sera fait *peut-être* ce raisonnement qu'il finirait par être soupçonné s'il n'opérait qu'à des séances sans médium reconnu; tandis qu'il n'avait aucunement à se gêner avec Sambor ou Jan Guzik, tout ce qui se passerait pouvant être mis sur le compte de leur médiumnité à eux. Ce raisonnement—à supposer qu'il ait vraiment été fait—était très juste en principe; il est fâcheux pour X qu'il ne l'ait tout de même pas empêché de se faire pincer.

Quelles raisons pouvait-il bien avoir? Apparemment rien que le désir anormal—presque morbide—de duper les autres, de rire sous cape à leurs dépens; peut-être—quelquefois d'épater un novice. Il ne pouvait certes rien y gagner ni au point de vue pecuniaire, ni à celui de la notoriété, puisque le bénéfice de tous les phénomènes revenait au médium!

Cet exemple me paraît hautement instructif!

J'ajouterai que les personnes qui prenaient part à nos séances étaient invitées en partie par moi, en partie par un ami à moi, qui est un des chercheurs les plus consciencieux et les plus patients que je connaisse. Notre "cercle" semblait donc offrir —et offrait en effet—de sérieuses garanties. Et pourtant ! . . . Nous avons, il est vrai, fini par voir clair là-dedans, mais d'autres auraient pu être moins perspicaces; et je crois que nous-mêmes aurions bien pu ne nous apercevoir de rien, si X, au lieu de nous accabler d'"apports," s'était contenté d'un peu de télékinésie par ci, d'une petite matérialisation par là, et avait pris la précaution de faire "rater" plus souvent les séances auxquelles il assistait le médium !

Que ses émules futurs en prennent bonne note !

On le voit : que de sources d'erreurs ! Et comment les démêler sans une étude approfondie ? Certains fanatiques se désignent, il est vrai, eux-mêmes ; mais il y en a d'autres, plus dangereux, parce que plus intelligents. Les reconnaître n'est pas toujours chose facile. Et pour les autres catégories la tâche n'est pas plus aisée. A parler strictement pour appréeier à sa juste valeur un compte-rendu de phénomènes médiumniques il faudrait avant tout personnellement connaître tous les témoins : alors seulement on peut avoir la quasi-certitude qu'il ne peut s'agir là ni de trucs à la X, ni d'élucubrations de fanatiques ; et que le compte-rendu en question ne contient pas à côté d'inexactitudes involontaires des réticences voulues ou des exagérations inspirées par le désir de servir la bonne cause.

(13) En dehors des cas sortant plus ou moins du commun que je viens de citer (car quelque nombreux que scient les spirites ultra-crédules, ils ne le sont pas tous; quelque plaisir que certains farceurs puissent trouver à mystifier leurs semblables, leur nombre doit être forcément limité) il existe d'autres et de très sérieuses raisons pour récuser dans le domaine du spiritisme et des recherches psychiques bien des témoignages. Et tout d'abord :

(13) Pour bien observer dans et domaine il faut des aptitudes spéciales et, rigoureusement parlant, un entraînement spécial.

Car l'étude de ce que l'on est convenu d'appeler les phénomènes psychiques (ou métapsychiques) est une science, quelque soit le point de vue auquel on se place. Elle a sa littérature, ses procédés et méthodes d'investigation, sa philosophie, quelquefois ses appareils. Elle demande—tout au moins elle devrait demander—des notions en d'autres sciences encore : en psychologie, en physiologie, en physique, en chimie. Enfin elle comporte certainement—et peut-être avant tout le reste—des connaissances dans un autre domaine qui, par une ironie du sort, a de multiples points de contact avec la "Psychical Research": la prestidigitation. (J'ai déjà touché plus haut à ce côté de la question.) Inutile d'ajouter qu'un petit nombre seulement des investigateurs des phénomènes médiumniques peut satisfaire à de telles exigences. Et pourtant je n'ai pas encore nommé la condition qui est d'après moi de beaucoup la plus importante; si importante au fait qu'elle suffit à elle seule, à mon avis, à remplacer bien d'autres.

Notre observateur doit avant tout bien observer ! Or c'est là une faculté innée, encore qu'elle puisse être développée.

Il doit non seulement bien observer, mais bien décrire ce qu'il aura constaté; bien retenir dans sa mémoire les détails non seulement essentiels mais ceux-là même qui lui semblent superficiels; il ne doit pas trop se laisser impressionner par l'apparemment merveilleux ou inexplicable; il ne doit jamais écrire une ligne qu'il n'ait mûrement pesée; enfin il doit être doué d'une impartialité à toute épreuve et faire le même accueil au "pour" et au "contre."

Rara avis. Oui, certes!

Et ces qualités si importantes ne se trouvent nécessairement réunies ni chez l'homme de science, fût-il le plus illustre parmi les illustres;¹ ni chez l'homme de lettres ou l'artiste—fût-il une célébrité mondiale; ni chez l'homme simplement cultivé et intelligent; ni même chez l'homme d'affaires, pratique et de bon sens par excellence. Rien ne nous garantit qu'une fois assis à la table spiritique ils ne se laissent berner comme tant d'autres. (J'en connais!)

Pour ce qui est en particulier des hommes de science, il est permis peut-être de douter que les études faites dans le calme serein des laboratoires, dans une ambiance qui n'a rien de commun avec celle des séances spirites, aux antipodes de

¹La science la plus indubitable est loin d'exclure toujours la crédulitéquelquefois une crédulité à faire pâlir d'envie le spirite le plus "ultra." Dans le domaine du spiritisme je citcrai feu le Professeur Wagner de St Pétersbourg qui, lors de ses "expériences" avec le medium Nikolaeff mettait de la mousseline dans le "cabinet" afin de faciliter aux esprits la matérialisation des voiles dont devait se revêtir la "forme" matérialisée; sur l'ordre que lui en donnait "l'esprit" il tournait aussi le dos au cabinet (ainsi que les autres assistants) au moment d'allumer le magnésium pour photographier la "forme." (V. mon "Supplément" à ma traduction russe du Modern Spiritualism de M. Podmore, pp. 190-191.). Et en dehors des recherches psychiques, que dire de Chasles, l'illustre géomètre, rassemblant durant des années les autographes de Marie Madeleine, de Ponce Pilate, d'autres encore? tout ce qui rappelle la fraude et la simulation—soient toujours la meilleure préparation à des recherches sur un terrain aussi semé de pièges et de traquenards que l'est celui où ont pris la fâcheuse habitude de fleurir les phénomènes médiumniques.

Je crois que dans nombre de cas un "bon observateur" sans étiquette sera aussi apte pour ces sortes de recherches qu'un savant officiel.

Si je ne craignais d'être accusé de courir après le paradoxe je dirais même qu'il y sera peut-être quelquefois plus apte. Pourquoi? Dame! ne fût-ce que, parce qu'en vertu de l'adage "Quod licet Jovi non licet bovi" il est à présumer qu'il ne se permettra pas de petites libertés dont ne se sont pas fait faute d'user certains savants parmi les plus éminents; il ne se contentera pas d'une simple énumération des "phénomènes," mais nous décrira les conditions dans lesquelles il les aura constatés; et au lieu d'affirmer sans autres détails que toutes les précautions étaient prises contre la supercherie, il condescendra à nous les décrire exactement.

Et si jamais des critiques sérieux attaquent ses expériences et ses conclusions, notre observateur croira sans doute de son devoir de leur répondre d'une façon circonstanciée, au lieu de se draper dans un dédaigneux silence ou de ne laisser tomber de sa plume que trois ou quatre phrases qui ne réfutent rien.

Mais—je ne veux pas qu'on m'accuse de rechercher le paradoxe; et puis—je respecte trop les savants. Mettons que je n'ai rien dit !

Ainsi aucun titre, aucune étiquette attachés aux noms des expérimentateurs ne peuvent nous garantir d'une façon certaine la valeur véritable de leurs investigations, ni nous prémunir contre des erreurs—peut-être même grossières—de leur part. Même la qualité de prestidigitateur n'est pas une garantie infaillible; la preuve c'est que certains d'entr'eux ont changé d'avis sur les phénomènes dont ils avaient été les témoins. Harry Kellar, par exemple, qui à Calcutta, en 1882, avait déclaré ne pouvoir expliquer l'écriture sur ardoises d'Eglinton, revint ensuite sur ses affirmations et émerveillait quelques années plus tard les membres de la commission Seybert de l'Université de Pennsylvanie en leur montrant du "slatewriting" bien supérieur à celui de Slade.¹

¹Annales des Sc. Psych., 1895, No. 6, p. 373.

En somme:

(a) La compétence véritable des investigateurs des phénomènes médiumniques ne dépend d'aucun signe extérieur caractérisé; en même temps elle présuppose un ensemble de facultés plus ou moins innées—sans parler des connaissances acquises—qui doit nécessairement se rencontrer assez rarement. D'où il suit qu'une quantité très restreinte seulement de descriptions se rapportant aux dits phénomènes doit entrer en ligne de compte.

(b) Le même récit (mot pour mot !) peut avoir une valeur quasi-décisive si e'est A qui le fait et peut n'en avoir aucune s'il émane de B.

(14) Mais de nouvelles réserves, entraînant d'autres éliminations, sont encore nécessaires. C'est qu'on a voulu démontrer que là où ces sortes d'expériences dépendent de ce que les membres de la Société des recherches psychiques appellent "observation continue;" d'un effort de l'attention devant embrasser une période de temps tant soit peu prolongée-elles sont entachées, pour ainsi dire, d'un vice primordial. Il a été prouvé-ou du moins on a essayé de prouver-que l'attention ne pouvait suffire à la tâche qu'elle s'imposait par exemple à une séance d'"écriture directe sur ardoiscs." Il devait nécessairement s'y passer une série d'incidents qui lui échapperaient; ou qu'elle percevrait inexactement; ou dont elle intervertirait retrospectivement l'ordre; et c'est dans ces omissions, dans ces interversions, dans ces interpolations que se trouverait l'explication naturelle de faits à première vue incompréhensibles. Les expériences classiques de S. J. Davey ont confirmé sous ce rapport les conclusions aprioriques de Hodgson basées sur une étude approfondie et une analyse serrée des comptes-rendus des séances d'Eglinton.¹

Tout en me ralliant en somme à ces conclusions je crois qu'il ne faut pas les pousser trop loin; du reste je ne ferai sous ce rapport qu'imiter ces mêmes membres de la "Society for Psychical Research" qui ont très sagement consenti à expérimenter avec Eusapia alors que l'authenticité des phénomèncs de cette dernière dépend *uniquement* du degré d'attention qu'on apporte à contrôler ses mains et ses pieds. En

¹ Proceedings of the S.P.R., Vol. IV., pp. 387-495. Hodgson a révélé plus tard (*Proceedings of the S.P.R.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 253-310) les méthodes de Davey.

outre, quelque faillible que soit le témoignage humain—comme c'est, en dernière analyse, de lui que *tout* dépend ici bas—force nous est bien de ne pas trop le disqualifier dans le domaine que se sont adjugé les médiums. Ensuite je ne vois pas trop ce que l'on pourra toujours mettre à sa place. L'ingéniosité humaine—surtout agencée dans un but peu louable !—étant véritablement sans bornes, qui me dit qu'un *experimentum crueis* qui nous semble absolument exclure la nécessité de la "continuous observation" aujourd'hui, ne sera pas, s'il réussit, proclamé nul et non avenu demain ? Les conditions *individuelles* d'une expérience médiumnique joueront toujours un rôle capital ; en revanche, comme je l'ai déjà dit, il importe avant tout d'être fixé sur la personnalité des expérimentateurs ; c'est par là qu'il faudrait commencer.

N'exagérons donc pas outre mesure l'importance---réellement grande---de l'œuvre de Hodgson et de Davey; surtout ne nous en servons pas trop souvent comme d'une fin de non-recevoir; mais admettons cependant qu'ils ont démontré la faillibilité fréquente de l'observation humaine en général pour certaines catégories de faits médiumniques.

Voilà donc encore une circonstance à envisager très sérieusement.

Une conclusion s'impose. Voici celle à laquelle provisoirement je m'arrête :

Je crois que l'ensemble des objections que j'ai indiquées, toutes convergeant au même point, pèse d'un poids assez lourd pour inspirer des doutes légitimes quant à la sécurité de la barque qui transporte vers des destinées inconnues le médium à effets physiques et sa fortune. Il nous faut jeter du lest! Il nous faut en d'autres termes concéder aux sceptiques que *la réalité de certains phénomènes physiques, loin d'être prouvée, ne repose sur aucun fondement sérieux.* C'est d'après moi le cas des "apports," du passage de la matière à travers la matière; très probablement aussi de la matérialisation de formes humaines, de la photographie spirite; sans doute aussi de l'écriture directe.

En revanche je considère toujours comme importantes et probantes certaines observations sur les mouvements de tables sans contact (expériences du Comte de Gasparin; du professeur Thury; d'un des sous-comités de la Société Dialectique de Londres); celles de M. le Doctear Dariex sur le renversement spontané des chaises de son cabinet de travail;¹ peut-être aussi certaines expériences sur les lévitations de tables avec Eusapia.²

Je range entre les deux catégories quelques phénomènes de D. D. Home (d'autres—en très petit nombre—rentreront plutôt dans la seconde). Il y en a qui paraissent décidément bien énigmatiques (surtout certains cas d'"incombustibilité" partagée parfois par d'autres personnes que lui-même; aussi quelques cas de lévitation ct—à un degré moindre—de transports d'objets et même *peut-être* d'apparitions de "mains"). Par rapport à ceux-là je préfère rester pour le moment sur l'expectative.

Je tiens tout de même à faire remarquer que certains côtés négatifs des témoignages se rapportant aux phénomènes médiumniques sont particulièrement intensifiés dans le cas de Home. Exception faite pour Crookes, peut-être pour Lord Adare et un petit nombre d'autres noms, nous n'avons que très peu de récits émanant de témoins pouvant faire autorité. La clientèle de Home était, il est vrai, des plus "choisies" mondainement parlant; mais quelque peu démocrate que je sois dans l'âme, je suis loin de considérer un nom sonore et un titre aristocratique comme offrant dans le cas présent quelque garantie. N'en déplaise à la brillante compagnie dans laquelle ne cessait d'évoluer le mystérieux écossais, je pencherais presque pour la supposition contraire. Les relations de Home avec sa très distinguée clientèle étaient à n'en pas douter telles que très souvent-le plus souvent peut-être-non seulement il n'avait à appréhender aucune surprise désagréable, mais pouvait imposer telles conditions qu'il voulait-même se mouvoir en liberté dans la chambre. Et de ce qu'il lui est arrivé de dire à Sir W. Crookes "au commencement de leur connaissance": "William, aujourd'hui je veux que vous vous comportiez envers moi comme si j'étais un prestidigitateur reconnu"³—il est permis de conclure justement que la plupart du temps on ne le considérait pas comme tel-c'est-à-dire, qu'on le laissait agir plus ou moins à sa guise. Il était, paraît-il, d'un grand charme

¹Annales des Sciences Psychiques, 1892, No. 4.

²C'est avec plaisir que je constate que je suis sur ce dernier point du même avis qu'un sceptique comme M. Dorr (*Journal of the S.P.R.*, avril 1910, p. 270).

³ Journal of the S.P.R., 1894, pp. 344, 345.

personnel. La confiance qu'il inspirait à un grand nombre de ses amis était entière, et il en comptait de fort zélés. Ceuxlà pouvaient-ils être de bons témoins? La réponse est pour le moins douteuse!

Leur attitude était, somme toute, assez naturelle, et si nous sommes tentés de n'accepter leurs récits que sous bénéfice d'inventaire, il n'en doit rien rejaillir, pour la plupart d'entr'eux, ni sur leur honorabilité, ni—très probablement—sur leur intelligence. Moins excusable certes est l'attitude du monde savant de ce temps-là, qui sauf un nombre d'exceptions infime, a préféré tout bonnement ignorer Home. A-t-il toutefois perdu par là une occasion unique et qui ne se présentera peutêtre jamais? C'est somme toute improbable. Si les phénomènes physiques du spiritisme existent, un autre Home finira par surgir; et s'il n'en surgit pas, il faudra bien conclure que lui aussi n'était qu'un simple prestidigitateur.¹

Suspendons donc-quant à lui-notre jugement.

Ah certes, un nouveau Home, s'il se presentait à l'heure actuelle, n'aurait pas à se plaindre d'être négligé par la seienee officielle. Ce serait plutôt le contraire. On se l'arracherait ! Mais voilà : malheureuscment, plus la science y met de la bonne volonté, plus les "bons" médiums se font rares.

J'achève ees pages sous l'impression d'expériences d'aviation auxquelles j'ai eu la chance d'assister. Voilà encore une fois l'apparemment miraculeux réalisé—et, ma foi, pas trop mal. Décidément le merveilleux seientifique n'a rien à envier au merveilleux spiritique—et aussi religieux. Les envolées des Védrines, des Conneau, des Graham White et dcs Efimow valent bien les "lévitations" de Home—et même eelles de St. Joseph de Copertino; comme du reste les rayons Röntgen traversent les corps opaques bien plus sûrement que la clairvoyance de la somnambule la plus extra-lucide; comme la télégraphie sans fil vaut bien comme précision et sûreté d'information la télépathie—revêtue de l'estampille éeclésiastique ou simplement laïque. Il y a loin du grand jour de la science triomphante à la pénombre des sanctuaires, et à l'obscurité où se complaisent esprits et médiums. La science peut errer longtemps; faire

¹ Je rappellerai à ce propos que Home ne produisait en fait de "phénomènes" ni apports, ni "le passage de la matière à travers la matière."

bien des fois fausse route; brûler aujourd'hui ce qu'elle adorait hier et adorera peut-être demain: mais une fois qu'elle a atteint le but qu'elle s'était proposé—quelle richesse de résultats! quelle surabondance de preuves! quels flots de lumière! C'est bien autre chose, ce me semble, que les agissements d'esprits plus ou moins matérialisés mais toujours timorés derrière le rideau du "cabinet" médiumnique; ou que les manifestations hésitantes et insaisissables des entités ineffablement augustes qui président au merveilleux religieux.

Tout compte fait je commence à croire que c'est plutôt le merveilleux scientifique qui mérite notre admiration et nos sympathies.

Post Scriptum.

On le voit, je n'ai pas rangé parmi les causes d'erreur énumérées plus haut une dont il a été pourtant souvent fait état : l'hallucination collective. Je persiste à croire qu'alors qu'elle a contre elle un faisceau de preuves péremptoires, elle ne repose que sur des présomptions—ou pire; et tout en trouvant assez frappants certains récits de performances fakiriennes publiés au cours de ces dernières années, je maintiens que c'est aux adeptes de cette théorie qu'incombe l'onus probandi, et que jusqu'à présent rien n'a été fait sous ce rapport.¹

Je me refuse donc jusqu'à nouvel ordre à la prendre en considération.

Mais je n'irai pas jusqu'à nier que ce ne soit dans une forme inusitée de la suggestion, s'exerçant sur une seule personne et sur un seul sens à la fois, qu'il faille chercher l'explication de certains incidents particulièrement frappants ayant eu lieu à certaines séances. Je me suis assez souvent étendu à ce propos sur les "expériences de chaises" faites avec le défunt Sambor pour ne pas revenir là-dessus. Mais

¹J'appelle "faisceau de preuves péremptoires" tout l'ensemble des expériences médiumniques ayant laissé des traces permanentes : ardoises couvertes d'écriture, photographies de formes d'"esprits" visibles ou invisibles, mouvements sans contacts ou lévitations de tables enregistrés graphiquement, "apports," et ainsi de suite. Par les mots : "ou pire," je fais allusion au cas bien connu (Journal S.P.R., Vol. V. pp. 84-86) où une histoire de fakirs photographiés au cours de la représentation (sans que la plaque sensible ait rien enregistré) s'est trouvée être inventée de toutes pièces. Pour les récits de performances fakiriennes auxquels je fais allusion, voir Journal S.P.R., novembre 1904 et février 1905.

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actuellement je ne suis pas éloigné d'admettre que quelques observations faites avec Eusapia Palladino peuvent avoir la même origine. Il s'agit d'apparitions de mains et "d'attouchements" ne pouvant s'expliquer par une simple substitution des mains du médium.

Il me semble à l'heure actuelle extrêmement douteux que la main soi-disant matérialisée ait été jamais vue en même temps que les deux mains d'Eusapia. Cela est certain en tous cas pour les expériences dont nous possédons des comptesrendus sténographiques: celles de 1908 à Naples et celles entreprises sous les auspices de l'Institut Psychologique de Paris. Pour les expériences antérieures pareille chose a pu être accidentellement affirmée.¹ Mais—ainsi que j'ai eu l'occasion de le montrer ailleurs²—les conditions des séances d'Eusapia sont éminemment propres à engendrer dans l'esprit des assistants des erreurs de mémoire quant aux circonstances exactes de tel ou tel incident. On ne peut donc attacher grande importance à des affirmations isolées de ce genre (à supposer qu'il s'en rencontre beaucoup, ce dont je doute fort). Mon impression actuelle-c'est que lorsque les assistants voient la main "matérialisée" une des mains d'Eusapia au moins est toujours recouverte par le rideau (sur la table). Aux expérimentateurs de l'avenir à me prouver que j'ai tort.

Pour les "attouchements" (à travers le rideau) la chose paraît, je l'avoue, moins évidente à première vue, mais je crois que si nous serrons de près les comptes-rendus sténographiques (pour les autres il faut, je le répète, faire une part très large aux erreurs d'observation et surtout de mémoire) nous constaterons à peu près la même chose. Là aussi bien souvent, sinon toujours, une des mains du médium au moins est recouverte par le rideau et invisible. Et quand il y a-bien rarement-dérogation apparente à cette règle, c'est que les pieds du médium n'étaient pas bien contrôlés (comme cela me semble avoir été presque indubitablement le cas pour l'expérience de M. Baggally à la onzième des séances de 1908 à Naples).³

Somme toute l'hypothèse que ces apparitions de mains "matérialisées" et ces contacts étaient produits par la main

¹Annales des Sciences Psychiques, 1897, No. 1., p. 4.

² Proceedings S.P.R. Part LXII., pp. 61-63.

³ Proceedings S.P.R., Part LIX., pp. 552, 553.

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d'Eusapia elle-même (celle que le rideau recouvrait) libérée (alors qu'une substitution était hors de question) à la suite d'une hallucination tactile provoquée par le médium chez le contrôleur¹ me semble à l'heure actuelle devoir être envisagée sérieusement.

Et tant que des phénomènes de ce genre n'auront pas été observés alors que les deux mains d'Ensapia seront au moment même nettement visibles sur la table (et ses pieds contrôlés d'une façon ne prêtant à aucun doute) nous ne sommes pas tenus de recourir à l'hypothèse d'une "matérialisation."

¹Ou plutôt : le médium provoque chez le contrôleur-mentalement et peut-être inconsciemment-un état d'esprit dans lequel pareille libération pourra passer inaperçue. Je préfère cette formule.

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IV.

ON THE *A PRIORI* ARGUMENT AGAINST PHYSICAL PHENOMENA.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

THERE seems to be a tendency in some quarters to emphasise the improbability of all abnormal physical phenomena—an improbability which certainly looms large before every physicist—and to oppose the extreme unlikelihood of the occurrence of such things against every testimony and all evidence of a positive kind in their favour.

Up to a point this attitude is legitimate and necessary, but there comes a time when wisdom lies rather in considering whether our ordinary experience of nature, and our customary human powers, are a sufficiently comprehensive guide, and whether we can imagine any enlarged powers, of not too outrageous a nature, such as could be supposed capable of achieving some of the results.

The first hypothesis which every one who is driven in this direction naturally makes is to suppose that the faculties belonging to an individual are not all known, and that it is conceivable that force may be exerted and sensations experienced beyond the known periphery of the bodily organism. The truth of such extension of faculty must be examined, for, so far as I know, there is nothing to negative it, but it has certainly not been definitely proved. Moreover, among the asserted occurrences of a supernormal nature there are some which cannot reasonably be explained by any such hypothesis, however it be stretched—not at least if the supposed extended faculty is to be of the same general nature as those with which we are familiar within the limits of the body itself. The movements and other phenomena that have to be explained frequently exhibit intelligence—an intelligence sometimes beyond, or, at any rate, differing from, that of any person present—even though it is not of a high, and may occasionally be of a mischievous, kind.

Now, in the domain of intelligent phenomena, pure and simple, automatic writing may be considered pre-eminent; and the evidence which is accumulating under this head is undoubtedly tending in the direction of substantiating the claim—a claim made by the writings themselves—that they are partly due to selection and control exercised by the surviving portion of individuals who not long ago lived on the earth.

Let us take this as a working hypothesis, for a moment, and trace its results. There is not the slightest necessity, and as far as I know there is no extensive claim, for attributing merely physical phenomena to the direct agency of departed human beings. There is no reason to suppose that their powers of acting on matter have been enlarged or revolutionised: rather it would appear probable that such mechanical powers as were possessed in the body have now ceased. The idea that physical phenomena are directly due to deceased persons has led, and will probably always lead, to cheap and easy retort and ridicule.

That, however, is no argument. In certain cases there does appear to be a connexion, though it may be indirect. Some of the simpler physical phenomena, such as raps, seem designed to call attention and add emphasis to what is being otherwise communicated; though the source of the messages is still an open question. If it should turn out that great psychic activity or emotion on the other side occasionally results in physical as well as in mental phenomena, as a kind of overflow of energy — perhaps unconscious and unintended, like stammering — I should not be altogether surprised. And if once the possibility of any such physical action, however trivial, is admitted, a door is opened which will not readily be closed.

But that is not the lesson which I wish now to draw from the hypothetical existence and activity of departed human beings. The moral that I would draw is more like this:

If intelligences akin to humanity are in any way at work, in an order of being beyond our present senses and outside our present scope, is it likely that they are the only beings that thus exist?

It is certainly far from the case here and now.

A reader of terrestrial history, living on another planet, might readily conceive the idea that the earth was inhabited solely by human beings, though he would observe that reference was occasionally made to creatures such as horses and cattle as useful for labour or for food; but how little could he appreciate of the facts known to a Zoologisthow far he would be from imagining the extraordinary wealth of terrestrial life, some of it of the most curious and fantastic kind, among which we live. He could imagine less even than the ordinary uninstructed person knows of the myriads of creation. Our experience here certainly leads us to assume that, where there is life at all, there is likely to be an immense variety and complexity of life; so if the evidence ever constrains us to extend human existence, or an existence akin to human, into what is popularly spoken of as "another world," then we ought to make the generalisation, based on our experience here, that not humanity alone but many other orders of being, some higher, some lower, may exist and interact in those unknown surroundings.

Is such a hypothesis legitimate? It is premature as yet to make it, but I foresee a time when we shall be driven to something like it; and, if there is any truth in it, a multitude of phenomena which now appear weird and strange, or frankly impossible, will receive what then may seem their simple and natural explanation. The lawless and the capricious can only be so to our present understanding, and only appear so because we have abstracted and mentally partitioned off a certain small region of the Universe and decided to treat it for scientific purposes as if it were the whole.

That is exactly what we do in a laboratory: we exclude disturbing influences as much as possible; and those which we cannot exclude we first reduce to a minimum, and then either take into account by calculation or else ignore as being demonstrably insignificant in amount. That is our customary process; and, of course, we sometimes make mistakes. The history of science is full of instances where the ignored is found ultimately to be of importance. Whereupon unexplained discrepancies, or what had been called discordances between theory and fact, become in the light of fuller knowledge resolved and explained.

A trace of radioactivity, before radioactivity was allowed for; the impact of stray electric waves, before such things were expected; the pressure of light in interplanetary space or a vacuum bulb, before the time of Clerk Maxwell or Crookes; the complication of a spider's web in a balance case which had been supposed closed to alien influence;—all these, no less than the proverbial bull in a china shop, have before now produced strange happenings which seemed inexplicable until the perturbing cause itself became known.

And it would not be unnatural, though it could hardly be said to be wise, for the head of the laboratory, to whom such events were reported, to profess disbelief in them; on the ground that it was more likely for observers to be careless or for testimony to err than for such outrageous eccentricities in the order of nature to be real.

But it may be said that if ever for a moment we allow ourselves to contemplate the possible existence and activity of another order of being, we are making a wild speculation and opening the door to a region so unknown as to be useless and confusing. Yes, and that is one good reason why we do not open the door; or, at least, are not willing to open it very wide.

Progress in science is made by proceeding slowly and gradually from the known to the unknown—not by postulating any mysterious agency that can be imagined and letting it work its hypothetical will. That was done in old times truly, when, for instance, an angel was supposed to control the movement of each planet and guide it on its course; it is also done sometimes by illiterate persons who attribute particular actions to the Deity—not indirectly and ultimately, in the way that all religious people assume, but directly and immediately as if He were a clumsy artificer poking a finger into the works. But those were not the ages of science, nor is satisfaction with vague unknown possibilities the atmosphere of science. In science all the entrances to unknown causes must be jealously guarded, and new agencies must be only let in one at a time as they are really needed. In recent times several new agencies have been admitted new elements, new vibrations, ncw forces,—all outside our unaided senses, and, therefore, all unknown fifty years ago. But in what sense were they new? Manifestly only in a subjective sense. Throughout the world's history they have existed and done their work. Argon and helium and radium, electrons and X-rays and electric waves, have really been active all the time; and phagocytes have been attacking the microbes of disease, and bacilli have been contributing to the fertility of the soil, and bacteria have been slaying their thousands, all through human history; just as certainly as that the heart was pumping and the blood circulating in the heroes of antiquity, however little the owners of the bloodvessels were aware of the fact.

But all these things, it will be said, are in the line of human knowledge, they fit in with what was previously known, they were surmised and then verified by human intelligence,—their recognition is not like opening the door to the unlicensed activity of a group of creatures of whose nature and properties we know absolutely nothing.

Well, let us look at that contention for a little while. Socrates spoke of his Dæmon, Joan of Arc of her Voices, Saints have told of their direct inspiration, Poets have assured us that their best work comes from outside themselves;—so we must admit, without trenching on the ground of religion, that activities of a kind higher than human have been testified to on a basis of direct experience.

But this is very different from the physical phenomena which at present are under discussion. Most true, and the testimony for these things is of a less high and notable order, —but it exists nevertheless, and I desire to urge that the kind of things asserted are not beyond the capacity of a group of imaginary beings which science for its own sake has imagined the possibility of, and whose powers it has delimited and defined.

The power of human beings as we know them, so far as it relates to the world of matter, is limited to moving masses of matter of visible and tangible size. No other thing can man do in the material region. He acts on it by his muscles, and by his muscles alone. All else is done by the properties of matter itself. Man ean put a seed into the ground and eover it with soil and water,—the resulting plant is not his achievement. Man ean build a machine of glass and brass, and by turning a handle can evoke an electric spark, but the spark is not man's production. Whatever can result from the movement and arrangement of matter is indirectly the result of man's activity, and beyond that he can achieve nothing.

But if he had the power of dealing with individual moleeules, instead of with masses of matter,---if he eould see and trace and handle and control the motions of the atoms themselves,—or if a being existed with senses and powers analogous different in the sense of being so acute and rapid that things moving with the speed of bullets and things invisible in the highest-power microscope became tangible and tractable,-then other things could be done which to us with our present senses and muscles would scem impossible, and which certainly would in the strict sense be super-, or it might be infra-, human. It is well known that Clerk Maxwell imagined such an order of beings for the purpose of showing how the second law of thermodynamics might be evaded; and Lord Kelvin-to whom few things could be more distasteful than being quoted in support of my present contention, and to his shade I apologise -went a step further and enuneiated a whole category of things which "Maxwell's demons" could achieve, subject to all the perfectly defined physical laws and processes with which we are already aequainted.

Myers enters into some detail concerning the relation of this conception to many asserted physical phenomena. Nothing more is necessary than a power of dealing with molecules as we deal with masses of matter; no law of motion—as we call it—need be upset, the conservation of energy would hold undisputed sway, gravitation and all the other forces would be as potent as ever; and yet what would seem miraculous to uninitiated human beings would be eapable of achievement.

The idea is worked out, with just the right attitude of humour and semi-sareasm appropriate to the novelty of the idea and to the apparent faneifulness of its basis, in F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality*, Vol. II. pp. 530-534. I remember when he was writing that part of his book, and the talks we had on it. I remember his asking me what sort of reality could by any conceivability be attributed to Maxwell's demons, and what sort of acts they could accomplish if they in any kind of sense existed. I referred him to Lord Kelvin's brilliant lecture on the subject, of which an abstract appears in *Proc. Roy. Inst.* Vol. IX., Feb. 1879,—under the title "The Sorting Demon of Maxwell,"—and likewise in his "Popular Addresses," Vol. I.; and I was interested in the singular felicity of the use which Myers made of the idea.

Do I, then, seriously contend that we must postulate such creatures in order to account for asserted physical and chemical phenomena of a novel kind? I do not. But I do maintain that the existence of such power has been imagined by physicists themselves, for the purposes of ordinary physics,—especially perhaps, for the region where physics interlocks with biology, not at all with the object of aiding our special investigations; with entire ignorance perhaps—indeed with active dislike in one case—of the subjects which are dealt with by our Society.

Hence I hold that if testimony as to facts of this order ever becomes strong enough to demand ideas of this kind for their elucidation, there will be nothing outrageous or hyperfanciful in the conception, nor anything illegitimate in such a hypothesis, when it is forced upon us. We shall not make it unless driven to it by facts, and facts have not yet driven us to it; but if and when they do, I for one shall take the line not of denying the facts as grotesquely impossible and manifestly absurd-however much one is sometimes tempted to say this now-but I shall hope to examine them to see whether, by some such extension of human or other power as Maxwell and Kelvin have conceived, we may not be led a step on into our understanding of a larger Nature. We may perhaps thus find that the physical phenomena and the intellectual phenomena are more closely allied than we had imagined; that they are allied there, indeed, somewhat as they are allied here; and that one class is a reasonable, or at any rate a real, supplement to the other.

One set of facts may be of the heroic order, and another set of the trivial, the domestic, the casual order,—and no man is a hero to his valet; but whether we attend to the commonplace actions of a great man or not, such actions are undoubtedly performed. To suppose that great poetry, for instance, ever came into the world without any concomitant of ordinary and what we call "low" humanity, is to suppose a monstrosity. And those who are even now opening the door to a demonstration of intelligence from beyond the veil may find—will find as I believe—that they are admitting, along with the intelligence, a mass of supplementary concomitant activity, which will have to be reekoned with, classified, and understood. And I venture to risk the prediction that the testimony to this physical material activity, low though it may be, and however much it be kept in its proper subordinate place, and however critical the attitude which may rightly have to be taken with respect to it, can with wisdom be neither ignored nor denied.

I write this article not as a protest but as a counterbalancing presentation,—erring, perhaps, on the positive or speculative side as much as some may think Count Solovovo's article lags on the negative or sceptical side. I gather that his desire, and that of the more stringently critical of the investigators and recorders of the Society—indeed the desire of us all—is to improve the evidence and gradually make it irrefragable. And I further gather that they consider it possible to achieve this; in the first place, by stimulating experimenters to greater care and exactitude of observation; and in the second place, by actually bringing pressure to bear on whatever intelligence may be supposed responsible for these obscure phenomena, so that the conditions under which they occur may by practice and effort be gradually improved. ν.

A CASE OF EMERGENCE OF A LATENT MEMORY UNDER HYPNOSIS.

BY G. LOWES DICKINSON.

THIS paper deals with a series of sittings for hypnotic experiments held during April, May, and June, 1906.¹

The person hypnotised was a young lady whom I shall call Miss C. She is not a professional medium, but the daughter of a clergyman, with a good general education; not a student, but interested in psychical and theosophical and conversant with literature bearing on such questions. The doctor who hypnotised her, and whom I subjects. G., considers her perfectly normal, free shall call Dr. from any symptoms of hysteria or other nervous disease. To an ordinary observer, like myself, she appears a simple, straightforward character, with a strong sense of humour. It seems worth while to insist upon these points because the case would lose all interest for psychical research if the hypothesis of fraud were entertained. It is, of course, impossible to disprove fraud. I can only say that those who were present at the sittings regard that hypothesis as the least probable that can be put forward. Besides the lady herself and Dr. G., there were present at the sittings her brother, Mr. C., and Mr. Woolley, a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who took notes. I was present myself at several, but not at all the This paper is based on the notes taken at the time. sittings. These notes, however, not being taken in shorthand, though

 $^{^{1}}$ Mr. Dickinson's account of this case was read at a meeting of the Society held in July, 1906, and would have been published sooner but that the MS. was accidentally mislaid by one of the experimenters, and has only recently been found again.—ED.

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they are accurate, are necessarily brief, and do not give an adequate impression of the vivid and dramatic character of the proceedings. These assumed a dialogue form, Dr. G. conversing with the hypnotised subject and drawing her out, but taking care not to suggest trains of ideas himself. A considerable number of sittings were held, and the general procedure was as follows:—

The lady, whom I shall call for convenience the subject, as soon as she was hypnotised described herself as passing out of her body. She would sometimes, according to her account, pause just outside it both in starting and in returning, and would then say that she saw her body, was standing upon it, etc. But this only for a moment, so that we never got her satisfactorily to describe the room or things in it while she purported to be in this posture. She almost immediately "went up," as she described it. And "up" meant a very remarkable and complicated world, her account of which was quite cohercnt and consistent throughout the sittings. It consisted of a number of different "planes," one, as she said, above another, in which are stored up not only everything that ever has happened or will happen, but all thoughts, dreams, and imaginations. To begin with, she usually went straight to what she called the "blue." It was, she said, from and in this plane that she derived the "force" to move and observe in these upper regions. Her account was that she "got blue" from Dr. G. originally, and his "blue" was apparently necessary for her support throughout. But also she derived force from this blue plane, and when she was tired could always refresh and restore herself by returning to it and sinking into it. She did not commonly "see things" in the blue; she had to go for that into other planes. But the "blue" had the peculiar property that she could tell, when she was in it, whether what she had seen elsewhere was real or no. She also got from this planc her metaphysical ideas. Above the blue was the "white," a dazzling plane into which she could not penetrate. Other planes to which she referred were the "thought plane," "mind planc," "dream plane," "planc of feelings." There was also the plane where there were real people, with which we shall here be mainly concerned; and a plane in which she found her past lives.

While, however, this complicated world was always described in terms of planes and of eolours, the subject insisted that these were only metaphors. There was really, she said, no time and no space where she went. All the planes were really somehow one. And she had great difficulty in conveying through language the experiences she received. "There are no words up here," she said, "and so when you try to bring it back you give it any words that come into your head on waking." And again, "everywhere is really the same plane, and when I'm up here I'm in my body too." Again, "on different planes you get different answers to the same question. They're all parts of the truth." Again, "everything is all thought really. Things arcn't really coloured. They only make one feel like it." "Other people may see the same things and describe them differently; the things added to what you are yourself make what you see." Again, "I can't tell where things are. Just the same if they are elose or far away. Can't get used to it."

In this eurious world there were many obstaeles to the discovery of objective truth. Thus, if the subject thought of anything, she immediately saw it. "If I want to see anything, it is there at once, just as real as if I hadn't made it, so I mustn't want to see things." Again, she will sometimes get into some one else's dream. Thus on one occasion she gave us a picture of a landseape, and told us afterwards, after returning to the "blue," that some one was dreaming it, "some one up there called Monica." Monica, she said, was "wrapped up in her own plane, and doesn't want to meet any one," so we were unable to pursue that branch of the subject. On another oecasion she saw "grey-blue mist, moving snakes in it, not really snakes. Look like snakes. Arms coming through the mist. Oh nothing really. I got into a dream."

We were naturally more interested in what purported to be real things and real persons. In the earlier sittings the subject was much disturbed by a lady she met up there who, she said, oughtn't to be there at all, didn't know her way about, and was always worrying her for advice, which she didn't take. This lady she ealled at first Malka, but finally informed us that her real name was Rose Weston, that she lived near Merthyr Tydvil, and that she was in a trance. Going up to the "blue" one day she remarked, with real delight: "The dark woman has gone. She woke up!" But later on Malka turned up again in the same vague condition. "She wants me to show her round. She doesn't know about anything." Later she met another lady also in a trance, whose name she gave us, but unfortunately not her address. This lady, she said, would go mad as the result of her trances. She got her to promise to write to Dr. G., but the promise has not been fulfilled. The most interesting person, however, whom the subject met, and the immediate occasion of this paper, was a lady who lived in the reign of Richard the Second. As this whole episode is very curious, I propose to describe it at some length.

At the beginning of one of the sittings, the subject began as follows: "Standing beside myself. Can't stop here now. Got to a different place. Lots of people. Real people. They have been alive. I don't know where it is. Never been there before. Perhaps 100 years ago." She then went to the "blue" to observe this place from there, and having satisfied herself that it was real, went back to it. She then met and fell into conversation with a lady whom she continued to visit during the several following sittings. This lady gave her name as Blanche Poynings. As presented to us she was a lady of very distinct character, a great gossip, taken up exclusively with herself and her circle of friends and acquaintances, which was a very distinguished one. She was a great friend of Maud, Countess of Salisbury, and much of her talk was about that lady and her husband, the Earl. The Countess, she said, had been married three times, and she gave the names of her former husbands,-Aubrey, and Sir Alan de Buxhall. She gave the names of her children by the Earl, and of her stepson, Alan de Buxhall, her own maiden name, Frances, and the names of the Earl of Salisbury's brothers. The Earl, Blanche said, was a cultivated man, a poet. Not that her standard of cultivation was high, for she thought it a wonderful thing that the Countess could write her own name. As to the Earl's poems, she could not quote us any, as "she never remembered that sort of thing." She remembered, however, and described with much vigour, how the Earl, who was a Lollard, threw the images out of his chapel, and especially an image of Saint Catherine. This image, when they were removing it, fell on one of the men and made his nose bleed. They were very frightened, said Blanche, because they thought Saint Catherine was after them. "We didn't really believe it," she said, "but still we felt rather uncomfortable." The image was thrown into a ditch; but picked up by a man who repainted it and put it up in his bakehouse

A number of other facts were given about the Earl of Salisbury, such as his family name, Montacute, his title as Lord of the Isle of Man, and the name of one of his manors, Bisham, to which they used to ride from London. Blanche's own maiden name, de Mowbray, was given, and the name of the man she married after Poynings's death, Sir John Worth. Also the fact that she was expelled from court, together with Dame de Molyneux, by Arnold, one of the Lords Appellant. We were also introduced to Joan, mother of Richard the Second, formerly known as the "Fair Maid of Kent," whose fatness and good nature appeared to have much impressed and delighted Blanche. Her son by her first marriage, John Holland, was also referred to, and the story told how his squire was killed by "some one elsc's" squire, whereupon John Holland, meeting this "some one else," killed him, remarking "Your squire killed my squire whom I loved." Other historical personages introduced were the kings Richard II., Henry IV., Richard's two queens, Ann of Orleans and Isabelle of France, and Aumerle, for whom Blanche expressed great dislike. The subject accounted for this by the statement that Blanche had been engaged to marry him, but that he had afterwards married some one else. "She says he was the worst of the lot, but she can't find much against him." In addition to these distinguished people, Blanche gave information about one Ralph Turval, and his wife Ellen Newland, a waiting woman of the Countess of Salisbury.

She was also full of information about the costume of the period. "She used to wear brocaded velvet, trimmed with ermine, and a high-peaked cap of minever. She wore blue velvet. embroidered with gold. Men wore shoes with long points which were chained to their knees. They had long hair cut straight across the forehead." She described the three kinds $2 \,\mathrm{g}$ of bread, simmel, wastel and cotchet, eaten by different classes, and gave some account of her way of life. Her favourite dish was lampreys stewed in oil. They always had a doetor in every house. He used to bleed them for everything. Often the chaplain was the doetor. "She used to have ague, and they bled for that. When she had smallpox, they bled her every third day, and put on eold water compresses, and nearly starved her. They gave her bitter medicine. She thinks it was dandelion." Her time seems to have been spent mainly in conversation and needlework, but she refers to oecasional journeys, as to Bisham and to "*Stepany*" to see the mayhedges in spring.

We were naturally anxious to know what Blanche looked like, and how she communicated with Miss C. To the former question the answer was rather eurious. When asked what Blanche wore, we were told at first "she wears only her blue mist." "What does she look like ?" "She has white hair, is tall, with dark eyes. But she looks like that because she was like that when she died. She can look any age." We asked to know how she looked at the age of eight. She was then described as having "long brown hair; long dress and sleeves, with grey fur round the edge." Also as carrying "what she thinks is a doll. But really it's only a block of wood. They hadn't got any proper toys then. They made their own." To the question what language Blanche talked, we were told she didn't talk, but only communicated thoughts, so we got no specimen of the English of that time. Blanche, we were informed, was very much surprised to find she had been dead so long. Speaking of death, she said "she was very surprised when she was first dead, but she soon got over it. She just went to sleep and woke up dead." We asked what she had been doing up there all these years, and were told she had been doing nothing much. "She has a lot to find out before she gets anywhere else. She keeps on learning things without knowing it. She thought she knew everything there was to be known, but she has just found out she does not." Blanche, apparently, had had a lonely time. Anyhow she was particularly pleased to find some one to talk to, and was always described as being "on the look out" when Miss C. went to visit her. Such, in brief summary, is the principal information obtained

from Blanche. Now as to its objective truth. We none of us knew anything about the reign of Richard II., nor whether there was an Earl of Salisbury at that time, and we were quite unable, at the first appearance of Blanche, to check any of her information. I took, however, an early opportunity of testing the statements made. I found that the main facts about the Earl and Countess of Salisbury were true. Encouraged by this, I followed up, so far as I could, all the statements of names, relationships and events. I looked up the chronicles and rummaged in peerages and charters, and was able in almost every case to verify the truth of Blanche's assertions. This interested and puzzled me. Miss C. assured me, and I believed her, that she had never studied the period. And in any case some of the facts given were not such as even a student of the period would naturally come across. Blanche Poynings herself, for example, was a quite unimportant person, only referred to by name, by one or two chroniclers, as one of the ladies in attendance on the Queen. The most likely explanation was that the facts narrated were contained in a historical novel. But the only novel dealing with the period which Miss C. could remember reading was one entitled John Standish, and a reference to this showed that it was not the source of the information she gave us. I clung, however, to the hypothesis that a novel must be the explanation, though I am bound to confess that as more and more facts came out, as these almost invariably proved to be correct, as far as I could test them, and as they were in some cases obscure genealogical data such as it seemed unlikely would be embodied in a work of fiction, I came at last to think it possible that Miss C. was really communicating with the departed Blanche Poynings. The mystery, however, was finally explained in a rather curious way.

I went to tea with Miss C. Her aunt was present and her brother. We began talking about planchette. Miss C. said that she could draw, with planchette, faces which were faces whichever way one looked at them, a feat which she could not perform by conscious effort. I expressed a curiosity to see these faces, and planchette was produced. The faces were not particularly interesting. But we went on to converse with planchette in the ordinary way, eliciting at first the usual irrelevant nonsense. Presently, however, it was suggested that we should see whether Blanche would communicate. Blanche was immediately on the spot, and began by reproaching Miss C. for not having been to see her lately. I quote now from the notes made afterwards by Mr. Woolley from the original answers written by planchette, the sentences in round brackets being the questions and remarks we addressed to it at the time.

Miller. (Who are you?) Mr. Miller. (Are you Mr. Miller next door?) No. (When were you alive?) Richard II. (Did you know Blanehe Poynings?) Yes. (What was she like?) A middle-aged lady. (What was the name of her fourth husband?) John Wilshere. [Blanche begins.] Why did you not come back? Come to-night. I want to talk. He [J. W.] is bothering. I haven't seen him for 500 years. [Contest between Blanche and John Wilshere] (Let him come and talk.) (Why did he do that?) He can't write. (You must write for him). ([To J. W.] What is she really like?) She is listening. (Can Poynings write?) He was born. He is alive again. (What is his name?) John Andrews. (Where does he live?) Cambridge. (What does he do?) He mends roads. (Can you tell us any more about John Wilshere?) He is damned. (Give us the names of all your husbands.)

- 2. Poynings.
- 3. Worth.

1. -

4. Wilshere.

(How can we confirm what you are telling us?) Read his will. (Whose will?) Wilshere's. He died first. (Where is it?) Museum. (What part?) On a parchment. (How can we get at it?) Ask the man. (Any particular man?) No. Ask E. Holt. (Who is E. Holt?) An antiquarian. (Where is he?) Dead. There is a book. (Where is it?) I don't know where it is. Mrs. Holt. (What has she to do with it?) Ask her. (Do you know where she lives?) No. Wrote a book. (What about?) About all of them. All the people are in it. (What else?) I am there. (What else is it about?) Maud. (Is what it says about you good?) Not interesting enough. Countess Maud by Emily Holt. (Why didn't you tell me that before?) I would have told you, but you went away.

On the name of this novel being mentioned, Miss C. said at once that she believed there was a novel with that title, and that she had read it. This was confirmed by her aunt. But neither of them could remember anything about the book, not even the period with which it dealt, nor whether it contained any mention of Blanche Poynings. I took an early opportunity of investigating the point, discovered the book in question, and discovered in it every person and every fact (with one or two trifling exceptions) which had been referred to in the supposed interviews with Blanche Poynings. The whole thing had been an elaborate rearrangement by Miss C.'s subconsciousness of data given in a book she had completely forgotten. At a later sitting (June 10th, 1906), Miss C., in her hypnotic state, was asked about the novel, and made an attempt of a kind which I fancy to be characteristic of subconscious states to get out of the difficulty. I quote from the record of this sitting:

(Can you see yourself young?) Ves. (Can you see your aunt reading a book, Countess Maud?) Yes; blue book, with gold line across name of it. [My copy is red.] (What is it about?) Ellen Turval, and the Earl and Countess of Salisbury. (How old were you?) Twelve. (Did you read it yourself?) I looked at it, and painted a picture in the beginning. (Did you read the Appendix?) No. (Did your aunt?) No. (What was it about?)

The people in the book. I used to turn over the pages. I didn't read it, because it was dull. Blanche Poynings was in the book; not much about her.

(How much did you get from Blanche Poynings — how much from the book?)

Nearly all the events from the book, but not her character.... There was a real person called Blanche Poynings that I met, and I think her name started the memory, and I got the two mixed up.

On this it may be remarked that Miss C. must have read the Appendix, as some of the genealogical facts come from it. As to the character of Blanche, what she says is quite true,

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for this lady, who in the novel is nothing if not pious and discreet, became in the hands of Miss C.'s subconscious self a garrulous and flippant gossip. And this brings me to a point which seems worth noting in the whole episode. Though Miss C. got her facts from the novel, she made up (presumably on the basis of miscellaneous theosophic reading) a quite new setting. She selected as her interviewer in this imaginary world a subordinate character, not the heroine of the book (who is the Countess Maud). And she introduced the data, not in the order or connection in which they occur in the book, but, most naturally and skilfully, as they might actually come out haphazard in a conversation. Her subconscious self showed in fact remarkable invention and dramatic power (as is often the case with dream-selves); so that if we had not happened to light upon the source of the information given through Blanche Poynings, it might have seemed a plausible view (failing any invincible a priori scepticism) that Miss C. really did visit a real world and hold conversations with real people. As it is, the discovery of the source of the Blanche Poynings episode throws discredit on everything else, and especially on the elaborate details about her past lives with which Miss C.'s subconscious self also favoured us.

APPENDIX.

I give below a few extracts from the detailed record of the sittings to illustrate the line of thought of the hypnotic personality:

April 29, 1906.

I got straight into blue to-night. You told me to last time, so I was obliged to.

I can't tell if what I see are really what I see now or what I saw a long time ago. Everything looks as if I was just seeing it.

Can't tell where things are. Just the same if they are close or far away. Can't get used to it.

Don't know where I am, too dark.

Got back into blue now. I went out because I wanted to see things. If I want to see anything it is there at once, just as real as if I hadn't made it, so I mustn't want to see things, because it's no good going to see things that aren't really there. (Try and go to your own, the real, plane again.) I can't try to go to the real one. I must just drift down by accident. Why is it when I'm right up here I can talk with my body? I'm not anywhere near it. (Go into blue and tell me.)

It's because everywhere is really the same place and when I'm up here I'm in my body too. I can't get my body up here, but I can get all the rest of me down to my body. When I get right into blue I forget all about my body and I can't quite see why. Everything like that finds its own answer if you think about it once. It's no good going on thinking, because you can't think harder than you can think. On different planes you get different answers to the same question. All parts of the truth.

That silly woman wants me to shew her about again. Why doesn't she find herself? I want to go and help her. She doesn't know where she is. She says she's been here a long time and can't find anybody. She doesn't do what I tell her, perhaps she can't. Her name is Malka. She's been trying to see things without knowing the proper way. She wants to get back. She doesn't know much. Stupid of her to come when she doesn't know anything. She came by herself. She doesn't know her own name and she can't find her other half. It's rather ridiculous, isn't it? I must go down and see things. I can't go up into the white, because I couldn't get back.

(How do you hear me?) You're up here too. I don't hear your voice, only understand your thought. I don't really see things, only understand. I don't think or feel either. When I go from one plane to another I don't really go. It's like dissolving into another. I can't tell you things exactly, because there are lots of things there are no words for. Sometimes when I'm coming out to tell you things I forget them on the way. I can't forget them really, you know. They're all in the back of my head. (What sort of things?) All blank. When I try to think of them it makes me feel as if I was sinking deeper. It's stupid to use words. It's much better here, because you can't make a mistake in what you're saying.

Pink spirit again. Been waiting for me. Spirits that have never been incarnate are pink. It hasn't got a proper plane of its own.

Everything is all thought really. The pink spirit is my own thought. When you once do a thing you can't undo it.

Things aren't really coloured. They only make one feel like it. Other people may see the same things and describe them differently. The things, added to what you are yourself, make what you see.

When I haven't got enough blue I keep getting down on to my own thought plane and I can't tell whether things are real or not. It's no good trying to see things on the earth, because you can't tell whether they're real or not.

If I stop in the blue I never find anything. When I go outside I may see false things, but when I find out I know them next time. It makes me tired to be in the blue for long.

Not very south Wales. Inland. She used to live at Llandudno. That's where the Llan came from. Not there now. Begins with MERTHYR T . I don't believe she can spell it herself. She seems to think she is doing a lot of good by being up here. Quite a mistake. Tired of her, not even interesting. She won't go. She doesn't really want to. She likes poking about.

3rd May.

Standing beside myself, can't stop here now. Got to a different place. Lot of people. Real people. They have been alive. I don't know where it is. Never been there before. Perhaps 100 years ago. I went to blue and looked at it from there. Going to see it again. Woman there. Been dead a long time, since 1399. Name Blanche Poynings.

The dark woman has gone. She's woke up. I want to find out where things that you imagine eome from, because nothing comes from nothing.

I get on to a plane where those questions come up without answers.

Up here your thoughts are just as real as the things you've done (*i.e.* in Blue plane).

You can't get any higher without being dead.

These are only reflections. Both blue and white are difficult to describe, because they take an impression from you. Nothing is anything in itself, but it impresses you as if you were seeing it.

I want to see real things.

You can't come here when you are awake, because you would be in two places at once. When you are awake you are conscious of space and time. When you lose yourself and these limitations which only exist because you know about them, you get here. You could train yourself to get here when you are asleep by making up your mind. Some people can put themselves into a trance and come here. They bring back memories. Everything is recorded here somewhere, but it isn't always easy to find. If you go by yourself and aren't very strong, you get caught in the first will current that there is and are helpless. You must practise and train by minimizing the body and strengthening the will. Live by yourself and think of nothing but going there; but you may get stuck there. The only thing that's good for everybody is to strengthen their will. Thinking is good because it makes a kind of atmosphere round you. You must think about something and you might as well think about this. Many people don't know how to think, and stop a long time in the first stage where you go directly you die. First you have to learn how to think and how little you know: then how to distinguish between true and false. You can learn both in the body.

You may meet the same people in successive incarnations if you are very fond of them and on the same level. You can always find any one up there. Hunt up their impressions where they've been. The impressions are as real as the people. I couldn't find any one I didn't know, because I shouldn't recognize their impressions. They might send a message by me. They sometimes hunt about for some one to take a message down. Live people are so dense, it is very difficult for the dead people to get a message understood. Some of them are mischievous and play tricks. Death makes no difference. It's only leaving your body behind. The body is something to live in and it conveys impressions to your mind and teaches you. And unless you've had limitations for some time, you don't realise what it is to be without them.

June 3, 1906.

(Remember about Poynings? Has she anything fresh?) I'll go and ask her. She's really there. (Go and see her and then to blue.) She's a real person but I put her there. I saw *about* her somewhere. She keeps talking, saying the same silly things. I came across her because I had seen about her before. She must be a real person or I shouldn't see her here. What I heard about her wasn't so important as what she tells me about herself. Going to see her again. She's really there. She seems sort of two people when in blue, one that I have heard about and one part that's real. I meant to ask her something. She says she can't see people on earth at all and can't communicate unless they come up here. She says it's all true what she told me. She wants to know why I have been away so long.

SUPPLEMENT.

REVIEW.

Esprits et Médiums, Mélanges de Métapsychique et de Psychologie, by TH. FLOURNOY, Professeur à la Faculté des Sciences de l'Université de Genève. Genève, Librairie Kündig : Paris, Librairie Fischbacher (royal 8vo, pp. 561, 7 fr. 50).

THIS latest work from Professor Flournoy's hand is not less interesting than those which have preceded it, and is at the same time extremely valuable by reason of the large mass of material which it contains. It will, indeed, be found to form an admirable book of reference, of great service to any one who is interested in the various departments of psychical research. The author's pen has lost nothing of its characteristic eloquence, and he shows us once more how incomparable a medium for psychical analysis is the French language in the hands of one who is at once a literary expert and a master of the subject.

The book is, in sum, a detailed exposition, supported by voluminous evidence, of M. Flournoy's conclusions concerning such physical and psychical phenomena as had come to his knowledge up to the time of writing, and in particular concerning the great question of experimental communication with discarnate or unincarnate spirits. As to the possible achievement of this last he professes himself to be quite open to conviction (for he is definitely a "Spiritualist,"¹), but at present unconvinced.

The following quotation from the Preface will give a sufficiently clear indication of the author's position :

"Les faits que j'ai pu étudicr d'un peu près m'ont tous laissé

¹M. Flournoy distinguishes between "Spiritualists" (Spiritualistes), *i.e.* those who believe that the soul of man survives the death of the body, and "Spiritists" (Spirites), those who believe in the reality of the alleged experimental communications with spirits. This distinction is observed in this review.

l'impression qu'en dépit de certaines apparences superficielles, . . . c'est se tromper lourdement que d'attribuer aux Esprits des morts, aux désincarnés, comme on les appelle, les curieux phénomènes que présentent les médiums.

"La plupart de ces phénomènes s'expliquent facilement et sans résidu par des processus inhérents aux médiums euxmêmes et à leur entourage. L'état de passivité ou de laisseraller, l'abdication de la personnalité normale, le relâchement du contrôle volontaire sur les mouvements musculaires et les associations d'idées,—toute cette disposition psycho-physiologique spéciale où le sujet se place dans l'attente et le désir de communiquer avec les trépassés, favorise chez-lui la dissociation mentale et une sorte de régression infantile, de rechute à une phase inférieure d'evolution psychique, où son imagination puérile se met tout naturellement à joucr au désincarné, dont l'idée la hante, en utilisant pour ses rôles les ressources de la subconscience (complexus émotifs, souvenirs latents, tendances instinctives ordinairement comprimées, etc.)."

The volume is divided into two Parts, of which the first has a curious history. In 1898, M. Flournoy, having become interested in matters psychical, addressed to the members of the Société des Etudes Psychiques (a spiritist society, of which he was not himself a member), and to some others, a lengthy and elaborate questionnaire concerning their psychical experiences, their conclusions as to these, and other relevant matters. His hope was that he might discover among the answers some good evidence of spirit intervention. The replies received were 72 in number, and many of them of considerable length; but none contained such convincing proofs as he desired. He then published in the Revue Philosophique (février, 1899) an article embodying the conclusions to which he had been led by his investigations—conclusions which were altogether unfavourable to the claims of the spiritists. He naturally did not publish the whole dossier of replies, and the failure to do so then or subsequently brought down on his head a storm of reproaches from spiritist circles; he was accused of wilfully suppressing much valuable evidence that told against his own views. In the end, M. Flournoy decided that honour required him to print without selection the whole mass of these replies. He has accordingly given them to us in the present volume (of which they fill the first 202 pages in small print), together with some valuable observations upon them and a restatement of his conclusions.

The replies themselves will be found to possess considerable interest —until they weary by their bulk and, to some extent, by their sameness. They contain accounts of a good number of remarkable phenomena, veridical dreams, etc., apparently well attested and deserving of permanent record; but what strikes one most foreibly in the perusal is that the writers, almost without exception, seem to have no knowledge whatever of the telepathic powers of the human personality. True statements received through tranee mediums or automatic writing are credited without hesitation to the spirits of deceased persons, while false ones are assigned, with equal naïveté, to malicious spirits. The following is an abridged account of one instructive case which M. Flournoy discusses at length on pp. 276 ff.

A certain M. Til (teacher of book-keeping, aged 48), a man in excellent health and of a genial and kindly nature, attempted automatic writing, and at once succeeded. A continuance of the writing on the following days greatly excited him; he was obsessed by grapho-motor impulses, even at night, and would write in the air with his finger if he had no pencil. On the fourth day, in answer to questions about the eareers of his ehildren, the script made vague and disquieting insinuations against his son Edouard (who was employed in a business office), and ended with the formal accusation that Edouard had stolen his employer's cigarettes, and received a letter of dismissal. Further script, obtained the same afternoon, urged M. Til to go at once to see his son's employer. He went, but the employer The chief clerk, however, gave an excellent report was out. of the young man. While the elerk was speaking, M. Til's finger wrote in the air, "Je suis navré de la duplieité de cet The employer then arrives, and completely reassures homme." the distressed father as to his son's conduct, but had hardly done so when M. Til's finger wrote, "Je t'ai trompé, Miehel, pardonne-moi!"

This ease *donne* à *penser*. Not a few of us have hitherto been the more disposed to accept as genuine various spirit impersonations and messages which have come under our notice because we found it hard to believe the subliminal self eapable of such positively eruel deceptions as must, in the alternative, be laid to its charge in eertain eases. But in this instance we find M. Til's subliminal self for there is no ground for supposing we are concerned with any external influence whatever—pouring forth, with all the devilry of

a "Sally Beauchamp," a series of circumstantial lies specially calculated to wound the father in perhaps his tenderest point ;--- "anything to give pain," as Michael Finsbury said. And when at last the game is up, it makes an airy admission of guilt, with no hint either of shame or regret. My own experience furnishes a parallel of similar effrontery. In the course of some table-tilting experiments made by Miss Verrall and myself, the table, which had professed to be inspired by "the sub. of both," told us a short story, with names, addresses, etc., which was easily discovered to be false. When pressed to justify this at a subsequent sitting, it coolly replied, "When I do not know, I draw upon my imagination." One may attempt to minimise the importance of M. Til's case by saving that it finds its analogy in the absurdities and villainies of dreams, in which the moral sense and the normal control of the will are in abeyance, but by what criterion can we exclude from the same category any of our automatic scripts, or any of the impersonations and communications of the entranced personalitics of Mrs. Piper and Mrs. Thompson? No less than in our own cases M. Til's script exhibits purpose and design, and the purpose is inexcusably naughty. The conclusion seems to be that we can no longer set a limit to the possible vagaries of the subliminal self; it is largely irresponsible and is apparently capable de tout !

The Second Part of the volume is occupied with "Observations diverses." There is an introductory chapter on "Science et Métapsychique," in which the author discusses incidentally Professor Richet's experiences at the Villa Carmen in Algiers, and the storm raised in the scientific world by his temerity in publishing them. A highly appreciative chapter is devoted to "F. W. H. Myers et la Psychologie subliminale." While he has nothing but admiration for Myers's great and illuminating synthesis, M. Flournoy is at present unable to follow him in his conviction that he had held communication with the spirit world.

"Il faut bien distinguer, dans l'œuvre de Myers, la création de la psychologie subliminale, et le système philosophico-religieux qu'il prétendait en tirer....

"Si les découvertes futures viennent à confirmer sa thèse de l'intervention empiriquement vérifiable des désincarnés dans la trame physique ou psychologique de notre monde phénomenal, alors son nom s'inserira au livre d'or des grands initiateurs, et, joint à ceux de Copernic et de Darwin, il y complétera la triade des génies ayant le plus profondément révolutionné la pensée seientifique dans l'ordre eosmologique, biologique, psychologique."

If the eontrary should happen, eontinues M. Flournoy,—if one should have taken for "des révélations d'outre-tombe ee qui n'était en réalité que jeux enfantins, ou plaisanteries maeabres, de eonseienees subliminales très incarnées et plus ou moins perverties; si, en un mot, il fallait définitivement renoncer, non point à la survivance (qui est une toute autre affaire), mais à la démonstration scientifique de la survivanee, alors ee serait l'effondrement du but vers lequel Myers avait fait converger tous ses efforts, et l'idée dominante de sa earrière n'aurait été qu'une utopie.

"Mais n'oublions pas que, dans ee eas eneore, son œuvre proprement seientifique, bien loin de se trouver ruinée, subsisterait intaete, et même d'une solidité d'autant plus évidente que e'est préeisément en s'appuyant sur elle qu'on aurait fini par tirer les ehoses au elair."

Valuable and interesting chapters follow, on "Des Esprits trompeurs," "Des Esprits bienfaisants," "Cryptomnésie," and "Le Rêve prophétique de Mme. Buscarlet." This dream is of an extraordinary nature, and as it is probably new to readers of our Proceedings, I append an abridged account of it here, omitting much, but giving the essential and verified points.

Mme. Buscarlet returned to Geneva in August, 1883, after being for three years governess to the two little daughters of Mme. Moratief at Kasan in Russia. At Kasan she had made the acquaintance of two friends (amongst others) of Mme. Moratief; these were Mlle. Olga Popoï and Mme. Nitehinof. Mme Nitchinof was headmistress of the Institut Impérial at Kasan,a school which Mme. Moratief's daughters began to attend after Mme. Busearlet's departure, - and was very intimate with Mme. Moratief. On Dee. 22, 1883 (Dec. 10, O.S.) Mme. Buscarlet wrote a letter to Mme. Moratief, but apparently did not post it for two days, for M. Flournoy,--who has seen both the letter and its envelope—states that the latter bears the Geneva post-mark of Dee. 24, and (together with other Russian postmarks) that of "Kasan 20. xii. 83." Thus, according to the Russian calendar (O.S.), it left Geneva on Dee. 12, and reached Kasan on Dee. 20, taking eight days for the journey. The letter, which is written in French, opens with about a page of Christmas greetings, and then goes on as follows :—"Cette nuit, j'ai fait un drôle de rêve, que je veux vous raconter, non que j'y attache une importance quelconque, mais seulement parce que c'est drôle. Vous et moi étions sur un chemin, dans la campagne, lorsque passa devant nous une voiture d'où sortit une voix qui vous appela. Arrivées près de la voiture, nous vîmes Mlle. Olga Popoï¹ couchée en travers, vétue de blanc avec un bonnet garni de rubans jaunes.² Elle vous dit : *Je vous ai appelée pour vous dire que Mme. Nitchinof quitte l'Institut le 17*. Puis la voiture continua de rouler. Que les rêves sont parfois burlesques !" The remaining two pages of the letter deal with other subjects.

Now for what happened at Kasan. In a letter dated Kasan, Dec. 20 [O.S.]—the day on which the Geneva letter arrived— M. Moratief wrote to Mme. Buscarlet that he and his wife had dined at Mme. Nitchinof's house on the 13th [*i.e.* the day after the posting of Mme. B.'s letter]. After dinner Mme. N. felt unwell, but a doctor, who arrived immediately, diagnosed nothing more than "une simple et légère angine." On the 14th and 15th the doctors (three in number) found nothing alarming, and only on the morning of the 16th did scarlet fever declare itself. [There appears to have been also diphtheria.] At 5.0 p.m. of that day the patient could hardly speak, and she died at 11.45 p.m. the same night. For fear of infection, the body was removed from the school to a neighbouring chapel at 2.0 a.m. on the 17th.

There are also letters from two other people living at Kasan which confirm these facts.

Thus the dream is exactly fulfilled, and the use of the peculiar word *quitte* is seen to be precisely adapted to the circumstances. There was no question of Mmc. N.'s dismissal or of her resignation of her post. She had been established at Kasan for many years, with all her children, and never left it—nor was likely to leave it—during the Christmas holidays. M. Flournoy has

¹In 1901—when M. Flournoy interviewed her—Mme. Buscarlet was altogether unable to explain the intrusion of Mlle. Popoï *dans cette galère*; she could not recall that this lady (who appears to have been alive at the time of the dream) was in any way concerned with the actual occurrences.

 2 Mme. B. had seen in Russia the corpse of a lady similarly dressed. The cap was white, as it was also in the dream, according to Mme. B.'s verbal statement to M. Flournoy.

[PART

investigated the ease thoroughly, and is convinced that there is in it neither collusion nor fraud. He would explain the dream as a telepathic communication [through Mlle. Popoi?] from Mme. Nitchinof herself: her subliminal consciousness was fully aware, as early as Dec. 9 (O.S.) of all that was to happen in this strange tragedy, even to the extraordinary detail of the body's immediate removal in the early hours of the 17th, some two hours after death. This may be so,—or it may not; but one certainty, at any rate, emerges from this remarkable case, and that is, that a mortal (be it Mme. Buscarlet or both she and Mme. Nitchinof) may have prophetic knowledge—a thing which, in more important connexions, some have found reason to doubt.

M. Flournoy next turns to physical phenomena. A chapter is given to Eusapia Palladino, and another to other mediums. Of the genuineness of some physical phenomena—and he has himself witnessed many—he has no doubt, and he offers theories of the possible methods of their production.

Of Eusapia he writes :---

"En ce qui me concerne, je dois dire que les phénomènes palladiniens—si étranges qu'ils paraissent au premier abord et si inadmissibles qu'ils soient foreément pour qui n'en a pas vu lui-même ou n'est pas au eourant de la littérature du sujet sont aujourd'hui hors de doute à mes yeux (autant qu'une question de fait peut l'être), tant est eonsidérable le poids des preuves qu'ils ont en leur faveur."

Among the matters treated in the remainder of the book, reference is made to the mediumship of Mrs. Piper—which M. Flournoy recognises to be of a truly remarkable character—and to the eross-correspondences, but both subjects are treated with disappointing brevity. In each ease spirit-intervention is rejected as "not proven." Those, however, who lean to the spiritistic view of Mrs. Piper's impersonations and utterances (and the eross-correspondences are closely bound up with these) will feel satisfaction in finding that when M. Flournoy attempts to formulate a telepathic theory, he falters and speaks in a tone of uncertainty not to be found elsewhere in the book. Certainly one who, like myself, is torn both ways in a state of absolute indecision is not much helped by the following suggestion:

Review.

[How are we to explain the impersonations and the knowledge shown of the deceased person, if it is not by his actual intervention ?] "A moins cependant (il faut penser à tout) que le sosie partiel du défunt, que l'un des assistants aurait transmis télépathiquement à Mme. Piper, ne se fût ensuite complété graduellement chez celle-ci, en attirant à lui, par quelque obscure affinité psychologique, les autres sosies fragmentaires épars chez d'autres personnes."

We miss here the sure touch that we find elsewhere in the volume; and we miss it, as I think, because M. Flournoy is fully alive to the crucial difficulty of the telepathic hypothesis,—viz. that it seems to demand the assumption of an incredible *selective* power as part of the telepathic faculty. Apparently the medium's mind must be able to range the world, and pick out of the million memories of one selected individual just the memory or memories required.

"Mais il y a des faits plus complexes, où il faudrait admettre une télépathie active et sélective, par laquelle l'imagination hypnoïde de Mme. Piper s'en irait choisir, chez beaucoup de vivants présents ou absents, les souvenirs, concernant précisément tel désincarné, et les réunirait de façon à réconstituer une image totale plus complète qu'aucune des images partielles qu'il a laissées chez les diverses personnes de sa connaissance."

With regard to the cross-correspondences in particular, the author's last words—coloured, I fear, with a faint tinge of irony—are these :—

"Souhaitons que Myers ou d'autres Esprits, s'ils sont vraiment en jeu en tout cela, nous révèlent bientôt le moyen d'éliminer de leurs apparentes manifestations l'action combinée de *l'imagination subliminale*, dont on n'a que trop souvent déjà constaté la malice, et de la *telepathie* des vivants, dont on ne connaît pas du tout les limites. Et en attendant, laissons la porte ouverte à toutes les possibilités de l'avenir !"

The last published Part of our *Proceedings* (LXIII.) had not been issued when M. Flournoy's book appeared, and he was therefore unacquainted with its contents. It would be interesting to learn whether they have in any degree modified his judgement. Some of these newly published incidents are certainly of a very remarkable character, and have—it must be confessed—so seriously increased the difficulties of the telepathic hypothesis that, if I may speak for myself, the point at issue has now come to be this :—is it more reasonable to attribute the production of certain phenomena solely to the subliminal self, making an assumption as to its powers which really goes beyond the cvidence,-or to assign some share in the phenomena to the intervention of discarnate spirits, to which much of the evidence scems most naturally to point? When the matter is stated thus, the position of one who remains provisionally a "telepathist" seems somewhat paradoxical, but future research might prove it to have been justified. Agreement between the holders of the two opposed views may, however, never be reached ; for conviction, one way or the other, will probably not be attained by the reasoning powers alone, and the belief which supplies a felt need is commonly the one which we embrace. This, indeed, M. Flournov has found to be frequently the case with convinced Though the evidence for spirit communication is still, spiritists. as he resolutely maintains, inadequate, and though they have not examined the evidence critically for themselves, many spiritists believe that proof of such communication exists somewhere, and they adopt spiritism as a faith because it gives them a desired assurance of that future life to which they instinctively look forward.

On the other hand, even though "Science" should to-morrow stamp the spiritist view with its official approval, what would this approval be worth? It would only show that on the authority of a sufficient number of responsible thinking men this theory might be generally adopted as being for the moment and according to present knowledge the one which best accounted for the observed facts. Absolute certainty would be as far off as ever, for time might reverse the verdict. It would all still be a matter of faith; and a bare belief in the soul's survival of the body's dissolution would rest on evidence in no way superior (to say the least) to the credentials of the Christian Faith, which—if I may say it here without indiscretion—modern psychical research has, in my own humble judgement, only strengthened.

M. A. BAYFIELD.

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- Coupland, W. C., D.Sc., 33 Pembroke Crescent, Hove, Brighton.
- Courtauld, George, Junr., The Waver, Wethersfield, Braintree, Essex.
- Courtauld, R. M., M.B., Halesowen, Hills Road, Cambridge.
- *Cowan, W. H., The Crow's Nest, Fairwarp, Uckfield, Sussex.
- Cowell, Miss Marion A., 2 Westbourne Square, London, W.
- Cox, Mrs. Rowland, 310 West 7th Street, Plainfield, N.J., U.S.A.
- Coxe, The Hon. Mr. Justice Henry R. H., c/o Messrs. Grindlay & Co., 54 Parliament Street, London, S.W.
- Coxeter, Harold, 34 Holland Park Rd., Kensington, London, W.
- Coxon, Mrs. George S., Craigleith, Cheltenham.
- Cozens, J. C., Brigus, Conception Bay, Newfoundland.
- Craige, Wm. C., 409 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- Crane, Rev. W. M., Ph.D., Richmond, Berkshire County, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Crawford and Balcarres, The Earl of, K.T., F.R.S., 2 Cavendish Square, London, W.
- Crawford, W. C., 1 Lockharton Gardens, Colinton Road, Edinburgh.
- Critchley, W. A. Paget, 15 Parkside, Albert Gate, London, S.W. Crook, A. H., Queen's College, Hong Kong.
- *Crookes, Lady, 7 Kensington Park Gardens, London, W.
- *Crooks, Miss Marianne, Achintorlic, Norwood, South Australia.
- Crouch, H. N., Additional Judicial Commissioner of Sind, Karachi, Sind, India.
- Cunard, Cyril G., The Manor House, Notgrove, Gloucestershire.
- Cunningham, Colonel D.D., F.R.S., Tormount, Torquay, Devon.
- Currie, Mrs., Warders, 10 Crescent Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.
- Curtis, Atherton, 17 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris, France.
- *Curtois, Miss Margaret A., 10 Barton Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
- Curwen, Mrs., Horncop, Heversham, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland.

Dakin, W. R., M.D., F.R.C.P., 8 Grosvenor Street, London, W. Dale, Alan, 110 St. Nicholas Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.

- *Dale, J. Gilbert, 31 Warwick Gardens, Kensington, London, W.
- Dallas, Miss H. A., Innisfail, North End Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- *Dalton, J. H. C., M.D., The Plot, Adams Road, Cambridge.
- Damant, Mrs. H. C., Lammas, Cowes, Isle of Wight.
- Daniell, Mrs. Averell.
- Danzas, Mlle. Julia, 26 Moika, St. Petersburg.
- Darbyshire, Rev. H. S., St. Margaret's Vicarage, Methley, Leeds. D'Arcy, Rev. G. J. A., The Vicarage, Worksop, Notts.
- Darton, Hugh, Beninghoe, Hertford.
- *Davidson, J. Mackenzie, M.B., C.M., 76 Portland Place, London, W. Davies, Benjamin, Wilford, Chase Green Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex.
 - Davies, Mrs. G. R., c/o Miss E. M. Reynolds, 44 Egerton Crescent, London, S.W.
- Davies, Mrs., The Goodwyns, East Cosham, Hants.
- *Davis, Charles, 29 Gloucester Place, Portman Square, London, W. Davis, Mrs., 46 Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, London, W.
- Davis, Thomas Henry, Trelinda, St. Merryn, Padstow.
- Davison, Miss Annie, Albemarle Club, 37 Dover Street, London, W. Dawes, Miss E. A. S., Heathlands, Weybridge, Surrey.
- Dawson, Lt.-Colonel Henry P., Hartlington, Burnsall, Skipton. Dawson, Miles M.
- Day, Rev. Dr. E. H., Newton House, Belmont, Hereford.
- Day, Miss Mabel K., Gershom, Reigate, Surrey.
- *Dayton, Mrs. Elizabeth, Box 258, South Kaukauna, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
 - Dearmer, Rev. Percy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Primrose Hill, London, N.W.
 - Delanne, Gabriel, 40 Boulevard Exelmans, Paris.
 - Delap, Alfred D., Rosslare Harbour, Kilrane, Wexford.
 - De Lissa, Mrs. F., Bittacy House, Mill Hill, London, NEW.
 - Demming, Benj. W., 1518 State Street, Harrisburg, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Denovan, Wm., Ventura Avenue, Ventura, Cal., U.S.A.
 - Densham, William, c/o M. W. T. Co., Ltd., 9 Hall Street, Chelmsford, Essex.
- Derby, Dr. Hasket, 352 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Despard, Mrs., 2 Currie Street, Nine Elms, London. S.W.
- Deverell, Francis, 8E Portman Mansions, Baker Street, London, W.

Devitt, Mrs. J. A., Oskaloosa, Iowa, U.S.A.

- *Dewar, Rev. Peter, The Manse, North Bute, Rothesay, Scotland.
- Dhru, B. L., LL.B., Camp Baroda, Bombay, India.
- Dickie, H. Elford, British Vice-Consulate, Kertch, Crimea, Russia.
- Dickinson, Miss, Trebrea Lodge, Tintagel, Cornwall.
- Dickinson, Miss A. J., 3A Clareville Grove, London, S.W., and Poultry Court, Painswick, Gloucestershire.
- Dickinson, G. Lowes, King's College, Cambridge.
- Dicksee, Frank, A.R.A., Greville House, 3 Greville Place, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.
- Dill, J. F. Gordon, M.B., 6 Brunswick Place, Brighton.
- *Dixon, Edward T., The Hard, Hythe, Southampton.
- Dixon, Hugh N., 17 St. Matthew's Parade, Northampton.
- Dixon, Professor W. Macneile, LL.B., Litt.D., 2 South Park Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow, W.
- Doan, Professor F. C., 911 Grove Street, Meadville, Pa., U.S.A.
- Doane, Mrs. W. E., Stockbridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- Dobbie, A. W., Gawler Place, Adelaide, South Australia.
- *Dodge, Miss Mary H., Warwick House, St. James's, London, S.W. Dodge, Miss Theodora, Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire.
- Doherty, J. J., LL.D., 29 Grosvenor Place, Rathmines, Co. Dublin.
- Donne, Mrs., c/o Messrs. Holt & Co., 3 Whitehall Place, London, S.W.
- Dorr, George B., 18 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A. Dougall, Miss Lily, East Undercliff, Exmouth.
- Douglas, Mrs., 4 Campden House Road, Kensington, London, W.
- Douglas, Mrs. Charles, Auchlochan, Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.
- Douglas, Rev. Dr. G. W., Tuxedo Park, Orange County, New York, U.S.A.
- *Douglas-Pennant, Hon. Violet, 9 Cromwell Place, London, S.W. Dowson, Mrs. W. E., Felixstowe, The Park, Nottingham.
- *Doyle, Sir A. Conan, M.D., Windlesham, Crowborough, Sussex. Doyle, Theodore, M.D., 1001 East 15th Street, Kansas City, Mo., U.S.A.

Drake, Mrs. A. J., 24 Bennington Street, Newton, Mass., U.S.A.

- *Drew, Professor Eric, Brightnell, Cathedral, Madras, India.
- Drew, Ringrose C., 8 Grove Park, Rathmines, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
- Drewry, Mrs. George, c/o S. Hicks, J.P., Rostherne, Upper Colwyn Bay, N. Wales.
- Duane, Russell, c/o Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, S.W.

- Duff, Miss H. A., 27 Chester Street, London, S.W.
- Duggin, Mrs. Chas., 25 East 38th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- Dulley, Rev. B., St. Peter's Clergy House, London Docks, E.
- *Duncan, Harold M., Fairlawn, Weybridge, Surrey.
- *Duncan, Mrs., Earlston, Epsom Road, Guildford, Surrey.
- Dutton, Miss A., Somerdon, Sidmouth, Devon.
- Dyce, Capt. Cecil, 69 Linden Gardens, Bayswater, London, W.
- Dyson, Rev. W. H., Edgerton, 1A Weld Road, Birkdale, Southport.
- Edelsten, Colonel John A., Heathercliffe, Frodsham, Cheshire.
- *Edge, Selwyn Francis, 14 New Burlington Street, Regent Street, London, W.
- Edie, H. S. Ker, c/o Messrs. Thos. Cook & Son, Ludgate Circus, London, E.C.
- *Elder, Frederick, 21 Cleveland Gardens, Hyde Park, London, W.
- Eldred, Fleet-Paymaster E. H., R.N., St. Ann's, Grove Road South, Southsea, Hants.
- Elliot, Miss A. I. M., Women's University Settlement, 44 Nelson Square, Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.
- Elliot, Gilbert C., Hull Place, Deal, Kent.
- Elliot, Mrs. Gilbert, Kasr el Nuzha, Cairo, Egypt.
- Elliott, E. T., Hawarden, Iowa, U.S.A.
- Elliott, Captain W. R., Sherbrooke, Quebec.
- Ellis, Herbert, 120 Regent Road, Leicester.
- Emmerson, Robert, M.D., Calle Victoria 714, Chihuahua, Chih., Mexico.
- Emmet, Rev. C. W., West Hendred Vicarage, Steventon, Berks.
- Engall, John S., 62 Goldsmith Avenue, Acton, London, W.
- Eno, H. L., Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A.
- *Eno, J. C., Wood Hall, Dulwich, London, S.E. Entee, Professor B. A., Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, India.
- Evans, Frank Gwynne, The Tower House, Woodchester, Stroud.
- Evans, W. A., The Brackley, Stoneygate Avenue, Leicester.
- *Fabbri, Alessandro, 11 East 62nd Str., New York City, U.S.A.
- *Fabbri, Ernesto G., 11 East 62nd Str., New York City, U.S.A.
- *Farrer, The Dowager Lady, Idlerocks, Stone, Staffordshire.
- *Farrington, Ernest A., M.D., Haddonfield, N.J., U.S.A.
- Faulkner, W. B., 52 South Molton Street, London, W.
- *Feilding, Hon. Everard, 5 John Street, Mayfair, London, W. Felton, Rev. W., St. John's Vicarage, Walsall, Staffs.
 - Ferenczi, Dr. Sándor, Erzsébet-Körut 54, Budapest, VII., Hungary.

- Field, Allan B., P.O. Box 274, East Liberty Station, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
- Fillmer, Horatio R., 52 Ship Street, Brighton.
- Finch, H. Wynne, The Manor House, Stokesley, R.S.O., Yorks.
- Flake, Mrs. Albert, 611 Fifth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
- *Fleetwood-Hesketh, C. H., Stocken Hall, Stretton, Oakham, Rutlandshire.
 - Flügel, J. C., Cravenhurst, Reigate, Surrey.
 - Foote, Geo. W., 34 Bull Street, Newport, R.I., U.S.A.
 - Ford, Miss Emily S., 44 Glebe Place, Chelsea, London, S.W.
 - Forman, Colonel R. H., A.M.S., c/o Messrs. Holt & Co., 3 Whitehall Place, London, S.W.
 - Forrester, Mrs., Tullibody House, Cambus, by Stirling, N.B.
 - Fortescue, Miss Frances, c/o M. Fortescue Esq., The Grange, Ipplepen, Newton Abbot, S. Devon.
- *Foster, Rev. J. Edgar, Lindsey Vicarage, Ipswich. Fotheringham, W. B., 24 Teville Road, Worthing. Fournier d'Albe, E. E.
- *Fox, Mrs., Fawe Park, Keswick.
- Francis, Arthur, P. O. Kelowna, British Columbia.
- *Francis, Mrs. Francis, Palace House, Beaulieu, Hants.
 - Frankland, F. W., 4 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.
 - Frankland, Mrs. F. W., 4 Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, London, W.C.
 - Franklin, Hon. Mrs. E. L., 50 Porchester Terrace, London, W.
 - Freas, W. R., 1632 N. 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Freeman, Miss Adelaide C., Bclgrave Mansions, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.
- *Frith, Mrs., Swynnerton Rectory, Stone, Staffordshire.
- *Frost, Miss Annie, Carnelloe Cottage, Zennor, nr. St. Ives, Cornwall.
 - Fry, Miss Agnes, Failand House, Failand, near Bristol.
- *Fry, Lewis George, Stonycroft, Limpsfield, Surrey.
 - Funk, Dr. I. K., 195 Washington Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 - Gaff, T. T., 1520 20th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
 - Gantz, Mrs., The Rectory, Norton-in-Hales, Market Drayton.
 - Gardiner, Professor H. N., 23 Crafts Avenue, Northampton, Mass., U.S.A.
- Gardner, Harold E., 9 Cook Street, Liverpool.
- *Gaskell, Mrs. J. B., Roseleigh, Woolton, Liverpool.

- *Gayer, Gustav A., Ph.D., 131 West 63rd Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 - Gearn, Dr. George C., 2545 Front Street, San Diego, Cal., U.S.A. Gehring, J. G., M.D., Bethel, Maine, U.S.A.
- *Geikie, Sir Archibald, D.C.L., F.R.S., Shepherd's Down, Haslemere, Surrey.
- *George, Mrs., Cottage-on-the-Links, Hindhead, Haslemere, Surrey.
 - George, Walter C., Wayside, St. James Avenue, Beckenham, Kent.
 - Ghose, Babu Moti Lal, Ananda Chatterjee's Lane, Calcutta, India.
 - Gibson, Miss Winifred, 108 Alexandra Road, St. John's Wood, London, N.W.
 - Giddings, Miss H. M., 810-11 New England Building, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S:A.
 - Gidney, A. R., Aylsham, Norfolk.
 - Gillard, Mrs., Heinerweg 3, Wiesbaden, Germany.
 - Gittermann, Rudolph C., Odessa, Russia.
- *Goldschmidt, Mrs. Béni de, 16 Wilton Street, Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.
 - Goldstein, Dr. phil. J., Rossdörferstrasse 81, Darmstadt, Germany.
 - Gooch, G. P., South Villa, Campden Hill Road, London, W.
 - Goodall, Charles Henry, Lucknow Avenue, Nottingham.
 - Goodhart, Rev. Charles A., Lambourne Rectory, Romford, Essex. Goore, Albert, Rose Mount, Meadvale, Redhill, Surrey.
 - Gordon, Mrs. J. L. R., c/o Messrs. King, King & Co., Bombay, India.
 - Gover, J. M., LL.D., 5 New Square, Lincoln's Inn, London, W.C.
 - Gower, John H., Mus. Doc. (Oxon.), 23 Steele Block, Denver, Colo., U.S.A.
 - Graham, Mrs. Perceval Gore, Ghezireh, Cairo, Egypt.
 - Graham, J. W., Dalton Hall, Victoria Park, Manchester.
- *Grant-Suttie, H. F., Royal Horse Artillery, Rawal Pindi, India.
 - Graveson, Miss C., Goldsmiths' College, New Cross, London, S.E. Gray, Rev. Arthur Romeyn, Church Missions House, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
 - Gray, Mrs. John C., 176 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 - Green, Mrs. Alan B., Hogarth House, Bushey Heath, Herts.
 - Greene, Mrs. Bertram, 382 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Greene, J. G., 34 Stiles Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey, U.S.A.

- Green-Thompson, Mrs., Bridekirk, Cockermouth, Cumberland.
- Greet, Mrs., Caens Wood, Weybridge, Surrey.
- Greeves, Rev. F. B., Cudworth Vicarage, Barnsley, Yorkshire.
- Greg, Miss Mary S., 19 Kensington Gate, London, W.
- Grenfell, Mrs., 2 Morton Crescent, Exmouth, S. Devon.
- Grew, Mrs. Joseph Clark, Matthaiskirchstrasse 6, Berlin, Germany.
- *Grey, R. C., Oaklands, West Wellow, Romsey, Hants.
- Gribble, Miss F. M., 32 Chester Terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
- Griffith, Rev. R. G., Riversley, Bakewell, Derbyshire.
- *Grignon, Miss A. E., 24 Melrose Avenue, Cricklewood, London, N.W.
- *Grimshaw, Mrs., 109 Cromwell Road, London, S.W.
- Gripper, Mrs. Harold, 11 Eliot Vale, Blackheath, Kent.
- Grosvenor, Hon. Mrs. R. C., Morrisburne House, Woking, Surrey.
- Grottendieck, W. G., Schenk Straat 150, The Hague.
- *Grubbe, Hubert H., Southwold, Suffolk.
- *Gwyn, W. J., 8 Netherhall Gardens, South Hampstead, London, N.W.
 - Hackett, James T., 95 King William Street, Adelaide, Australia.
- Haemmerlé, Madame, 3 Square du Croisie, Paris XV, France.
- *Haig, Mrs. G. Ogilvy, 65 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.
- Halkett, Miss Katherine E.
- *Hall, Mrs. Basil, 31 Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.
- *Hall, J. P., Gorse Bank, Werneth, Oldham.
- Hall, Wilfred, 9 Priors Terracc, Tynemouth, Northumberland. Hallett, Henry Hiram, Bridge House, Taunton.
- Halls, Robert, 34 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, London, S.W.
- *Hamar-Nemespann, La Baronne de, Hohe Warte 50, Vienna XIX, Austria.
- *Hambro, Mrs. Eric, 70 Princes Gate, London, S.W.
- Hamilton, Col. G. Rowan, Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down, Ireland.
- Hamilton, James, Heversham School, Milnthorpe, Westmoreland.
- Hamilton, J. J., 80 Woodland Risc, Muswell Hill, London, N.
- Hamilton, W. Bernard.
- Hamilton-Hoare, Miss Sybil H., 96 Ebury Street, Chester Square, London, S.W.
- Hammond, Miss Winifred B., 386 East 51st Street, Portland, Oregon, U.S.A.
- Handcock, Dr. Charles L., J.P., Ashburton, New Zealand.
- Hankow, The Right Rev. the Bishop of, Hankow, China.

- Hansard, Mrs., 24 Chelsea Gardens, London, S.W.
- Hanson, H. P., Box 39, R.F.D. Route No. 5, Harlan, Iowa, U.S.A.
- Hanson, Mrs., 7 Canning Place, Kensington, London, W.
- Hardeman, Miss Frances E., Westfield, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
- Hardie, Miss Mabel, M.B., Candello, 577 Finchley Road, London, N.W.
- Harding, Miss A. K., c/o Nevett & Co., 21 Park Road, Crouch End, London, N.
- Hare, Cyril Lockhart, Abbotsholme, Dunstable, Bedfordshire.
- Hargreaves, Miss, 115 Clarence Gate Gardens, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
- Harris, Alan Campbell, Staufenberg Str. 28, Annaberg, Baden-Baden, Germany.
- Harris, Capt. C. S., 90 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- *Harris, Mrs. H. Percy, 98 Gloucester Terrace, London, W.
- *Harris, Hon. J., East India United Service Club, 16 St. James's Square, London, S.W.
 - Harrison, Rev. Arthur S., 28 Eastgate, Stafford.
- Harrison, H. Leeds, M.B., 104 Marine Parade, Worthing.
- Harrison, Miss Jane E., Newnham College, Cambridge.
- *Hart, Colonel H. H., R.E., c/o Messrs. King, King & Co., Bombay, India.
 - Hart, Lieut.-General Sir Reginald Clare, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.V.O., United Service Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- *Hartness, James, Springfield, Vermont, U.S.A.
- Hartshorn, Miss Cornelia, Milton P.O., Mass., U.S.A.
- Hartshorne, Charles H., 35 South Willow Street, Montclair, N.J., U.S.A.
- Haslam, Mrs. F. W., Sainte Barbe, Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand.
- Haslehurst, E. W., 72 Burnt Ash Hill, Lee, London, S.E.
- Hastie, Miss, c/o Messrs. Street, 30 Cornhill, London, E.C.
- Hastings, Rev. J. H., The Manor House, Halton, Lancaster.
- Hauxhurst, Mrs. W., c/o Messrs. Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, S.W.
- Hawarden, The Viscountess, 18 Chelsea Court, London, S.W.
- Hawkins, E. F., Villa des Troènes, Livry (S. et O.), France.
- Hawkins, H. P., M.D., F.R.C.P., 56 Portland Place, London, W.
- Hayes, Rev. Joseph W., West Thurrock Vicarage, Grays, Essex.
- Haynes, Henry W., 239 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- Head, Miss Alice L., 26 Leinster Square, London, W.
- *Heard, G. H., Cheniston, Highfield Lane, Southampton.

- Heath, George H., 277 Brockley Road, London, S.E.
- Heaton, Guy, 51 West Cliff Road, Bournemouth.
- *Helmsley, Viscount, Nawton Tower, Nawton, Yorks.
 - Henderson, J. J., Mill Cottage, Bonhard, Perth.
 - Henderson, Miss Lilian, The Sesame Club, 29 Dover Street, London, W.
 - Henly, Mrs. Albert W., Gwydyr House, Bromley, Kent.
 - Henrici, Jacob, 6126 Penn. Avenue, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Henry, Miss Eva, 1 Argyll Villas, Cheltenham.
 - Herbert-Smith, Miss Evelyn E., Raymead, Park Road, Watford, Herts.
 - Herschel, Colonel John, Royal Engineers, Slough, Bucks.
 - Hessel, Miss K. A., 14 Waterlow Court, Hampstead Garden Suburb, London, N.W.
 - Heymans, Prof. G., Ubbo-Emmiussingel 2, Groningen, Holland.
 - Heysinger, Dr. Isaac W., 1521 Poplar Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Hielle, Robert, xix/1 Karl-Ludwig Str. 62, Vienna.
 - Higbee, Colonel George H., Burlington, Iowa, U.S.A.
 - Hildyard, F. W., 77A Lexham Gardens, London, S.W.
 - Hill, J. Arthur, Wensley Bank, Thornton, Bradford.
 - Hill, Mrs. John Howard, 272 State Street, Portland, Maine, U.S.A.
- *Hillard, Miss Mary R., Westover School, Middlebury, Conn., U.S.A.
 - Himes, Prof. Charles F., 170 W. Louther Street, Carlisle, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Hinkle, Beatrice M., M.D., 110 Madison Ave., New York City, U.S.A.
 - Hinton, Mrs. Howard, East Dene, 26 Tyson Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.
 - Hoare, F. H., 67 Fitzjohn's Avenue, London, N.W.
 - Hoare, Mrs. Henry, 20 Montagu Street, Portman Square, London, W. Hockliffe, Mrs. Ernest, Springdale, Uppingham.
 - Hodding, Miss, 2 The Avenue, Bedford Park, London, W.
- Hoernlé, Professor R. F. Alfred, 8 Northmoor Road, Oxford.
- *Hogg, Sir Frederick Russell, Oriental Club, Hanover Square, London, W.
- *Hogg, Henry R., 2 Vicarage Gate, Kensington, London, W. Holland, Miss, 1A Holland Park, London, W.
 Holländer, Bernard, M.D., L.R.C.P., 57 Wimpole Street, London, W.
 Hollins, Mrs., 24 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

Hollins, Mrs. A. E., 3 Maid's Causeway, Cambridge.

- *Hollond, John R., 41 Princes Gate, London, S.W.
- Holme, Strachan, Bridgewater Offices, Walkden, Manchester.
- Holms, Mrs. Douglas, 16 South Street, Thurloe Square, London, S.W.
- *Holt, Henry, 34 West 33rd Street, New York City, U.S.A. Holt-White, Mrs., Pavington, Yelverton, Devon.
- Homan, C. H., 24 Oscarsgade, Christiania, Norway.
- *Home, Mrs. Robert, B/78 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale, London, W. Hoppin, J. C., 1527 18th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. Horn, W. J., Woldingham, Surrey.
 Horridge, Miss J. G., 43 Alexandra Road, Southport.
- Horton, W. Claude, 81 Church Road, Hove, Sussex.
- *Hoskins, Edmond J., M.D., Hammam Chambers, 76 Jermyn Street, London, S.W.
- Hotchkin, Mrs., The Dower House, Woodhall Spa, Lincolnshire.
- *Hough, Joseph Fairhurst, Lowood Cottage, Moor Park, Great Crosby, Liverpool.
- Houston, James, 1 Hereford Mansions, Hereford Road, Bayswater, London, W.
- Howden, Mrs., 11 Eton Terrace, Edinburgh.
- Howson, Richard, M.I.C.E., 5 Southfield Terrace, Middlesbrough, Yorkshire.
- Hubbell, Geo. Allen, Ph.D., Cumberland Gap, Tennessee, Lincoln Memorial University, U.S.A.
- Hubbell, G. G., 1101 State Street, Erie, Pa., U.S.A.
- Hude, Mrs. Anna, Ph.D., Anker Heegaards Gade 1, Copenhagen B., Denmark.
- *Hudleston, R. W., 68 Parliament Hill, London, N.W.
 - Hudson, Morris, Aldersey Croft, Guildford.
- Hughes, Major H. M., Swiss Cottage, Birchington-on-Sea, Thanet, Kent.
- *Hull, Mrs. Carrie G., 112 Academy Street, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., U.S.A.
 - Hume-Rothery, J. H., The Pines, Tivoli, Cheltenham.
 - Humphrey, Miss Ola.
- Hunt, Guy W., Southport, Queensland, Australia.
- *Hunt, Mrs. Warwick, 12 Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London W. Huntingford, Miss, Exeter Lodge, Bournemouth.
- Hutchinson, F. W. H., Grove Lawns, St. Albans, Herts.
- Hutton, E. Charles F., 5 Church Street, Cape Town, South Africa.

- *Hyslop, Professor J. H., 519 West 149th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 - Imamura, Prof. Shinkichi, Clinic for Psychiatry, Imperial University, Kioto, Japan.
 - Ingalls, Mrs. Joseph A., Swampscott, Mass., U.S.A.
 - Ingham, Charles B., Moira House, Eastbourne.
 - Ingham, Percy B., Merchant Taylors' School, London, E.C.
- Innes, Miss II. K., Raemoir, Banchory, Scotland.
- Ireland, Gordon, 32 Nassau Str., New York City, U.S.A.
- *Izod, C. H., 7 Malwood Road, Balham Hill, London, S.W. Jacks, L. P., 28 Holywell, Oxford.
- Jackson, Mrs., 44 Park Street, Calcutta, India.
- James, Mrs., The Elms, Selly Oak, Birmingham.
- *Jameson, David, New Castle, Pa., U.S.A.
- *Janson, E. W., 11 Eaton Mansions, Eaton Square, London, S.W.
- Jaye, William R., Springwood Lodge, Oakfield Road, Clapton, London, N.E.
- *Jeakes, Rev. Prebendary, 4 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.
 - Jenkinson, W. E., Highthorn, King Cross Road, Halifax.
 - Johnson, Miss Alice, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.
- Johnson, Charles R., 340 Main Street, Worcester, Mass., U.S.A. Johnston, R. F., Weihaiwei, China.
- *Jones, Miss Constance, Girton College, Cambridge.
- *Jones, Sir Lawrence J., Bart., Cardfields, Hatfield Peverel, Essex. Jones, Lady, Cardfields, Hatfield Peverel, Essex.
- Jones, Miss Lilian I., 120 Maida Vale, London, W.
- Josling, Lieut.-Colonel C. L., Junior United Service Club, London, S.W.
- *Judah, Noble B., 2701 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- Judd, Mrs. Sylvestre Dwight, 164 Summer Street, Malden, Mass., U.S.A.
- Kaléta, Georg, Sigmund-Haffnergasse 18/III, Salzburg, Austria.
- Keene, The Most Rev. J. B., D.D., Bishop of Meath, Navan, Co. Meath.
- Keep, A. P. Perceval, The Hut, Holmwood, Dorking.
- *Kellogg, Spencer, Junr., 221 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
- *Kelso, Captain, R.N., Horkesley Park, Colchester, Essex. Kenway, Mrs., Mendip View, Winscombe, Somerset. Ker, Miss, 1 Windsor Terrace, Glasgow, W.

- *Kerr, George, M.B., 6 St. Colme Street, Edinburgh.
- Kerr-Clark, Lady, Moore Abbey, Monasterevan, Ireland.
- Ketkar, N. G., Amraoti, Berar, India.
- *Kevill-Davies, George, East Cavalry Barracks, Aldershot, Hants.
- Kielgast, Svend, c/o Messrs. Erslev & Hasselbalch, 26 Köbmagergade, Copenhagen K., Denmark.
- Kilroe, E. G., Jubbulpore, Central Provinces, India.
- Kirkwood, J. H. M., M.P., 62 Sloane Street, London, S.W.
- *Kittel, T. B., Vane House, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- *Klinckowstroem, Count Carl, Elisabethstrasse 40, Munich, Bavaria.
- Knight, Charles N., 36 Kensington Park Road, London, W.
- Knoller, Richard, 1 Riemerstrasse 8, Vienna.
- Kothen, Baron Axel von, 27 Mikealsgaten, Helsingfors, Finland.
- Krebs, Rev. Stanley L., Swarthmore, Pa., U.S.A.
- Kress, Miss Anne, Lock Haven, Pa., U.S.A.
- Kwang, Sim Boon, 73 Scott's Road, Singapore, S.S.
- Lach-Szyrma, Rev. W. S., Barkingside Vicarage, Ilford, Essex.
- *Lacon, Mrs. Sidney, Ormesby Hall, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk.
- *Laflin, Mrs. Louis E., Ellslloyd, Lake Forest, Ill., U.S.A.
- Lafone, A. W., Springfield, Oatlands Park, Walton-on-Thames.
- Laing, R. M., Boys' High School, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Lamb, Charles George, 77 Glisson Road, Cambridge.
- Lambert, Miss Ada R., c/o Miss Lambert, Ivy Cottage, Newick, Sussex.
- Lane, Miss E. Abbott, 131 East 21st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- Lane-Poole, Professor Stanley, Litt.D., Donganstown Castle, Wicklow, Ireland.
- *Lang, Andrew, 1 Marloes Road, London, W., and Alleyne House, St. Andrews, Scotland.
 - Larken, E. P., Authors' Club, 2 Whitehall Court, London, S.W.
 - Latham, Miss Edith, 3 Avenue Bugeaud, Paris.
 - Latshaw, Allen, 3414 Sansom Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Lauritzen, Severin, Holte, Denmark.
 - Layman, Alfred, M.D., 1630 North 18th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Leadam, Isaac S., 21 Cadogan Gardens, London, S.W.
 - Leaf, Arthur H., Woodcroft, Oxted, Surrey.
 - Leaf, Miss Ellen, 6 Airlie Gardens, Campden Hill, London, W.
 - Leaf, Miss E. M., 4 Barton Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
 - Leaf, Mrs., The Green, Marlborough, Wilts.
- *Leaf, Walter, Litt.D., 6 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

- Leaf, Mrs. Walter, 6 Sussex Place, Regent's Park, London, N.W. Ledyard, Mrs. R. F. H., Cazenovia, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Lee, Rev. A. H. E., 156 Albany Street, London, N.W.
- Lee, Blewett, 1 Park Row, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- Lee, Mrs. Henry Thomas, 414 West Adams Street, Los Angeles, Cal., U.S.A.
- Lee, L. G. H., Kingswood, Raunds, near Wellingborough.
- *Lees, Robert James, Craigmore, Ilfracombe.
- *Legg, W. A., 18 The Avenue, Brondesbury, London, N.W.
- Leggatt, Edward O. Every, I.C.S., Saharanpur, U.P., India. *Leigh, Mrs. Gerard.
- *Leigh, Lord, Stoneleigh Abbey, Kenilworth, Warwickshire.
 - Leigh, W. Austen, Hartfield, Roehampton, London, S.W.
 - Lenon, J. W., Kiamara Estate, Nairobi, British East Africa.
 - Leon, Mrs. Philip, 4M Montagu Mansions, Portman Square, London, W.
- Leonard, Thomas, 223 W. School Lane, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- *Leslie-Melville, Mrs. A. B., 51 Hans Road, London, S.W.
- Lewin, Rev. C. H., St. Barnabas Vicarage, North Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia.
- Lewis, David J., House of Representatives U.S., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- Lewis, Francis B., Box 5, Maraisburg, Transvaal, South Africa.
- Librarian, Public Library of Adelaide, Australia.
- Librarian, Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
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- Librarian, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
- Livingstone, Rev. W. O., 355 Greenwood Avenue, Kankakee, Ill., U.S.A.
- *Llewellin, Mrs. W., Upton House, nr. Poole, Dorset. Lloyd, Brig.-General Francis.
- Lloyd, Judge Frank T., Camden, N.J., U.S.A.

- Lloyd, Rev. John, 509 Hartwell Avenue, Waukesha, Wisconsin, U.S.A.
- Lloyd, Miss Julia, Farm, Sparkbrook, Birmingham.
- *Lockhart, Lady, 187 Qucen's Gatc, London, S.W.
- *Lodge, Sir Oliver, F.R.S., Mariemont, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
- Lodge, Robert, Compton Wood, 28 Carlisle Road, Eastbourne.
- Loewenstein, Amtsrichter Dr., Klosterstern 5, Hamburg, Germany.
- Lomax, Arthur, Heilbron, O.R.C., S. Africa.
- Lombardi, C., 2331 Leconte Avenue, Berkeley, Cal., U.S.A., and c/o The Dallas News, Dallas, Texas, U.S.A.
- Long, George E., Box D., Jersey City, N.J., U.S.A.
- Lonsada, Duchesse de, 4 Lancaster Street, Hyde Park, London, W.
- Lubbock, Mrs. Geoffrey, Greenhill, Sutton-Veny, Wiltshire.
- Luke, James, Box No. 183, G.P.O., Calcutta.
- Lumsden, Miss K. M., 17 Richmondhill Place, Aberdeen.
- Lyall, Sir Charles James, 82 Cornwall Gardens, London, S.W.
- *Lyall, Edward, Barton, R.S.O., Darlington.
- Lycll, D., 407 Lake of the Woods Building, St. John Street, Montreal, Canada.
- Lyon, Miss C. C., Ashcroft, Prestwood, Great Missenden, Bucks.
- Lyttelton, Hon. Mrs. Alfred, 16 Great College Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
- Macdonald, Prof. Duncan Black, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A.
- Macdonald, Lieut.-Colonel F., Resident in Nepal, India.
- Macdonald, Miss Isabelle M., M.B., 47 Seymour Street, Portman Square, London, W.
- Macdonald, Mrs., Dun Erin, Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.
- Macfarlane, Mrs., 74 Finnart Street, Greenock, N.B.
- MacGregor, Arthur C., 8 Longford Terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin.
- Mackintosh, R. D., M.B., The Bungalow, Mortlake, Surrey.
- Macklin, Miss Helen E., 141 Inverness Terrace, London, W.
- Macnaughtan, Miss, 61 Cadogan Square, London, S.W.
- MacVeagh, Lincoln, 52 Plympton Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- Madocks, Major H. J., 1A Ovington Square, London, S.W.
- Mainwaring, Mrs., 11 Wilton Crescent, London, S.W.
- Mallet, Miss A. V., Anlaby House, 25 Highbury New Park, London, N.
- Mallet, Louis, 182 Ebury Street, London, S. W.
- Mander, Charles A., The Mount, Wolverhampton, Staffs.

- *Mander, Geoffrey Le Mesurier, Wightwick Manor, Wolverhampton. Mangin, Marcel, 102 Rue Erlanger, Paris.
 - Mann, Rev. Frederic, Temple Ewell Vicarage, Dover.
- Mansell, Andrew Evans, Mount Vernon, Melton Mowbray, Tasmania.
- *Mansfield, Mrs. Richard, The Grange, New London, Conn., U.S.A. Mantell, Colonel A. M., Chesters, Sydney Road, Guildford.
- Marks, Mrs. Claude, 15 Hanover Square, London, W.
- Marsh, Edward H., 3 Gray's Inn Place, London, W.C.
- Marshall, Mrs. F., 36 Drayton Court, London, S.W.
- Marshall, William Cecil, Tweenways, Hindhead, Haslemere.
- Marston, Charles, J.P., Afcot, Compton, nr. Wolverhampton.
- *Marston, Commander G. M., R.N., Park Lodge, Albert Gate, Knightsbridge, Loudon, S.W.
 - Marten, Miss A. R., 78 Vanbrugh Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.
 - Martin, Miss Florence R., 65 Cornwall Gardens, London, S.W.
 - Martin, Mrs. J. Biddulph, Norton Park, Bredon's Norton, near Tewkesbury.
 - Martin, Thomas Beecham, Wanstead College, South Woodford, London, N.E.
 - Martineau, Alfred Edward.
 - Maskell, Miss E. M., 21 Thornsett Road, Anerley, London, S.E.
 - Mason, Miss M. H., 5 Vincent Square Mansions, Westminster, London, S.W.
- Massey, Hon. Mary, 80 Royal Hospital Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.
- *Mather, Rev. Herbert, 13 Grosvenor Road, East Grinstead, Sussex.
- *Mathews, Mrs., 15 Stanley Gardens, London, W.
- Mattiesen, Emil, Ph.D., Witzleben Str. 3, Charlottenburg, Berlin, Germany.
- Mavrogordato, John N., 52 Queen's Gate Gardens, London, S.W.
- Maxim, Sir Hiram S., Ryecotes, Dulwich Common, London, S.E. Maxwell, Dr. Joseph, 6 Rue Villaret-de-Joyeuse, Paris.
- *Maxwell, Sir John Stirling, Bart., 48 Belgrave Square, London, S.W. Mayor, R. G., 11 Campden Hill Square, Kensington, London, W. M'Adam, D. J., Jr., Ph.D., Leonard Hall, S. Bethlehem, Penna., U.S.A.
 - M'Alpine, Robert, Balclutha, Greenock, N.B.
 - M'Clellan, Mrs. Clara D., Briarcliff Manor, New York City, U.S.A.
 - M'Clure, Henry, M.D., 30 Portland Court, Portland Place, London, W.
 - M'Connel, H. W., M.B., Matlaske Hall, Norwich.
 - M'Cormick, Alfred, Rooksley, Simla, Punjab, India.

- M'Dougall, Dugald W., c/o R. J. Turnbull & Co., 4 Lloyds Avenue, London, E.C.
- *M'Dougall, Isaac S., The Orchard, off Arthog Road, Hale, Cheshire.
 - M'Dougall, William, M.Sc., M.B., Woodsend, Foxcombe Hill, nr. Oxford.
 - M'Keever, Buell, 3900 Lake Avenuc, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 - M'Kellar, Miss J. L., c/o National Bank of Australasia, 123 Bishopsgate Street Within, London, E.C.
 - M'Lean, Mrs., 186 St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
 - Meck, Maximilian de, Russian Consulate, Leipzig, Germany.
 - Meebold, Alfred, Heidenheim, Wurtemberg, Germany.
 - Megson, Albert, Fern Villa, Headlands, Ossett, Yorks.
 - Mchrji, Munchershaw Hormusji, M.D., 3 Batlivala Villa, Sleater Road, Bombay, India.
 - Mellone, Rev. Sydney Herbert, D.Sc., 10 Hartington Gardens, Edinburgh.
 - Merwin, Miss Mary F., 668 Hancock Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
 - Metcalfe, Mrs. G. R., The Aberdeen, St. Paul, Minnesota, U.S.A.
- Meyer, Rev. F. B., Regent's Park Chapel, Park Square East, London, N.W.
- *Micklethwait, Richard K.
- Milburn, Rev. R. Gordon, Bishop's College, Calcutta, India.
- *Miles, Miss, 59 Egerton Gardens, London, S.W.
- *Millard, Mrs. Almira B., 2505 Farnam Str., Omaha, Neb., U.S.A. Millard, Charles Killick, M.D., D.Sc., Gilroes, Leicester.
- *Miller, Prof. Dickinson S., Columbia University, New York, U.S.A.
- *Miller, Miss Elizabeth L., 80 Craiglea Drive, Edinburgh.
- Milne, A. M. Lecs, Ribbesford House, Bewdley, Worcestershire.
- *Mirlees, W. J., 11 Cranmer Road, Cambridge.
- Mistri, Jeejeebhoy P., Jamsetjee Nesserwanjee Petit Institute, Hornby Road, Bombay, India.
- Mitchell, Sidncy J., c/o D. Mitchell & Co., Box 77, G.P.O., Newcastle, N.S. W., Australia.
- *Mitchell, T. W., M.D., Hoath Cottage, Hadlow, nr. Tonbridge.
- Moggridge, Miss Edith, Stanfield House, High Street, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- *Money-Coutts, Francis Burdett.
 - Monteagle, The Lord, K.P., Mount Trenchard, Foynes, Co. Limerick.

- Montgomery, Mrs. W. H., Byways, Exmouth, Devon.
- Moor, Lady, 89 Linden Gardens, Kensington, London, W., and Ladbroke, Chine Crescent, West Cliff, Bournemouth.
- Moore, Prof. Franklin, M.D., Syrian Protestant College, Beirût, Syria.
- Moore, Major H. G. A., Army and Navy Club, London, S.W.
- *Moore, Admiral W. Usborne, 8 Western Parade, Southsea.
- Morison, Mrs. Miller, 4 Randolph Cliff, Edinburgh, and Morison House, Hetland, Ruthwell, N.B.
- Morley, Edwin W., Andover, Ashtobula County, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Morries, J. M., Gogar House, Stirling, N.B.
- Morton, Mrs. F. N., 73 West La Crosse Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa., U.S.A.
- Moses, E. J., c/o Messrs. E. D. Sassoon & Co., 2 Rampart Row, Bombay.
- *Moss-Cockle, Mrs., 26 Hertford Street, Mayfair, London, W.
- Moultrie, Miss A. J. C., 11 Burstock Road, Putney, London, S.W. Mower, Mrs. George, Winona, Lovelace Road, Surbiton, Surrey.
- Muirhead, Professor J. H., 1 York Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.
- Müller, Fraulein A., 78 Vanbrugh Park, Blackheath, London, S.E.
- Munro, Hugh F., 1740 Germantown Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- *Murray, Donald, Mildmay Park Works, Mildmay Avenue, London, N.
- *Murray, Professor Gilbert, LL.D., 82 Woodstock Road, Oxford. Murton, Miss Josephine, c/o C. Holmes, Court Street, Faversham, Kent.
 - Myers, Professor Charles S., M.D., Galewood Tower, Great Shelford, Cambs.
- *Myers, Mrs. F. W. H., Leckhampton House, Cambridge.
- *Myers, L. H., Leckhampton House, Cambridge.
- Myers, W. Wykeham, M.B., H.B.M.'s Consular Agency, Pagoda Anchorage, China.
- Nash, Joseph, The White House, Somerleyton, Lowestoft.
- Neate, P. J.
- Neeld, A. D., 10 Bradford Avenue, Crafton, Pittsburg, Pa., U.S.A.
- Neild, Miss Maria, 83 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.
- Neustadter, Louis W., 3501 Jackson Street, San Francisco, Cal., U.S.A.
- *Newcastle, The Duke of, Clumber, Worksop, Notts.
- Newill, George E., Guadalupe Mine, Indé, Durango, Mexico.

- *Newmann, Oscar P., 84 Newman Street, London, W.
- Newton, Miss I., 20 Hanover Square, London, W.
- Newton, Rev. R. Heber, D.D., Garden City, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A.
- *Nicoll, Mrs. De Lancey, 23 East 39th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- Nicolson, Right Hon. Sir Arthur, Bart., G.C.B., etc., Foreign Office, Downing Street, London, S.W.
- *Nisbet, E. T., 13 Beverley Terrace, Cullercoats, Northumberland.
- *Niven, Mrs. Graham, The Golden Farm, Cirencester, Gloucestershire.
- Noel, Miss Frances, 40 Beaufort Mansions, Chelsea, London, S.W. *Noel-Cox., H. L., M.D., Elcove, Elms Avenue, Eastbourne.
- *Norris, Professor Richard, M.D., F.R.S.E., The Laboratory, Yardley Fields, Yardley, Birmingham.
- Northcote, Rev. H., 17 Rue Simoneau, Boulogne-sur-Mer, France.
- Nutter, Miss H. G., Beechcroft, The Avenue, Cambridge.
- Oates, R. Crosbie, Moyallen, Ness Holt, nr. Neston, Cheshire.
- *Odell, L. E., Casa Central Florida 864, Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.
 - Odell, S. W., 202 Boston Building, Pasadena, Cal., U.S.A.
 - Ogilvie, Mrs. Robert, c/o R. G. Ross, 11 Hill Street, Edinburgh.
 - Ogle, Captain N., 67th Punjabis, Multan, Punjab, India.
 - Oldham, G. F., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Rostrevor, Langton Green, Tunbridge Wells.
 - O'Leary, Miss Katherine W., 44 Campden Hill Square, London, W.
- Oliver, Mrs., 26 Brunswick Terrace, Brighton.
- *Olivier, Sir Sydney, K.C.M.G., King's House, Jamaica, B.W.I. Oman, Professor Charles W. C., Frewin Hall, Oxford.
- Onslow, Lady, Chevin Bank, Duffield, Derbyshire.
- *Onslow, Hon. H., Clandon Park, Guildford.
- Osborne, Miss H., 2 Northcote Mansions, Heath Street, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- *Owen, A. S., Keble College, Oxford.
- Pack Beresford, Denis R., Fenagh House, Bagenalstown, Co. Carlow.
- Pagan, Miss C., Marston Lodge, Harrow.
- Paget, Sir Arthur, 9 King's Bench Walk, Temple, London, E.C.
- Paine, Mrs. W., 37 Westminster Palace Gardens, London, S.W.
- Paley, Mrs., Ampton Hall, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Parke, Roderick J., 179 Cottingham Street, Toronto, Canada.

- Parker, Sir Gilbert, D.C.L., M.P., 20 Carlton House Terrace, London, S.W.
- *Parkin, John, Blaithwaite, Carlisle.
- Parkin, Mrs., The Mount, Sheffield.
- *Parsons, J. Denham, 58 St. Oswald's Road, West Brompton, London, S.W.
- Parsons, N. M., 22 Barkston Gardens, London, S.W.
- Pask, A. F., 50 Bensham Manor Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey.
- *Passingham, Mrs., Berrow House, nr. Ledbury, Hereford.
- Patel, F. J., L.R.C.P., 3 Church Gate Street, Bombay.
- Paterson, Miss Mary N., 3 Devonshire Terrace, Ventnor, Isle of Wight.
- Paul, J. Rodman, 505 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- Payne, Ernest, 10 Wellington Court, Knightsbridge, London, S.W. Pease, Mrs. J. R., Hesslewood, Hessle, Yorks.
- Peckham, Miss Ella, 246 Gano Street, Providence, R.I., U.S.A.
- Peckham, Orville, First National Bank, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- Pedley, Charles Herbert, Dee Lodge, Chester.
- Penha, Alfred de la, Long Wall House, Oxford.
- Penha, Paul de la.
- Pennington, Mrs. Henry, Silverthorne, King's Ride, Camberley, Surrey.
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- Perkins, Miss S. R., c/o Dr. Perkins, 8 Mansfield Street, London, W.
- *Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo, The Count, 5 Panteleimonovskaia, St. Petersburg.
 - Perowne, Miss Edith, 11 Harvey Road, Cambridge.
 - Perry, Sir E. Cooper, M.D., Superintendent's House, Guy's Hospital, London, S.E.
 - Perry, Thos. S., c/o Perier & Cie, 59 rue de Province, Paris.
- Peters, Mrs. F. A., 362 Marlborough Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- Philipse, Miss Margaret Gouverneur, 142 West 71st Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- *Phillimore, Mrs., Battler's Green, Letchmore Heath, Herts.
- *Pickering, J. F., Camden Ridge, Chislehurst, Kent.
- Pickering, J. W., D.Sc., Sundridge, Russell Hill, Purley, Surrey. *Piddington, J. G., Holy Well, Hook Heath, Woking, Surrey.

- *Piercy, Major B. H., Marchwiel Hall, Wrexham, and Villa Piercy, Sardinia.
- Pigou, Professor Arthur Cecil, King's College, Cambridge.
- *Pilcher, Giles T., Treryn, Frith Hill, Godalming, Surrey.
- Pinchot, Mrs. Amos, 1021 Park Avenue, New York, U.S.A.
- Pinchot, Gifford, 1615 R.I. Avenue, Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- Piper, John E., LL.B., 10 Herondale Avenue, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.
- Pithapuram, The Rajah of, Pithapuram, Godavari Dist., Madras Presidency, India.
- *Pitt, St. George Lane Fox, 48 Glebe Place, Chelsea, London, S.W. Plowden, Mrs., Strachur Park, Loch Fyne Side, Argyllshire. Plumer-Willson, Mrs. W., 20 Laurence Road, Hove, Brighton. Pogson Smith, Mrs. E., Bourkes, Blackhall Rd., Oxford. Ponsonby, Hon. Mrs. C. B., 14 West Halkin Street, London, S.W. Pontifex, Dudley, 73 Alleyn Park, West Dulwich, London, S.E. Pope, George H., 60 Banbury Road, Oxford.
- *Pope, Miss Theodate, Hillstead, Farmington, Conn., U.S.A. Popoff, General James, Sosnitza, Gov. Chernigow, Russia. Porter, Miss Agatha, M.D., 18 Kensington Park Road, Notting
 - Hill, London, W.
 - Portsmouth, The Countess of, Hurstbourne Park, Whitchurch, Hants.
- Post, Mrs. Wm., St. Lucie, Fla., and Buckhannon, W. Va., U.S.A.
- *Potter, John Wilson, 219 Ashley Gardens, London, S.W.
- Powell, C. Berkeley, J.P., 283 Metcalfe Street, Ottawa, Canada. Powles, Lewis Charles, The Highlands, Rye, Sussex.
- *Pring, C. H., 278 Old Kent Road, London, S.E.
- Pumphrey, Mrs., Hindley Hall, Stocksfield-on-Tyne.
- Putnam, Miss Irene, Bennington, Vt., U.S.A.
- Pym, Mrs. Guy, 35 Cranley Gardens, South Kensington, London, S.W.
- Pym, Leslie Ruthven, Alnwick, Northumberland.
- Quackenbos, John D., M.D., 331 West 28th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
- *Quinby, Rev. John W., East Bridgewater, Mass., U.S.A.
- Quincy, Josiah P., 82 Charles Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Radcliffe-Whitehead, Ralph, Woodstock, Ulster Co., N.Y., U.S.A. Rae, James, Villa Laurel, San Jacopo, Livorno, Italy. Raggett, Mrs., 70 Maida Vale, London, W. Raikes, E. B., Drayton Old Lodge, Norwich.

- Raikes, Mrs., Beomonds, Chertsey, Surrey.
- *Raines, Lady, 46 Sussex Gardens, Hyde Park, London, W.
- Raj, Des, Pasrur, Dist. Sialkot, Punjab, India.
- Ramsden, Miss, Bulstrode, Gerrard's Cross, Bucks.
- Ransom, Francis, Chilterns, Hitchin, Herts.
- Ransom, Frank H., 137 Main Street, Buffalo, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Ransom, H. B., 28 Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- Raper, R. W., Trinity College, Oxford.
- *Rashdall, Rev. Hastings, New College, Oxford.
- *Rashleigh, John C. S., M.D., Throwleigh, Okehampton.
- Reade, Herbert V., 32 Palace Gardens Terrace, Kensington, London, W.
- *Reckett, Miss Juliet E., 20 Dulwich Wood Park, Upper Norwood, London, S.E.
- *Rendall, Rev. Dr. G. H., Dedham House, Dedham, Essex.
- Rice, Mrs. David Hall, 2 Wellington Terrace, Brookline, Mass., U.S.A.
- Richardson, Frederick W., County Analyst's Office, Hustlergate, Bradford.
- *Ridley, Henry N., F.R.S., C.M.G., Singapore, S.S.
- *Ridley, Miss, Stagshaw, Daleham Gardens, London, N.W.
- Ridley, The Viscountess, 10 Carlton House Terrace, London, S.W.
- Ritchie, Thomas, J.P., Overstrand Lodge, Cromer, Norfolk.
- Ritchie, Mrs., 33 Cadogan Place, London, S.W.
- Ritter, Miss, 7 Park Place, St. James's, London, S.W.
- Riviere, Mrs. Evelyn, 10 Nottingham Terrace, York Gate, London, N.W.
- *Robbins, Miss A. M., Room 138, State House, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 - Robbins, G. M'L., Titusville, Fla., U.S.A.
 - Robeck, Miss Geraldine de, St. David's House, Naas, Ireland.
 - Roberts, Mrs. Hugh, 53 F.O. Quarters, Europa, Gibraltar.
- *Roberts, Lady, Bryngwenallt, Abergele, N. Wales.
- *Roberts, R. Nevill, 29 Finchley Road, London, N.W.
- Roberts, W. M., Bar Harbor, Maine, U.S.A.
- Robertson, Mrs. J. G., 90 Regent's Park Road, London, N.W.
- Robinson, George R., 31 James Street, Liverpool.
- Robinson, Nelson L., 381 Central Park West, New York City, U.S.A.
- Rodakiewicz, Dr. Erla, Bernbrunngasse 17, Hietzing, Vienna, Austria.

- Roe, Miss Jessic T., 33 Nightingale Place, Woolwich, London, S.E.
- Rogers, Edmund J. A., M.D., C.M., 222 West Colfax Avenue, Denver, Colo., U.S.A.
- *Rogers, George F., M.D., 4 King's Parade, Cambridge.
- Rogers, T. Percival, Henleaze Park, Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucestershire.
- Rolleston, Mrs., Glasshouse, Shinronc, King's Co., Ireland.
- Rolleston, T. W., Ardeevin, Christchurch Road, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- Rose, Mrs. Guy, Giverny, par Vernon, Eure, France.
- Rosenberger, James, Schlersville, Bucks Co., Pa., U.S.A.
- *Rothschild, Mrs. Leopold de, 5 Hamilton Place, London, W. Roy, Gunga N., Deputy Magistrate, Barisal, East Bengal, India.
- *Rücker, Sir A. W., F.R.S., 19 Gledhow Gardens, London, S.W.
- Rundle, Miss M. G., Varesc, Burghley Road, Wimbledon, London, S.W.
- Russell, George M., Caixa 304, Manaos, Brazil.
- Ryan, Mrs., The New York Sun, 1 Arundel Street, Strand, London, W.C.
- Ryves, Miss Evangeline, Clovelly, Banstead Road, Ewell, Surrey.
- Sadgrove, W. Arthur, Clonarel, Foxley Lane, Purley, Surrey.
- St. Davids, The Lady, 3 Richmond Terrace, Whitehall, London, S.W.
- St. Hill, Mrs., Thimble, Littlewick Green, Berks.
- *Salm und Dyck, H.S.H. Christine, Princess of, 9 Queen's Gate, London, S.W., and Schloss Neu-Cilly, nr. Cilli, Styria, Austria.
 - Samaldas, Hon. Lalubai, 99 Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay, India.
- Sampson, Colonel Dudley, Buxshalls, Lindfield, Hayward's Heath. Sanderson, W. R., Via Nomentana, 58, Rome, Itaiy.
- *Sandford, Miss Alice, 33 Hertford Street, Mayfair, London, W.
- Saunders, Miss E. R., Newnham College, Cambridge.
- Saunders, W. E., Riovista, Torresdale, Pa., U.S.A.
- *Savage, Rev. M. J., D.D., 1867 Crawford Road, Cleveland, Ohio, U.S.A.
 - Savill, Mrs., M.D., 66 Harley Street, London, W.
- Sayer, Miss Ettie, M.B., 35 Upper Brook Street, London, W.
- *Scatcherd, Miss F. R., Ringmore House, Quarry Road, Hastings.
- *Schiller, F. C. S., D.Sc., Corpus Christi College, Oxford.
- Schmidt, Julius, 582 Woolwich Road, Charlton, London, S.E.
- Schoeller, W. R., Ph.D., c/o Messrs. C. Simeons & Co., 17 Wilson Street, Finsbury, London, E.C.

- Schofield, S. Robert, M.B., 1 Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, W.
- Schofield, Mrs., 1 Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, W. Schreiner, Miss Julia, 56 Eaton Square, London, S.W.
- Schuster, Miss, Cottenham House, Wimbledon, London, S.W.
- Scott, Rev. D. D., The Manse, Onehunga, Auckland, New Zealand.
- *Scott, Capt. G. B., 27th Punjabis, Alipore, Calcutta, India.
- *Scott, Sydney C., 92 Westbourne Terrace, Hyde Park, London, W. Scott, W. Sibbald, M.B., The Lymes, Ellesmere, Salop.
- *Scott-Gatty, Sir Alfred S., K.C.V.O., F.S.A., Garter King of Arms, Wendover Lodge, Welwyn, Herts.
 - Scott-Moncrieff, W. G., J.P., Edgemoor, Lanark, Scotland.
 - Scripps, Thomas Cecil, 13 Woronzow Road, London, N.W.
 - Searle, Rev. George M., St. Paul's Church, 415 West 59th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 - Sedgwick, Mrs. H. D., 120 E. 22nd Street, New York City, U.S.A. Sénāthi Raja, E. S. W., LL.B., The Grange, Trivandrum, India.
 - Seymour, Admiral of the Fleet Sir E. H., O.M., G.C.B., G.C.V.O., Queen Anne's Mansions, St. James's Park, London, S.W.
 - Shackleford, Hon. Thomas M., Tallahassee, Florida, U.S.A.
 - Shaddick, W. Harris, Lyndhurst, 99 Montague Road, Leytonstone, London, N.E.
 - Shadwell, Miss Blanche, 21 Nottingham Place, London, W.
- Shakespear, Mrs., 12 Brunswick Gardens, Kensington, London, W.
- Shand, Alexander F., 1 Edwardes Place, Kensington, London, W.
- *Shaw, Rev. Sir Charles J. Monson, Bart., The Rectory, Adisham, Kent.
 - Shaw, Mrs. W. N., 10 Moreton Gardens, London, S.W.
 - Sheets, J. C. (c/o Cincinnati Sanatorium, College Hill), Station K., Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Sheldon, A. F., Rockefeller, Ill., U.S.A.
- *Shewan, R. G., c/o Shewan, Tomes & Co., Hong Kong, China.
- *Shirley, Ralph, 164 Aldersgate Street, London, E.C.
- *Shove, Miss E., M.B., 30 York Street Chambers, Bryanston Square, London, W.
 - Shuttleworth, Miss C. J., 10 Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington, London, W.
- *Sidgwick, Arthur, LL.D., 64 Woodstock Road, Oxford.
- Sidgwick, Mrs. Edward, 25 Collingham Road, London, S.W.
- *Sidgwick, Mrs. H., 1 Grange Terrace, Cambridge.
 - Sidgwick, Miss Rose, 64 Woodstock Road, Oxford.

- Siegel, Louis.
- Siegel, Mrs. Henry, 51 Avenue Malakoff, Paris, France.
- Silver, Mrs., 24 Victoria Square, London, S.W.
- *Simpson, Commander H. V., R.N., Kylintra, Portrude Park, Weybridge, Surrey.
 - Singh, Amar, Hoshiarpur, Punjab, India.
 - Sivudu, R. Venkata, The College, Guntur, Madras Presidency, India.
 - Skeffington, J. B., LL.D., 21 Crumlin Road, Belfast.
 - Skipwith, Mrs., 1 Culford Gardens, Sloane Square, London, S.W.
 - Skipwith, Mrs., 13 Montagu Square, London, W.
 - Sloggett, Surgeon-General A. T., C.M.G., C.B., P.M.O. 6th Division, Poona, India.
 - Small, Mrs. William, 9L Hyde Park Mansions, London, W.
 - Smith, Adolphe, 12 Crookham Road, Fulham, London, S.W.
 - Smith, Miss Beatrice E., Lea, Grange-over-Sands, Lancashire.
- *Smith, Rev. Ernest F., 153 Banbury Road, Oxford.
- Smith, Ernest S., Les Algues, Saint-Jean-de-Luz, France.
- Smith, G. Albert, Laboratory Lodge, Roman Crescent, Southwick, Brighton.
- Smith, George M., Custom House, Lowestoft.
- *Smith, Henry Arthur, 7 Queen's Mansions, Brook Green, London, W. Smith, Sir H. Babington, C.B., 121 St. James's Court, Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
- *Smith, Rev. Richard, The Manse, Melrose Gardens, West Kensington Park, London, W.
- Smith, Rev. Sidney M., Hebden Bridge Vicarage, Yorkshire.
- *Smith, Mrs. W. Easton, 26 N. Main Street, Waterbury, Conn., U.S.A.
 - Smith, Wm. Hawley, 2039 Knoxville Avenue, Peoria, Ill., U.S.A. Smith, William P., Crestline, Ohio, U.S.A.
- *Smithson, Mrs., 42 Tilehouse Street, Hitchin, Herts.
- Snape, Mrs., St. Bees, Beachy Head Road, Eastbourne.
- *Snow, Chester A., 710 8th Street, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. Snyder, Irving T., Willow Grange, Littleton, Colorado, U.S.A. Sparrow, G. W. S., Albrighton Hall, near Shrewsbury.
- *Speer, Charlton T., Glenhurst, The Common, Sutton, Surrey.
- Spencer, Major C. G., R.A.M.C., Dudley Cottage, Fulford, York. Spens, William, King's College, Cambridge.
- Spicer, Mrs. W. T. Holmes, c/o Messrs. Baring Bros. & Co., 8 Bishopsgate Street, London, E.C.

Spielmann, Miss E. M., 38 Gloucester Square, London, W.

- *Sproston, S., Junr., Elm House, Nantwich, Cheshirc.
- Sproston, W. Manning, Ardingly College, Hayward's Heath, Sussex.
- Stansfeld, Rex, 17 Spencer Road, North Side, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.
- Stanton, Rev. Horace C., Ph.D., D.D., Clifton Springs, N.Y., U.S.A.

Stapleton, Mrs., Rembrandt Hotel, S. Kensington, London, W.

*Stapley, Sir Richard, 33 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C. Statkowski, Miss Tamara.

Stawell, Miss F. M., 44 Westbourne Park Villas, London, W.

*Steel, Mrs., Talgarth Hall, Machynlleth, Montgomeryshire.

- Stephens, Mrs., 41 Harrington Gardens, London, S.W.
- Stephenson, Guy, 41 Egerton Gardens, London, S.W.
- Stephenson, H. H., 16 Brinkley Road, Worcester Park, Surrey.
- Stevenson, Mrs., Wingrove, Moorend Park Road, Cheltenham.
- Stewart, Miss M. A., Artillery Mansions, 75 Victoria Street, London, S.W.
- Stewart, Mrs. C. A., Larghan, Coupar Angus, N.B.
- Stewart, Herbert L., 111 University Street, Belfast.
- Stewart, J., P.O. Dept., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- Stocker, Miss M. I., The Croft, Woodridings, Hatch End, Middlesex.
- Stoehr, Miss, Downend, Hindhead, Surrey.
- Stokes, Dr. Henry N., 1443 Q. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., U.S.A.
- *Stokes, J. N. P., 118 East 22nd Street, New York City, U.S.A.

Stout, Professor George F., Craigard, St. Andrews, N.B.

Strachan, W. M., Strood Park, Horsham, Sussex.

- Strachey, Charles, Colonial Office, Downing Street, London, S.W.
- Strachey, J. B., 67 Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- *Strachey, John St. Loe, *Spectator* Office, 1 Wellington Street, Strand, London, W.C.
 - Strain, Miss E. H., Cassillis House, Maybole, Ayrshire.
 - Stratton, F. J. M., Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge.
 - Strauss, E. A., M.P., 49 Grosvenor Square, London, W.
 - Street, Mrs. W. P. R., 10 Mackenzie Avenue, Rosedale, Toronto, Canada.

- Strong, Rev. Charles, D.D., 67 Avoca Street, S.Y., Melbourne, Australia.
- *Strutt, Hon. Richard, Rayleigh House, Chelsea, London, S.W.
- *Stuart, A. I., 24. Marlborough Rd., Southport.
- Stuart, Mrs., Gloucester House, Lansdown, Cheltenham.
- Stuart-Prince, Major C., c/o Messrs. Grindlay, Groom & Co., Bombay, India.
- *Sturdy, Edward T., 6 St. John's Wood Park, London, N.W.
- Sturge, Miss M. Carta, Cranbourne Grange, Wonston, Micheldever, Hants.
- *Suffern, Ernest S., 165 Broadway, New York, U.S.A.
 - Sulman, H. L., 31 The Avenue, Brondesbury Park, London, N.W.
 - Sutton, Lady, 49 Lexham Gardens, London, W.
 - Swainson, Miss F. J., Stonecross, Kendal.
- Swainson, Miss M., 7E Oxford & Cambridge Mansions, London, W.
- *Swayne, Mrs. Noah Haynes, Junr., 153 Mill Creek Rd., Ardmore, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Sweetland, Mrs. Gifford, San Francisco, San Lorenzo, Alameda County, Calif., U.S.A.
 - Szentirmay de Darvasto, B. M. J. de, Consulate for Austria-Hungary, Roustschuk, Bulgaria.
 - Tait, Mrs. W. J., Lismullen, Arthur Road, Wimbledon Park, Surrey.
 - Tanner, Ernest, Hotel Curzon, Brighton.
 - Taplin, A. Betts, L.R.C.P., Norwood, Ivanhoe Road, Sefton Park, Liverpool.
 - Taylor, Miss E. Waring, 7E Oxford and Cambridge Mansions, London, W.
- *Taylor, H. Dennis, Stancliffe, Mount Villas, York.
 - Tebb, Mrs., Rede Hall, nr. Burstow, by Horley, Surrey.
 - Temple, Reginald W.
 - Theophilus, Mrs., 165 Westbourne Grove, Bayswater, London, W. Thomas, Rev. C. D., South Hill Lodge, Bromley, Kent.
 - Thomas, Miss Edith J., Mynydd Ednyfed, Criccieth, N. Wales.
 - Thomas, Ernest Seymour, Turf Club, Cairo, Egypt.
 - Thomas, Dr. George P., 2113 North 7th Street, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- *Thomas, J. W., Overdale, Shortlands, Kent.
- *Thomas, Seymour P., 211 Cliveden Avenue, Germantown, Pa., U.S.A.
 - Thompson, Edwin, 25 Sefton Drive, Liverpool.

- Thompson, Matthew William, Salters Hall, Sudbury, Suffolk.
- Thompson, Mrs. Rosalie, 90 Newman Street, London, W.
- *Thomson, Edward J., Western Club, Glasgow.
 - Thorburn, Rev. T. J., LL.D., The Bungalow, St. Helen's Down, Hastings.
 - Thornhill, Miss H., Sesame Club, 29 Dover Street, London, W.
 - Thornley, Rev. Alfred, Hughenden, Coppice Road, Nottingham.
 - Thornley, Miss F. J., 36 Downleaze, Stoke Bishop, Bristol.
 - Thornton, W. M., D.Sc., Durham College of Science, Newcastleon-Tyne.
 - Thurn and Taxis, H.I.H. The Princess Alexander of, Lautschin, Nimburg, Bohemia, Austria.
 - Townesend, Mrs., Trevine, Boley Hill, Rochester, Kent.
 - Trafford, Mrs. Galfrid de, Queensberry House, Richmond.
- *Trotter, Mrs., Standerwick Court, Frome, Somersetshire.
- Truell, Robert Holt Stuart, West Mount, Dover College, Dover.
- Tschistiakoff, P. A., Arbate (maison Tolstoy), Moscow, Russia.
- Tucker, James W., Cooperstown, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Tuckey, C. Lloyd, M.D., 88 Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.
 - Tudor, Owen S., Friday's Hill, Haslemere, Surrey.
 - Turner, Herbert B., c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, S.W.
 - Turner, Sidney, 20 Minster Road, Cricklewood, London, N.W.
- Tyler, Professor C. M., The Oaks, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
- *Tyrone, The O'Neill de, 59 rua das Flores, Lisbon, Portugal.
- Tyrrell, G. N., The Lodge, Alderminster, Stratford-on-Avon.
- Unwin, Mrs., Homestead, Bushey Heath, Herts.
- Van Deren, H. S., Nashville, Tenn., U.S.A.
- Van Meter, Solomon L., Hutchison, Kentucky, U.S.A.
- *Van Norden, Rev. Charles, D.D., LL.D., East Auburn, Placer Co., Cal., U.S.A.
- Van Renterghem, A. W., M.D., 1 Van Breestraat, Amsterdam, Holland.
- *Verney-Cave, Hon. Mrs., Stanford-on-Avon, Rugby.
- *Verrall, Mrs. A. W., 5 Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
- Verrall, Miss H. de G., 5 Selwyn Gardens, Cambridge.
- Verrall, Miss M. E., The Lydd, West Hoathly, Sussex.
- Villamarina, Her Excellency the Marchesa di, Palazzo Regina Margherita, Rome.
- Vincent, W. James, M.B., Wadsley Asylum, Sheffield.

- Von der Heydt, Baron, 48 Green Street, Park Lane, London, W.
- Wakefield, Mrs., 70 Belsize Park Gardens, Hampstead, London, N.W.
- Wakeley, Mrs. Charles, 6218 Ingleside Avenue, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- Walker, Miss Madeline J., 107 Queen's Gate, London, S.W.
- Walker, Mrs., 28 St. Andrew's Mansions, Dorset Street, London, W.
- *Walker, P. L. E., 7th Hussars, Hounslow, Middlesex.
- *Walker-Munro, L., R.N., Rhinefield, Brockenhurst, Hants. Walker-Munro, Mrs., Rhincfield, Brockenhurst, Hants.
- *Wallace, Abraham, M.D., 39 Harley Street, London, W. Walsh, Correa M., Belleport, Long Island, N.Y., U.S.A. Walton, J. P., Hill House, Halesworth, Suffolk.
- Wanderley, F. M., Corumba, Matto Grosso, Brazil.
- *Ward, The Count, G.C.V.V., 54 and 55 London Wall, London, E.C.
- Ward, Hon. Kathleen, Aughnacloy, Killiney, Co. Dublin, Ireland.
- Wärndorfer, A., Elisabetstrasse 23, Baden, nr. Vienna.
- Warner, Miss E., 42 Albany Villas, Hove, Sussex.
- Warren, Mrs. Fiske, 8 Mount Vernon Place, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- *Warren, R. N., 45 Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.
- Warrender, Miss Margaret, 50 Wilton Crescent, London, S.W.
- *Warwick, Countess of, Warwick Castle, Warwick.
- Wastell, Mrs., The Rowans, Crowborough, Sussex.
- Waterlow, Sydney, Hillyfields, Rye, Sussex.
- Watson, Mrs. Milne, 39 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.
- Weaver, Miss Sarah, 15 Blagden Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
- Webber, Mrs. Felix, The Croft, Shillingstone, Dorset.
- *Weinberg, Harry J., North Road, The Park, Nottingham.
- Welch, Thomas G., The Oaks, Blakebrook, Kidderminster.
- *Wells, E. P., The Limes, 94 Larkhall Rise, Clapham, London, S.W.
- West, Arthur B., 100 Franklin Street, Denver, Colo., U.S.A.
- *Westcott, W. Wynn, M.B., J.P., 396 Camden Road, London, N.
- Western, F. J., c/o The Librarian, Forman Christian College, Lahore, India.
- *Westlake, Ernest, Fordingbridge, Salisbury.
 - Westropp, A. S. A., East India United Service Club, 16 St. James's Squarc, London, S.W.
 - Wheeler, C. Bickersteth, 7 St. Stcphen's Crescent, Bayswater, London, W.

- Wheeler, Mrs. Mary K., 1133 Grand View Avenue, Boulder, Colo., U.S.A.
- *Whetham, W. C. D., F.R.S., Upwater Lodge, Cambridge.
 - Whinyates, Miss Amy O., 15 Sloane Gardens, Sloane Square, London, S.W.
 - Whipple, L. E., 10 East 66th Street, New York City, U.S.A.
 - Whishaw, R. W., North West House, Duntrune Terrace, Broughty Ferry, N.B.
- Whitaker, Joseph J. S., Villa Malfitano, Palermo, Sicily.
- *White, F. R. M., R.N., Copyhold, Fernhurst, Sussex.
- White, Dr. Gordon, $610\frac{1}{2}$ Church St., Nashville, Tenn., U.S.A.
- *Whitehead, Miss Mercia D., St. Mary's, Trumpington, Cambridge.
- Whitehead, Rev. John, 57 Dana Street, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- Whiting, J. Markby, Ashford House, Wimbledon Common, London, S.W.
- Whitmore, Mrs., 28 Milner St., Cadogan Square, London, S.W.
- Whiton, Rev. J. M., Ph.D., 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City, U.S.A.
- *Whittemore, Mrs. Julia S., Naugatuck, Conn., U.S.A.
- *Wiener, Captain Clarence, Ewell Castle, Surrey.
- Wigan, W. L., Clare Cottage, East Malling, Maidstone, Kent.
- *Wigg, E. Neale, The Moss, Clendon Road, Toorak, Melbourne, Australia.
 - Wight, Edward, M.R.C.S., 9 Regency Square, Brighton.
- Wilkins, Mrs., 8 Rostrevor Terrace, Rathgar, nr. Dublin.
- *Wilkins, C. F., Lower Division, Eastern Jumna Canal, Delhi, India.
 - Willett, Mrs., St. Andrew's Lodge, Scaford, Sussex.
 - Williams, A. C. Redshawe, 52 King William Street, London, E.C.
- *Williams, Mrs. Glynne, 7 Berkeley House, Hay Hill, London, W. Williams, J. E., Plumb Opera House, Streator, Ill., U.S.A.
 - Williams, Mrs. S. R., 12 Lorne Rd., Oxton, Cheshire.
 - Williamson, Mrs., The Croft, Didsbury, Manchester.
 - Willis, Mrs., c/o Mrs. Barbar, New Street, Killarney, Co. Kerry, Ireland.
- Willis, Grant B., 434 North M'Kinley Avenue, Canton, Ohio, U.S.A.
- *Willock, Mrs. C. J., 16 Warwick Square, London, S.W.
- Wilson, Rev. Alexander, The Manse, Ythanwells, Insch, Aberdeenshire.
- Wilson, Mrs. Arthur, 150 Whitehall Court, London, S.W.
- Wilson, Charles J., 17 Pembroke Park, Dublin, Ireland.

- Wilson, Mrs. C. Stuart, c/o Major C. S. Wilson, R.E., Kasr el Nil, Cairo, Egypt.
- Wilson, Miss E. M., Hotel Beau Séjour, Chateau D'Oex, Switzerland.
- Wilson, Mrs. H. J., 12 Cheyne Court, Chelsea, London, S.W.
- Wilson, Herbert W., Cornholme, Garston, Liverpool.
- Wilson, Miss M. A., Hotel Beau Séjour, Chateau D'Oex, Switzerland.
- Wingate, D. C.
- *Wingfield, H. E., M.D., 44 Welbeck Street, London, W.
- Winslow, L. Forbes, M.B., LL.D., 57 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, London, W.
- Winslow, Mrs. Forbes, 57 Devonshire Street, Portland Place, London, W.
- Witherby, Arthur George, Newtown Grange, Newbury, Berks.
- *Wolf, Francisco Eugene de, c/o Banque de Montreux, Montreux, Switzerland.
- *Wood, R. H., c/o Messrs. Smith, Wood & Co., 3 and 4 Lime Street Square, London, E.C.
 - Woodhull, Miss Zula M., Norton Park, Bredon's Norton, near Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.
- *Woods, Miss Alice, 3 North Mansions, Burton Road, Kilburn, London, N.W.
- Woods, Mrs., The Master's House, Temple, London, E.C.
- *Wooldridge, H. B., 168 Marylebone Road, London, N.W.
- Woollett, Lieut.-Colonel W. Charles, 4 The Ridges, Farnboro', Hants.
- Woolley, V. J., 48 Lissenden Mansions, Lissenden Gardens, London, N.W.
- *Worsfold, Mrs. Basil, Romden Place, Smarden, Kent.
 Wrangell, Baron Cyrille, 9 Schpalernaia, St. Petersburg.
 Wrchovszky, Wilhelm, Kronprinz Rudolf Str. 12, Vienna.
 Wriford, Mrs., 21 Bullingham Mansions, Kensington, London, W.
- *Wright, Maurice B., M.D., 17 Wimpole Street, London, W. Wyke, Mrs. Wilberforce, Arundel House, Beaumont, Jersey, C.I. Wyllys, Miss R., 18 Louisburg Square, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
 - Wyndham-Quin, The Lady Emily, 12 William Street, Lowndes Square, London, S.W.
 - Yandell, Miss Maud, c/o Brown, Shipley & Co., 123 Pall Mall, London, S.W.
 - Yaroschenko, Madame, La Cava, Bordighera, Italy.

Young, G. P., Burnside Cottage, Colston, Bishopbriggs, Glasgow. *Young, Sir William L., Bart., 35 Lower Seymour Street, Portman

Square, London, W.

Younghusband, Sir Francis, 3 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.

Yssel de Schepper, Mr. Justice, Eendrachtstraat 27B, Rotterdam. Zagury, Leon, 12 Emanuel Avenue, Acton, London, W.

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