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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Society for Psychical Research

VOLUME XIX
(CONTAINING PARTS L.-LII. AND APPENDIX)
1905-7

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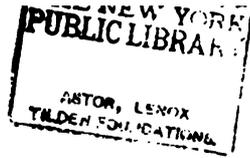
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART L.

APRIL, 1905.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETING.

THE 124th General Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall at 20 Hanover Square, London, W., on Monday, February 6th, 1905, at 8.30 p.m.; PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT in the chair.

The PRESIDENT, PROFESSOR CHARLES RICHTER, delivered the address which is printed below.

I.

LA MÉTAPSYCHIQUE.

PAR M. CHARLES RICHEL

*(Professeur de Physiologie à la Faculté de Médecine de Paris).**Discours prononcé à la réunion de la Société le 6 février 1905.*

I.

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Puisque j'ai l'honneur de parler aujourd'hui en votre nom, je tiens d'abord à exprimer ici nos respects et notre gratitude à notre président, M. le professeur Barrett, qui, dès les premiers jours de votre Société, lui a donné tout son talent et tout son labeur. Nul de nous ne se consolerait de ne plus l'avoir comme président, si nous n'avions pas la certitude qu'il continuera à nous apporter, comme par le passé, le précieux appui de ses conseils et de sa haute science.

Pourtant il n'est pas besoin de vous dire combien je suis fier d'avoir été nommé votre président. Et ma reconnaissance égale mon émotion. C'est la première fois qu'à un étranger revient cette dignité, et j'en sens tout le prix.

A vrai dire, j'ai tort de prononcer le mot d'étranger; car je me flatte d'avoir été un des premiers adhérents de la Société des recherches psychiques. Elle est aujourd'hui incontestée et prospère; mais elle a connu des temps moins favorables.

Aussi bien me permettez-vous, en débutant, de vous rappeler un souvenir tout à fait personnel et intime, car il évoque la mémoire d'amis qui me sont bien chers, d'hommes illustres que vous avez tous connus, et qui ont jeté tant d'éclat sur notre Société, Edmond Gurney, Henri Sidgwick, et surtout Frédéric Myers.

C'était en 1882. Il y a déjà presque un quart de siècle. Le premier volume de vos bulletins venait de paraître, contenant des histoires curieuses et étranges, des expériences sur la transmission de la pensée ; des récits de maisons hantées, de fantômes véridiques ; et en même temps une sorte de profession de foi, prudente et hardie tout ensemble, indiquant la ferme résolution de donner à l'étude de ces phénomènes la précision scientifique qui leur avait manqué jusqu'alors.

Ce livre, qui répondait à mes secrètes aspirations, fit grande impression sur moi. J'étais convaincu déjà—et je le suis davantage aujourd'hui—que la science classique n'avait pas encore dévoilé toute la vérité contenue dans l'univers ; et que l'inexplicable (ou l'inexpliqué) gouvernait le monde. Aussi étais-je heureux de voir des savants, audacieux et sans préjugés, poursuivre résolument la conquête du mystère par la voie de l'expérimentation rigoureuse. Mais, si tel fut mon sentiment, ce fut loin d'être l'opinion générale. De toutes parts, les critiques, sarcastiques ou pédantes, affluèrent. Et ceux qui ne daignèrent pas critiquer remplacèrent la raillerie et la discussion par le silence ; un silence hostile et obstiné. Les spirites mêmes, comprenant mal que si peu de place fût faite à la théorie, furent sans bienveillance pour la nouvelle Société psychique. Indifférence, scepticisme, raillerie, hostilité : tels furent les premiers succès dans le monde de votre tentative généreuse.

Maintenant que bien des années ont passé, nous pouvons dire que ce début peu triomphal ne fut pas un malheur. Il est bon que les tentatives nouvelles et hardies soient reçues par le dénigrement ; car ce dénigrement est fécond ; il encourage à la lutte ; il provoque des expériences nouvelles ; il stimule les énergies. Au lieu de maudire nos contradicteurs, nous devrions les remercier ; car ils nous empêchent de sommeiller sur le commode oreiller de la vanité satisfaite.

A ce moment (1882), je ne connaissais aucun d'entre vous. Mais votre initiative me donna une stimulation puissante. Et je résolus, de mon côté, de travailler dans le même sens. Silencieusement et tout seul, en 1882, 1883, je fis quelques expériences sur la lucidité et la suggestion mentale, qui confirmèrent plusieurs des faits affirmés dans vos premiers bulletins, et je les publiai dans la *Revue philosophique*. Quelques

jours après je recevais une lettre d'Edmond Gurney, où il m'exprimait toute sa joie, et, si je puis dire, sa reconnaissance, pour l'appui imprévu que venaient apporter à l'œuvre, inaugurée par lui, mes modestes tentatives d'expérimentation.

Nous nous rencontrâmes, et à Paris et à Londres ; et je pus alors m'initier à la pensée de cet homme éminent, trop tôt disparu. Je pus apprécier la haute et sereine intelligence du professeur H. Sidgwick ; et me lier d'une amitié profonde avec Fréd. Myers.

Celui-là, vous l'avez tous connu. Vous ne trouverez donc pas que j'exagère si je dis que Fréd. Myers a été vraiment pendant vingt ans l'âme de cette Société. C'est lui qui, par un heureux mélange d'audace dans les théories, et de rigueur dans les méthodes, servi par un esprit sagace et charmant, a inspiré vos réunions et mené à bien le travail considérable que la Société des recherches psychiques a pu effectuer.

Voilà pourquoi je ne puis me considérer comme un étranger parmi vous ; car je fus, dès les premiers jours, initié par Gurney et Myers aux nobles efforts tentés par eux pour faire rentrer les phénomènes psychiques dans le cadre des sciences régulières et précises.

Mais le meilleur hommage qui se puisse rendre à ces hommes pour qui le travail était le premier devoir, c'est de suivre leur exemple et de travailler. Je vais donc inaugurer tout de suite mon rôle de président, en vous conviant au travail. Et alors, pour que cette exhortation comporte une sorte de sanction, nous jetterons un rapide coup d'œil sur le passé : nous comparerons l'état actuel des sciences psychiques avec ce qu'elles étaient autrefois, et nous envisagerons ensemble quelles espérances nous sont permises et quels écueils il faut éviter.

II.

Nous ne remonterons pas au très lointain passé : car dans tous les ouvrages on trouve d'abondants documents sur les phénomènes dits occultes, qui avaient été entrevus par les anciens et par les Orientaux. Ce sont travaux d'érudition, dont l'intérêt, quoique assez vif, me paraît secondaire. J'aime mieux prendre les choses au point où elles étaient en 1875 environ, il y a trente ans. Vous verrez qu'en trente années—ce qui

n'est absolument rien dans les histoires humaines—un grand pas a été fait.

Nous nous rendons compte assez mal de la marche des idées. Autour de nous tout change, costumes, machines, langage même, et ces changements, qui sont graduels, passent inaperçus. Une fois qu'un progrès a été effectué, il entre si vite dans les mœurs que nous avons peine à concevoir qu'il n'ait pas existé toujours. Les très jeunes gens ne s'imaginent pas qu'il y a trente ans on ne connaissait ni le téléphone, ni le phonographe, ni les bicyclettes, ni les automobiles, ni les sleeping cars, ni les rayons X, ni l'antisepsie, ni la théorie des microbes. Il leur paraît aujourd'hui que ces choses ont toujours existé, qu'on n'a pas pu vivre sans elles; et pourtant—j'en appelle aux souvenirs de jeunesse de tous les hommes de ma génération—rien de semblable n'existait il y a trente ans, et personne ne supposait que cela existerait un jour.

Et, si l'on veut avoir une preuve bien démonstrative de notre rapide évolution, qu'on compare les robes, les chapeaux, les théâtres, les romans de 1875, à ce que l'année 1905 nous donne en fait de robes, de chapeaux, de théâtres et de romans. Pas une dame n'oserait sortir avec un chapeau de la mode de 1875; pas un auteur dramatique n'oserait faire une pièce comme les pièces qui réussissaient en 1875. Quant aux romans de l'époque, sauf quelques rares chefs d'œuvre, ils n'ont plus à présent un seul lecteur. Même les ouvrages écrits pour les enfants sont de tout autre modèle, et les enfants d'aujourd'hui repoussent dédaigneusement les livres qui ont enchanté notre premier âge.

Donc nous changeons, et nous changeons très vite. Seulement ce changement se fait par une imperceptible série de transitions, de sorte qu'il passe inaperçu de nous.

Or, dans les sciences psychiques, tout s'est profondément modifié, et, pour comprendre ces profondes modifications, il nous suffira d'examiner quelle était, en fait de sciences psychiques, la mentalité des hommes de 1875.

Ni le somnambulisme, ni le magnétisme animal, ni l'hypnotisme, ni aucun des phénomènes dits occultes n'était accepté; et même on ne se donnait pas la peine de les étudier. On traitait toutes ces études par un sourire d'incrédulité et de dédain. Et cependant n'y avait-il pas pour le magnétisme animal les

beaux travaux de Deleuze, de Reichenbach, de Braid ? Mais il était plus simple de nier tout, en bloc, sans examen, solennellement, comme l'avait fait un médecin éminent dans l'article "Mesmérisme" du *Grand Dictionnaire encyclopédique des Sciences médicales*, en 1875. "En définitive," disait-il pour tout résumer en un mot, "le magnétisme animal n'existe pas." Et, afin de mieux indiquer sa pensée, il faisait imprimer cette phrase en gros caractères, en lettres capitales, les plus grosses de tout ce colossal dictionnaire, qui compte cent volumes.

Le spiritisme était plus maltraité encore, s'il est possible. Notre illustre et génial collègue, Sir William Crookes, avait cependant déjà publié ses extraordinaires expériences ; mais elles n'avaient provoqué aucune conviction. On les avait raillées, avec plus ou moins d'esprit, mais sans même se donner le soin de les réfuter. Les spirites d'ailleurs formaient une caste à part, représentant en quelque sorte des adeptes d'une nouvelle religion. Ils s'entouraient de mystères, exigeaient une initiation, des prières. On ne pouvait faire partie des cercles spirites qu'après avoir fait acte d'adhésion à leurs principaux dogmes. Le fondement de la doctrine spirite était, en France et sur le continent, la doctrine de la réincarnation, propagée par Allan Kardec, et les discussions sur les théories préoccupaient plus que l'exposé des faits. Ces faits, épars, et mal racontés, étaient presque exclusivement des histoires de tables tournantes. Or nous savons que, de toutes les expériences qu'on peut faire en matière de sciences occultes, celle des tables tournantes est peut-être la plus décevante ; car elle exige des précautions telles que bien rarement elle peut fournir quelque renseignement sérieux.

Quant aux matérialisations, aux apparitions, aux maisons hantées, aux prémonitions, aux apports, çà et là dans les journaux spirites quelques récits étaient rapportés, qui ne pouvaient en général inspirer aucune confiance ; car c'étaient, sauf exceptions, des histoires vagues, de seconde ou de troisième main, et la naïve crédulité des narrateurs provoquait, comme de juste, le scepticisme des lecteurs.

En tout cas, tout était épars, sans lien, sans cohésion. Selon l'occasion ou le tempérament, il y avait des magnétiseurs, des spirites, des hypnotiseurs, des médiums clairvoyants, des

médiums à matérialisations; mais le groupement de tous ces phénomènes n'avait pas été tenté; et la seule tentative de synthèse qu'on s'était hasardé à faire, c'était l'évocation des *esprits*, sortes de *Dei ex machina*, suppléant à tout par leur omnipotence, leur omniscience, et leur ubiquité.

Aussi les doctrines et les faits psychiques étaient-ils également repoussés par les savants et par le vulgaire. On ne comprenait même pas qu'il fût permis à un homme sérieux d'examiner si de tels faits étaient vrais ou non.

Voilà pourquoi, Mesdames et Messieurs, je professe une si grande admiration pour notre illustre collègue, Sir William Crookes. Ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'il a découvert des métaux nouveaux, inventé des appareils admirables, source de fécondes découvertes, imaginé des théories audacieuses dont chaque jour vient confirmer la profonde pénétration. C'est pour autre chose encore que je l'admire; c'est pour son courage scientifique. Le courage du philosophe consiste à déclarer la vérité et à braver pour elle la raillerie et le mépris. Il me paraît que ce courage là—le courage professionnel du savant—vaut bien la bravoure du soldat qui monte à l'assaut, sous la mitraille.

Quand, en 1875, étant alors tout jeune étudiant, je me hasardai à parler du somnambulisme, je débutai par des paroles qui sembleraient bien ridicules maintenant: *Il faut un certain courage*, disais-je alors, *pour prononcer le mot somnambulisme*. De telles expressions ne se comprennent plus aujourd'hui. Aujourd'hui nos jeunes étudiants parlent couramment du magnétisme animal, de la suggestion hypnotique, et des autres phénomènes de même ordre, devenus classiques. Même ils sont parfois un peu ingrats envers leurs devanciers, car ils ne peuvent pas se figurer à quel discrédit l'étude de ces phénomènes menait les hommes ayant la témérité de s'aventurer dans ce champ maudit. Je me souviens encore que, lorsque je fis part de mes études à mon père, dont la haute raison et la sagacité me guidèrent toujours, il les reconnut exactes. Mais, quand je lui dis que je les voulais publier, il m'en dissuada, me disant: "Tu veux donc te perdre."

Heureusement on ne se perd pas quand on défend ce qu'on croit être le vrai. Ce serait une étrange maladresse que

d'avoir découvert une vérité et de ne pas oser la révéler, sous prétexte qu'elle sera contredite. Eh oui ! mille fois oui, elle sera contredite. Toutes les vérités nouvelles ont commencé par là, presque sans exception. Et, *si magnis liceat componere parva*, je ne me suis pas plus perdu en affirmant la réalité du somnambulisme provoqué, que Sir William Crookes ne s'est perdu en affirmant l'existence des matérialisations.

Même, puisque je parle ici de ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler *courage* scientifique,—ce qu'il vaudrait mieux dénommer *devoir* scientifique,—on me permettra une courte digression. Souvent les spirites, dont la conviction, profonde comme celle des apôtres, n'est pas toujours appuyée sur des preuves irréfutables, nous reprochent de ne pas oser dire tout haut ce que nous pensons tout bas ; et de mettre une prudence exagérée, presque lâche, dans nos paroles ou nos écrits. Nous aurions dans la main des trésors de choses vraies, et, par timidité, nous n'oserions pas ouvrir la main pour laisser s'envoler de par le monde ces vérités que nous détenons jalousement. Il me paraît que ce reproche est bien injuste. Nous ne sommes encore ni les uns, ni les autres, parvenus à ce degré d'ineptie. Quoi ! voici une vérité dont je suis absolument certain, et que, par je ne sais quelles enfantines craintes, je n'oserais pas énoncer ! Serions-nous assez sots pour ne pas être sûrs qu'une vérité finira toujours tôt ou tard par apparaître au grand jour et faire irruption parmi les hommes ? Vraiment non ! Si nous hésitons à raconter tel ou tel fait, à publier telle ou telle expérience, c'est qu'il nous reste encore des doutes. Car, si notre certitude était complète, nous n'hésiterions pas à parler *urbi et orbi*. Quel pauvre calcul que de ne pas oser dire la vérité, sous prétexte qu'elle va soulever des appréciations hostiles ! C'est un peu de cette manière naïve et sottise que procèdent certains gouvernements, quand ils ont reçu la nouvelle d'une défaite militaire ; ils n'osent pas la communiquer à la presse, et publient des bulletins mensongers. Cependant ils doivent bien savoir qu'un jour ou l'autre la défaite sera connue dans tous ses détails.

Si parfois on hésite à raconter des faits dont on a été témoin, ce n'est pas seulement parce qu'un doute subsiste, c'est aussi parce qu'il ne suffit pas d'avoir observé un fait

isolé pour le publier. La science n'est pas le récit d'un fait, ni même le récit de plusieurs faits. Elle est plus compliquée qu'une série d'histoires entassées l'une après l'autre. Elle demande que ces faits épars soient plus ou moins coordonnés ; avec des preuves, des démonstrations, et des répétitions qui les éclairent. Comme on a l'espoir de faire sortir les sciences psychiques de la période empirique pour les faire entrer dans la période expérimentale, on attend que l'expérimentation ait complété, et plus ou moins élucidé, un fait empirique isolé ; et souvent on est forcé d'attendre longtemps. *Experientia fallax, judicium difficile*, disait déjà Hippocrate.

En outre il est parfois certaines preuves morales, qui sont décisives pour nous, mais qui ne peuvent être considérées comme telles par le public. On pourrait citer bien de curieuses histoires, très instructives, mais qui n'ont que notre conviction personnelle pour preuve de leur valeur scientifique. Elles n'ont donc pas droit d'admission dans la science, et j'estime que provisoirement il vaut mieux ne pas les publier. Ce n'est pas par défaut de courage, ce n'est pas par déférence pour l'opinion publique, c'est par respect d'une critique scientifique très légitime. J'avoue même que, si un excellent observateur venait me citer certains faits singuliers, établis uniquement sur sa conviction intime, j'aurais peine à y ajouter foi, et je supposerais quelque déféction dans l'observation, ou quelque tromperie habile dans la production du phénomène.

Alors à quoi bon publier une expérience dont la réalité, quelque certaine qu'elle soit pour nous, ne peut être démontrée ?

Revenons maintenant à l'année 1875, et aux progrès de l'opinion en matière psychique.

Ces progrès ont été considérables : et, au risque de passer pour un flatteur, je dirai que c'est à vous qu'ils sont dus. C'est votre Société qui, dirigée par vos illustres présidents, que ce soit Fréd. Myers, ou H. Sidgwick, ou M. Arthur Balfour, ou M. Barrett, ou Sir O. Lodge, car tous ont eu part à vos travaux, a osé initier un public sceptique à des faits étranges et troublants. Le public put se rendre compte qu'on pouvait être, vis à vis des faits psychiques, aussi exigeant en démonstrations que pour les autres faits scientifiques, de chimie, de physiologie, d'astronomie. Vous avez même avec raison

pensé qu'il fallait être plus sévère encore que ne sont d'ordinaire les chimistes ou les physiologistes dans leurs démonstrations ; car, plus la chose à établir est extraordinaire, dépassant les prévisions normales, plus les preuves doivent être rigoureuses. Et alors, dans votre *Journal* et dans vos *Proceedings*, parurent des récits contrôlés exactement, toujours soumis à une critique pénétrante, desquels on pouvait tirer cette conclusion certaine que des phénomènes inexpliqués se produisent, divers, multiples, protéiformes, dépendant probablement de causes diverses, mais cependant ayant ce caractère commun de n'être pas explicables par les explications simplistes, qu'essayent de nous donner les sciences officielles classiques.

Parallèlement à votre effort, sur le continent, en France et en Italie surtout, on poursuivait méthodiquement l'étude des phénomènes semblables. Aksakoff, Ochorowicz, de Rochas, Lombroso, J. Maxwell, et bien d'autres, s'appliquaient à donner de la précision aux expériences. Mais, malgré tous les efforts de ces hommes éminents, ce serait une lourde exagération que de croire la démonstration parachevée. Pour grand que soit le labeur, il n'a pas réussi à ce point que les phénomènes psychiques sont entrés définitivement dans la science. Nous serions bien imprudents de le croire. Mais nous sommes au moins arrivés à ce résultat, qui est de première importance, qu'aujourd'hui on a le droit d'étudier ces questions sans être accusé d'aliénation mentale. Il n'y a plus ni commiseration, ni railleries, ni injures pour les psychologues qui osent aborder de front l'étude des sciences occultes. Et c'est là un réel progrès que d'avoir ouvert la voie à nos successeurs, de sorte qu'ils pourront poursuivre la recherche de la vérité sans rencontrer les obstacles qui nous ont été opposés.

Il me paraît que ce résultat n'est pas une quantité négligeable.

Mais il en est un autre, très important aussi, et sur lequel je dois maintenant insister.

Les nombreux faits, plus ou moins authentiques, plus ou moins bien observés, qui, grâce à la collaboration des amis de la psychologie disséminés dans le monde, se trouvent consignés dans les recueils de sciences psychiques, constituent une masse imposante de documents, dans lesquels on peut largement puiser pour écrire un livre qui n'a pas été écrit encore, livre qui traitera de la science psychique dans son ensemble, livre où seront mis

en valeur les liens qui unissent les divers phénomènes.¹ Ce livre de synthèse n'est pas fait : mais quelque jour il apparaîtra,

¹ La bibliographie est tellement vaste dans la science métapsychique qu'on ne saurait passer sous silence cet important chapitre négligé.

Je crois bien que pour la commodité des recherches on devrait faire usage de la classification décimale, telle que Melvil Dewey l'a proposée, et telle qu'elle a été modifiée, avec l'assentiment de M. Dewey, par l'Institut de bibliographie internationale de Bruxelles.

J'ai donné en 1902 la classification décimale de la Physiologie, et j'y ai introduit la bibliographie des sciences occultes. Elle est imprimée dans les travaux de l'Institut international de bibliographie.

Un rapide exposé va vous faire connaître la nature de cette classification.

Soit 6, Sciences appliquées. 61, Sciences appliquées à la médecine. 612, Physiologie. 612.8, Physiologie du système nerveux. 612.82, Physiologie du système nerveux central. 612.821, Physiologie psychologique. 612.821.7, Physiologie du sommeil et du somnambulisme et des phénomènes analogues, on pourra indexer sous le nombre commun 612.821.71, tout ce qui se rapportera au somnambulisme, à l'hypnotisme et aux sciences métapsychiques.

De sorte que tout ce que nous avons à étudier peut être groupé sous ce chiffre 612.821.71, qui fera rentrer la métapsychique dans le cadre général des connaissances humaines.

Ce chiffre lui-même a été subdivisé ainsi :

- 612.821.711 Théorie de l'hypnotisme.
- 612.821.712 Hypnotisme chez l'homme.
- 612.821.713 Hypnotisme chez les animaux.
- 612.821.714 Lucidité (ou métapsychique subjective).

Ce chapitre à son tour est subdivisé de la manière suivante :

- 612.821.714.1 Lucidité, ou clairvoyance.
- 612.821.714.2 Hallucinations véridiques.
- 612.821.714.3 Prémonitions.
- 612.821.714.4 Télépathie.
- 612.821.714.5 Suggestion mentale.
- 612.821.714.6 Baguette divinatoire.
- 612.821.715 Spiritisme, télékinésie et métapsychique objective.
- 612.821.715.01 Théories.
- 612.821.715.09 Histoire.
- 612.821.715.1 Mouvements sans contact et raps.
- 612.821.715.2 Apports.
- 612.821.715.3 Matérialisations.
- 612.821.715.4 Photographies.
- 612.821.715.5 Maisons hantées.
- 612.821.715.6 Ecriture directe.
- 612.821.715.7 Lévitations.
- 612.821.715.8 Biographies et monographies sur certains médiums.
- 612.821.715.9 Autres phénomènes dits occultes.
- 612.821.716 Spiritisme en général : métapsychique à la fois objective et subjective.

Il me semble bien qu'il sera avantageux pour nos recherches de mettre en

bientôt peut-être ; et ce jour là les sciences psychiques auront enfin trouvé leur *Compendium*, leur *Manuel*, leur *Traité élémentaire*. Une science n'est vraiment constituée que lorsque elle peut donner, aux étudiants et aux maîtres, un livre qui la résume et l'expose. Nous avons des centaines de *Traités*, excellents d'ailleurs, pour la chimie, la physiologie, la physique, l'algèbre, l'astronomie, la psychologie même. N'est-il pas désirable que, profitant des richesses éparses, patiemment amassées de toutes parts, quelque penseur ingénieux et sagace se dévoue à les colliger, séparant le bon grain de l'ivraie, laissant résolument de côté ce que est douteux et incomplet pour ne prendre que les faits dûment et solidement constatés ?

Je ne prétends pas que l'auteur doive remplacer, là où il y a doute, les faits incertains par des affirmations : ni proposer comme parfaites des théories incomplètes. Je dis seulement qu'en 1905, après les innombrables récits accumulés depuis trente ans sur les sciences psychiques, les matériaux d'un grand ouvrage sont préparés. Et j'ajoute que l'heure de ce livre est venue. Les temps sont murs, pour ce grand *Traité élémentaire et rationnel des sciences occultes*.

Mais, en prononçant ce mot, je m'aperçois qu'il faut donner un nom à cette nouvelle science. Ne l'appelons pas science *occulte* ; car toutes les sciences à leur début sont occultes ; elles cessent de l'être lorsque elles sont moins incertaines. L'astrologie a cessé d'être une science occulte lorsqu'elle s'est transformée en astronomie ; l'alchimie, quand elle s'est transmutée en chimie.

Je ne trouve pas que le mot de *sciences psychiques* soit très heureux ; car il est bon nombre de phénomènes pour lesquels l'explication par la $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ est insuffisante. Par exemple qu'y a-t-il de psychique dans les bruits qui se font entendre en une maison hantée ? Il vaut mieux employer un mot qui ne constitue pas déjà en lui-même une hypothèse, et une hypothèse manifestement insuffisante. En outre la psychologie classique est l'étude de l'âme humaine et de l'intelligence. Elle aurait droit, elle tête des divers mémoires ou des récits qui seront donnés, soit dans nos *Proceedings*, soit dans le *Journal*, soit dans un recueil scientifique quelconque, ces indications décimales ; car, en les classant par fiches, on aura ainsi une excellente bibliographie, qui, si l'on prend soin de se tenir au courant des choses publiées, sera rapidement abondante.

Mais je ne puis qu'effleurer le sujet ; j'espère pouvoir lui donner prochainement toute l'extension qu'il mérite.

aussi, au titre de science psychique; et cependant elle ne fait pas partie du cercle de nos études. Elle a son histoire, ses traités didactiques, ses professeurs, son enseignement, à ce point qu'on l'enseigne même dans les gymnases.

Repoussons aussi le mot de *sciences spiritiques*, plus mauvais peut-être encore que les précédents; car l'hypothèse des *esprits*, malgré sa simplicité un peu naïve, et la grande vogue qu'elle a acquise à l'heure présente, n'est pas, dans l'ensemble, recevable.

Alors je vous proposerai une expression nouvelle—avec quelque timidité, comme il convient quand on se hasarde à un néologisme—c'est celle de *sciences métapsychiques*.

Vous savez tous quelle extraordinaire fortune a eue le mot *métaphysique*. Il s'agissait, dans l'œuvre d'Aristote, de dénommer les chapitres qui suivaient les chapitres consacrés aux sciences physiques, et alors, tout naturellement ils furent appelés chapitres métaphysiques, c'est à dire suivant les chapitres de physique. De même, semble-t-il, nous pourrions à cette science nouvelle, dont nous prévoyons le rapide essor, dont nous avons déjà les premiers linéaments fragmentaires, donner le nom, en somme assez simple, de *métapsychique* (*μετά τὰ ψύχικα*). Evidemment, si cette métapsychique n'existait pas, il serait absurde de créer un mot nouveau pour une erreur. Mais je ne crois pas, malgré toutes les crédulités aveugles qui ont compromis cette science, qu'il soit possible de nier tous les faits. Et la meilleure preuve que je puisse donner de ma conviction à cet égard, c'est précisément que je propose un mot, le mot de métapsychique, pour les phénomènes qu'elle est appelée à établir.¹

Si donc vous acceptez, au moins provisoirement, le mot de *Traité de métapsychique*, pour ce livre que nous espérons,

¹ Ces lignes étaient écrites quand j'ai appris que le mot de métapsychique était moins nouveau que je ne le croyais. A l'issue de l'adresse que je présentai à la S.P.R. le 6 février 1905, M. Wincenty Lutoslawski vint me trouver et m'annoncer, à ma très grande surprise, qu'il avait appliqué le mot de métapsychique à peu près de la même manière. En effet, dans un de ses ouvrages (*Wykłady Sagiellonskie*, t. II., 1902, Krakow, XXIII.) se trouve cette phrase (qu'on traduit du polonais): "Je nomme métapsychique cette partie des recherches psychologiques qui traite des phénomènes anormaux de la conscience individuelle, phénomènes étudiés récemment, surtout par la *Soc. for Psychical Research*." Mais, comme on voit, j'ai donné une bien plus grande extension au mot Métapsychique, en comprenant sous ce terme tout ce qu'on appelait jusqu'à présent sciences occultes.

nous allons examiner quels en seraient les principaux chapitres, et comment on pourrait le concevoir. Cet exposé va nous donner l'occasion de préciser quelles sont les limites de cette science, ou plus exactement quel est pour elle le vaste champ à parcourir, presque sans limites.

III.

Vous m'excuserez des détails techniques, parfois un peu arides, dans lesquels je serai forcé d'entrer. Mais je crois que notre devoir strict est d'aborder sérieusement les choses sérieuses, et de faire, de la science qui nous occupe, autre chose qu'un divertissement littéraire.

Tout d'abord il y aura dans la métapsychique deux parties bien distinctes, encore que sur les confins, comme toujours, elles se confondent; à savoir les phénomènes purement psychiques, et les phénomènes exclusivement matériels.

Sont phénomènes purement psychiques ceux dans lesquels il ne se décèle aucune mouvement, aucune vibration de la matière. Ainsi une prémonition, un fait de télépathie, une suggestion mentale, ne supposent pas l'existence d'une force agissant sur la matière, tandis qu'un apport, des raps, une matérialisation, supposent de toute nécessité qu'alors la matière a été mue et actionnée par une force autre que les forces psychologiques attribuées à notre être. Dans les phénomènes psychiques il n'y a aucune objectivité. Tout se passe en mouvements de l'âme, en sentiments, perceptions, émotions, tandis que, dans les phénomènes matériels, l'objectivité est complète.

Au premier abord il semble que la distinction soit absolue. Nullement. Elle est très malaisée à établir dans bon nombre de cas.

Par exemple, voici une prémonition donnée par des raps. Les raps sont phénomène matériel; et je suppose que, dans le cas actuel, ces raps aient été obtenus sans contact. Au contraire la prémonition est phénomène psychique. Faudra-t-il classer cette observation dans l'un ou l'autre groupe?

De pareilles difficultés se présentent dans toutes les sciences; et il ne faut jamais concevoir nos classifications que comme des procédés analytiques, commodes pour l'enseignement et l'étude, mais ne répondant pas à la complexité des phénomènes.

Un phénomène, lorsqu'il se produit, ne se préoccupe pas de savoir s'il va rentrer dans la physique, ou la chimie, ou la psychologie, ou la mécanique. C'est un phénomène, voilà tout; et cela lui suffit. Mais pour la facilité de l'exposition nous le faisons rentrer dans les cadres plus ou moins artificiels que nous avons établis; et nous devons nous résigner d'avance à considérer notre classification comme inadéquate à la réalité des choses.

Pour en revenir à l'exemple cité, nous dirons que, dans cette prémonition par raps, il y a un double aspect au phénomène; 1°, le côté mécanique, matériel (vibrations de la table); 2°, le côté psychique, intellectuel (prémonition). L'étude des raps doit être faite à part, comme celle de tous les phénomènes matériels, en tant que phénomènes matériels. Mais un chapitre spécial dans l'étude des raps doit être consacré aux phénomènes psychiques, intelligents, qui se révèlent par le moyen des raps, et qui par conséquent leur donnent une signification psychologique.

Prenons une comparaison qui rendra plus claire cette dissociation d'un phénomène unique en apparence. Voici un message téléphonique qu'on se propose d'étudier complètement. Il faudra donc faire deux études séparées; d'abord analyser tout ce qui est la mécanique même de la transmission; l'appareil récepteur, les fils conducteurs, la vibration des plaques téléphoniques, etc. Ce sera l'étude physique du téléphone. L'étude psychologique viendra en second lieu. Il faudra alors examiner ce qui a été dit dans le message même, la portée et la signification des paroles qui ont été prononcées. Et il paraît bien qu'une distinction complète entre l'acte mécanique produit, et la signification intellectuelle, morale, de cet acte est facile à instituer.

Dans d'autres conditions encore les phénomènes psychiques et matériels sont en partie confondus. Un fait de télépathie est le plus souvent exclusivement subjectif. Toutefois, dans quelques très rares récits, il est dit que la mort d'une personne éloignée a été annoncée à plusieurs personnes à la fois, par une apparition ayant tous les caractères de l'objectivité, de sorte qu'il n'est guère possible alors de dire que le phénomène a été seulement psychique.

On pourrait multiplier les exemples, et je crois bien que

l'incertitude grandira à mesure qu'on approfondira l'étude de ces choses. Mais, au fond je ne crois pas que la difficulté soit insurmontable; et je persiste à penser que ces deux grands chapitres fondamentaux de la métapsychique peuvent être conservés (A) phénomènes matériels. (B) phénomènes non matériels.

Maintenant vous m'excuserez si, passant en revue les uns et les autres, je fais une excursion rapide dans le vaste domaine de la science qui nous intéresse. Je serai forcément très incomplet; et je ne pourrai donner qu'un résumé, très sommaire. Mais même ce résumé, trop bref, nous permettra de fixer l'état de la *Métapsychique* aujourd'hui, en 1905. Je m'imagine que, dans quelques lustres, nos petits neveux le liront avec quelque curiosité, pour rire de notre ignorance, et s'étonner de nos étonnements.

En tout cas—et je tiens à ce qu'il n'y ait sur ce point aucune méprise—le fait de mentionner tels ou tels ordres de phénomènes, et de les faire rentrer dans un cadre commode à un exposé didactique, n'implique nullement que je croie à leur réalité. Je n'en parle que pour tenter une classification d'ensemble, et nullement pour affirmer leur existence. D'ailleurs les phénomènes que je vais tenter de classer sont, pour la plupart, plus surprenants que démontrés. Et, si je me hasarde ainsi à parcourir ce vaste domaine de la science métapsychique, c'est que nulle part peut être, elle n'a été, même en résumé, traitée dans son ensemble, comme je vais témérairement essayer de la faire devant vous.

IV.

Ce qui caractérise les phénomènes matériels, c'est qu'alors des forces physiques naturelles sont mises en jeu; lumière, mouvement, vibrations sonores, forces qu'on ne peut expliquer par une émotion de la conscience: car il se produit alors évidemment un dégagement de force matérielle qui s'extériorise, qui peut être enregistrée par un appareil, et dont la réalité peut être constatée par des procédés rigoureux de contrôle.

A priori on peut admettre que ce dégagement de force n'a rien d'in vraisemblable; car les forces de la nature, connues de nous, ne sont rien à côté des forces inconnues. Nous pouvons,

et même nous devons faire ce dilemme très élémentaire. Ou nous connaissons toutes les forces de la nature : ou nous ne les connaissons pas toutes. Or l'hypothèse que toutes les forces de la nature nous sont connues est tellement absurde qu'il suffit de l'énoncer pour en établir l'absurdité. Ce qui est invraisemblable, et radicalement invraisemblable, c'est que nulle force physique n'échappe à nos sens, et qu'il n'existe pas de vibration que nos chétives sensations ne nous aient jusqu'à présent révélée.

Donc l'existence de forces inconnues agissant sur la matière est possible, vraisemblable, rationnelle. Mais le problème qui se pose n'est pas de savoir si ces forces sont possibles et vraisemblables ; car la question est jugée, et bien jugée. Il s'agit de les constater et de les démontrer d'une manière irréfutable.

La tâche paraît d'abord facile. En réalité elle est d'une difficulté extrême.

Prenons pour exemple le phénomène matériel le plus simple ; la vibration d'une table sans contact. Il semble que ce soit là vraiment le phénomène mécanique élémentaire. Un grand nombre d'observateurs, et de bons observateurs, affirment avoir été témoins de ce fait. Combien cependant cette affirmation trouve-t-elle de contradicteurs ? On oppose la supercherie, l'obscurité, le défaut d'attention, les mouvements musculaires inconscients, les craquements du bois, dus à l'humidité ou à la chaleur ; les déplacements des tendons (Schiff), et autres allégations qui sont aussi invraisemblables que le phénomène lui-même. Pourtant il y a eu, dans d'innombrables séances métapsychiques, raps, ou déplacements d'objets, ou mouvements de la table. Cela ne paraît guère douteux. Même si, en exagérant quelque peu les scrupules de la rigueur scientifique, on élimine les cas, authentiques cependant, où les séances ont eu lieu dans l'obscurité, il restera encore un bon nombre de séances, tenues en demi-lumière, ou en pleine lumière, pendant lesquelles on a entendu des vibrations dans le bois d'une table que personne ne touchait, vibrations que le hasard et l'humidité n'ont pas pu produire.

Si je n'avais pas pris le parti de rester aujourd'hui dans des généralités, je pourrais vous rapporter à ce sujet d'assez nombreuses expériences personnelles. Peut-être, quelque jour, si vous le permettez, aurai-je l'occasion de vous faire le récit de mon

expérimentation sur les raps : mais de tels protocoles d'expériences ne valent que par le détail ; et les détails à développer sont si abondants que leur exposé méthodique me mènerait beaucoup trop loin. Je me contenterai donc de vous dire que, selon moi, le phénomène des raps sans contact, toute réserve faite quant à leur cause, me paraît un fait certain.

Il est d'autant plus important à établir, ce fait, que mille faits négatifs ne prouvent rien contre un seul fait positif. Supposons qu'une seule fois, en des conditions reconnues irréprochables, il y a eu vibrations (intelligentes) dans une table, que personne ne touchait et ne pouvait toucher, c'est assez pour que le fait existe, défiant toute critique, et inattaquable. Cent mille expériences négatives ne prouveront rien contre ce fait unique, s'il a été dûment établi. Or vraiment, si nous voulions analyser ce qui a été écrit à ce sujet depuis les expériences de Sir William Crookes jusqu'à celles de J. Maxwell, pendant trente ans, dans les livres et journaux de sciences métapsychiques, nous ne serions pas embarrassés pour trouver trente ou quarante cas de raps bien nettement perçus par tous les assistants, en pleine lumière, sans contact avec la table. Probablement, dans cette réunion, il ne se trouve pas un seul auditeur, ayant assisté à quelques séances, qui n'ait eu l'occasion, au moins une fois dans sa vie, de constater dans de bonnes conditions ce phénomène, et d'être convaincu de sa réalité.

Si ces sortes de vibrations moléculaires des corps n'ont pas pris rang encore dans la science classique, c'est que la science classique est, à juste raison, très sévère, très exigeante en fait de preuves. On ne peut la blâmer de cet excès de sévérité. Mais, ce qui est moins à son honneur, c'est qu'elle s'est contentée de juger—et de nier—sans expérimenter sérieusement, de telle sorte qu'elle n'est guère qualifiée pour apprécier des faits qu'elle n'a point voulu étudier.

Au fond cette hésitation de la science ne doit pas nous surprendre ; car il faut pour l'étude de pareils phénomènes un peu plus qu'une patience ordinaire ; un peu plus même que la patience du savant, qui est proverbiale. Tout d'abord on doit se dégager des anciens préjugés, se contenter, au début, d'expériences mal faites, incertaines, que l'on peut graduellement rendre moins fautives, mais qui aux commencements se produisent dans des conditions absolument défectueuses. Et

alors il faut que le savant *dépouille le vieil homme*, comme on dit, se contente d'expériences imprécises, au début, avec la ferme volonté de les rendre peu à peu de plus en plus rigoureuses ; de sorte que, pour mener à bien cette progression, ce n'est pas moins de quinze séances, au bas mot, qui seront nécessaires. Mais combien sont-ils, les médecins, chimistes, mathématiciens, ingénieurs, qui ont pendant quinze séances expérimenté avec un vrai médium, reconnu comme tel, et qui ont formulé, à la fin, une conclusion défavorable ? S'ils ont eu le courage d'entreprendre ces expériences, ils n'ont pas eu le courage, après quelques échecs, de continuer : et leur patience a été bientôt lassée.

Quelques uns cependant ont poursuivi, sans se laisser rebuter, et alors, il faut bien le reconnaître, ils ont fini par être convaincus. L'histoire de la métapsychique est pleine de conversions de ce genre. Seulement ces conversions ne se produisent pas brusquement. Ce n'est pas la lueur fulgurante qui, en quelques secondes, éblouit pour toujours l'apôtre Paul sur le chemin de Damas. C'est une lente et progressive conquête, disputée aux doutes, aux retours en arrière, aux angoisses, aux déficiences expérimentales, aux suspicions peut-être. Je puis en parler par ma propre expérience. Cette route n'est pas un sentier de fleurs. Elle est semée de pierres, et de ronces ; et, quand on l'a parcourue, on regrette parfois de s'y être engagé, de ne pas avoir pris le parti, plus sage et plus lâche, d'accepter l'opinion commune, et de sommeiller dans la crédulité naïve et aveugle des spirites, ou dans le dédain solennel et négateur des savants, ou dans l'indifférence satisfaite et apathique de l'immense majorité du troupeau humain.

Revenons aux phénomènes matériels : et concluons qu'ils existent. Il n'y a pas là de quoi mettre en péril la science contemporaine. Déjà un premier caractère différencie ces forces matérielles métapsychiques des autres forces matérielles connues. Elles sont intelligentes. Et alors tout de suite apparaît un redoutable problème. Sont-elles humaines ou extra-humaines ?

Pour ma part, je l'avoue sans crainte, je ne vois *à priori* aucun motif scientifique pour repousser l'intervention d'êtres intelligents, autres que l'homme. L'hypothèse de puissances

intellectuelles, évoluant autour de nous, dans cette immensité mystérieuse de la nature, n'est ni invraisemblable, ni impossible. Mais ce n'est pas sur ce terrain de la possibilité ou de la vraisemblance qu'il faut placer la discussion. L'hypothèse est possible, assurément : il s'agit de savoir si elle est nécessaire.

Or jusqu'à présent cette nécessité ne me paraît pas évidente : car les limites de l'intelligence humaine, et des forces matérielles ou psychiques qu'elle dégage, n'ont pas été tracées encore. Plus on approfondit la conscience, plus on y découvre des couches profondes, inconnues de nous-mêmes ; des consciences sublimes, des personnalités secondes ; se superposant, se succédant, tour à tour, et prenant les apparences de personnalités réelles, bien distinctes de notre *moi*.

Et qui sait ce que peut produire la vibration nerveuse ? Elle produit de la chaleur et de l'électricité. Elle provoque des actions chimiques. Elle donne une forme matérielle à la pensée. Pourquoi n'agirait-elle pas sur les objets inertes ? On pourrait fournir à cet égard bien des arguments, favorables ou contraires ; mais il ne me semble pas sage d'aborder cette discussion. Il ne paraît pas que les temps soient murs encore. Avant de faire la théorie d'un fait, il faut déterminer le fait lui-même, et nous serons fidèles à la vraie méthode expérimentale, en recherchant les conditions d'un phénomène, avant de disserter sur sa cause même.

D'autant plus que le phénomène lui-même est bien loin d'être accepté universellement et reconnu par tous comme authentique. Alors à quoi bon nous perdre dans les nuages de la théorie ? Établissons solidement la réalité des faits, et nous pouvons être certains que la théorie en sera donnée un jour.

Je me suis étendu sur le phénomène des raps : car c'est le plus simple des faits matériels de la métapsychique ; mais il en est d'autres encore, nombreux et variés, plus compliqués d'ailleurs, dont il convient de faire mention.

- 1°. *Phénomènes mécaniques autres que les raps.*
- 2°. *Phénomènes lumineux.*
- 3°. *Transports d'objets à distance ou apports.*
- 4°. *Autres phénomènes objectifs.*

1°. Les phénomènes mécaniques autres que les raps sont très variés : et on peut les classer en plusieurs catégories.

(A) *Déplacements d'objets.*

De ces déplacements d'objets le plus simple paraît être celui de la *table tournante*. Des volumes ont été écrits sur ce sujet. Mais toute cette littérature ne me semble pas très démonstrative; car, dans la plupart de ces expériences, les mains touchaient la table. Or personne de vous n'ignore que des mouvements musculaires inconscients, chez des personnes de très bonne foi, peuvent produire des déplacements matériels considérables.

Pourtant il y a eu souvent des soulèvements complets de la table sans contact, ou des mouvements de la table sans contact. On pourrait faire de très probantes citations de phénomènes de ce genre; mais ce serait abuser de votre patience que d'en entreprendre l'énumération, même incomplète.

Ce ne sont pas seulement les tables qui peuvent se mouvoir. D'autres objets peuvent être déplacés, tantôt plus petits, tantôt même plus volumineux qu'une table. De sorte que, tout bien considéré, *l'extériorisation du mouvement*, suivant l'expression heureuse de mon ami A. de Rochas, paraît bien être un phénomène réel, et dûment constaté.

Pendant ne nous félicitons pas trop. Ce fait n'est pas encore reconnu par la science officielle; et des mesures précises n'ont pas été prises encore. Même, hélas! quand on a voulu l'enregistrer dans des conditions rigoureuses de contrôle, des difficultés se sont présentées, toujours renaissantes. Chaque nouvel appareil scientifique a semblé arrêter le développement des phénomènes. Les instruments méthodiques ont plus ou moins échoué, de sorte que les expérimentateurs futurs ont encore beaucoup à faire. Il s'agit de déterminer les conditions de ces mouvements à distance. Je dirais même, au risque de vous paraître quelque peu sceptique, qu'il s'agit d'en donner une démonstration plus rigoureuse que toutes celles qui ont été données jusqu'ici.

On voit tout de suite combien nous voilà loin de l'hypothèse spirite. Car, s'il était prouvé qu'il y a attraction ou répulsion des objets matériels par des forces émanant d'un médium, ce ne serait pas du tout une preuve qu'on puisse alléguer en faveur de l'existence des *esprits*.

A vrai dire, pour être équitable, il faut reconnaître que ces

phénomènes kinétiques sont bien plus marqués quand on admet, dans une séance, l'hypothèse spirite. Tout se passe comme si le médium n'était apte à dégager cette force qu'en la croyant fournie par une intelligence étrangère.

Je rappellerai ici qu'on a construit des appareils très simples, dont le principe est le suivant. Un fil de soie porte à l'une des extrémités une petite tige métallique qui se déplace sur un cadran gradué. Le tout est enfermé dans un cylindre de verre, de sorte que les mouvements de l'air ne peuvent déplacer la barrette suspendue. Cet appareil (magnétomètre de Fortin) a été employé par H. Baraduc pour déceler le soi-disant fluide vital dégagé par les divers individus, variant avec chaque personne, variant aussi suivant l'état de santé et de maladie de ces personnes. Même il paraîtrait, d'après Baraduc, que la nature morale de chaque individu serait caractérisée par un spécial déplacement angulaire de cette petite machine. J'ai à peine besoin de vous dire que les observations faites par Baraduc sont souvent enfantines, et ne donnent guère envie de s'engager dans une pareille étude. Cependant le problème mériterait de tenter les physiciens, d'autant plus qu'après tout c'est une question de physique. Quelle est la part des influences électriques, ou thermiques, que l'approche de la main exerce sur le fil de soie ? La question est assez ardue ; mais, jusqu'à ce qu'elle soit complètement élucidée, il ne sera pas permis de parler du fluide vital. Il nous faudra de bien d'autres preuves pour admettre l'existence d'une nouvelle force dans le monde.

(B) *Lévitations.*

Une autre forme, tout à fait spéciale, des actions mécaniques d'origine métapsychique, ce sont les lévitations.

Dans les vies des saints les lévitations ont été souvent racontées. Mais ces récits de miracles sont sujets à caution ; et nous devons être très réservés à ce sujet.

Toutefois, de nos jours, il est difficile de nier qu'il y a eu des lévitations authentiques. Tout en attribuant une prodigieuse habileté aux magiciens de l'Inde, on ne peut guère, en présence de certaines narrations précises, douter que quelques fakirs aient pu s'élever au dessus du sol. N'ayant rien vu d'analogue, je ne puis à cet égard émettre une

opinion qui ait quelque autorité : je constate seulement qu'on aurait le plus grand tort de ne pas examiner de très près les allégations que des témoins judicieux nous apportent. Un officier de marine français, assez sceptique, et nullement porté au mysticisme, m'affirmait récemment avoir vu un fakir s'élever de quelques centimètres, lentement, au dessus du sol ; et cela, en plein jour, sans vêtements, sur le grand chemin.

Dans la vie de Douglas Home, se trouvent aussi relatés de nombreux cas de lévitation, attestés par des témoins de moralité et d'intelligence irréprochables. On a peine à supposer qu'ils ont mal vu et mal observé un fait si facile à observer et à voir. Dira-t-on que D. Home a réussi à les tromper ainsi cinquante fois et davantage ? En vérité, s'il ne s'agissait pas d'une science expérimentale où l'expérience doit être répétable, et si le témoignage humain était suffisant, les preuves de la lévitation de D. Home seraient surabondantes.

Mais nous devons être pour la métapsychique plus sévères que pour une science historique. Nous la voulons expérimentale, non traditionnelle, et nous ne nous lasserons pas de demander l'expérience après le témoignage ; ne nous estimant satisfaits que si les conditions de la lévitation peuvent être précisées, et si cet extraordinaire phénomène peut être enregistré par des appareils scientifiques.

(C) Écriture directe.

Avec l'écriture directe, obtenue sans qu'il y ait contact entre la plume écrivante et le médium, nous avons une série de phénomènes plus étranges encore. Naturellement, si déjà il y avait quelque hésitation à affirmer la lévitation, l'incertitude est plus grande encore pour affirmer l'écriture directe. En effet, peu de médiums seraient capables de la produire ; et la fraude est relativement facile.

Il faut donc soumettre les cas observés à une critique sévère, et provoquer de nouvelles expériences.

(D) Autres phénomènes mécaniques.

(a) Maisons hantées.

Il paraît que de grands phénomènes mécaniques se produisent dans les maisons hantées. Mais l'histoire des maisons hantées est presque légendaire, et il est fort malheureux

que, malgré bien récits, bien des discussions, finalement il ne reste pas grand chose de définitivement établi. Si la solidité des preuves était en rapport avec l'intensité des bruits, rien ne serait plus certain que la hantise des maisons; car il s'y produirait des fracas effroyables. Mais il ne faut pas se laisser étourdir par tout ce tapage; et, comme pour la lévitation, comme pour l'écriture directe, nous devons dire que *sub judice lis est*.

(β) *Vibrations vocales.*

On a prétendu que parfois des voix se faisaient entendre, accessibles à plusieurs personnes, soit dans les maisons hantées, soit dans certaines séances de matérialisations.

(γ) *Empreintes; moulages, contacts.*

Le plus souvent, quand des matérialisations se produisent, ce ne sont que des phénomènes lumineux; mais on a rapporté quelques cas d'empreintes de moulages laissés par ces formes matérialisées. Malheureusement les exemples qu'on a cités n'ont rien de bien démonstratif, et, dans quelques cas, il semble bien qu'il y a eu fraude, puisqu'on a trouvé dans l'empreinte reçue les traces d'un léger tissu dont les mailles s'étaient imprimées sur l'argile.

Pendant je ne conclurai pas négativement; car dans bon nombre de cas, en des conditions bien rigoureuses, des contacts de mains ont été perçus.

S'il est vrai que des formes lumineuses se sont montrées à des expérimentateurs, il est alors tout aussi vrai que ces formes pouvaient exercer une action mécanique extérieure. La même force qui a produit une lumière peut tout aussi bien exercer une action mécanique de contact. En fait, beaucoup de spirites affirment avoir touché les mains de ces fantômes, et dans les récits de séances il est souvent question de mains, grandes ou petites, chaudes ou froides, avec bagues ou sans bagues, sèches ou humides. Je me doute bien qu'il y a dans ces récits imagés une grande part d'illusion, et je sais qu'il est très difficile d'être absolument sur que les mains du médium sont solidement tenues de manière à éviter toute fraude. Mais, quand on est bien averti qu'une fraude est possible, on prend toutes les mesures nécessaires, de sorte que tout n'est pas erroné peut-être. Donc,

fidèle à mon principe d'être aussi réservé dans la négative que dans l'affirmative, je ne prétendrai pas que des actions mécaniques ne puissent être exercées par des forces ayant apparence humaine. Si elles ont revêtu les formes et les mouvements d'un homme qui vit, pourquoi n'exerceraient-elles pas les mêmes forces mécaniques que l'homme vivant ?

Ces différentes manifestations de forces occultes (que nous appellerons maintenant, si vous m'y autorisez, métapsychiques), sont peut-être sans relation entre elles. Nous les groupons provisoirement sous la dénomination commune de forces mécaniques. Mais il n'est pas certain qu'elles relèvent de la même cause. C'est par ignorance peut-être que nous les rangeons dans un même chapitre : et l'avenir peut fort bien nous prouver qu'elles sont profondément dissemblables, et sans lien réciproque.

2°. La second groupe des phénomènes matériels comprend les phénomènes lumineux ; c'est à dire la production de lumières, de lueurs, de fantômes. En procédant du simple au compliqué, nous avons successivement :

1°. Lumières et lueurs informes.

2°. Formes lumineuses, plus ou moins distinctes.

3°. Formes lumineuses bien distinctes, et matérialisations complètes.

Pour se rendre compte de l'extrême difficulté à émettre une affirmation ou une négation formelles, je me contenterai de rappeler l'étonnante histoire des rayons N.

Il y a peu d'années un savant physicien de Nancy, le professeur Blondlot, découvrit que divers corps émettent des rayons qui diffèrent des rayons électriques ou thermiques ; et il appela rayons N ces nouvelles vibrations. Il put même en donner les constantes physiques et les longueurs d'onde. Puis, poursuivant ses recherches, il montra que ces rayons ont la propriété de renforcer la luminosité du sulfure de calcium. Avec d'éminents collaborateurs, M. Charpentier, M. Bichat, M. Meyer, professeurs à Nancy, il fut amené à constater que les centres nerveux, et les muscles (quand ils se contractent), dégagent des rayons N ; car une plaque recouverte de sulfure de calcium devient avec plus d'intensité phosphorescente quand on l'approche du cœur, ou de la tête ; de sorte que tout phénomène vital, une pensée, comme une contraction musculaire, serait une source de rayons N.

Voilà donc des phénomènes constatés par des physiciens et des physiologistes dans des conditions d'expérimentation qui paraissent faciles, puisque il n'est pas besoin des complications qu'exige toute séance de métapsychique, et que la présence d'un médium n'est pas nécessaire. Eh bien ! malgré cette facilité apparente, la preuve des rayons N n'a pu être donnée encore. Et des savants distingués doutent de leur existence. Il est possible que les rayons N n'existent pas, même dans les objets inanimés, là où M. Blondlot avait cru les trouver, de sorte que le monde des physiciens connaît maintenant les angoisses d'incertitude qui avaient semblé jusque là réservées aux seuls adeptes des sciences occultes ; et qu'il se partage en deux groupes : celui qui croit à l'existence des rayons N, et celui qui n'y croit pas.

On multiplie les expériences, on accumule les preuves, on prend des photographies de l'étincelle électrique, du sulfure de calcium phosphorescent, et cependant le doute subsiste encore. Les journaux scientifiques sont remplis de discussions qui s'engagent sur un phénomène dont la constatation se présente comme très simple ; et finalement ces rayons N sont si vigoureusement et universellement contestés que même ceux qui avaient eu d'abord le plus de confiance dans les affirmations de M. Blondlot sont forcés de suspendre leur jugement et d'attendre ; encore que, selon toute vraisemblance, M. Blondlot n'ait pas commis cette colossale erreur.

Cet exemple est bon à méditer ; car il nous prouvera à quel point un fait nouveau est parfois difficile à établir quand les méthodes d'investigation et de contrôle sont incertaines.

Si les hésitations sont telles pour un fait d'ordre purement physique, comme la phosphorescence du sulfure de calcium par l'action des rayons N, combien ne sont-elles pas plus légitimes encore quand il s'agit d'affirmer l'existence de lumières, de vapeurs lumineuses, de formes matérialisées ? Tout concourt à entourer l'expérience de mystère. D'abord le phénomène ne peut être provoqué que par un petit nombre de personnes. Rares sont les médiums ; plus rares encore les médiums qui donnent des matérialisations. On ne peut ni les toucher ; ni s'approcher d'eux ; ni déranger le cours de l'expérimentation par de brusques contrôles. Une demi lumière est indispensable, parfois même l'obscurité.

Toute modification du plan préparé arrête la manifestation attendue. Le médium s'épuise vite, et l'expérience ne peut se refaire qu'à d'assez longs intervalles.

Il semble, à voir toutes ces complications, que l'étude des rayons N ne soit que jeu d'enfant, à côté de l'étude des lumières et des fantômes.

Vous ne serez donc pas surpris si, malgré les éclatantes affirmations d'observateurs sagaces et dignes de foi, malgré une abondante série de preuves, que les journaux spirites ont accumulées, nous pensons que notre jugement doit être réservé.

Mais cette réserve peut s'interpréter de deux manières bien différentes; et en effet deux observateurs, ayant une opinion diamétralement opposée, peuvent, s'ils sont sages, rester l'un et l'autre dans la même réserve. Même c'est leur devoir à tous deux de réserver leur jugement. Le premier croit que le phénomène existe; que les preuves sont nettes, que les phénomènes observés sont convaincants; le second, au contraire, pense que la supercherie et l'illusion jouent le principal rôle dans ce qu'il a vu ou cru voir, comme dans les récits qui lui ont été rapportés. Et alors ces deux hommes, que je suppose sages l'un et l'autre, reconnaîtront, l'un qu'une affirmation absolue est quelque peu téméraire; l'autre, qu'une négation formelle est impossible, sans nouvelles expérimentations.

Pour ma part, si vous me permettez d'indiquer l'opinion vers laquelle je penche, je serais tenté de croire à la réalité de ces formes lumineuses, de ces lueurs, de ces matérialisations. Car j'hésite à prétendre que ce qui a été vu et décrit par R. Wallace, par William Crookes, par O. Lodge, par A. de Rochas, par bien d'autres encore, tout cela ne fut que supercherie, fraude et illusion. Et d'autre part j'ai cru voir dans de bonnes conditions, en des séances—dont le détail ne peut être donné ici—des phénomènes analogues. Voilà pour quoi, en présence de ces faits, ma réserve—et une réserve dont je tiens à faire ici la formelle affirmation—est plutôt une réserve favorable.

Assurément la production de forces lumineuses, de fantômes, de formes matérialisées, n'est pas de certitude aussi grande que la composition de l'ammoniaque, ou la loi des oscillations du pendule; mais il me faudrait une bien désespérante série d'expériences négatives pour me forcer à rejeter comme

légendaires et définitivement erronés les phénomènes lumineux objectifs de la métapsychique.

D'ailleurs qu'importe ? Qu'on y croie ou qu'on n'y croie pas, au fond la conclusion doit être la même ; c'est que de nouvelles expériences sont nécessaires. Même les sciences qui semblent achevées sont dans un état de perpétuelle évolution qui nécessite sans cesse de nouvelles recherches. A plus forte raison alors pour les sciences à peine nées, embryonnaires encore, comme la nôtre, où tout est inconnu, méthodes et fins dernières ; où toute affirmation des faits les plus simples est à la fois téméraire et incertaine.

Avant de terminer ces courtes paroles relatives aux apparitions fantomatiques, il faut tenter de distinguer ce qui en elles est objectif et ce qui est subjectif. Dans le chapitre consacré aux faits matériels, nous n'avons pas fait allusion à ce que vous avez, avec Fr. Myers, appelé *hallucinations véridiques*. Car dans ce cas il est probable que nul phénomène matériel, dans le sens vulgaire du mot matériel, ne s'extériorise. La perception, à distance, d'une mort ou d'un danger, ou d'un événement, se traduit dans l'esprit du *voyant* par un phénomène visuel. Il croit voir ou entendre quelqu'un ou quelque chose. Mais probablement c'est par la pensée qu'il voit, de sorte qu'il symbolise sa pensée en une forme matérielle extérieure. Aussi les cas, nombreux et authentiques, où une vision véridique a été constatée, ne doivent ils pas être classés parmi les phénomènes matériels. Il faut, pour parler de leur matérialité, que l'apparition (ou la lumière) soit perçue par plusieurs personnes, ou qu'elle ait déplacé des objets, ou qu'elle ait impressionné une plaque photographique.

Puisque je prononce le mot de photographie, il me semble que c'est à obtenir des photographies irréprochables que nous devons tendre. De même que M. Blondlot et M. Charpentier l'essayent en ce moment pour les rayons N, de même nous devons pour les matérialisations faire tous nos efforts afin d'en obtenir des images, qui soient le souvenir indélébile et le témoignage impérissable du phénomène. Je ne sais vraiment pas pourquoi, maintenant que la photographie est à la portée du premier écolier venu, les expérimentateurs n'emploient pas davantage ce procédé de contrôle, qui est si simple, et qui entraînerait la conviction.

Si nous possédions vraiment quelques photographies prises dans des conditions de certitude absolue, toute discussion deviendrait inutile, et la preuve serait faite. Mais, par malheur, jusqu'à présent, ces photographies irrécusables n'existent pas. Peut-être en est-il qui n'ont pas été publiées encore; mais, s'il faut se contenter de celles qui ont paru dans les livres, journaux et revues, elles n'entraînent pas la conviction.

Il est d'ailleurs assez remarquable que les images photographiques de fantômes—je ne parle que de celles qui ont été publiées—prêtent largement à la critique; car les personnages ont des apparences de mannequins ou de poupées; de sorte que c'est pour le public qui les regarde un sujet de facile raillerie. Mais cette apparence de fraude ne me touche guère, et ce n'est pas là dessus que porteront mes objections. J'admets fort bien qu'une matérialisation ne puisse revêtir nettement les apparences d'un être vivant, et qu'elle ait forme de poupée; car, en vérité, nous ne savons rien des conditions dans lesquelles un fantôme apparait sur une plaque photographique. Donc, si la photographie a été prise sur une plaque marquée à l'avance, si cette plaque a été développée par l'expérimentateur lui-même, savant de bonne foi incontestée, sans que cette plaque ait jamais, pendant un seul instant, quitté ses mains, alors, sans que cela me trouble beaucoup, j'accorderai à l'image fantomatique toutes les apparences qu'on voudra, de poupée ou de mannequin, à condition, bien entendu, qu'on puisse plusieurs fois répéter cette expérience. Mais précisément le manuel opératoire de ces photographies spirites est confié à des praticiens peu scrupuleux, et ils ont toutes facilités pour faire les manipulations nécessaires à la production d'une image parasite juxtaposée au personnage principal.

Puisque notre Société, dont l'autorité est si grande, a des ressources notables, il me paraît que c'est surtout vers des constatations photographiques que nous devrions diriger nos efforts. Après tout le métier de photographe n'a rien de bien difficile, quand on ne cherche pas à obtenir des chefs d'œuvre artistiques, mais seulement un contrôle documentaire, permanent, de ce que nos yeux ont rapidement perçu. Donc, chaque fois qu'un cas nous est signalé où il y a eu des lumières, des apparences lumineuses, des matérialisations visibles à tous, il faudrait aussitôt en recueillir la photographie, et cela

avec toutes les précautions nécessaires pour que pas un doute ne puisse s'élever sur l'authenticité de la plaque.

Si la certitude expérimentale est absolue, peu nous importera alors que l'image soit dramatique ou non : il suffira qu'une tache blanche quelconque, non imputable à une erreur de technique, apparaisse sur la plaque ; car c'est une question d'intérêt secondaire que d'obtenir des formes ayant apparences humaines. Nous devons borner nos désirs à de plus modestes constatations : une lumière, si vague qu'elle soit, nous suffira, pourvu que ne soient pas vagues les conditions dans lesquelles elle a été recueillie et fixée. Ce ne sont pas les phénomènes les plus extraordinaires et les plus compliqués que nous devons rechercher ; mais ceux qui sont le plus rigoureusement observés. Notre grand effort doit tendre à obtenir des faits, élémentaires peut-être, mais des faits auxquels on ne puisse rien reprocher.

Si les photographies authentiques ne sont pas plus abondantes, c'est probablement parce qu'on n'a pas daigné, bien à tort, essayer d'enregistrer de simples stries lumineuses. On a voulu probablement attendre que ces lueurs aient pris l'apparence d'une personne humaine. Car on avait toujours l'espoir que cette image humaine, reproduite par la photographie, serait une preuve de la survivance. Mais j'oserai dire qu'il faut reléguer au second et même au troisième plan ces aspirations, d'ordre non scientifique, vers la survivance de la personnalité humaine. Attachons nous seulement à ceci, qui est probable, quoique encore contestable ; qu'autour de certains rares médiums, dans des conditions particulières, il se forme des vibrations lumineuses, que la rétine humaine peut percevoir, et que la plaque photographique peut enregistrer.

Plus tard il ne sera pas interdit d'aller plus loin, et ce n'est pas moi qui conseillerai la timidité aux expérimentateurs. Mais la sagesse conseille de commencer par le commencement. Quand on construit un édifice, on se préoccupe d'abord de lui donner des bases solides, et on ne va pas mettre de décorations au chapiteau et au fronton, quand les assises mêmes, sur lesquelles repose le temple, sont encore branlantes.

Nous concluons donc que, pour tous ces phénomènes lumineux, ces fantômes, ces apparitions, il faut, de parti pris, abandonner les récits sensationnels, et faire comme les physiciens

devant un difficile problème de physique ; c'est à dire s'occuper de ce qui est simple, éliminer les causes d'erreur et les complications, ramener le problème à sa forme élémentaire.

Y a-t-il, par la force que dégagent les médiums, production de vibrations lumineuses ? Si oui, on peut le constater par la photographie, et la voie de la recherche à suivre est tout indiquée.

3°. Un des plus curieux chapitres à écrire sur les phénomènes matériels, c'est celui qui a trait aux apports, transports, pénétrations de la matière. Je ne vois aucune impossibilité à de pareils faits. Les récentes et troublantes expériences relatives au radium nous prouvent que le vieux dogme de l'incrédibilité de la matière est peut-être erroné, de sorte que je ne me refuse nullement à priori à admettre que des apports puissent exister.

Mais de là à conclure qu'ils existent, il y a loin, et je ne crois pas être trop timide en disant que tout ce chapitre de la métapsychique matérielle (mutations et transports de la matière) est l'incertitude même.

Dans les phénomènes objectifs nous devons faire rentrer encore :

4°. Les odeurs intenses survenant immédiatement, comme il en est souvent cité dans les expériences de Home ou de Stainton Moses.

5°. L'action des fluides vitaux (?) ou des passes magnétiques, ou de l'aimant, sur les organismes sains et normaux.

Par ces côtés la science métapsychique est aux confins de la physiologie même, mais d'une physiologie bien incertaine encore. Une expérience—plus extraordinaire peut-être que tous les récits les plus extraordinaires—est racontée par Home. Il pouvait prendre dans sa main, et sans se brûler, un charbon incandescent. Que faut-il penser de ce fait prodigieux ?

L'aimant exerce-t-il une action sur les organismes, comme l'a prétendu Reichenbach ?

Les phénomènes d'extase, d'hibernation humaine ; les ensevelissements de fakirs par exemple, sont-ils réels ou apocryphes ?

Et quant à l'action sur l'évolution des maladies, il a été dit, que, même en dehors de toute suggestion, il y a influence du *fluide magnétique* humain sur les organismes vivants.

Ainsi, par exemple, on aurait guéri de très jeunes enfants par l'imposition des mains.

Tout cela n'est que l'indication des chapitres qu'on aurait à écrire; et n'implique nullement l'opinion que les phénomènes sont réels. Je veux dire seulement qu'ils méritent l'étude. Je ne prétends pas qu'ils soient vrais; je dis seulement qu'ils peuvent l'être; car il faut se méfier des négations *à priori*, et, si extraordinaire que nous semble l'influence d'un médium ou d'un magnétiseur sur l'évolution d'un phénomène morbide, il serait téméraire d'assurer que cette influence est impossible.

V.

Tels sont à peu près, si je ne me trompe, les principaux phénomènes objectifs de notre science. Nous arrivons à la seconde partie; c'est à dire à la métapsychique subjective.

Ici les méthodes doivent être toutes différentes, car il ne s'agit plus de constater des phénomènes matériels, mais bien des faits psychologiques.

Un parallélisme intéressant se présente tout de suite entre ce qui est subjectif et ce qui est objectif. De même que nous avons fait rentrer, par définition même, dans la métapsychique objective, les faits que les forces physiques actuellement connues et classées ne peuvent expliquer, de même vont ressortir de la métapsychique subjective tous les phénomènes de connaissance que nos procédés ordinaires de connaissance ne permettent pas d'expliquer.

Les connaissances de l'homme dérivent de sensations et de raisonnements. Nous sommes par nos sens en relation avec le monde extérieur; nous pouvons à la suite de ces sensations conclure, raisonner, induire, déduire; et nulle connaissance du monde extérieur ne peut, d'après la science classique, dériver d'autres procédés d'information.

Par exemple je puis connaître la mort de Pierre, parce que je la vois, ou parce qu'on me la raconte; ou encore parce que, le sachant très malade hier, je peux conclure avec presque certitude qu'aujourd'hui il est mort. La connaissance que j'ai de la mort de Pierre sera un phénomène mental simple, que des sensations ou des déductions rationnelles expliquent d'une manière adéquate. Mais, si, ayant laissé tout à l'heure

Pierre en parfait état de santé, sans qu'aucun danger le menace, et me trouvant trop loin pour le voir ou l'entendre, je viens tout à coup à affirmer que Pierre est mort, au moment même où il est frappé par un coup imprévu, alors il s'agira d'un phénomène de métapsychique ; puisque aucune sensation, aucun raisonnement ne pourront expliquer la connaissance de ce fait.

Nous définirons donc les phénomènes métapsychiques subjectifs, des connaissances *qui ont d'autres origines que nos perceptions et nos raisonnements ordinaires.*

Si j'insiste sur ces définitions, c'est que souvent des confusions s'établissent, dont le point de départ est une incertitude dans la définition même. Pascal, qui s'y connaissait, déclarait que la science est une langue bien faite. Il est donc bien important de préciser tous les termes qu'on emploie.

Alors cela nous conduit tout de suite à discuter ce point fondamental. Existe-t-il pour l'intelligence humaine des connaissances ayant d'autres origines que nos perceptions et nos sensations ? Toute la question est là, et, si nous répondons par l'affirmative, il s'ensuivra qu'il y a une métapsychique d'ordre subjectif.

Il est vrai qu'on parle souvent du hasard, comme jouant un grand rôle dans ces soi-disant connaissances. Mais je crains fort que les sceptiques, qui, lorsque nous leur racontons une expérience, viennent nous objecter qu'elle est due à un hasard heureux, n'aient guère réfléchi sur le hasard et le calcul des probabilités.

Je tiens à discuter ici, très brièvement, cette influence du hasard ; car on le fait intervenir à tort et à travers, et on s'abandonne à bien des fantaisies, dès qu'on parle des probabilités.

Quand un chimiste fait une pesée, il ne songe jamais que le hasard a pu lui donner le chiffre qu'il obtient. Assurément il a pu se tromper en comptant les poids qui sont sur la balance ; ou il a eu affaire à un produit impur ; ou il s'est servi d'une balance défectueuse ; en un mot il a pu faire une mauvaise expérience, mais ce n'est jamais par hasard que tel ou tel chiffre a été trouvé. Et alors notre chimiste ne se préoccupe pas du hasard, et il a raison ; car, à trouver un nombre qui est seulement de trois chiffres, la probabilité

d'avoir tel chiffre plutôt qu'un autre par le fait du hasard est de $\frac{1}{1000}$, c'est à dire tout à fait négligeable.

Que, dans une expérience de *lucidité*, ou de *télépathie*, avec un jeu de cartes; on dise une première fois la carte pensée; la probabilité est de $\frac{1}{52}$. Certes le hasard peut donner ce chiffre; mais que deux fois de suite la carte pensée soit indiquée, alors la probabilité devient très faible $\frac{1}{2704}$; et, quoique le hasard puisse encore donner ce chiffre, *il ne le donne pas*.

Implicitement on reconnaît cela, quand on n'est pas aveuglé par le désir de trouver un défaut à des expériences irréprochables; car, dans la pratique quotidienne de la vie, on ne fait jamais intervenir ces probabilités faibles. Si vous jouez à l'écarté avec un individu qui quatre fois de suite retourne le roi, vous serez tenté de supposer qu'il triche; car la probabilité $\frac{1}{4096}$ de retourner le roi quatre fois de suite est très faible.

Donc quand, dans des expériences de typtologie, un nom est obtenu, le nom de Marguerite par exemple, même si l'on ne tient compte que des quatre premières lettres, la probabilité d'avoir *Marg.* . . est de $\frac{1}{256}$ soit $\frac{1}{390.625}$; c'est à dire extrêmement faible. Si, jouant à l'écarté, vous avez devant vous un adversaire qui retourne le roi six fois de suite, vous serez tenté de quitter la partie, bien persuadé que ce n'est pas le hasard qui lui a fait avec cette persistance obtenir l'heureuse carte, qui le fait gagner.

La probabilité, pour chacun de nous, de n'être plus vivant dans deux heures est moindre que la probabilité d'obtenir le mot de Marguerite en tirant au hasard les lettres de l'alphabet. Et cependant nous passons notre existence à supposer que nous serons encore vivants dans deux heures: et nous avons raison.

C'est pour ne pas avoir suffisamment réfléchi à ces problèmes qu'on objecte le hasard. Résolument je repousse cette objection, car elle n'est fondée sur rien, et elle est contraire à toute la tradition scientifique. Objectez, si vous voulez, les défauts de l'expérience—et vous aurez, hélas! presque toujours raison—mais ne parlez pas de hasard; car pour un expérimentateur il n'y a pas de hasard.

Ce n'est pas le hasard qui rend incertaines nos expériences de métapsychique subjective; c'est notre defectueuse méthode d'expérimentation, car nous ne savons pas tenir compte suffi-

samment d'un phénomène psychologique d'essentielle importance, trop souvent méconnu, la mémoire inconsciente.

Il y a eu de ce fait tant de graves erreurs qu'il convient de nous expliquer formellement à cet égard.

Autrefois la mémoire était considérée comme une faculté intellectuelle très simple. Il est des faits dont on se souvient, d'autres dont on ne se souvient pas : par conséquent la limite est nettement tracée entre les réminiscences et les créations mentales. D'un côté, des choses que l'on a connues et qui reparaissent : de l'autre des choses que l'on ignore, et qu'on construit par l'imagination et le raisonnement.

Mais l'étude approfondie de l'hypnotisme a eu, entre autres, ce précieux avantage de nous faire connaître toute une série de phénomènes bien singuliers sur la mémoire, et de nous révéler que la mémoire est une faculté *implacable* de notre intelligence ; car aucune de nos perceptions n'est jamais oubliée.

Dès qu'un fait a frappé nos sens, alors, de manière irrémédiable, il se fixe dans la mémoire. Peu importe qu'il puisse être évoqué à notre gré : peu importe que nous ayons gardé la conscience de ce souvenir ; il existe, il est indélébile. Il va s'unir et se combiner à d'autres perceptions également inconscientes ; et il peut, dans certains états mentaux particuliers, reparaître en son intégrité, alors que, s'il fallait en croire le témoignage de notre conscience, toute trace semble en avoir à jamais disparu. Mais non ! Il n'a pas disparu. Il dort en nous, complètement ignoré de nous.

En un mot, *la conscience oublie souvent ; l'intelligence n'oublie jamais.*

Cette mémoire inconsciente, subliminale, pour employer l'heureux mot de Fréd. Myers, est toujours éveillée, attentive, perspicace. Elle se mêle à tous nos sentiments, à toutes nos volontés, à tous nos actes ; elle agit, pense, raisonne ; elle constitue un véritable *moi*, mais un *moi* inconscient, qui a, sur le *moi* conscient, cet avantage inappréciable de ne jamais laisser perdre la plus petite parcelle de ce que les choses et les hommes, dans le cours de notre existence, nous ont apporté.

On voit combien sont graves les conséquences de cette persistance des souvenirs. Nous avons tous, les uns et les autres, — surtout ceux dont la vie est déjà à son déclin—lu, vu,

entendu, tant et tant de choses qu'il est impossible, malgré la sûreté de notre mémoire, d'affirmer que nous n'avons pas à tel ou tel moment lu telle phrase, entendu telle parole, assisté à tel évènement. Aussi peut-on, en parfaite bonne foi, certifier que ce que nous pensons, en ce moment même, est une création mentale, et non un souvenir ; car non seulement nous ignorons l'avoir su, mais même nous ne comprenons pas comment nous avons pu le savoir. Si nous pouvions contempler cet immense amas de souvenirs dont notre mémoire inconsciente est la vigilante gardienne, nous serions véritablement stupéfaits ; car nous trouverions, dans ces images qui ont fixé tout le passé de notre existence, des trésors absolument ignorés.

Aussi bien les phénomènes de soi-disant lucidité ne sont ils souvent que des souvenirs ; et, quoique la personne lucide affirme, en toute sincérité, et avec tout l'énergie d'une bonne foi ardente, qu'elle ne savait rien, ce n'est pas assez pour que nous affirmions sa lucidité. Il faut que la preuve nous soit donnée qu'il lui a été absolument impossible d'avoir jamais rien su du fait qu'elle affirme. Ignorer aujourd'hui n'est rien ; il faut prouver qu'on a toujours ignoré. Si l'on était plus sévère à constater cette impossibilité d'avoir su autrefois, on éliminerait beaucoup de phénomènes, de merveilleuse apparence, explicables très simplement par la réviviscence de souvenirs que la conscience avait totalement oubliés.

Bien entendu, en établissant cette discussion, je ne prétends rien dire qui ne soit parfaitement connu de tous les psychologues. Ce sont même des vérités très banales ; mais dans l'interprétation des faits de lucidité, on les a négligées si souvent qu'il faut insister sans cesse sur cette cause d'erreur.

Abordons maintenant la classification des phénomènes subjectifs. Nous les envisagerons en eux-mêmes, sans rechercher quel a été leur mode de production, sans nous demander s'ils dérivent ou non de phénomènes matériels. Certes, quand un phénomène matériel, tel que les *raps*, est la cause immédiate d'un beau phénomène psychique de lucidité, l'expérience est doublement intéressante ; mais l'analyse scientifique doit dissocier ce phénomène unique, et examiner séparément la matérialité des vibrations mécaniques (*raps*), et le sens des paroles prononcées (message).

C'est ce dernier point seulement que nous étudierons à

présent, puisque plus haut nous avons examiné le côté objectif et matériel des phénomènes.

Il me paraît que tous les phénomènes subjectifs peuvent recevoir la classification suivante :

- (1) *Lucidité*, c'est à dire connaissance de faits que les procédés ordinaires de connaissance n'ont pas pu apporter.
- (2) *Personnification*, c'est à dire affirmation d'une personnalité autre que celle du médium, et avec des caractères véridiques, que ni la perspicacité ni les souvenirs antérieurs ne peuvent donner.
- (3) *Langages étrangers*, totalement inconnus.
- (4) *Prémonitions*.

Je passerai en revue ces divers phénomènes.

(1) *Lucidité.*

La lucidité—ou clairvoyance—est le phénomène subjectif élémentaire. A ce titre elle mérite toute notre attention. On peut même dire que tous les phénomènes subjectifs, quels qu'ils soient, pourraient être compris sous le nom générique de lucidité.

Nous diviserons la lucidité en deux classes qui parfois se confondent, parfois se dissocient. A. *La lucidité télépathique.*
B. *La lucidité non télépathique.*

La lucidité télépathique, c'est ce qu'on appelle souvent la transmission ou la suggestion mentale; autrement dit la connaissance plus ou moins nette par la conscience A des émotions d'une conscience voisine B, sans qu'il y ait évidemment de phénomène extérieur appréciable qui puisse révéler à A l'émotion de B.

Au contraire la lucidité non télépathique s'exerce sur des choses inconnues de toute personne vivante, de sorte que la conscience A a connaissance de faits qu'aucun homme ne peut connaître.

Chacune de ces deux variétés de lucidité peut se produire expérimentalement ou fortuitement.

Mais—ce qui est assurément très malheureux—la lucidité expérimentale est un chapitre beaucoup plus court et beaucoup plus incomplet que la lucidité fortuite, occasionnelle.

Evidemment je laisse de côté ces soi-disant expériences de transmission mentale dans lesquelles il y avait contact :

comme dans le jeu du *Willing game*, si répandu dans les salons, qui a passé dans les séances de cirque et de café concert, où un individu très naïf tient la main du soi-disant lucide. Dans ces cas, soit le contact de la main, soit la manière de marcher, de respirer, de s'arrêter, soit les interpellations et les physiologies des spectateurs, dirigent la sagacité du voyant bien suffisamment pour qu'il soit inutile d'admettre autre chose qu'une habile interprétation des mouvements inconscients.¹ Pour qu'il y ait vraiment lucidité, il faut que nul phénomène extérieur ne se produise, qui puisse renseigner l'opérateur. Par conséquent il ne faut pas qu'il y ait contact. S'il y a contact, tout devient incertain, et je récusé formellement toutes les expériences faites devant un auditoire crédule et ignorant, disposé par avance à admettre les balivernes qu'on va lui présenter.

Aussi, en éliminant ces très nombreuses et très peu démonstratives expériences, ne restera-t-il que quelques rares comptes rendus où la lucidité expérimentale a pu être tant bien que mal établie.

C'est peu. C'est trop peu ! Donc nous devrions faire tous nos efforts pour combler cette grave lacune, car la certitude expérimentale est d'un ordre plus élevé que la certitude empirique, et, tant que la lucidité ne sera pas établie par une assez longue série d'expériences méthodiques, rigoureuses, devant des observateurs qui gardent un silence et une impassibilité absolues, la lucidité restera un phénomène contestable.

Si la lucidité expérimentale est incertaine, d'autre part la lucidité empiriquement constatée paraît solidement établie. Mais il me paraît ici nécessaire de préciser en quoi l'empirisme diffère de l'expérimentation.

Prenons l'exemple de la lucidité se révélant par le moyen de l'écriture automatique. On sait que certains sujets peuvent écrire des mots, des phrases, parfois même de longues pages, sans avoir aucune conscience de ce qu'ils écrivent. Or deux cas peuvent se présenter : dans le premier cas une demande est faite par les assistants. Ce sera par exemple la question suivante : *quel est le frère de Marguerite ?* Si une réponse est donnée alors par écriture automatique, ce sera un cas de lucidité expérimentale.

¹ Il y a sur ce chapitre intéressant de physiologie psychologique toute une littérature abondante qu'il est inutile de mentionner ici.

Dans l'autre cas au contraire on laisse le médium écrire ce qu'il veut, sans lui rien demander, et il écrit. *Robert est le frère de Marguerite.* C'est de la lucidité empirique, car il ne s'agit pas de donner une réponse à une question posée ; mais bien de dire, sans question posée à l'avance, quelque chose qui est conforme à la vérité, (et ne peut être connu par les voies ordinaires de la connaissance).

Or le plus souvent la réponse à une question demandée, question qui exige une réponse précise, n'est pas donnée. Le plus souvent le médium écrit, par l'écriture automatique, des phrases qui témoignent peut-être de sa clairvoyance, mais qui portent sur les matières qu'il a choisies lui-même, et ne répondent nullement aux questions qui lui ont été adressés.

Assurément, dans un examen, un professeur ne se contenterait pas de ces procédés évasifs. Un étudiant, à qui l'on demande : *que savez-vous de l'hydrogène ?* doit répondre sur l'hydrogène. Et les juges seraient mal disposés pour lui, s'il leur parlait alors des combinaisons du mercure. Mais il faut probablement traiter les médiums autrement que des candidats qu'on interroge. Certains écrits automatiques, quoique ne répondant pas aux questions qui ont été faites, fournissent des témoignages éclatants de lucidité. On demande : *quel est le frère de Marguerite ?* Si le médium répond : *le grand père de Marguerite s'appelait Simon* ; ce peut être encore une très bonne preuve de lucidité au cas où l'on réussit à prouver que le nom du grand père de Marguerite a été en toute certitude absolument inconnu du médium. Mais, dans ces cas de réponse évasive, il faut toujours exercer une perspicacité vigilante ; car la conscience subliminale, si elle peut choisir l'objet de sa lucidité, va inventer des supercheries qui peuvent prendre une extension redoutable.

L'analyse approfondie devient alors d'une difficulté extrême ; et toute règle générale est inapplicable. Chaque cas va exiger une étude minutieuse, détaillée, sagace, pénétrante, et c'est en désespoir de cause, après avoir bien établi l'impossibilité d'une acquisition par les voies connues, qu'il faudra se résigner à admettre la clairvoyance.

Combien mille fois serait préférable une expérience faite avec un simple jeu des cartes ? mais il semble, hélas ! que les médiums—on les forces intelligentes qui les animent—aient

peu de sympathie pour des expériences aussi abstraites que des probabilités mathématiques. Les phénomènes émotionnels les inspirent davantage.

Même ce ne sont pas seulement les médiums, c'est encore le public, le commun du vulgaire, qui est coupable, car il est frappé par des expériences dramatiques, plus que par des expériences algébriques. La lucidité qui fera dire exactement la valeur d'une carte d'un jeu de 52 cartes, est plus démonstrative, au point de vue rigoureux de la science, que la soi-disant lucidité qui fera dire le nom de la maladie dont est mort le père de mon grand père il y a soixante ans. Pourtant l'émotion sera plus grande, et la conviction plus forte, si un médium nous dit qu'il y a 60 ans le père de notre grand père est mort d'une fluxion de poitrine, que si nous prenons sur 52 cartes une carte au hasard—un trois de pique, par exemple—et que ce même médium nous dise : c'est un trois de pique que vous avez pris.

Il me semble toutefois que les savants devraient être d'une mentalité un peu différente de la mentalité vulgaire, et je me permets de vous exhorter à tenter, plus souvent que cela n'a été fait, et en dépit des médiums eux-mêmes, ces expériences de lucidité expérimentale abstraite.

De fait, à mesure que les phénomènes émotionnels sont plus intenses, plus dramatiques, si je puis dire, les cas de lucidité deviennent plus abondants, plus remarquables.

Je le répète, au point de vue scientifique pur, c'est regrettable, car les savants ne seront pas disposés à l'indulgence pour une science qui est d'autant plus riche en faits qu'elle s'éloigne davantage de la précision scientifique. Mais vraiment nous ne pouvons guère changer la mentalité des médiums, et nous sommes forcés d'accepter les choses comme elles se présentent, sans avoir la prétention de forcer les lois d'un monde profondément inconnu, à obéir à notre ignorance.

En effet les plus beaux cas de lucidité sont peut-être ceux dans lesquels un phénomène grave, apte à provoquer une violente émotion, la mort d'un parent ou d'un ami, a été connu par une vision fantomatique. Des récits si nombreux ont été recueillis dans *Phantasms of the living*, dans le livre de C. Flammarion, dans nos Bulletins, dans les *Annales des sciences psychiques*, et dans les journaux spéciaux, que la preuve

aujourd'hui n'est plus à faire. C'est un fait avéré, aussi bien établi que la chute d'une météorite, et malheureusement aussi difficile à provoquer à point donné par une expérience.

Nous faisons rentrer ces hallucinations véridiques dans les phénomènes généraux de lucidité, encore qu'ils en diffèrent par le caractère même de cette hallucination qui a une apparence objective. Mais, sauf quelques cas, d'interprétation très difficile, il paraît bien que ces fantômes sont tout à fait subjectifs. Ils ne sont vus que d'une seule personne ; ils ne se fixent pas sur la plaque photographique ; ils ne déplacent pas les objets extérieurs.

Aussi la réalité matérielle de ces visions est elle très improbable.

Puisque la vision n'est perçue que par une seule personne, c'est qu'il n'y a pas de matérialisation, pas de lumière, pas de fantôme . . . et cependant il y a quelque chose, puisque le percipient a connaissance d'un fait réel.

Ce quelque chose n'est pas une forme matérialisée : c'est un phénomène extérieur, une vibration quelconque, perceptible à une seule personne, et même perceptible suivant une modalité dont la nature nous est profondément inconnue.

Je n'ai assurément pas la prétention de la pénétrer. Pourtant il est bien permis de se demander pourquoi le percipient voit une forme humaine, matérialisée, avec chapeau, canne et lorgnon. N'est-il pas probable que toute cette objectivité donnée par le percipient à son hallucination est symbolique ? La connaissance d'un fait pénètre dans l'intelligence du percipient. Par quelles voies, peu importe : toujours est-il que le percipient a connaissance d'un fait, la mort de A, par exemple, et le fait qui soudainement se révèle à lui se présente alors aussitôt sous la forme symbolique d'une image.

Ce n'est qu'un symbole, car il n'y a pas de mouvement matériel extérieur, perceptible à nos sens. Mais la symbolisation est complète, et A apparaît alors au percipient avec chapeau, canne et lorgnon. Sans doute il ne pourrait comprendre A autrement, et il extériorise sa perception intérieure, après qu'elle s'est produite à lui suivant une formule qu'il ne peut définir et qu'il est forcé de traduire par une image visuelle. Le fait abstrait de la mort de A prend la forme d'un fait concret. L'idée devient une image visuelle, et le

fantôme de A, quelque apparente que soit sa forme au percipient, n'est que le symbole d'une perception dont la nature est profondément mystérieuse.

Cette opinion est d'autant plus vraisemblable que l'hallucination véridique n'est pas toujours visuelle. Elle est souvent auditive. Des paroles sont entendues qui révèlent le fait que A est mort, et ces voix sont tout aussi symboliques que le fantôme de A.

Puisque je vous parle des symboles, je puis vous en rapporter ici un assez curieux exemple, qui m'est personnel. Dans une expérience faite avec un médium, il s'agissait d'un phénomène de clairvoyance : trouver le nom de la personne qui, à ce moment précis, loin du médium même, conversait avec moi. Le choix de la personne en question fut par moi tiré au sort, sans que cela pût venir, en toute certitude, à la connaissance du médium, parmi vingt personnes différentes. Le probabilité était donc de $1/20$. Or ce jour-là le médium, étant seule chez elle, vit une forme humaine, bien caractérisée par le nom de Henri. Mais, en même temps, devant sa porte se tenait un héraut d'armes, avec hallebarde, souliers à rubans, et tricorne galonné, empêchant les autres esprits de venir dans la chambre ; car ils se précipitaient pour entrer, et il ne fallait pas qu'une confusion s'établît entre eux et Henri.

N'est-il pas évident que tout ce petit drame n'a aucune réalité ; et qu'il n'est qu'un symbole ?

Mais c'est le symbole de quelque chose qui est réel, et le mystère n'en reste pas moins tout aussi profond, car ce n'est ni le hasard, ni une excitation pathologique qui provoquent de pareils phénomènes. Ils sont en rapport étroit avec un fait vrai ; ils sont donc *véridiques*, correspondant au danger ou à la mort de A. La lucidité s'exerce par des voies absolument inconnues de nous : mais le fait d'ignorer ses modalités ne doit pas nous entraîner à la nier.

Quelques uns de nos amis émettent à cet égard une opinion que je ne puis guère partager. Ils croient que tout est expliqué et simple quand on a dit suggestion mentale, émotion provoquée chez B par une émotion de A. Les deux consciences vibraient à l'unisson, pour ainsi dire, et il suffit que A pense à quelque chose fortement, pour qu'aussitôt B se forme le même

Mais, si nous allons au fond des choses, nous verrons que la *suggestion mentale* n'explique rien. C'est un mot commode qui masque notre radicale inconnissance des choses. Qu'on l'appelle encore *télépathie*, c'est un mot heureux, que je suis tout prêt à adopter, à condition qu'on reconnaisse que, pas plus que suggestion mentale, il ne nous fournit une explication, même approximative, du phénomène. Nos intelligences ne sont pas des miroirs dans lesquelles viennent se réfléchir les vibrations des intelligences voisines; et je ne comprends en aucune manière que les angoisses de l'agonie, frappant l'intelligence de A, aillent provoquer l'image de ce même A dans l'intelligence de son ami B, qui sommeille tranquillement dans son lit, à vingt kilomètres de la maison de A. De quelque nom qu'on appelle ce fait, il est mystérieux, ignoré; ignoré quant à sa cause, ignoré quant à son essence, ignoré quant aux conditions de sa production. Et le mystère ne me paraîtra pas beaucoup plus grand si A peut lire sans l'ouvrir une lettre cachetée que la poste vient de lui remettre.

Autrement dit encore, pour bien faire saisir ma pensée, ces mots de suggestion mentale et de télépathie ne nous expliquent absolument rien, de sorte qu'entre la clairvoyance télépathique, et la clairvoyance non télépathique je ne peux vraiment trouver que des nuances. Si les faits relatifs à la clairvoyance télépathique sont beaucoup plus nombreux que les faits de clairvoyance non télépathique, c'est, je crois, qu'alors l'erreur est bien plus facile, et que des indications, conscientes ou inconscientes, ont été données, dans les cas de soi-disant télépathie, par les personnes voisines du percipient.

Mais laissons de côté cette discussion un peu technique, que je me reproche presque d'avoir abordée, et revenons aux faits eux mêmes, c'est à dire à la lucidité envisagée en soi.

Or, vraiment, après tous les récits des magnétiseurs d'autrefois, après les innombrables comptes rendus des journaux spirites, après les faits rapportés dans des ouvrages savants et sérieux, après les témoignages historiques et les traditions, il me paraît impossible de nier que la lucidité existe.

De même que, parlant de la métapsychique objective, je vous disais que l'hypothèse de forces naturelles et matérielles, autres que celles qui sont connues de nous, est nécessaire; de

même, parlant de la métapsychique subjective, je considère comme nécessaire cette hypothèse qu'il existe d'autres procédés de connaissance que ceux qui dérivent de nos sensations normales.

Il existe dans la nature des vibrations qui émeuvent obscurément nos consciences inférieures, et qui nous révèlent des faits que les sens normaux sont impuissants à nous apprendre.

Que certains individus, les médiums, soient plus que les autres humains capables de percevoir ces vibrations, cela me paraît tout à fait certain, mais j'ai peine à croire qu'entre les médiums et les autres mortels il n'y ait pas de transitions. Il est bien vraisemblable au contraire que tout être humain est (plus ou moins) capable de lucidité. En effet, si les uns et les autres nous interrogeons nos souvenirs, nous trouverons dans notre existence des vestiges de cette extraordinaire et mystérieuse puissance intellectuelle. Qui de nous n'a pas été surpris d'apercevoir soudain au détour d'une rue une personne à qui nous venions de penser avec force, que nous ne rencontrons jamais d'habitude, et à qui nous ne songeons pas deux fois l'an ? Je veux bien que de tels récits soient presque toujours trop vagues, trop informes, pour mériter d'être publiés ; mais pourtant ils ont leur importance, par leur multiplicité même, et ils semblent nous prouver que nous avons tous quelque parcelle de lucidité ; et qu'il faut faire une part (grande ou petite) dans notre existence intellectuelle à ces vibrations inconnues agissant sur notre conscience.

A ces vibrations inconnues il faut probablement joindre les curieux phénomènes connus sous le nom de baguette divinatoire. N'ayant pas d'expérience personnelle à ce sujet, je m'en réfère, aux beaux travaux, de si habile et savante critique, qu'a publiés M. Barrett.

Mais je ne puis m'étendre, comme je le voudrais, sur ce vaste sujet, et j'arrive aux autres phénomènes subjectifs.

(2) *Personnifications.*

J'emprunte ce terme, qui me paraît excellent, à J. Maxwell, encore que les personnifications, telles qu'elles ont été décrites par lui et par d'autres, puissent être à la rigueur considérées comme des variétés de lucidité. Ai-je besoin de vous dire qu'il vient d'exposer ses idées et ses belles expériences à ce

sujet dans un livre dont la traduction anglaise va paraître dans quelques jours ?

Cette lucidité avec personnification a un caractère tout à fait spécial. La personnalité du médium disparaît, ou semble disparaître. Elle est remplacée par un autre personnage qui entre en scène, parle par la voix du médium, écrit par la main du médium, donne des raps, en s'affirmant comme une entité distincte. Le type de ces cas de personnification, c'est le cas de Mme Piper, si bien étudié par les membres les plus éminents de cette société, entre autres par mon illustre ami, Sir Oliver Lodge. Mme Piper n'est plus là ; mais c'est George Pelham qui parle, pense et agit à sa place.

Notre savant collègue M. Flournoy a fait un récit pittoresque et instructif d'un beau phénomène de ce genre, étudié par lui avec une extrême perspicacité.

Dans les expériences de Stainton Moses, apparaissent des personnages, des guides ; *Rector*, *Imperator*, et d'autres encore, qui ont tout à fait les allures d'êtres intelligents, avec une volonté, une conscience, un langage, des goûts, qui leurs sont propres.

Souvent aussi, dans les expériences de typtologie, des raps annoncent l'arrivée de tel ou tel personnage, qui se nomme, se caractérise plus ou moins, et prend place parmi les assistants, ainsi qu'une personne humaine réelle, affirmant ses sympathies, ses désirs, ses haines, possédant son style original, manifestant tout ce qui est caractéristique d'une personnalité humaine nettement déterminée.

La première idée, très simple, qui se présente alors, est de croire à la réalité de ces personnages ; car la bonne foi des médiums est certaine, et toute l'adaptation de leur être au nouveau personnage apparu est d'une saisissante exactitude. Mais il faut bien se rappeler que, dans certains états de l'hypnose, il se produit des changements de personnalité tout à fait analogues, avec des apparences de véracité au moins aussi éclatantes. Pourtant, dans les personnifications hypnotiques, il est bien évident qu'aucune personnalité étrangère n'intervient, et que tous les phénomènes ne sont que des adaptations d'une seule et même intelligence humaine.

Je me demande alors si ces personnifications, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans le spiritisme, ne seraient pas des phénomènes du même genre.

Supposons un changement de personnalité (comme dans les cas d'hypnotisme) avec une certaine dose de lucidité, et alors nous assisterons aux phénomènes tout à fait étranges de Mme Piper par exemple, qui, étant devenue George Pelham, connaît les amis, les parents, de ce même Pelham, pense et parle exactement comme il eût parlé et pensé, s'il eût été là.

C'est une hypothèse un peu compliquée sans doute. Mais croit-on que l'autre hypothèse, celle de la survivance de George Pelham, venant, trois ans après qu'il a été enseveli et putréfié, s'incorporer dans les cellules nerveuses de Mme Piper, soit une conception simple et pleinement satisfaisante ?

Ile ne nous suffira donc pas qu'on nous dise . . . *je suis John King . . . je suis Chappe . . .* pour que nous pensions avoir affaire à la conscience de défunt John King ou de défunt Chappe. Je ne vois même pas bien encore comment John King et Chappe, à supposer qu'il s'agisse vraiment d'eux, pourraient nous prouver en toute rigueur leur existence parmi nous ; car, même s'ils nous adressent par des messages des paroles qu'eux seuls peuvent transmettre, l'hypothèse de la lucidité est une porte ouverte à une interprétation différente.

Evidemment, dans ce rapide aperçu je ne peux prétendre à trancher la question. Je vous signale seulement son importance. Car une des bases de la théorie spirite, c'est précisément cette croyance à des entités humaines, survivantes, revenant sur notre planète, dans notre monde terrestre, et affirmant leur personnalité.

(3) *Langages étrangers.*

Les deux derniers chapitres de la métapsychique subjective se rapportent aux langages étrangers et aux prémonitions.

Des langages étrangers, je n'ai que peu de chose à dire, car on ne trouve que des bribes de documents à cet égard dans les livres. Cependant j'ai eu l'occasion d'assister à un phénomène remarquable de ce genre, et peut-être quelque jour aurai-je l'occasion de publier des phrases, même des pages, qu'a écrites un médium qui ignore absolument le grec. Mais la discussion d'un tel phénomène doit être très approfondie.

(4) *Prémonitions.*

De même pour ce qui concerne les prémonitions. C'est

assurément de tous les faits métapsychiques le plus troublant, le plus incompréhensible, celui qui confond le plus notre misérable intelligence humaine. Toutefois on a pu en donner de remarquables exemples, que le hasard, bien entendu, est impuissant à expliquer.

Si étrange que soit le phénomène de la prémonition, ne nous laissons pas détourner de la vérité par l'étrangeté des apparences. Il ne s'agit pas de savoir si un fait trouble notre conception de l'univers, car notre conception de l'univers est terriblement enfantine. La discussion doit s'engager sur un terrain tout autre, et on aura à examiner s'il existe, comme je serais tenté par ma propre expérience de le croire, des faits authentiques de prémonition.

VI. CONCLUSIONS.

Me voici arrivé au terme de cette longue énumération, que j'aurais bien voulu rendre plus courte, plus attrayante surtout. Mais on a fait tant de recherches, on a agité tant de questions, que nous serions inexcusables de passer sous silence tout cet immense labeur accompli.

Si grand qu'il ait été, il est bien moindre encore que celui qui reste à accomplir. En effet, comme vous avez pu le constater, bien rares sont les phénomènes de métapsychique pour lesquels tous les doutes ont été victorieusement dissipés, et c'est à peine si nous pouvons conserver comme définitivement acquis deux ou trois phénomènes élémentaires, les raps sans contact, par exemple, et les hallucinations véridiques. Encore ces faits mêmes, quoiqu'ils nous paraissent assez bien prouvés, n'ont-ils pas jusque à présent pénétré dans la science officielle classique, de sorte qu'il nous faudra de grands efforts pour leur donner droit de cité.

Voilà pourquoi, n'étant pas assurés des faits, nous avons été si réservés sur les théories.

Ce n'est pas que des théories très vastes n'aient été émises. Mais elles me paraissent toutes d'une cruelle insuffisance.

Nous avons vu qu'il paraît vraisemblable que des forces inconnues agissent soit sur la matière, pour provoquer certains phénomènes matériels, soit sur l'intelligence humaine pour donner la lucidité.

Faire la théorie de ces phénomènes matériels et de cette

lucidité, c'est chercher en quoi consistent les forces qui leur donnent naissance.

Deux hypothèses se présentent tout de suite à nous. Ces forces inconnues sont humaines ou extra-humaines.

(α) Si elles sont humaines, il faudrait alors supposer à notre organisme nerveux la puissance de s'extérioriser par des mouvements sans contact (télékinésie), et la puissance de percevoir des phénomènes extérieurs que nos sensations ordinaires ne nous révèlent pas (clairvoyance).

(β) Si ces forces sont extra-humaines, il faut supposer qu'il existe dans l'univers des forces intelligentes pouvant interférer dans les choses de notre monde terrestre, mouvoir des objets et agir sur notre pensée. Cette hypothèse comporte elle même deux sous-hypothèses bien distinctes selon que ces forces extra-humaines sont (β') des êtres (intelligents) complètement différents de l'homme ou (β'') des consciences d'hommes ayant vécu.

Autrement dit ces forces sont soit des génies, des *δαίμονες*, des élémentaux, des anges, pouvant communiquer avec les hommes; soit des âmes humaines ayant quitté le corps, et poursuivant leur existence psychique après la décomposition du corps.

C'est cette dernière théorie, très simple, qui est celle des spirites; et il est inutile d'insister pour montrer qu'elle soulève de terribles objections.

Quant à la théorie qui admet l'existence d'êtres intelligents complètement différents de l'homme, elle n'est guère défendue que par les théologiens pour des raisons qui ne sont pas d'ordre expérimental.

Reste la théorie qui attribue tout à des forces humaines: elle est peu séduisante, et elle ne s'appuie sur aucune preuve solide.

Nous voici donc en face de trois théories également invraisemblables et irrationnelles, ce qui nous permettra sans doute d'en proposer une autre.

Mais rassurez vous tout de suite. Elle ne sera ni longue à exposer, ni difficile à comprendre; car cette nouvelle théorie, explicative des phénomènes, je ne la saurais formuler, ne la connaissant pas, ne prévoyant même pas ce qu'elle peut être.

C'est une théorie x que l'avenir nous révélera.

Oui ! je crois bien que, dans un temps très prochain, après que de nouveaux faits seront constatés, après que d'habiles expérimentateurs, aidés par de puissants médiums, auront mis en lumière des phénomènes qui sont encore ténébreux, nous serons amenés à modifier si profondément toutes nos conceptions sur la métapsychique que nous aurons d'autres hypothèses à formuler que celle des *anges*, des *esprits*, ou des *effluves humains*. Cette théorie x , inconnue, qui est inattaquable puisqu'on ne la formule pas, a toute chance d'être vraie, aussi vraie que la théorie de la sélection était vraie avant Darwin, que la théorie de Képler était vraie avant Képler, que la théorie chimique était vraie avant Lavoisier, que la théorie de l'électricité était vraie avant Ampère, Faraday, Maxwell et Hertz.

Avant que les découvertes fondamentales de ces sciences eussent été faites, on n'avait émis que des théories absurdes, (comme la théorie du phlogistique, par exemple, ou la théorie géocentrique). La vérité n'avait été ni prévue ni soupçonnée. Et je crois bien qu'il en est de même pour la théorie de la métapsychique, théorie que personne, je crois, n'a encore ni prévue, ni soupçonnée.

Assurément, au lieu de nous décourager, cette constatation d'insuccès doit nous engager à multiplier nos travaux avec prudence, audace, patience.

Jusqu'à présent nous ne connaissons que des phénomènes épars. Le lien qui les réunit nous échappe. Soit. Il ne nous échappera pas toujours. Un jour viendra où une explication en sera donnée, différente de toutes celles que notre ignorance a construites. La découverte est peut-être très simple ; mais il faut bien savoir qu'elle n'a pas été faite encore : car, quoique plusieurs des phénomènes racontés soient véritables, toutes les théories qu'on a édifiées sur eux sont ridicules.

Mais ne perdons pas l'espérance. Ayons confiance dans la science qui nous ouvre des horizons illimités ! Ne savons nous pas que la science seule diminuera les misères et les douleurs humaines ? Ne savons-nous pas que l'esprit de solidarité et de fraternité internationales grandit par l'étude de ces nobles problèmes ?

Donc, que notre conclusion soit conforme à la devise de l'homme vraiment digne d'être homme : *Laboremus !* Travaillons.

II.

REPORT ON VARIOUS SPIRITUALISTIC PHENOMENA.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL G. L. LE M. TAYLOR.

I HAVE been asked to write a short paper on some of the curious and abnormal things I have witnessed during the time I have interested myself in the investigation of phenomena claimed by Spiritualists, not only to be evidence for, but to have proved the existence among us of discarnate human beings able to communicate.

The conditions under which these Spiritualistic phenomena occur are so mysterious and little understood that many investigators are unable to appreciate their bearing on the facts observed, and, judging rather by what they think they should be than by what they are, attribute fraud to mediums when, in reality, only a misunderstanding exists, on our part, of the conditions necessary for the production of the manifestations.

The phenomena above alluded to are of various kinds, but are frequently divided into two classes, namely:

(I.) Psychical phenomena, including clairvoyance, automatic writing and speaking, psychometry, pre- and retro-cognition, etc., and

(II.) Physical phenomena ranging from the spontaneous movement of ponderable objects to "spirit lights" and materialisations.

In the first class there need be no evidence of interference with physical laws as accepted by science; in the second, no indication of intelligent purpose. But there is a

(III.) Third class, the largest of all, in which purposive humanlike intelligence manifests itself in intimate connection with abnormal physical phenomena of every kind. Of this class, what is called "direct writing" is the best example.

I think there has been an unfortunate tendency to discuss these classes of phenomena too much by compartments; I mean, to discuss psychical phenomena without mentioning the accompanying physical manifestations and to lose sight of the seemingly purposive direction given when physical phenomena are under discussion.

I will try to illustrate the three classes I have mentioned by describing half-a-dozen incidents, two of which will, I think, fall into each class. I shall not attempt to support what I am about to relate by bringing forward any evidence other than a statement of my own personal experience. I have always made notes of what I have witnessed as soon as possible, nearly always within 12 or 14 hours of the occurrence.

I will begin with the cases in which the least amount of intelligence seems involved, and in which the phenomena observed might be the result of some obscure natural law set in motion unwittingly by the sitters. Yet even in these cases, though the physical occurrences do not in themselves show purposive direction, they always occur concurrently and contemporaneously with what looks like intelligent effort and are quite similar to other phenomena which are found to be intimately connected with, and directed by, a humanlike intelligence.

Throughout this paper, except in the one instance indicated, I use fictitious names, but the real names of the persons referred to are known to the Editor.

On the evening of November 25th, 1886, I visited the house of a Mrs. Beasley, in Hammersmith, to witness some physical phenomena said to take place through the mediumship of her servant, a young girl. The following are the notes I made at the time, word for word as they were written.

... I found her, her sister Miss S., a Mr. G., who had been at the second sitting, and another young man sitting round the fire in bright lamp light. The ladies corroborated by word of mouth what I had been told in the letters, and Mr. G. confirmed the statements as far as he was concerned. After a few minutes we proposed to begin. We arranged the room as follows [see Fig. I.]: Mrs. B. and others took the ornaments off a small table 3 ft. \times 1½ ft. which was standing against the wall and placed it in front of the sofa. Some one brought up two chairs and placed them at the table, I

brought two others which I carefully examined for attachments, etc., and placed one at the end of the table nearest the door and one on its right at an end of one of the long sides. These were the two chairs which were afterwards moved. We placed in various known parts of the room things in which we hoped to get raps, and also a chair in the centre of the room clear of everything.

Mrs. B. rang the bell for the medium and meeting her at the door conducted her at once to her seat at the end of the table. We all sat down in the order shown below. The two gentlemen seemed quite as keen as I was to examine things. Soon after we sat down, the table began to rock and some faint taps appeared to be made on the floor.

We now put out the lamps, but the light from the fire and the street lamp just opposite the window made the room so light that we could see everything and, when our eyes got accustomed to the semi-darkness, each other's features and hands. [I mean that at first we could see the outline of things distinctly and later on the details of the hands and faces.] . . .

After this the chairs and things began to be moved. The chairs on which Miss S. and the medium sat were several times slowly moved away from the table with the sitters on them, sometimes at the same moment and sometimes not. When the sitters found that they could no longer keep their hands on the table, they got up and took a step forward; the chairs, however, quietly continued their movement without quickening it till they rested at points from 4 to 8 feet from the table, and after a pause returned at the same pace to their places, when the sitters again sat down. The medium's chair did not always move away and return in a straight line; once it moved as in Fig. II., stopped and had to be brought back again by hand, and once as in Fig. III. it returned of itself, following the direction of the dotted line.

These movements of the chairs must have taken place at least eight times, midst exclamations of astonishment from all of us, one and another standing up to see better. . . .

I saw the chair in the middle of the room move towards the fireplace and fall down. . . .

[manifestations now began to be rough.] We now thought we were going too far, so Miss S. got up to light the candle. When she was at the fireplace her chair again moved away from the fireplace as it had done before. . . .



FIG. IV.

We broke up about 11 p.m. after a most astonishing and satisfactory séance.

In common with the two young men I examined the room and the chairs when the lamp was re-lighted—we found nothing of a suspicious nature.

I need hardly say that no one was near the chair in the middle of the room when it moved and fell over, nor had any one approached it since it was placed there.

The lady in whose house this happened I knew well; she had no motive for perpetrating a fraud and was actuated alone by her great interest in the matter, and the medium had no opportunity whatever of making arrangements to act fraudulently.

Without referring to the difficulty of causing the chair in the middle of the room to move in the direction it did and to fall over by fraudulent means, I would call attention to the complicated nature of any appliances necessary to make the medium's chair move as I have stated it did, and as shown in Fig. III. These must have been of a nature either to push it or to pull it. If they were to push it, a rigid rod several feet long would have been required, and even this would hardly have been adequate. I need hardly say that no such rod was used. If we try to consider how strings could be applied to cause the motion, we shall find that four separate strings would have to be fastened to the chair, one to pass over a pulley at *c*, another over one at *d*, and two others which, by being pulled in a sufficiently divergent direction, might cause the irregular path of the chair's return.

I would rather, of course, confine myself to cases observed in the light, but as now I want to quote the case of a so-called "Spirit Light," we must be content with darkness.

I again quote from my notes verbatim.

On August 8th, 1888, Mrs. Marriett kindly came into town and gave a séance at the L.S.A. rooms. [It was a dark séance, absolutely no light.] The lights [I mean the spirit lights that I saw] were such as could not have been made by ordinary means. Their appearance, colour, illuminating power, etc., were such that I have never seen the like except at séances. They moved rapidly about

and were sometimes in a part of the room most remote from the sitters.

For example. Mrs. Marriett sat at the end of an oblong table, on her left Mrs. G. [this, I think, was the lady's name], then Mr. Davis, and then I came along the longer side of the table with our backs to the entrance door.

During the proceedings Mrs. M. said, "I think a little light is coming in under the door. Will you, Mr. Davis, kindly push the mat against the door to stop it?" Mr. D. got up to do so and just as he left his chair a light about the shape and size of the flame of a candle came down from a point about 5 ft. above and 3 ft. to the right of the medium and seemed to settle on the table in front of his chair. Knowing that he was away and that I should not touch any one I slowly and very silently stretched out my hand towards the light as one sees a boy do who wants to catch a butterfly [see Fig. IV.] The light did not move till my fingers had nearly closed round it, then it elongated itself and slipped out between my first finger and thumb, re-took its shape and floated away to my left, passing quite beyond the circle and disappearing near the ceiling. I made no remark at the time and no notice was apparently taken of my action by any one.

In common with other spirit lights that I have seen, this light seemed to me not to illuminate things as much as a common light of equal brilliancy would do, but perhaps a very feeble light, when looked at after the eye has been some time in total darkness, may give an exaggerated impression of brightness. I felt no heat when the light was in my hand, nor did I feel the touch of anything.

As they stand, the two cases quoted show no evidence that human or other intelligence had anything to do with them, except that they occurred in the midst of other phenomena which obviously had an intelligent origin.

My next two cases bring the abnormal physical disturbances into closer relationship with intelligence.

It was in 1885, and I was without much experience, but all the more suspicious and all the more careful to guard

against fraud. We had had a very interesting dark séance at the house of

Miss. I now quote from my notes:

It terminated. . . . Soon we went in to supper, and I

took in Mrs. Marriett [who was the medium]. We went in first, and I chose which chairs we should sit on. As soon as we sat down I was again touched on the knee by something, not as far as I could see by Mrs. M. Then knocks were heard in different parts of the room, and Mrs. Fuller declared they came also on her chair. Immediately after they sounded on mine, and I distinctly felt the vibrations caused by them. I pushed my chair away from the table so as to be quite clear of every one and about a yard from Mrs. M., and no nearer any one else. The raps came on the seat of my chair underneath, and I again heard them distinctly and felt the vibrations. I put my hand on the place where a rap had been given a moment before, and a new rap was at once made on some other part of the seat underneath. This was repeated several times. Then I said, "Knock on this arm" (it was what I believe is called a carving chair, with arms), indicating one by placing my hand on it. The rap was made. "On the other arm," placing a hand on the other arm. A rap was made at once, felt and heard as though on the part of the chair indicated. The room was brightly lighted, and I looked closely that there was a clear space round me.

Mr. Davis said, "It must be some one wanting to communicate with you. Ask mental questions."

I did so, asking in mind:

"Are you my wife?" At once one rap was given signifying "No."

"Is it my father?" "No."

Then aloud: "Is it a woman?" "No." "Is it a man?" "No."
"Is it a child?" "Yes." (Three raps.)

After a pause to think who it would be, I asked, this time mentally:

"Is it my brother?" "No."

"Is it my child?" "No."

I could not think of any one, but noticed that raps at once followed my mental questions the moment I formed them—a moment which could not have been known by any one present; indeed they were all very busy eating their supper, and seemingly taking very little notice of what I was doing. Mrs. F., who was sitting opposite to me at table, and who was taking some interest in what was going on, said, "Let me guess." After a second or two three raps were given (I have not noted whether these raps were given on her chair or mine, and I don't remember). I asked her who she had thought of. She answered, "Young King." I said aloud, "Is it young King?" and three raps came on my chair as before. "Will

you attend our séance at Sandhurst?" "Yes." "Will you be able to communicate?" "I don't know" (two raps). "Will you try?" "Yes." Then I said, "I will repeat the alphabet; please give a knock at the letters of your name." I went over the alphabet aloud. When O was reached a few light hurried taps came, but I took no notice, and they were repeated when I came to X. Mr. D. said I had repeated the letters too fast. If the boy was there it must have all been as new to him as to me, and I can quite understand his blundering over the alphabet way of communicating.

Here some mind must have directed the knocks on my chair, and timed them to my mental questions. My failure to get a name was due, I think, to inexperience, and the fact that at the time I had strongly in my mind, by mistake, the name of the communicator's brother, which also perhaps impaired the result.

"Young King" was the son of a friend of mine who had met with a fatal accident a few months before.

I remember that before I resumed my place at table I turned the chair upside down to look for possible electric connections, but reflecting that I had myself placed the chair where it stood, I saw that I could not attribute the knocks that I had heard and felt to transmitted electricity. I remember also wishing the chair was mine, so that I could take it into little bits.

Here is another case in which raps, themselves of abnormal origin, answered questions in such a way as to display intelligence.

In August, 1899, two ladies [whom I will call Mrs. and Miss Hope] and I had a séance in one of the rooms of my house in Cheltenham, which has a large window facing westward. The plan of the room and the arrangement of the furniture is shown in Fig. V.

Just before sitting down, I placed a zither on a small table at *x* near the lamp, but a few minutes after we were seated, thinking there would be too much light upon it, I shifted it and the table to a place behind the medium, with a black double table with books on it between them. No arrangement was made as to how the zither should be used, and neither of my companions had anything to say to the place [where] I first put the instrument, or the place I finally shifted it to. [Towards the middle of the séance I asked the spirit]

Fig V.
Scale 6Ft = 1Iⁿ

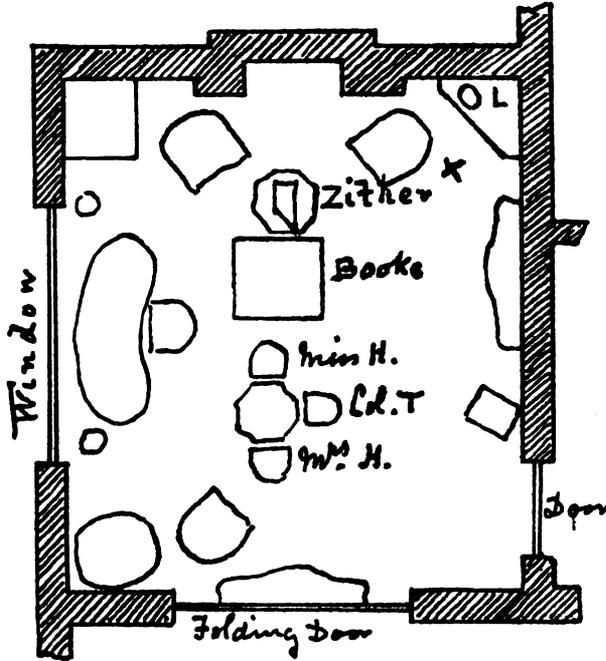


Fig VI.
Scale 2Ft = 1Iⁿ

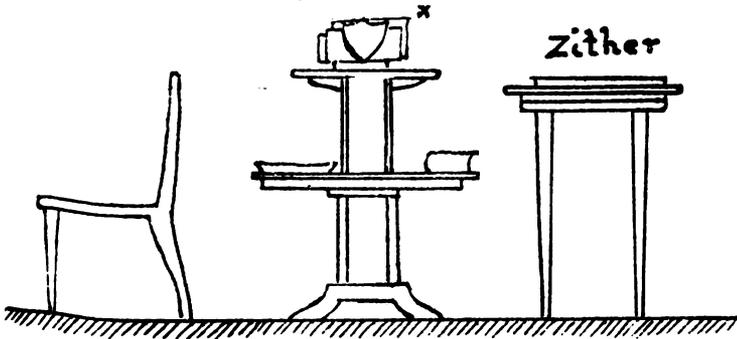




FIG. VII.

"Do you wish the light put out?"

"Yea." [Three raps on the table.]

Raps now came on the table behind Miss Hope and on the table behind that, the one on which the zither rested, as well as on the instrument itself. These knocks answered questions and "they" tried to knock where requested, but the "boy" [the communicator concerned] said he could not, or rather that he feared to twang one of the strings of the instrument.

In connection with this part of the séance I wish to describe one moment about which I am clear.

The position of things in the room was still as shown on Fig. V. The lamp was out but I could see Miss Hope's movements, if any, because she was between me and the blind facing a western sky in which, though it was 9.45 P.M., there was still some light remaining [See Fig. VII.].

Mrs. Hope asks a question which is answered at once by three knocks on the wood of the zither (the knocks being of the same speed and semi-softness of sound as those previously heard).

(A) I did not make those knocks.

(B) Mrs. Hope could not have made them.

(1st) Because the answer came too quickly after her question to give her time to go round me and knock.

(2nd) Because I am sure she did not move from her chair.

(C) Miss Hope did not make them.

(1st) Because they were made out of her reach.

(2nd) Because I watched her and she did not move when the knocks were sounding.

(D) Miss Hope did not make them by means of a stick or anything. Because she did not turn round when I was placing the table with the zither on it behind her, and consequently could not tell its exact position, yet each of the 35 or more raps which were [now and at other times] given on the instrument was given clearly and promptly with no bungling, never once touching a string, "the boy" having said he would not do so.

I went about the room next day and rapped on all sorts of things, both with my finger and with the end of a stick which I had prepared for the purpose of making, as far as possible, the same sort of sound [as we had experienced], but found that rapping on the zither gave the only sound which approached that heard the evening before. The three raps took about $1\frac{1}{2}$ seconds to complete.

The arrangement of the table behind the medium is shown in section on a larger scale in Fig. VI. I carefully made measurements and believe that the figure is correct to 2 inches as greatest error. The cross marks the furthest point I could reach with my hand when sitting in the chair half turning round and stretching over.

It will be noticed that I do not in the picture (Fig. VII.) show Mrs. Hope's hands on the table, because I want to represent only what I saw at the instant of time about which I am speaking. A moment before I had seen them resting on the table, and a moment after I again saw them in the same place. I was observing to the best of my ability and am sure, by ear, that the question Mrs. Hope asked came from my immediate left, and that she did not move from her chair, and this is an additional reason in my mind to that stated just now, that she could not have been concerned with the production of the raps.

I now go on to two cases of the psychical class, in both of which a communicator claiming to be the discarnate spirit of a human being spoke through an entranced medium and truthfully related facts' in a way I do not think can be explained by any theory of telepathy between the medium and another ordinary human being, without unreasonably straining the hypothesis.

In the first case the communication was made through the paid medium Mr. Peters (I give the real name in this case), and he is the only paid medium connected with the incidents described in this paper.

In March, 1899, I made arrangements with Mr. Peters for two sittings at the S. P. R. Rooms, then in Buckingham Street. The medium was entranced and spoken through automatically in the usual way, but was also used to supplement, by gestures and mannerisms, what was said. I now quote from my notes :

In my case "Moonstone" said, . . . "There is a lady for you, she is small, fair, oval-faced, good teeth, eyebrows scarcely visible." This description, as far as it goes, fits my wife, except, perhaps, the teeth, which, in her case, though perfectly good and sound, were not quite regular.

The control now changed, and "Redfeather" endeavoured to

procure recognition for the communicator. He said, "She says you have a picture of her on glass, two of them, they are in a box." He described the photograph, the position of the sitter, the dress, etc., going so far as to sit on a chair in the position taken in the photograph, one to some extent peculiar in that the arms were crossed in the lap, so that each elbow may be touched by the opposite hand.

At the séance I could think of no picture on glass in my possession, and it was not till more than a week after that I remembered that I had somewhere a photograph of my wife which I took in 1874 on glass. I looked about for it and at last discovered it in a small tin box in my bedroom; it was wrapped in paper, and just as I was unfolding this, my eye caught sight of a similar parcel in the box; on examining this, I found it to be the original negative, the existence of which had quite passed from my memory.

The position of the sitter in these photographs is quite the same as that taken up by the medium at the séance under Redfeather's control, but I could form no mental picture of the dress from the medium's description. So I sent the photographs to Mrs. Hope, who had been present at the séance, for her opinion. She says in answer to my letter:

About the photograph there is a great deal that was correct in the description; the attitude with the hands folded across was exactly what he endeavoured to show. Description of the hands correct, cuffs correct, the "something" down the front of the bodice, which he tried to explain, is certainly in the picture, and the brooch; did he say earrings? I don't remember, but I thought so.

The one thing wrong that I can think of was a hair net; was that suggested or stated by him in the description? I do not know, but if given by him it was not correct, but somehow I cannot help thinking that this is the picture indicated by the clairvoyant.

In this case, if telepathy from my sub-consciousness to the medium is the explanation, it is curious that of all the millions of facts which, under the circumstances, my sub-conscious mind must be supposed to contain, this appropriate one should have projected itself. How was the selection made? Not by any conscious effort of mine.

That the impression received by the medium must have come from my mind, if from that of any one present, is certain, for none of the sitters knew my wife, or had ever seen her. She had passed over 16 years previously and no one in the world but myself knew anything whatever about the photographs.

The probability of the statement being correct by chance alone is so remote that it may be neglected.

To my mind this incident is not only evidence of extramundane agency, but points strongly in the direction of identity.

The final case I will quote is one which occurred lately. Sitting on February 20th, 1904, in my house at Cheltenham a communicator calling herself my wife said, through the entranced medium :

“Why is Edie always talking about people not doing enough to help her? She is very anxious just now, but I can't see exactly why it is. . . .”

By Edie I knew she meant her sister in Toronto, so I wrote to my niece Adèle, “Edie's” daughter, to ask if anything had happened to which this might refer. Her answer is:

P.S.—In just talking the subject over with the girls it suddenly struck us that on Friday night, 19th of March [February], there was a general meeting of the “Daughters of the Empire,” at which mother was to be in the chair and speak, etc. On arriving at the hall she was very much put out, because none of the committee would go on the platform with her to support her, and also as they had not provided a programme of proceedings. I wonder if this could have been what was meant? She certainly was annoyed.

The séance was held on February 20th, and it was only the day before that my sister-in-law was annoyed as reported. The 19th of March in my niece's letter is a mistake for 19th of February, because her letter is dated March 13th. March 19th was not a Friday, whereas February 19th was.

In the previous case it may be surmised that the information given by the medium was in my unconscious mind, however little I was aware of it. But in this case—assuming the amount of correspondence between the medium's statement and

the facts to be beyond what can be attributed to chance—we have to consider that no one in the neighbourhood was aware consciously or otherwise of the facts related, so that unless my sister-in-law at the other end of the world, or one of her daughters, is taken to be the agent, the telepathic explanation must be abandoned.

If it is maintained that she *was* the agent, then the distance from here to Toronto makes it difficult to believe that a “telepathic impulse” is any sort of physical radiation; but if telepathy is a psychical influence exercised by one mind or spirit on another in a way we are wholly ignorant of, probably independent of time, space, and “natural law”—the language of the angels—then the truth-telling information received by us on the night of the 20th of February last might have been acquired telepathically by the sub-consciousness of the entranced medium, either from my sister-in-law herself or from some discarnate spirit.

Or, as I think more likely, it was a bit of information with difficulty acquired, and with difficulty expressed, imparted to us by my wife when in “control” of the medium’s organisation, as an effort towards proving her own identity.

III.

THE LIGHT THROWN ON PSYCHOLOGICAL PROCESSES
BY THE ACTION OF DRUGS.

BY ERNEST DUNBAR.

PSYCHOLOGY, like every branch of science, must consist largely in establishing constants and should never under any circumstances attempt to generalise from variables. The psychological experiment *par excellence* must consist firstly in a correct appreciation of the conditions at the commencement of the experiment; and secondly, in an equally careful analysis of the steps by which the final stage of the experiment is reached. It is because I believe the actions of drugs on the mind offer an opportunity for applying scientific methods that I have taken the opportunity of bringing forward the subject before the Society.

Those drugs which influence the mind, if taken in sufficient quantity, abolish consciousness: but before this happens a variety of incidental effects are produced, according to the nature of the drug that has been taken. Some of these effects are constant and occur in all individuals; others vary with the peculiar mental characteristics of the individual. In either case a careful study of the effects would, of necessity, throw some light on psychology.

The mere fact that mental processes can be so influenced is noteworthy, and part of the problem must be to find out whether the changes are radical and complete, or whether there is not some thread of an unchangeable nature connecting a normal condition with an abnormal one.

Many drugs exercise so slow and gradual an action that it is possible to follow step by step this supplanting of normal processes by those which are abnormal. Where the difficulty of the personal equation is most felt is in the fact that

although, as often as not, the individual is undergoing the most profound mental experiences, which he can generally describe at the time and often remember, yet beyond his description we have no means of judging of the real nature of the mental change. As against this disadvantage, it must be noted that many drugs induce the same conditions in different individuals and the descriptions they severally give often tally exactly.

It is now over a hundred years since Humphrey Davy placed on record his experiences during the inhalation of dilute nitrous oxide gas. Since that time practically no advance has been made along this line, and substances of this nature have simply been regarded from the point of view of their practical uses.

All medical writers have mentioned the temporary exhilaration which at first follows the administration of anaesthetics and many narcotics, but there has been to my knowledge no systematic analysis of these primary effects—no attempt to bring these mental symptoms into the domain of exact science.

It is only fair at the outset to give some reasons for supposing that experiments of this kind can ever yield scientific results: in a word to justify the discussion of the subject at all.

Let us suppose that under the influence of some substance the sense of "time" is altered while the consciousness and reason are still retained. This is actually the case after the administration of Indian hemp and it shows that the sense of time is not an invariable constant or an unalterable accompaniment of consciousness under all conditions, which is a fact to be taken seriously into consideration in the analysis of our idea of Time.

Or, again, suppose after an individual has been inhaling ether for some time and has become conscious of the different relationship he bears to his environment that he then writes down statements involving a logical deduction, and that these statements appear equally logical long after the influence of the drug has passed off, this would constitute a fairly valuable fact, which might be made use of in dealing with the relationship of intelligence to environment. One cannot

deny that it is possible to go too far in an attempt to generalise from conditions of this kind, but it seems to me that the knowledge one gains from these abnormal states is sufficiently positive to justify an attempt at scientific research.

In attempting an analysis of the primary effects of such a substance as alcohol we must first note that under ordinary circumstances consciousness is conditioned by the environment. This is very well borne out by the fact that, if the field of sensation be diminished, the greater the diminution, the greater the tendency for sleep to supervene. Thus in order to secure sleep there should be the minimum of light and sound; the temperature of the bed-clothes should be the same as the body-temperature, and then, as these sensations disappear, the individual sleeps. To quote Flammarion's flowery language—"Our attitudes in sleep tend to a passive equilibrium. All the activities of the senses fade by degrees. The eyelids close and the eye is soonest asleep. The sense of touch loses its faculty of perception and then it also sleeps. The sense of smell disappears in turn. Hearing is the last to disappear, remaining like a vigilant sentinel to warn us in case of danger, but at length it also fades away. Then sleep is complete." In other words, we are no longer conscious of an active environment.

This environment may, for simplicity's sake, be taken to include not only the immediate surroundings, but also the memory impressions of previous environments—together with conclusions drawn by reason from these impressions. In walking across a room, for instance, the attention is drawn to the spot to which one wishes to walk, or to obstacles in the way; at the same time, the memory impressions of what walking is like and whether it is safe to walk on a wood-floor, etc., all come into play in determining the simple action.

Now consider the state of things under the early influence of alcohol or ether. The environment does not seem to change in detail. When it does change, it changes *en masse*. Things seen and heard are still appreciated in the same proportion to each other. A gun going off still sounds louder than a pop-gun. An electric light still looks brighter than a candle. Perspective still exists. Moreover the intelligence is by no means profoundly affected, the individual is still perfectly

logical. He is so far alive to the unpleasant possibilities of his position that he will very likely make a more or less successful effort to compensate. Something has taken place in between his consciousness and his environment. The intelligence is not by any means the complete victim of the situation. Up to a certain stage, at least, it is master.

The simplest of all the effects produced by substances of this kind is the feeling that there is some difference between the relationship of the individual to his environment and the normal relationship. This experience is very well exemplified by alcohol. After a few glasses of wine the individual is frequently conscious of his mouth, teeth, and body generally as though it were not entirely a part of himself. Many describe a feeling of numbness, commencing from the forehead and working downwards. They are conscious of a certain unreality attending common sensations. The appreciation of touch is diminished; the same with hearing. The voices of friends are heard, but their significance is not so readily grasped. Smell and taste also suffer in much the same way, and lastly, sight becomes impaired.

The precise order, so far as I have been able to find out, is as follows. Firstly, touch and muscular sense are affected; then hearing; then taste and smell; and finally, sight. None of these senses are affected, at this stage, to an extreme degree; a more or less correct sense-perspective still exists. It is rather a growing inability to realise the significance of the various sensations as they are affected in order, which accompanies the first degree of alcoholic intoxication. In the later stages, these senses are affected more profoundly and in the same order. The last to be affected is the last to disappear. A man in such a condition may be almost completely anaesthetic to painful impressions, cuts, bruises, etc., but still retain sufficient sense of hearing to make an attempt to respond when spoken to. Or again, when he no longer responds to sound, he may look dreamily around for a moment if his eyelids be held up and a bright light flashed in his eyes.

In the earlier stages, the person is perfectly conscious, colloquially speaking, of not feeling quite "at home." He requires to think before pronouncing his words. If he moves his legs or arms, he is not quite sure whether he will

overdo or underdo the action. In other words, he is not in the same *rapport* with his surroundings as he is normally. Yet the significant fact is that up to this stage his intelligence is alert and grasps the meaning of the situation so well that every effort is made to gain control again.

It is this domination of the reason over the situation which seems to me the most significant fact of all, and it is precisely this fact which keeps emphasising itself in all experiences of a similar nature. Touching this point, Snow, in his treatise on anaesthetics, writing from a time when such substances first became known, remarks that the more intelligent the patient, the more anaesthetic he required to put him under.

I remember my attention being first drawn to this apparent supremacy of the intelligence during an experiment with ether. After inhaling about two ounces of the stuff, out of curiosity, I became much annoyed at the loud ticking of a watch on the mantelpiece close by. There were no other sounds in the neighbourhood, and, as it was nearly dark in the room, the only earthly sensation I was thoroughly conscious of was this ticking, which had assumed, to my ears, the sound of a steam hammer. I made an attempt to stop the watch and this attempt was certainly a most clumsy one. I had frequently stopped the watch before, and one would have imagined that the recollection of the side on which I had to stop it would have become instinctive through habit. Not so; I scratched about on the wrong side. Reason, however, was perfectly alert, and woke up to the possible meaning of this; also calculated that without some reminder I might forget the incident, and I felt constrained to write down the following note: "Under the abnormal, *memory* is gradually lost, *reason* never!" Reason here took advantage of an incident and at the same time seemed to appreciate the part played by itself in the affair; and all this at a time when the external world was seeming more like a dream than a reality.

Of course one uses the word "reason" as a separate term rather for convenience than anything else. We distinguish a conscious process which grasps the environment as a mass of sensations, from the process which analyses them and establishes for itself the relative character or significance of these sensations. It is possible that the one process to a

certain extent includes the other; yet, for a dialectic purpose, we distinguish them.

Now, these processes have a physical parallel. The more of the substance is taken, the more marked is this deviation from the normal, and, as a general rule, the effects pass off in the reverse order to that in which they come on. In some instances, when the quantity of the drug has been large, changes are produced in the cerebral cells, which can be recognised microscopically: *e.g.* the disintegration of Nissl's granules and the diminution in size of the nucleus. Yet even with what must be regarded as a profound physical disturbance, there is no marked interference with the integrity of the intelligence, and after the influence has passed off the individual is in the same mental state as he was at the commencement. It is probable, indeed, that a change of a permanent nature *has* been produced, otherwise it is difficult to understand how chronic drug-taking should modify the character and intellect of a person; but this change must be insignificant after only one or two administrations, otherwise it would be more in evidence.

One of the most interesting drugs I have had the opportunity of studying has been Indian Hemp. It has been well known for hundreds of years by many Eastern nations under various names. In India, it is called Gunja or Ganji, sometimes Bhang; in Persia and Egypt, Hashish or Hatchis. In England it is at present used as an empirical remedy in a few cases of obscure neuralgia and obstinate cases of *migraine* and sleeplessness. Its action is rather uncertain. Out of six of my friends who took some of the same preparation, in two no effects at all were produced. This uncertainty has been referred to the physical properties of the resin containing the active principle, and in order to secure absorption, it is considered wisest to suspend it in a finely divided condition in some form of mucilage.

The effect of the drug on intelligent Europeans is fairly constant. It produces a singular loss of the sense of time and personality and a disordered appreciation of the surroundings. In Clifford Allbutt's *System of Medicine*, Dr. Marshall of Cambridge gives a very characteristic account of the action of *Cannabis Indica*. It corresponds in almost every detail with accounts given by others of the strange experience.

He writes: "About 2.30 in the afternoon of the nineteenth of February last, whilst engaged in putting up an apparatus for the distillation of zinc ethyl, I took between .1 and .15 grs. of the pure substance (cannabinon) from the end of a glass rod. The substance very gradually dissolved in my mouth; it possessed a peculiar, pungent, aromatic, and slightly bitter taste, and seemed after some time to produce slight anaesthesia of the mucous membrane covering the tongue and fauces. I forgot all about it and went on with my work; but soon after the zinc ethyl had commenced to distil—about 3.15—I suddenly felt a peculiar dryness in the mouth, apparently due to increased viscosity of the saliva. This was quickly followed by paraesthesia and weakness in the legs. Gradually my mental power diminished. I was no longer able to control the steps of the operation and commenced to wander aimlessly round the room. I had a most irresistible tendency to laugh; everything seemed so ridiculously funny. At times I felt more rational, but these lucid intervals grew gradually shorter and I fell under the influence of the drug. I was now in a condition of acute intoxication; my speech was slurring, my gait ataxic. I was free from all sense of care and worry, and consequently felt extremely happy. Fits of laughter occurred, especially at first, and sometimes the muscles of my face were drawn to an almost painful degree. The most peculiar effect was a complete loss of time-relation; time seemed to have no existence. I was continually taking out my watch, thinking that hours must have passed, whereas only a few minutes had elapsed. This, I believe, was due to a complete loss of memory for recent events. The occurrence of lucid intervals was also peculiar in many ways. They seemed to come on suddenly sometimes, but not always, as if a result of an effort of will; they lasted a variable time, being shortest when the symptoms of intoxication were most marked, and while in them I could converse in a rational manner, and even direct the work of the laboratory to a certain extent. About six o'clock I had two cups of coffee, and afterwards, feeling quite better, walked home. The fresh air and exertion revived me. No unpleasant after-effects were experienced."

That is Dr. Marshall's account of the strange effect produced by the drug. I had committed to paper my own experience

of the substance long before I read his account; in fact the actual scientific value of my own experience lay in the fact that, up to the time of taking the Indian Hemp, I knew none of its peculiar properties beyond the fact that it was a species of narcotic. I had tasted some of the green extract out of curiosity to know not the effects but the taste. The element of imaginative expectation was therefore reduced to a minimum. The effects, as in Dr. Marshall's case, came on quite suddenly.

It was on March 29th, 1900, about a quarter to four in the afternoon, while looking through some *materia medica* specimens, that I tasted some of the green extract. I remember remarking its soapy taste and the difficulty of getting the stuff from between my teeth.

I forgot all about it and nothing happened till ten minutes past five. I had taken the five minutes to five train from Broad Street, due at Hampstead at about 5.15. It was only on leaving Kentish Town Station that I became conscious of anything at all strange. Then it seemed as if I must have been hours in the train. Between Kentish Town and Gospel Oak time seemed so extended that I had continually to keep watching the familiar features of the landscape—houses, etc., to make sure I had not gone beyond my destination.

It was between Gospel Oak and the next station that I discovered the lucid intervals. It always seemed as the result of an effort of will to me that I was able to procure these lucid intervals, during which the only sensations of abnormality were a sense of tightness and compactness and an exceedingly dry throat. To maintain the lucid interval soon became an effort, and the next incident which attracted my attention was, that on leaving the train and walking down the platform there seemed quite an interval of time between the placing of my foot on the ground and the realisation of having done so. Yet the moment my attention was drawn to this peculiarity, the phenomenon vanished and I had a lucid interval.

On arriving home I went straight to my room, fully persuaded what was the cause of the mischief. I remember being much disturbed by the image of myself in the mirror. Beyond a slight paleness there was nothing actually strange in my

appearance; but I had a difficulty in realising that the form I saw there could actually have anything to do with me.

Yet in the background of my mind there was a feeble but sufficient grasp of the significance of the situation; and along with this the fear of impending death. Mitchell Bruce mentions this fear, and had I read of this before taking the drug I should have discounted my sensations and been less disturbed. It seemed to me as if my consciousness were becoming disintegrated, and the hideous extension of time seemed only to prolong the agony.

Ringer makes a note of the fact that the individual in this condition frequently acts rationally and is able to react in quite a normal manner to his surroundings. A student friend of mine told me of an acquaintance of his who, under its influence, made an attempt to throw himself out of the window, and after my own experience of the drug I was not surprised at this. It seems that the person under cannabis indica behaves either like a rational being or like a raving maniac. Either he braves the mental uproar by sheer force of will, or else lets himself go. We are told that in India during the hill-fights some of the natives chew it and rush in a frenzied condition to the conflict.

Here, again, there is an example of intelligence over-riding the situation; and the question is as to how far this mental supremacy can go. It would be gratifying to know that, so long as the individual maintains any relationship with his environment, however trifling, his intelligence maintains its integrity and can, by an effort of will, grasp the situation and see things in their right light.¹ At Bethnal House Asylum I once saw a man, a melancholiac, who outgrew his delusions almost every other day, and when questioned as to some fleeting delusion he had harboured a few days ago, seemed quite ashamed. He even admitted the possibility of his being in error on the subject of the delusion he had that day. Of course he may have been representing his feelings as different from what they really were. He may have thought that we were all wrong and may have been simply attempting to humour us. However this may be, many cases of

¹Havelock Ellis in the *Contemporary Review*, 1898, emphasises this point in connection with *mezcal*.

mental abnormality, whether natural or artificially produced by drugs, suggest that it is not so much the intelligence that is affected, as the relationship between this intelligence and the environment (including the memory-environment). The question merits consideration, but it is difficult to discuss it without trespassing on the domains of metaphysics. The nearest approach to the meaning of the word "intelligence" in this sense would be the capacity for exercising logic. A man might have this capacity in all its integrity, yet, if by some unhappy physical accident he was deprived of some part of the memory of previous environments, he would probably act under some conditions like an insane person.

Thus a man with a delusion X may have that delusion simply because there has been either a total or partial paralysis of memory-ideas on the subject of X, but in any case he will act up to the delusion. The victim of delirium tremens acts as though the rats and beetles were real, and in that respect at least he is logical. Similarly, if the lucid intervals during the influence of cannabis indica mean anything psychologically, they indicate that the intelligence is quite alive all the time.

I believe, as Dr. Marshall suggests, that the sense of time duration is prolonged because the memory of recent events is impaired, and to illustrate this, I will quote an account written before I read Dr. Marshall's experience.

"The attempt to analyse the why and wherefore of this resulted in the discovery that it required a great effort to remember in detail the environment of the preceding moment, at the present moment. It seemed as if the moment that had gone with its myriad impressions was forgotten at once and the moment which succeeded was hurried through and forgotten again."

The fact that time seems to go quickly when we are interested and slowly when we are not, as also the fact that when the mind is very incompletely *en rapport* with the outside world, as in dreams, time is extended, seem to indicate that the relative sense of time is a product of the association of consciousness with environment. The less this association, the greater extension time seems to possess.

I believe that the loss of the personal sense is to be

explained in the same way. Self-identity is established as a sensation by a perpetual contrast with other objects of sensation. This is recognised by all psychologists as a cardinal factor in producing the personal sense.

The full conception of personal identity requires an entire appreciation of the environment and a clear memory-impression of the preceding environment up to that stage. Under *Cannabis Indica* this last is missing, or at any rate very incomplete. The memory-impression is gained by an effort of will, and hence, during a lucid interval, the individual feels quite normal.

There is one experiment with Indian Hemp which I have not had the opportunity of making, viz., taking the reaction-time. I doubt if it would yield any other than a normal result, because, unless the subject were narcotised to a dangerous extent, the mere fact that his attention would be necessary would bring about a lucid interval. Very little else is known about the drug. In Eastern nations it is reported to produce dreams of an emotional and erotic nature.

Ringer states that curious delusions may follow its administration. The person may feel as though his brain were boiling, or the roof of his head lifted off.

In my own experience, when some eight hours afterwards its effects were beginning to wear off, I felt as though my throat was an iron funnel up which came hot air from a furnace beneath. A little thought made me recognise this as a delusion, though the impression was realistic enough at the time.

It seems as though the entire action of the drug can be explained by assuming that there is a temporary paresis of the memory, and in the delusional cases the delusion may be simply evidence of a localised paralysis of the same faculty.

It is even possible that the tendency towards unmeaning laughter may fall under the same explanation, for, as Sully pointed out, the idea of the ridiculous and humorous is founded, as a rule, on the wilful neglect of some part of a mental picture,—the denial on purpose of some part of the mental perspective.

Here, instead of there being a wilful negligence to see the entire picture, there is, through impaired memory, an inability

to do so; and hence things appear ridiculous, because there is present a disconnected picture, which seems a jumble of queer contradictions.

The next narcotic I have to treat as illustrating some psychological points is ether.

A couple of months back, my attention was drawn by one of the members of the Society to a paper contributed to the *Proceedings* some ten years ago by Sir William (then Professor) Ramsay, and I found that his experience under ether was very similar to what I had myself undergone. Since that time I have come across a teacher of chemistry who seems to have had a similar experience with the same substance.

The action of ether, if inhaled diluted with about sixty per cent. of air, is fairly gradual.

The first symptoms are a sense of oppression in the head and profuse salivation. The face feels hot, and the peripheral arteries are dilated. This happens quite an appreciable time before any mental symptoms appear. Next, the drama of early alcoholic intoxication is enacted again, with this difference, that there is seldom any staggering or difficulty in walking about correctly; and, since under ether the muscular sense is diminished just as under alcohol, the conclusion is that the staggering after alcohol is due to early affection of the cerebellum. Next comes the sensation that the body is just as much a part of the environment as anything else, and it is perhaps this sensation which, together with the wide-awake intelligence, compels the individual to adopt the standpoint of subjective idealism; which, in its turn, drives him to think that at last the solution of the mystery is dawning upon him. My own experiences under ether I shall never forget, and, strange to say, I experienced nothing similar under chloroform or ethyl bromide, though the same feeling came on and lasted for a few minutes after inhaling ethyl iodide.

In my mind thought seemed to race like a mill-wheel. Nothing was lost—every trifling phenomenon seemed to fall into its place as a logical event in the universe. As in Sir William Ramsay's experience, everything seemed so absolute. It was either yes or no. Either this was not reality or it was. If it was not, then it seemed to me in the nature of things that I could never know reality. Then it

dawned upon me that the only logical position was subjective idealism, and, therefore, *my* experience must be reality. Then by degrees I began to realise that I was the One, and the universe of which I was the principle was balancing itself into completeness. All thought seemed struggling to a logical conclusion; every trifling movement in the world outside my consciousness represented a perfectly logical step in the final readjustment.

I could hear my heart-throbs getting longer and longer. At length I felt they would cease, and the drama of existence would be over. I remember at the time feeling so strong a repugnance to this termination that I ceased administering any more of the stuff and got up. Things seemed objective and tangible while I was walking about, but, on lying down again, the same experience commenced again, with this difference, that now account had to be taken of the first experience in order to bring about the same conclusion. Just as the psychological moment came, I moved my arm, and the same process commenced again. I let it go on to the bitter end this time, and as the moment of extinction arrived I felt strangely normal, and not a bit sleepy.

These were the effects of a very small dose of ether on me. I don't suppose I got to the end of even the first stage of anaesthesia; and what to me was a righteous horror at the approaching end of the universe would correspond, in many patients who take ether for surgical purposes, to the period of struggling and screaming.

Under the influence of ether, there is no doubt the mind is highly stimulated, and it is extremely difficult to see where the cerebral depression comes in—at least in relation to the higher faculties of thought. There is nothing essentially illogical in the Fichtean standpoint; it is only strange that so trifling an action as taking ether should condition the ultimate realisation of that standpoint. Under ether this would present no difficulty to one's mind. One would simply feel that in a scheme where logic was the beginning and end of all change, no such thing as a trifle could exist,—that life had led up to the inhalation of ether, and this was to be the end of it all.

Such was the effect ether had on me, and each time the experience has been much the same.

I have made a point of asking patients in the surgical wards how they felt when they were being anaesthetised. The common experience (eighty per cent. of cases) is that of rushing into a dark tunnel. There is a singing in the ears, and a flashing of lights in the eyes. On coming round they may pass through a struggling stage, but more usually they feel restless and talkative.

A relative of mine had an operation five weeks ago, and she told me afterwards that, when coming out of the anaesthetic, she was conscious of talking at a great rate, yet felt quite unable to stop. She only dimly remembers what she was talking about.

The sense of time is disturbed under ether, chloroform, and nitrous oxide. It is not changed in a recognisable way as under *Cannabis Indica*, but at a certain stage of the anaesthesia the time-sense vanishes.

This is most marked under gas, where a patient will wake up after the tooth is drawn with a positive conviction that the operation has not yet commenced. After chloroform or ether the patient seldom has any conception of how long he or she has been under.

There are no lucid intervals during the early stages induced by these general anaesthetics, for although the activity of the cerebrum is stimulated and depressed in turn, starting from the highest faculties and working downwards, yet the process is fairly extensive; it does not apply only to special parts, but produces a gradual depression of the entire brain.

Luchsinger has pointed out that chloroform, ether, and carbon dioxide gas produce a marked effect on the conductivity of nerves, and it seems probable that in addition to the action these substances have been shown to exercise on the cerebral cells, there is also temporary paralysis of the conductivity of the association tracts.

With regard to the physical action of these drugs, there is a singular fact, that I have never seen noticed, namely, that most of the general anaesthetics possess the property of dissolving fat and oils. Chloroform, Ether, Benzene, Ethyl Bromide, Carbon bisulphide, Ethyl iodide, Amylene, Carbon tetrachloride, all possess this quality. It was this physical resemblance which made me try Benzene and Carbon tetrachloride.

The action of benzene is slower than that of chloroform, but with the exception of the unpleasant smell and a loud roaring in the ears, the same effects are produced in the first stage of anaesthesia as with the latter.

With chloroform, the first inhalation produces its effect; even a powerful sniff from a bottle of chloroform may be followed by a queer feeling.

As with other substances, the first effect is the feeling of the unreality of common sensations. This is a general experience, and anybody who smells a few drops from a handkerchief will admit it. After this preliminary sensation is past, I personally go through nothing resembling in the slightest degree the effects of ether. The only wish I have at that stage is for more chloroform,—a wish I am not conscious of having felt with ether. I lose interest in everything. I don't care who sees me and in what condition they see me, I have only one desire—for more chloroform—and then even that wish soon goes.

Three students besides myself have noticed the flashing of stars in the visual field, synchronous with the heart-beat, under the action of chloroform. Two of us noticed that each bright point underwent a peculiar circular motion. The movement was in the path of a boomerang rather than in a true circle. I do not know any reason for this, but it was curious that two persons should have observed it. These stars increase in number as the anaesthesia deepens, and on opening the eyes they still continue to show themselves over the entire visual field, which gradually grows darker.

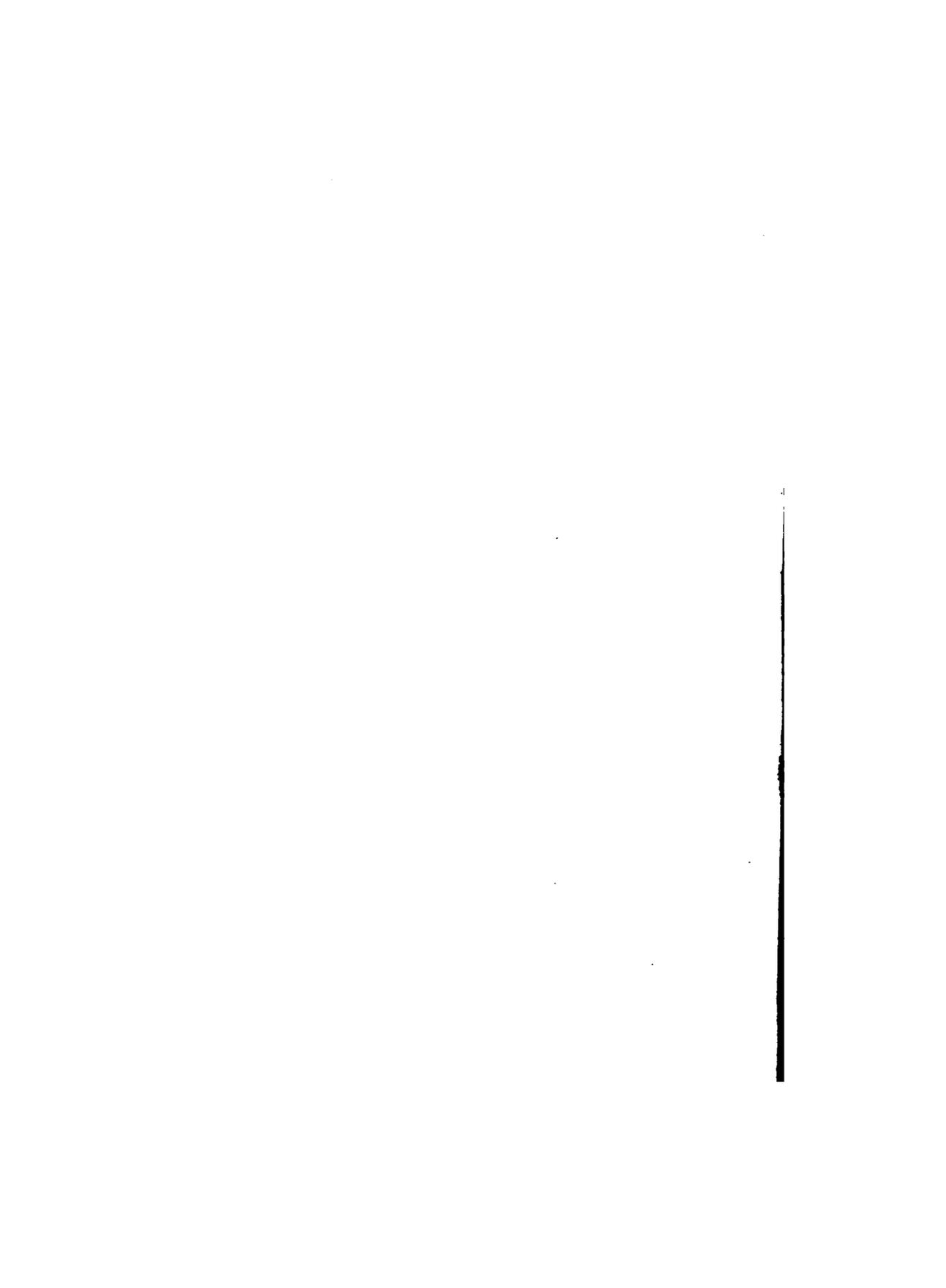
Carbon tetrachloride resembles chloroform in everything except its smell. Also it is not sweet, and it often contains a small quantity of the disagreeable carbon bisulphide, rendering it very unpleasant to inhale.

The effect of chloroform is in some respects very different from that of ether. If the two are given in equal strengths, chloroform is much the more rapid in its action, and there is not the same tendency to excitement as with the other drug; further, a very much smaller quantity of chloroform is sufficient to produce the most profound anaesthesia. The earlier stages are therefore short, and there is scarcely time for evidence of mental changes to show.

I remember only one other sensation in connection with chloroform, and as I have not met any one who had had a similar experience, mine has no value. It seemed to me that deep down somewhere in my consciousness voices were wrangling and quarrelling; sometimes over a trifle such as the closing of a door. The voices were perfectly distinct and generally disagreeable. At other times they would be talking at me. This sort of conversation would commence: "So you see we've got you again." Then I would think, "Oh! won't you leave me alone? I want to rest," and the answer would come: "We'll have the last word"; and with that would ensue a muttering and a grumbling, which occasionally rose to a whining complaint from these voices. I have never inhaled chloroform without hearing these voices; they last quite a short time and do not usually begin until some time has elapsed.

With regard to the craving for more anaesthetic, Dr. Keith, in a book entitled, "Fads of an Old Physician," mentions it as having attended some of his experiments with Dr. Simpson at the time of the introduction of chloroform.

It is exceedingly difficult to draw conclusions from many of these facts, and it is not easy to make many experiments of the kind, as the majority of people have a healthy repugnance to dosing themselves, even for scientific purposes with substances of this nature. I think, however, that a careful and systematic study of the effects of drugs on the consciousness must of necessity yield some positive results. Sir William Ramsay in his paper ten years ago urged that those who had from choice or necessity gone through experiences of this kind should record them, and the few observations I have been able to make on the subject suggest that these strange mental symptoms which appear so much a part of the personality of the individual may be evidence of some definite psychological law.



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WALTER DENOY AND
FREDERICK FOUNDATIONS

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Society for Psychical Research.

PART LI.

DECEMBER, 1905.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETING.

THE 125th General Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall at 20 Hanover Square, London, W., on Thursday, May 11th, 1905, at 4.15 p.m.; SIR OLIVER LODGE in the chair.

The PRESIDENT, PROFESSOR CHARLES RICHET, read the substance of the paper which is printed below under the title of "Xénoglossie, l'Écriture automatique en langues étrangères."

I.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF THE WELSH REVIVAL:
1904-5.

BY THE REV. A. T. FRYER.

It is now twenty-three years since Edmund Gurney asked me to join in the work of the S.P.R. My answer to his request was that I would do so on one condition, viz., that the Society would not attempt to prove the supernatural, by which I meant that I was willing to assist in the examination and classification of physical and psychical phenomena connected with ghosts, dreams, etc., solely as terrestrial events, and without reference to the ends such things may subserve in the spiritual sphere or the life beyond the grave. I maintained then, as I do now with even greater conviction, that whatever use individual members might make of the results of our inquiries, whatever inferences persons might draw from the verified stories collected by the Society, our work as a Society would be accomplished by that verification and tabulation. Gurney entirely assented to this view of our work, and the history of the S.P.R. is sufficient evidence of the loyalty which has been observed towards its first principles.

In dealing with the Welsh Revival in this paper, I desire to maintain exactly the same line, to relate events so far as one has been enabled to get at their truth, and to present the evidence in a more or less classified form.

In this work two difficulties arise: (i.) the inability of most persons to observe accurately the things passing under their very eyes; (ii.) the unwillingness of persons who have had abnormal experiences either to relate them or to submit to a mild cross-examination if they do relate them. Both difficulties are commonly found in S.P.R. work. The first is beyond our power to remove entirely, but as the Society's methods become

better known we may hope slowly to increase the now limited number of those who can observe accurately. The power of mental concentration so habitually exercised as to be ready at all moments to receive and retain impressions with precision is not common; we can do our best to encourage its growth.

The second difficulty is the greater one, particularly in the subject under discussion. Most of the persons whose experiences we desire to examine and record regard them as too sacred for any such process, and some have more than hinted that my inquiry is at least questionable, if not altogether profane. Argument avails but little with these good people, but my endeavour has been to suggest that as the Supreme Mind, to Whom they attribute the operations of which they have been the subjects, manifests in all His works law and order, there can be no more inherent profanity in trying to arrive at the particular laws or methods of the mental, psychical, or spiritual spheres than in investigating the physical side of His works.

Mr. Myers in his *Human Personality*, Vol. II., p. 298, adopted a similar attitude. Prof. James, in *Some Varieties of Religious Experience*, follows the same line, and I may quote Dr. Starbuck's introduction to his *Psychology of Religion* where he says that "The student in the psychological laboratory meets with as much orderliness and sequence among the facts of emotion or memory or reasoning as the physicist in his laboratory. . . . It is scarcely questioned at the present time that all our mental processes follow an orderly sequence. We go one step further, and affirm that there is no event in the spiritual life which does not occur in accordance with immutable laws."

I sincerely wish that my inquiry into revival phenomena could have been as full and detailed as Dr. Starbuck's was in his researches into Conversion, but similar thoroughness required what was beyond my power to give,—many months of patient personal examination of witnesses, a mastery of the Welsh language, and sufficient acquaintance with the mental habits of the people to enable one to carry on the inquisition without arousing too much suspicion and distrust. I consented to write this paper only because no one else, so far as I know, has attempted to examine the Revival at all

in detail, from our point of view, and because even a partial attempt of this sort may go a little way towards preventing the growth of a revival legend. I have attended revival services, heard Evan Roberts at three of his services, read most of the daily reports of meetings, corresponded with men and women of all sorts and conditions in various counties, and interviewed a fairly large number of people.

For the purpose of this paper I sent out nearly 250 copies of a circular asking for particulars of incidents that would interest our members. (See (1) in the Appendix. All numerical references hereafter are to the cases in this Appendix and the original documents of all the cases referred to or quoted, containing the full names of the witnesses, are, as usual, stored in the S.P.R. office.) Not more than half of the stamped addressed envelopes enclosed with the circulars have found their way back to me, and of the half that covered replies I might have spared some for all the information they conveyed. But I owe, and here tender thanks to several willing correspondents for the trouble taken to answer questions and suggest possible sources of information.

If the material to hand is limited in bulk, it has the merit of being mostly original. Readers will note the strong family likeness that exists between the recitals drawn from persons in South and North Wales, from men and women of different degrees of education and social habit, who were ignorant of each other's existence, and wrote therefore without any possibility of collusion. That we should find these similarities is a distinct encouragement to researchers to persevere with such inquiries, confident that the underlying laws are not beyond our reach.

I first heard of the Revival at the beginning of October 1904, when a vivid account was given to me *viva voce* (since then written for me, see (2) Appendix) of the outbreak of fervour amongst some young women at New Quay, in Cardiganshire, who had been stirred to deeper thought some months previously. The part played by the sex whose most valuable mental endowment is intuition forms a marked feature of the whole movement, whether seen in leadership or in subordination. These young women were in the opinion of some persons the initiators of the Revival in South Wales, but the move-

ment soon became more prominently associated with a young man named Evan Roberts, and it was his efforts at his native place, Loughor, that first attracted the interest of the newspapers. Reporters and editors saw their opportunity and used it to the full. Without doubt they fostered the Revival, and their papers suffered no diminution of circulation in consequence. To the columns of vigorous and fairly accurate matter provided day by day by the two leading journals of South Wales, describing the services from November 10th onward for five months, much of the rapid development of excitement over the Revival was certainly due. (Reprints of these are in the S.P.R. Library.) But if the spread of the mysterious atmosphere from village to village and town to town was encouraged by the newspapers, it was not caused by them. Press influence is great, but it has its limitations. No amount of sensational writing could have enkindled the tremendous enthusiasm, with its resulting mass of converts, which characterised the Revival in some districts; those who claim that it did must show why the same influence utterly failed in other places. For one of the curiosities of the movement has been its very unequal operation. This is to be accounted for, as I shall presently prove, but it has nothing to do with the newspapers.

From Loughor the Revival spread to Trecynon, near Aberdare, thence to the Garw and Llynfi Valleys, on to Mountain Ash, and then to the Rhondda Valley, and elsewhere. Meanwhile a series of outbreaks was taking place in Merionethshire. This had no ostensible connection with the southern Revival, neither had it material support from the press until the appearance of the curious lights, to which I shall refer later, caused remark and attracted an army of reporters and investigators, much to the alarm and, in some cases, disgust of the peaceful inhabitants.

Although Evan Roberts' name is the most prominent in the Revival, he neither created nor sustained it for the most part. He is the embodiment of the Spirit of the Revival, the most striking manifestation of the force that caused it, and to a very great extent its leader and director, but he did not produce the Revival, nor did the Revival produce him.

Evan Roberts was born at Loughor in 1878; he is the fifth

in a family of eight, four sons and four daughters. His father is a collier, the mother a simple, honest housewife: neither the parents nor their forebears have been people of unusual ability or mark. Evan attended the Church School of the upper village until he was 12 years of age and, although diligent and regular in school-life, showed no capacity that distinguished him from other lads; in ordinary work he was just the average, healthy, play-loving boy, cheerful and willing. Between 11 and 12 years of age he had a slight accident to his face, after which as a consequence he showed symptoms of a nervous shock. I refer to this later on. The incident has not been related elsewhere and may be denied by some of his friends, but I have good reason for thinking there is truth in the story. From his earliest days Evan had a strong bias towards religion, but I learn on good authority that not much reliance can be placed on the statement which has found its way into print to the effect that the mother destined her newly-born child for the ministry. Most Welsh mothers desire to see at least one son in the ministry, but there is no evidence that I can discover of Mrs. Roberts having had an unusual desire of this kind. Roberts spent most of his time in Bible reading, both as a boy and as a collier, and he may almost be described as a man of one book. At the same time, the catalogue of his modest library, which has been read to me by one who obtained it from Evan, shows that he paid more than usual attention to general culture, especially in Welsh books of reference. He wrote poetry, some of which was published in newspapers, and is a fair performer on three or four musical instruments. I am assured by a scholar who has tested his knowledge that Evan Roberts has a better literary equipment than most Welsh colliers and that is saying a great deal, for many of them read widely. When he became a collier at the age of 12, and during his blacksmith period in his 25th year, the Bible was his constant companion, prayer the ever-sought recreation. Every interval in his working days and many of his night hours he spent in earnest prayer. At the Chapel he was an active partaker in all the various exercises and classes. The one testimony borne by every person who came into contact with Evan in whatever capacity, is that his life, conduct, and profession

were and are absolutely consistent. I have rarely found such unanimous witness to any good man. His talk in private for many years was on revivals, he read all he could find on the subject, and his prayers were for a revival. The idea possessed him night and day. A few weeks ago he told one of my informants, a pressman who has been in close touch with the revivalist, that on one occasion, four years before the Revival, he had suggested to a young preacher a sermon on 2 Chron. vii. 14. The verse seemed to him to furnish the programme of a revival. To it he has certainly been most loyal. I give these details because without them it is impossible to form a proper estimate of the man or of his position. We can easily understand from them that if the working, active consciousness of this lad was mainly occupied with this one absorbing idea, how richly stored his sub-consciousness became with the materials on which he is now making heavy drafts.

After a year at the forge, Roberts determined to prepare for the ministry in the Calvinistic Methodist Body, and he entered the preparatory school at Newcastle Emlyn in the middle of September, 1904. The head-master (see (3) Appendix) says of him that during the few weeks he was at school he betrayed a capacity and aptitude for work considerably above the average. On the fifth Sunday of his residence a missionary named Seth Joshua came to the village on a mission, and on the following Tuesday some of the young women from New Quay came over to help. Evan Roberts was present, much to the regret of the head-master, as the pupil had been in bed with a cold. On the Wednesday night the master saw Evan in the Chapel standing up to "confess Christ," then kneeling in prayer and going through a most agonising soul-struggle. This however was overshadowed by what happened next day at Blaenannerch, where, as he said, he was "bent" (see *Western Mail* reprint). After this Roberts was at Newcastle Emlyn for about three weeks, but not in school. The master, being totally unable to appreciate the mighty force at work in one who spent all day and most of the night in prayer and meditation, tried to get Evan to study some simple task, but the young man declared that as soon as he touched a book he felt the spirit crushing him, and it was only by

putting the book on one side that he could obtain relief. As he said this a tremor ran through him, and his face and neck were observed to quiver in a remarkable way. To most of the people around him he was then an enigma; only two or three persons had any suspicion of what these paroxysms and visions meant. On a certain Sunday night he heard a voice bidding him go home to Loughor and speak to the young people of his own Chapel: the following day he went. Permission having been obtained to hold services, the work began on October 31st; before many evenings Loughor was "on fire" and thence the flame spread.

Evan Roberts is a mystic, and to understand his place in humanity we must study the lives and writings of Eckhart, Tauler, Hylton, St. John of the Cross, and especially Juliana of Norwich, persons whose names, I suspect, were unknown to Roberts until recently. His teaching is limited in scope, but so far has been more in accordance with the Spanish than with the German mystics. Is this due to racial affinity? Roberts is probably of Iberian stock.

The story of his visions will, I understand, be published. Here is one and it is typical of the rest. It occurred before he left home for the Grammar School. "One Friday night last spring when praying by my bedside before retiring, I was taken up into a great expanse without time or space—it was communion with God. Before this it was a far-off God that I had" (cp. Suso on his vision. "It was without form or mode, but contained within itself the most entrancing delight." Suso died in 1365). "I was frightened that night but never since. So great was my shivering that I rocked the bed and my brother awakened, took hold of me, thinking I was ill. After that I was awakened every night a little after one. This was most strange, for through the years I slept like a rock and no disturbance in my room would arouse me. From that hour I was taken up into Divine fellowship for about four hours. What it was I cannot tell you, except that it was Divine. About five I was allowed to sleep until nine."

Mr. Seth Joshua, before-mentioned, has said that for four years before meeting with Roberts in Cardiganshire, he had prayed for the raising up of a revivalist, "not from Oxford or Cambridge, but from the plough or the coalpit." (A

paragraph also appeared in the *South Wales Daily News*, July 1st, 1905, to the effect that a deacon eight years ago offered a similar prayer.) Mr. Joshua was not alone in praying for a revival: I have evidence that many in all parts of Wales had been doing the same, and I suggest that if our theory of telepathic influence is true, it must some day be recognised as one at least of the elemental forces in what is called prayer. I am not, I think, going beyond the limits of our inquiry if I urge the examination of prayer as a psychic force on the attention of members. If the obsession of a particular idea in one mind is traceable to the intense energy exerted by some other mind at a distance, with a view to the obsession, is it contrary to reason to conclude that something of this kind takes place in a certain class of prayers? I am thinking now of only one branch of prayer action, the *terrene*; but it does seem probable that if a hundred or two hundred persons in Wales were for years desiring a particular line of action, and spent a great deal of time in expressing their desire, the force so generated and directed could hardly fail to reach and move some sympathetic minds within the same area. We are very far from understanding the laws of telepathy, but our limited knowledge even of its facts points in the direction I have indicated. Finding in the course of my inquiry that the revival had "caught on" in some places, in others had but limited success, and elsewhere failed ignominiously, I tried to discover what prayer-preparation had taken place in the several localities, and no one in Wales will, I think, dispute my conclusion that speaking generally the results corresponded to the preparation. In one town the conversions in the chapels attended by Evan Roberts were fewer than in others where he was not present, and for the same reason,—difference in the amount of preparation.

Whether by prayer or other means, the creation of expectancy would seem to be necessary to success. I attended Roberts' services at Siloam, Swansea, for a whole Sunday. Meetings had been going on there daily for five weeks before his arrival (beginning nearly as soon as his meetings at Loughor), and I found in the packed mass of 800 or 900 people in the Chapel, exactly that air of feverish expectancy which made all present susceptible to the suggestion power of a man

like the revivalist. It was a new experience to me to hear a large crowd sing over and over again for 15 or 20 minutes, without a moment's pause, the refrain: *Diolch iddo, diolch iddo, Byth am gofio llwch y llawr* (Thanks to Him: always for remembering the dust of earth.)

One able correspondent whose name, were I allowed to give it, would carry great weight (he is a Welshman), says that some of the scenes witnessed are in part due to the hysterical excitement caused by expectation. I need not detain you with a description of a revival service: it must suffice to say that even in the most orderly meetings confusion reigns, yet there is no sense of confusion. Roberts generally preaches but little, sometimes not at all. His part is to ascertain at intervals the peculiar temperament present in the congregation as a whole, or in its parts, and then to guide it into correspondence with his own standard of what it ought to be. If you have watched a skilled workman bringing a lump of heated metal or other material into a required form, you can conceive what Roberts does with his meetings. One shrewd observer, a Welshman, writes to me thus: (The account which is given in full in the Appendix (4) is abridged here.) "The five meetings I attended were in different places, under different circumstances, and each meeting had a complexion entirely its own. But I detected a uniform method. Evan Roberts tests a meeting before he begins to speak. What provokes his hearers seems to me the clearest explanation of his success in bringing each meeting to a dramatic and successful climax. His apparent indifference and immobility, before he says anything, breaks up all the composure an audience can command. Add to this his habit of transfixing each and every person with his homage-compelling gaze. He reviews methodically the rows of faces; it is the look of a practised physician. By the time he speaks he has made a mental census of the audience. He knows who are ill at ease, he predicts conversions, he detects hindrances. A man of faith, doubtless, relying on the promptings of the Holy Spirit, but not neglectful of all the data available by human means. He makes the audience reveal itself, and then tells the people what they knew already, but they are puzzled and staggered by the fact that this meteoric stranger should know them so well. In three of his break-downs or

nervous collapses that I witnessed, I was near enough to render first-aid if necessary, and could not believe that he was shamming. Twice I saw him place his hand on his neck, as if pressing something down. There was a jerking back of the head, such as I have noticed in persons whose nervous systems are somewhat deranged."

My correspondent knew nothing of the accident in Roberts' boyhood; his idea of a physical cause for the nervous tremors is therefore all the more noteworthy. The followers of Evan attribute these mild tremors to Divine influence, and I think he shares their belief, but true to our line, we must exhaust the nearer probabilities before going elsewhere.

Roberts certainly possesses a strong power of suggestion, is very sensitive to a certain class of telepathic influences, and has a genius for religion, but has not, by any sign that I can read, a trace of multiple personality in active operation.

Some account must be taken of the inner voice he claims as his guide. We are all familiar with what Mr. Myers wrote on Socrates and his Daemon in *Human Personality*, Vol. II, sects. 812 *et seqq.*, and the parallel between the philosopher and the revivalist is on some points remarkably complete. In Roberts' case the Spirit tells him when to speak and when to be silent, to whom he may grant an audience and whom he must refuse, what places to visit and the places he must avoid. Without any previous warning the inner voice compelled him to remain silent for seven days from February 23rd to March 1st. On the 22nd he was preparing to go from Neath to Briton Ferry when suddenly the voice said: "Don't go." He obeyed, and remained in one room for the seven days without uttering a word even to the girl revivalist who took his frugal meals to him. The few communications that passed were made in writing. I have ascertained from the people in whose house he was staying that they never heard him once praying or reading aloud. The story of those seven days is given in full in the *Western Mail* reprint for March 3rd, 1905, and I quote extracts from these in (5). He had one vision during this period, a revelation of the imperfect spiritual condition of a certain group of people. If you read the accounts of all that he went through in public from September 1904, to February 20th, 1905, you will not be surprised that

tired nature asserted itself and demanded rest. Not all of us have the courage to obey nature's warnings so implicitly and immediately.

The short pithy messages that Roberts gives his friends and audiences as from the Spirit are, so far as can be discerned, not more remarkable than might be expected from a man whose mind is saturated with Biblical knowledge, and who possesses great native shrewdness and penetration. It is right to mention that few men have more resolutely withstood the temptation to be lionised. Whatever may happen, he will not be the idol of the hour, and people who have crossed Continents to see him in private have had to return unsatisfied.

A great deal has been said of his power of prediction. It appears to be exercised chiefly in pointing out where coming converts are to be found in this or that part of a chapel meeting. He is nearly always found to be right at the time, and if his statement is not verified or justified immediately, it has been afterwards. Numerous as such instances are, we may not be disposed to attach much weight to this feature of his work, since it is obvious that in a huge gathering of the kind many are present who are susceptible to a "converting" influence. But one case of prediction deserves notice. At Liverpool (6) on one occasion Roberts refused to leave the building, when the service had been declared closed by the ministers, because he said that one man in an indicated gallery, a Welshman, he was certain had not confessed Christ as he ought to have done. The minister in charge of that gallery "tested" the people and reported that every one had confessed Christ. Roberts was not satisfied: six times was the appeal made during the next 25 minutes and not until the sixth test did a man come forward and admit that he had not been sincere in professing as a convert with the rest. Roberts directed the minister to speak to the man, and after a short talk he too gave in. We can only assume that Roberts' sensitiveness to deceptive, hostile, or sympathetic thought is abnormally developed. Many public speakers are aware of the temper or attitude of an audience before any outward sign of it has been given.

Amongst the records in the Appendix (7) will be found two cases of possibly telepathic influence.

Evan Roberts has not escaped criticism as to his predictions and declarations of hostile influence. What one critic at Dowlais and others at Liverpool said may be read in the reprints.

I now pass on to other features of the Revival.

Some letters have appeared in the newspapers on the wonderful eloquence displayed by unlettered persons in prayer and speaking, and not a few men have claimed that the eloquence is proof of direct Divine inspiration. I have inquired into this and find that for the most part the eloquence consisted in a number of persons being able under the excitement of the moment and the contagion of crowds to express themselves with unusual fluency, but nearly always in the words of the Bible or hymns which they have learned and known from infancy (8). It is not a Sais but a Celt who writes thus—"Excite a Welshman and he is not responsible for much that he does. If you can tell me exactly how it is that a Welshman is more susceptible to physical emotion than an Englishman, you have no difficulty in comprehending the secret of the Revival. . . . My wife happened to get a bit excited at a parish meeting two years ago and well-nigh staggered me and others with her eloquence. Under the impulse of the moment she spoke splendidly and made a great impression. She had never spoken in public before and nothing has occurred since to incite her into eloquence."

Without further discussion we may accept as the only conclusion warranted by the facts that as the Welsh are by nature emotional, enthusiastic, ready speakers as a rule, and possess a language that almost of itself invites eloquence by the stately roll of its open vowels and musical syllables, it is not surprising that those who are stirred to the depths of their feelings should break out into fervent utterance of the sonorous periods they have taken in with their mother's milk. There are several cases reported of persons unable in ordinary conversation to speak without stammering who spoke with fluency and ease in prayer in public; but such instances of defective muscular power being made good under excitement are not confined to the Revival and are easily explainable.

Dr. Starbuck in his *Psychology of Religion* discusses the relative values of the various motives to conversion. I must

refer you to his tables and lists, but it is worth notice that in Wales, during this Revival, the motive of fear has found but a small place, if any at all. The burden of Evan Roberts' teaching is love and gratitude, obedience and personal service, and joy. In the statements made to me by many I meet frequently with the remark—"I felt full of love and joy, I could love everybody." And no one, whatever his views of the movement as a whole, can regret hearing that many reconciliations have been effected.

From two very different and widely separated districts I have reports that a distinct change of countenance took place in some of the persons affected. A friend (8) says that "Young people became pale and their eyes wore a far-away listless look. One said that for days after he had prayed he saw people move like ghosts in the street, and he thought there was a thick mist." Another writes—"I have been struck by one girl's changed appearance during these months. Her expression has become much more gentle, her face, previously coarse, has become quite refined. As a man expressed it to me—she has a Madonna-like face."

I have met with no cases of levitation.

One of the most striking narratives received comes from near Aberdare. The writer, a collier, gives an account of his studies in psychology and the numerous books he had read before the Revival. He was secretary of the local Ethical Society and attended the Revival services purely as a critic. He wanted to know how "the moral consciousness became centrifried into the conscience of these people." The story and results of his investigations are given in the Appendix (9), and it is important to note that the record is one extending from November 14th to March 4th—within a few days of four months. He gives instances of telepathy, of the hindrance to conversions through the presence of sceptics at the meetings, of a case of access of physical strength during religious excitement, and of his own experience of a "voice." Taken as a whole it is the most interesting of all the communications received.

No doubt there have been many other cases of apparent telepathy connected with the Revival. I quote two received; if others come to hand they will be reported as usual to

the Society. The first occurred in the Llynfi Valley. A young man at a Revival service was suddenly seized with an irresistible impulse to pray for his father, although he knew of no particular reason why he should do so. The father up to that time, living about 16 miles away, was in good health. The next morning the young man had a telegram to say that his father had died suddenly. The case is given in full in the Appendix (8).

The second happened in an adjoining valley. On December 27th, 1904, as on other days that week, there were long services held at a Church three times each day for the sake of the persons who had been won in the Revival. The wife of the layman who had charge of some of the services objected to her husband's prolonged absence from home, and told him that if he had pleasure in the Church he should have none at home, so she started the weekly wash. On going to the wash-tub, she says, "There before me appeared the four children, and one of them spoke to me in English saying—'Mam, come,' and then they disappeared. I could hear the singing of the hymn, 'O Paradise,' until it died away in the distance." The four children had died in infancy.

The husband's report is that at the time of the vision he was in the Church praying for his wife, but without any thought of the children then or at any time of the day. There was no singing in the Church at the time. His prayer was that God would give his wife a desire to go to the meetings. On his return she asked what was the matter with him, as he looked confused. He saw a change in her, and he believed that God had revealed Himself to her. She cried, went with him to the services, but said nothing about the vision until late that night. Clearly the case belongs to the class of visualised mental impressions of which we have many recorded. See Appendix (10) for the full account.

The Vicar of Llangadfan reports that three of his parishioners, whose names are given, heard bells chiming during service on Sunday morning, January 29th, 1905. The sound was over their heads, but no one else in the congregation heard it. Another parishioner on the previous Wednesday

heard what appeared to him as a thunder clap followed by lovely singing in the air. On Saturday the 14th of January a workman returning from work between 7 and 8 heard some strange music, similar to that caused by the vibration of telegraph wires, only much louder. The hill where he was is far from any trees or wires of any kind. And yet another man heard one evening in February some lovely singing on the road about half a mile from his house: it frightened him very much.

The names are all given, but verification other than the Vicar's is impossible without a personal interview. Whatever the explanation of this series of happenings, I think the evidence is trustworthy. Most of the persons concerned were men. See Appendix (11).

The Vicar of a parish in Cardiganshire (12) was riding, a few days before Christmas 1904, to visit some parishioners who lived three miles up the hillside. As he was ascending he heard voices singing; he thought at first that it was pure fancy and took little notice. Gradually the voices seemed to increase in volume until they became overpowering. He tried to imagine that it could be nothing outside himself, but the harmony seemed to be borne in on him entirely from without. It was as real to his senses as anything he ever heard and the words were distinct, in Welsh. The refrain was started again and again, each time with increased power. Arrived at his destination the singing ceased suddenly. He does not remember that he ever heard the same words sung as he heard them that day, and it is the only experience of the kind that he has had. Many of us know what it is to be haunted by a tune or phrase until by a strong effort of the will we rid ourselves of it, and that one whose mind has been occupied with revival music should have a more vivid experience of the kind is perhaps not very extraordinary.

Amongst the narratives deposited in the office of the S.P.R. is a long one from a young man in Glamorgan whose conversion attracted more than usual notice. From his story I will only quote what belongs to this section on sounds. One night he had spoken at a meeting but felt afterwards that he had said something detrimental to the cause, and he determined not to speak again. He proceeds—"I reached

home at 11 very tired, with no appetite for supper. I laid on the couch but instantly felt full of the Spirit and on fire. It was so hot that I had to go outside, although the fire was nearly out. I went to bed about 12. I was sleepy but was not allowed to sleep. I heard a voice speaking distinctly. The Spirit said (in Welsh)—‘You said to-night that you will not speak for Me again.’ This was repeated several times. I answered—‘You know very well that I cannot speak, that I have nothing to say.’ The Spirit—‘I have a message, I want you to deliver it, and that in the most public place.’ ‘What is it?’ The Spirit—‘Tell them that hypocrisy is the worst sin against Me, and that there is not a hope of a hypocrite receiving a blessing from Me.’ I went now to think over the message. The Spirit again—‘You have not said whether you will say it or not.’ I promised I would. I said—‘Let me sleep now.’ But I was not allowed. . . . I doubted whether it was the Holy Spirit. He then said—‘Don’t you remember Me coming to you in Trinity Chapel, and that quite plainly?’ I was convinced and the next night delivered the message. That night I felt the presence of the Spirit but heard no voice. I had a vision, it was a beautiful light, pure, and brighter than any light I have ever seen, and clusters of something very soft and white falling upon me gently and covering me all over. I called them blessings.” Another night he saw a stick given to him as a help in rough places. Again he saw down an abyss, and marks as if some one had fallen down into it. Next morning he heard of the death of a woman who had delayed repentance. His other dreams related need not detain us; they have all the same character of being mental images formed by the reflections of the subliminal self upon things that had occurred to him, or perhaps that were passing through other minds possibly in telepathic contact with his own.

In another town a young man who, through inability to accept the Creed, and for other causes, had been an irregular attendant at Church, was present at a Revival service during which he saw a lighted candle emerge from the font and the figure of an angel shielding it with his wing from the draught that came from the open door. The flame was very small, and

the least breath of wind would have extinguished it but for the protecting wing. Before the service was ended he gave his adhesion to the Church. The imagery of a tiny flame, as representing little faith, might well occur on such an occasion. This case is included in Appendix (8).

A resident in a Cardiganshire village on the night of December 12, 1904, was walking along the high road when he saw a faint light playing over his head. As it came nearer it increased in size, and thinking he was deceived he closed his eyes, but the light continued. Opening his eyes again he saw the light again as it were a man's body in a shining robe. The figure had wings, it did not touch the ground. He looked at the hand and saw the prints of the wounds. He shouted—"O my Jesus," and the figure ascended out of sight. He felt filled with love, and from that time he can love every one without difference. In the light of the vision there succeeded a view of the world as a wild wilderness. In answer to questions this correspondent says that never before had he had an experience like it: the vision was in silence. His wife has had some wonderful experiences, but the account of these is not forthcoming (13).

A young man in Glamorgan having been much influenced by the Revival determined to do a certain thing unnamed. He failed to fulfil his promise and then when he tried to pray there came a reiterated vision of a large white throne empty, but with the word "Disobedience" written across the front in black letters. Obedience caused this vision to cease (14).

A woman at Dyffryn writes that at the beginning of the year she was praying at midnight in a room without a light when suddenly she found herself in a glorious place in the midst of song and praise, but she saw no one. Thereupon a bright light entered the room in the shape of the Ark and Mercy Seat. It shone brilliantly, she thought there was but a thin veil between herself and the eternal world: and all passed away. She had a vision of Christ three years ago. I asked whether the vision of the Ark was like any picture of it that she had ever seen, and as her answer was "Yes," we may place this incident amongst the cases of mental imagery, the mind utilising stored-up impressions.

In all these instances we have to remember that according

as individual idiosyncrasies and mental habits vary, so do the outcomes of suggestions and impressions. In some they are visualised, in others audited, and again in some the bodily temperature is affected with no formation of an image or a sound heard. We may suppose that the whole of the mental and nervous apparatus within the subject is operative in these occurrences.

Having heard that the Revival had caused an increase of lunacy I asked the Medical Superintendent of the Glamorgan County Asylum for his opinion. From his report (15) I learn that the increase of insanity cannot be attributed to the Revival, for "in only one per cent. of the admissions was religious excitement deemed to be a contributory factor in the causation." This was in the last quarter of 1904 and the same result has been found in 1905.

I now come to that part of the subject which has perhaps caused more excitement in the public mind than any other feature of the Revival. All my readers must have heard of the mysterious lights in Merionethshire associated with the name of Mrs. Jones of Islawrffordd, near Dyffryn. This good lady is, I am told, a very simple, quiet person, whose life until recently has been passed in obscurity. Some time ago she read Sheldon's book, *In His Steps*, and was much moved by it. She determined to work for the spiritual good of her neighbours, and she began her ministry early in December, 1904. The story is that she is attended by lights of various kinds wherever she goes, and, as I shall show presently, there is more in this personal attention than might be supposed. I am spared the necessity of giving minute details, since Mr. Beriah G. Evans, a Carnarvon journalist, has taken care to inform the world as to the lights, and his account of what he and others have seen may be read in *The Occult Review* for March, April, and June, 1905. The numbers are in the S.P.R. Library. It is important to notice that the coast in the neighbourhood of Dyffryn has been favoured or disfavoured with lights of many shapes and sizes in former times. Pennant in his *Tour in Wales* gives a full account of the appearances of mischievous blue flames that alarmed people and did material damage near Harlech in 1694. Lights of a blue colour appeared also in the neighbourhood of Pwllheli in 1875, and

the publication of Mr. Picton-Jones' account of what he then saw elicited from a correspondent the relation of a similar occurrence in 1869 or 1870. Again in 1877 lights of various colours were seen moving over the estuary of the Dysynni. Through the kindness of the editor of the *Oswestry Advertiser* I have received the extracts from his "Bye-gones" columns, which give the notes on lights for the three years 1869, 1876, and 1877. These are quoted in my Appendix (16). I am not satisfied with the investigations that have taken place, and I think now, as I did at the first, that the Society might well employ a geological expert to go over the district and discover, if possible, what conditions are present favourable to the natural production of incandescent vapours. Mr. Bernard B. Redwood (son of the well-known scientific expert, Sir Boverton Redwood) was sent down by the *Daily Mail* in February, 1905, but his report,¹ which I give in the Appendix (17), is not to me conclusive. He planned his investigation on the supposition of electrical disturbance, and I am not surprised that he was disappointed at the result. He says, with more approximation to what I think is the cause of some of the lights, that it is just possible that there may have been some lights caused by spontaneous ignition of phosphuretted hydrogen generated in the marsh at Egryn and distorted by mist. He adds that "Methane or marsh gas is never self-ignited, and may be left out of the question." With his personal opinion of Mrs. Jones I am not disposed to agree; but granting its truth, we have still to reckon with the witnesses I shall quote as to the reality of both subjective and objective lights. The evidence received I proceed to give, first, however, stating my conviction that Merionethshire has been the scene of late of a large amount of exaggeration and misconception, and perhaps trickery. But having made all allowance for persons who mistook meteors, brightly-shining planets, farm lanterns, railway signals, and bodies of ignited gases for tokens of heavenly approval of Mrs. Jones and the Revival, there remain sufficient instances of abnormal phenomena to encourage further inquiry. Evidence of misapprehensions I have received.

¹ This report was not published in the *Daily Mail*, but Mr. Redwood kindly sent a copy of it to us.—EDITOR.

A vicar in the neighbourhood has sent me the following: "A very reliable man informed me that one morning last week [in February, 1905] on looking out through his bedroom window about 6 a.m. he saw some remarkable lights rising over the marsh indicating a wave, bluish colour, and ascending up into the heavens and vanishing away, but he did not in any way connect the light with the Revival in any shape or form."

Correspondents from whom I have managed to obtain evidence relate various experiences. Mrs. Jones of Islawrffordd wrote on January 16th, 1905: "I have seen [the light] every night from the beginning of the Revival about six weeks ago. Sometimes it appears like a motor-car lamp flashing and going out, and injures nothing at all; other times like two lamps and tongues of fire all round them, going out in one place and lighting again in another place far off sometimes; other times a quick flash and going out immediately, and when the fire goes out a vapour of smoke comes in its place; also a rainbow of vapour and a very bright star." She said that the lights were always seen out of doors, and at about six o'clock in the evening. I asked if they had been seen by any one who had not been converted, and the answer was "Yes."

A man at Dolgau says (January 25th, 1905): "We have not seen it now for a fortnight. We saw it for eight nights some time back at about 11 o'clock. We were afterwards a week without seeing it, and then we saw it once more. . . . It was very like the light of a lamp, but not so bright, and appeared to me to move gradually. Once I saw it move swiftly. It was in a place where there was no light to be. It appeared very low down, along the ground, I should think." In reply to queries he says that the colour was a weak white light, always very much the same; it appeared at first accidentally, it was not expected. There is a ditch running through a ravine near the spot.

Another correspondent says that only once did he see the light, on January 2nd, 1905. "It was hovering above a certain farmhouse, and it appeared to me as three lamps about three yards apart, in the shape of a Prince of Wales's feathers, very brilliant and dazzling, moving and jumping like a sea-wave under the influence of the sun on a very hot day.

The light continued so for ten minutes. All my family saw it the same time. It was 10.40 p.m. at the time." My questions were treated by him as evidence of utter unbelief, and repeated requests for further information met with refusals.

A young woman of some education wrote (February 4th, 1905): "I saw the light you refer to one night in the beginning of January [between 10 and 10.30 p.m.]. At first I saw two very bright lights, about half a mile away" [it was between Dyffryn and Llanbedr], "one a big white light, the other smaller and red in colour. The latter flashed backwards and forwards, and finally seemed to become merged in the other. Then all was darkness again. It did not appear in the same place again, but a few minutes after we saw another light which seemed to be a few yards above the ground. It now looked like one big flame, and all around it seemed like one big glare of light. It flamed up and went out alternately for about ten minutes, very much in the same way as some lighthouses."

It is probable that the two persons whose accounts I have just given saw the same light from different points of view.

On December 22nd, 1904, at 5.18 p.m., another deponent saw, in company with two other persons, a large light "about half way from the earth to the sky, on the south side of Capel Egryn, and in the middle of it something like [a] bottle or black person, also some little lights scattering around the large light in many colours. Last of all the whole thing came to a large piece of fog, out of sight."

Another writer, whose account is given in the Appendix (18), describes the light as a pillar of fire, quite perpendicular, about two feet wide and three yards in height.

A correspondent whose opinion, from his position in relation to some of the persons quoted, I am disposed to trust, says that the prevailing view in the neighbourhood is that the lights seen along the coast from Towyn to Portmadoc by scores of people at divers times between 6 p.m. and midnight, and in divers forms, are phosphorescent lights, not associated with any person or building. The light has been seen by many, Chapel members and non-members alike, and at the same time, whether Mrs. Jones be at home or away. About Mrs. Jones's own experiences he declines to express an opinion.

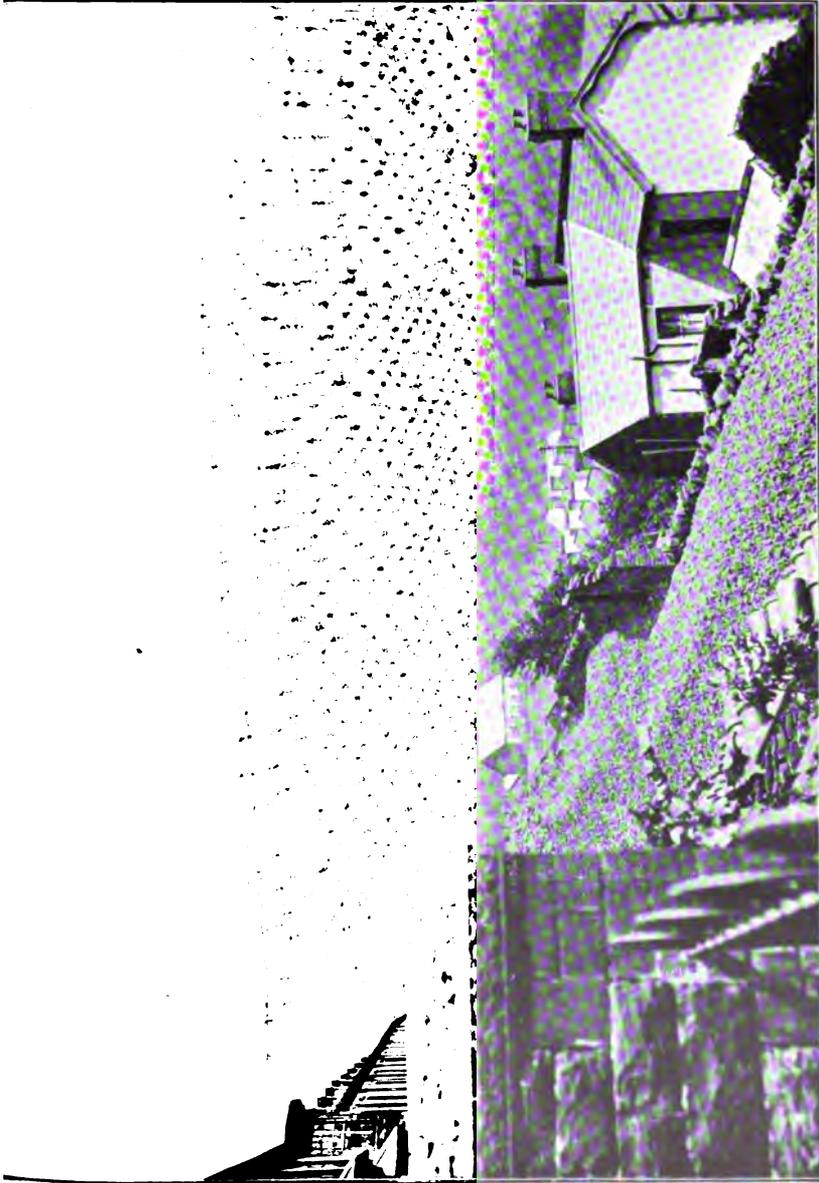


PLATE I.

Where Dr. Morris stood when he saw the light.
The faint mark over the Chapel indicates apparent position of light.
Spot towards the right is just over the flat roof of house on further side of street below.

Lengthy communications from a husband and wife at Harlech, on the same coast, given in the Appendix (19), contain similar evidence, and some account of earnest endeavours to see the lights in Mrs. Jones's presence.

I need not refer to other communications received from the neighbourhood of Welshpool, save to point out that this locality is several miles away from the other, and yet the descriptions of lights are to some extent similar.

On Wednesday, June 21st, 1905, I interviewed a medical man in the Rhondda fach, who saw on May 27th, at night, a globe of light about the size of a cheese plate, or nearly the apparent diameter of the moon, over the chapel where Mrs. Jones was that evening preaching. He made sure by comparing this light with the gas lamps within sight, that it was not an ordinary lamp. I have had a photograph taken from the very spot where the doctor stood when he and his wife saw the light, and have marked on it the place where the light appeared (see Plate I.). As may be seen from this photograph, the background of the chapel, as viewed from the house front, is the other side of the narrow valley, the black mark being just over the flat roof of a house on the further side of the street below. Now it is quite possible that some one willing to deceive his neighbours might have perched himself on the mountain side with a powerful lamp; but why, in that case, he should select a position from which the light could only appear to be right over the chapel to a very few persons, those in or in front of the uppermost terrace of houses, and why he should expose the light only for a few minutes, are points that require explanation. The doctor is in sympathy with Mrs. Jones, and when he informed her that he had seen this light she declared that she had also seen it, but from within the chapel. This case is given in full in the Appendix (20).

A second account of a light appearing in the same valley, about half a mile lower down, and on the opposite side of the valley, at a much later hour, is also given in the Appendix (21). This light was somewhat similar to one seen in North Wales, of which the account is given in (18),—a column of fire about two feet wide and several feet high, of the tint of a fiery vapour.

From the same locality two other accounts (22) have been sent to me of lights seen about the same time by two women.

Now here are four narratives from the Rhondda fach, but of the six persons who witnessed the lights four are known to be North Walians, like Mrs. Jones herself, and I think this fact tends to support my theory that persons of the same race or tribe have similar modes of mental action. The cases of collective hallucinations quoted, so far as they are genuine, have a strong family likeness, and as the seers are all in sympathy with Mrs. Jones, probably her mind is the originating cause of the appearances. In my correspondence with these light-seers I have made a point of asking whether they had any of them ever seen a corpse light (*canwyll gorph*). Not one of them had done so, some of the witnesses had not even heard of such a thing. The persons who see the corpse light are, I believe, not from North Wales, but from Cardiganshire, and possibly are Iberian in race. Professor Barrett has traced the dowsing faculty to Somersetshire, and if the various forms of lights seen in Wales could be properly classified we should no doubt find that as the race-origin so the light-form.

I also suggest a connection between the naturally-caused lights which have appeared frequently along the coast of Tremadoc Bay, from Pwllheli round to Barmouth, and the forms of the subjective appearances which have been described. The traditional, collective memory of the objective lights may act as a guide to the imagination, providing it with materials for picture formation when it is stimulated by a sufficiently exciting cause. Mental imagery can only employ stored-up impressions; however incongruous the various elements, they all may be drawn upon when occasion serves, and the lights of Dyffryn are sufficiently common and familiar to become the mnemonic material of religiously excited minds. Mrs. Jones' *obiter dictum*, "lamp flashing and going out and *injuring nothing* at all," reads like a reflection of the sub-conscious memory upon the lights of 1694, which did injure material objects. Of those lights and their effects Mrs. Jones had most probably read or heard. The motor car association would not suggest injury, because whatever mischief motor cars may do, their brilliant lamps are not the causes of the mischief.

There was a rumour of trickery in the Rhondda fach: some

said that young men had got on to the flat roof of a house, —the only flat roof of a dwelling house that commands a view of the chapel, Libanus—and caused a light to be projected from it on to the chapel roof or over it. I went to the house and the proprietor told me that he had gone on to the flat roof to watch for the lights. He had a small lantern for guidance, as the roof is dangerous, having no parapet, but it would not be possible with so small a lamp to throw a beam of light or create a disc such as the doctor and his wife saw. The spot where the doctor stood, the flat roof, and the chapel form a triangle with the chapel at the apex. Three other instances of lights seen are given in the Appendix (23), (24), (25).

By way of assisting towards a solution of this matter of the lights, I have added (26) to the letters from Wales a communication from a friend who saw at a séance held by eight persons, in a totally dark room, some years ago, five little lights slowly gyrating near the ceiling of the room. The hypothesis of fraud in this case he dismisses with contempt. If we can gather accounts of any considerable number of similar instances in experiments or séances where the mediums may be trusted, we may arrive at the causes of Mrs. Jones's light manifestations.

I have taken care to ask in which cases the lights seen illuminated surrounding objects, and whether persons not distinctly religious saw them. The answers prove that illumination of walls, buildings, and hedges took place in some instances, and if so we may dismiss these at once as purely physical, not psychical. I believe a genuine psychical light has no power of itself to illuminate distinctly any external objects. A room may appear to be flooded with light, but I do not find that the furniture is made more apparent.¹

A complete review of the whole subject of the Revival at this point is not desirable, even if it were possible. We need far more inquiry, more examination of more witnesses, time for comparison, also, of the various phenomena with themselves and with other events in former days. But I hope enough has been said to encourage some of our members to study these spiritual movements without prejudice of any kind, and

¹This question is discussed in the "Report on the Census of Hallucinations," *Proceedings*, Vol. X., pp. 81-82.—EDDROS.

with the certainty that no time is lost which man can devote to the separation of truth from deception, the deliverance of reason from passion, and the clearance of faith from superstition.

A few weeks after the above paper was written I heard of the appearance of "lights" at Ynysybwl, a small colliery town a few miles north of Pontypridd, Glam., and on August 2nd, 1905, I visited the town to interview some of the percipients. Mrs. Jones of Egryn preached at Ynysybwl on July 4th, 5th and 6th, but there is no trustworthy evidence of lights being seen before July 23rd. On that evening several persons went to Ynysyboeth to hear Mrs. Jones once more and by all accounts they were very much affected by the service. On their return to Ynysybwl they held an open-air meeting, at about 10.30 p.m., in the open space known as Robert Town Square. The religious fervour was intense and the service lasted until 1 a.m. One correspondent (see 27a) reports that his attention was called, during the service, to a "ball of light about the size of the moon," with a slight mist over it. Then stars began to shoot out around it, the light rose higher and grew brighter but smaller.

Another at the same gathering describes the light as a "block of fire" rising from the mountain side and moving along for about 200 or 300 yards. It went upwards, a star "shot out to meet it, and they clapped together and formed into a ball of fire." The form changed into something like the helm of a ship. The appearance lasted about a quarter of an hour. This deponent went home to fetch his wife to see the light, but from his house he saw nothing, although the house faces the same mountain side. Returning to the square he again saw it (see 27b). A third witness says that the light was a ball of fire, "glittering and sparkling," and it seemed to be "bubbling over" (27c). A Mrs. J. and her daughters saw the light at 12.30 a.m. as a ball of fire, white, silvery, vibrating, stationary. Mrs. J. also saw two streamers of grey mist emanating from the ball and in the space between them a number of stars (27d). The daughter saw nothing of the stars, but remarks, as no one else does, that the form became oval instead of round (27e). In conversation they told me also that the ball decreased in size. Another



PLATE II.

VIEW OF ROBERT TOWN, SQUARE, YNYSYBWL.

- W, Y, R, indicate the colours of the Posters—white, yellow, red.
- X. The place where Mr. D. D. stood.
- △. The place in which the red triangular light appeared. On the poster to the right of R there is a brilliant red triangle.

witness, whose account has not been written, described his vision to me as a ball of fire with 4 or 5 pillars of light on the left of the ball, the intervening space containing no stars. He was standing near the last-named witnesses. It will be sufficient here to point out that whilst all the witnesses saw a ball of fire, each saw something in connection therewith not mentioned by the others. All agree in thinking that the duration of the light was from 10 to 15 minutes, but whether "vision" minutes are of the same duration as those of solar time remains to be proved. There is no evidence that any one consulted a watch or clock to mark the time that really elapsed.

On July 26th, at a meeting of the Salvation Army, in the same square, Mr. D. D. tells me that he saw over a wood on the mountain side a black cloud from which emerged first a white light, then a yellow, and finally a brilliantly red triangle. The vision lasted about 2 minutes (? vision time). Standing on the spot whence D. D. saw the succession of lights, I noticed that on the hoarding which fences the sidewalk there were four very prominent posters well within the circle of vision as one looked towards the wood over which the light appeared. The posters, read from left to right, as a book is read, gave exactly the sequence of colours as described. The accompanying view (Plate II.) is marked so as to show the order. But for the lateness of the hour, 10.30 p.m., we might attribute the appearances to a transfer of visual impressions from the hoarding to the sky. In that case, however, the colours seen would have been the complementaries of those actually witnessed. The conclusion is that the colour sequence was mnemonic, the imagination using colour and form materials absorbed during daylight. The triangular form of the third light was a reminiscence either of the upper part of the red poster or of the "Bass" advertisement on the further right. The photograph was taken close to the spot where D. D. stood. The suggestion of unconscious utilisation of stored impressions will not be thought unreasonable by those who have examined many "vision" cases.¹ I have ascertained that the posters in question were all *in situ* on or before July 23rd.

¹ Cf. cases of "memory images" given in Mr. Myers's paper on "The Subliminal Consciousness" in *Proceedings*, Vol. VIII., pp. 450-54; also in Vol. XI., pp. 359-61.

In the same town on July 30th at midnight a Mrs. O., whom I have seen, called the attention of my friend, Mr. J. R. J., who lives next door to her, to a ball of fire or torch which she saw travelling over the hill side to the north of Ynysybwl, rather more than a mile, as the crow flies, from her house. Three relatives of Mrs. O., with her and Mr. J. R. J., watched the light moving about in a zig-zag from the top of the hills to the valley below, across fields and hedges, for about 20 minutes. The night was dark; the light went out at intervals and reappeared. It does not appear possible that any person could have borne a powerful lamp over the area pointed out to me, or have moved from point to point so rapidly as the light travelled, the apparent rate being six miles an hour. There is no evidence discoverable of bodies of ignited gases having been seen in the locality previously, and one of the witnesses was not in the least affected by the Revival efforts of Mrs. Jones. There is no solution of this incident at present. It may have been, as the Robert Town Square appearance was, a case of collective hallucination, but there was no immediate mental excitement at work as on the night of the 23rd. Careful examination of the appended letters can hardly fail to strengthen the idea of collective hallucination modified or tempered by individual idiosyncrasies, the originating mind being Mrs. Jones's, in the case of the Robert Town vision. I have taken care not to report other reputed light visions of which the testimony is not considered, locally, to be worth very much, and it may be well to note that, according to trustworthy information, I understand that the ministers of some of the chapels are exercising praiseworthy caution in accepting the reports of visions. Their attitude is wholesomely sceptical.

Visiting the Garw Valley, on the western side of Mid-Glamorgan, a few days ago, I interviewed a tradesman who also saw a light or lights after Mrs. Jones's visit to that valley. But his written account has not yet come to hand.

Several correspondents have expressed a desire for some satisfactory explanation of the lights seen in Glamorganshire and elsewhere, but, until many more authentic cases of the kind are collected and compared, their wish must remain unsatisfied. The lights seen in July were, I believe, not any of

them due to extraneous physical causes. If they are called subjective, the term must be held only to be equivalent to an operation within the physical limits of the percipients, and the lights must be considered in relation to the sounds and changes of bodily temperature experienced by several persons elsewhere, as related in this paper and Appendix. In the ascending scale of vibrations the order is sound, heat, and light waves. Is it probable that persons affected by such stimuli as the Revival provided heard, felt, or saw according (1) to the intensity of the stimulus in each case, and (2) to the susceptibility of the percipient? If one man's mental organs were excited to a certain degree, he would hear a voice; if to a higher degree, he would experience a vision; either operation, however, being entirely within the brain of the subject. I advance the theory of physical vibratory operation with considerable hesitation, and only because I am not satisfied with the proposal to attribute the occurrences either to diseased imagination (if by that term is meant a species of self-deception) or to some mental operation apart or distinct from the organism by which the mind works. If a sharp blow upon a certain portion of the head causes a man to "see stars," may it not be possible for a mental stimulus from without to act in a similar way? When it is known how mind can affect mind at a distance it will be possible, perhaps, to explain the operation within a man's self which interprets stimuli now as sound, now as heat, or again in vision. My chief concern here is to ask that the three kinds of experiences may be examined in correlation and all of them with due regard to the ascertained laws of vibration and modes of energy. The theory may be put thus:

- A. Agent, exercising influence and suggesting form.
- B. Recipient of mental stimulus whose brain translates the message into sound, heat, or light form according to its own capacity of motion.

In this inquiry the physical and the psychical cannot safely be dissevered, however necessary it may be to specialise for the sake of adequate research.

APPENDIX.

(1)

CIRCULAR USED IN THE INQUIRY.

From the Rev. A. T. Fryer, 2 Newport Road, Cardiff.

DEAR SIR,—A great many members of the Society for Psychical Research (abroad as well as in England), being interested in the Revival in Wales, are desirous of having placed on record in the Society's rooms as many authentic narratives as possible of *first-hand* personal experiences of the movement.

I have been requested also to obtain trustworthy information for the Society on those incidents and aspects of the Revival which illustrate or are concerned with the mental and psychical, rather than the moral and spiritual, sides of human nature, and include such things as visions, voices, lights, foretellings, inspirations in prayer or preaching, the sense of spiritual elevation or ecstasy, things which may or may not have a permanent or moral effect, but that have actually occurred.

May I ask your kind co-operation in getting such evidence? Wherever possible, it would be better to have the narratives in the handwriting of the persons who can relate their own experiences; but all narratives written by them or by any one else should be *signed and dated* by the persons to whom the incidents occurred. . . .

Appended are some notes which will serve to guide those who are good enough to help the Society in this investigation.

N.B.—No names will be published without permission.

1. Persons affected by the Revival should be asked to say how the impulse to prayer or song first arose.

2. It is important to discover, if possible, what circumstances or promptings led up to the Revival in various districts.

3. If eloquence in prayer on the part of unlettered persons has been noticed, it would be well to find out whether or no the language or phraseology was that of the Bible or any other spiritual literature.

4. The previous manner of life of persons affected (and of their parents, if possible) should be noted.

5. In the case of visions or voices, etc., it will be useful to learn whether the subjects have previously had similar experiences.

6. One well-authenticated case is worth more to the Society than many of the mere hearsay type.

7. In any case, the observations of recipients of this circular will be of value; if particular cases of abnormal character are not available, general impressions may be sent.

(2)

From the Rev. I. E., Pontardulais, January 30th, 1905. He gives here a written account of what he related to me in October, 1904.

. . . I have not been there in any of the meetings, and therefore the little knowledge I have concerning it comes from others, which cannot be always reliable.

. . . I consider the present Revival, or re-awakening or any other name that one may choose to call it, is the work of God,—an answer to the former prayers of the faithful. No place or man can have a claim to its beginning. . . .

However, . . . I will state what I have heard. Early last year there was a Convention at New Quay which impressed many. Some weeks after a young girl was stirred by a sermon from the Pastor of her chapel, and about 9 p.m. she went to the minister's house, saying: "I want to see you particularly. I have walked about a dozen times back and fore in front of your house this evening, afraid to come in, yet I could not go home before seeing you. You stated in your sermon this evening of a certain state of happiness which every Christian could attain. I try to live a Christian life, yet I have never attained that state yet."

Minister: "Is there anything troubling you, or are you afraid that you are not saved?"

The Girl: "No, I am not afraid of losing heaven; but what is it to be safe alone, when so many around me are totally regardless of their own salvation? What I want is to do more work for Him, to have more pleasure in His service, to attain that state you spoke about this evening." (She was intensely earnest.)

Minister: "Well, it can be obtained on condition—that you give yourself entirely unto Him, and let Him do with you as He pleases."

The Girl: "Ah! but He might ask me some difficult things."

What if He asked me to go out to Africa for Him? I could not do it."

Minister: "That is the only condition—He will ask from you difficult things; undoubtedly He will."

The Girl: "Pray for me."

Minister: "Submit; submit first."

Afterwards, in a week-night meeting, he asked the members to give their spiritual experience. He beckoned to this girl. She cried, and prayed. Others after came to him, and said that they were pricked by their consciences, and wanted to confess to him their sins. He said, "Confess them to God." Then things went on there as they are here now.

Any further information I will most gladly give. I may add that I spent a day at Llandrindod last August in the Keswick Conference. A clergyman, F. B. Meyer, and Madame Penn-Lewis gave addresses. Few attended, yet I felt the same power there—something unaccountable. Next March Evan Roberts will visit this place again.

(3)

From Mr. J. P., Headmaster of the school attended by Evan Roberts when preparing for the ministry:

NEWCASTLE EMLYN, *June 20th, 1905.*

. . . Mr. Evan Roberts wrote to me from Loughor during my Easter holidays 1904, asking for particulars about the school, and stating that he intended coming here the following Summer term. He did not, however, come until the middle of September, 1904—for the commencement of session 1904-'05. During the few weeks that he attended school he showed that he had a capacity and aptitude for work considerably above the average. On Friday of the fourth week and Monday of the fifth he was absent from school, being confined to his room with a very bad cold. On the Sunday Mr. Seth Joshua commenced a week's mission at Bethel C.M. Church, and on Tuesday evening several young ladies from New Quay came over to help. After coming home from the meeting on that night, I heard that Roberts had been there too, although his cold was still very bad, and I felt annoyed with him, especially when I learnt that he was out without an overcoat! I had no opportunity for "lecturing" him on the matter, until I saw him on the Wednesday night standing up to confess Christ at the invitation of Mr. Joshua. He also came forward and knelt in prayer—the most agonising soul-struggle which I had

ever witnessed, although I was surprised, when I spoke to him of it during his period of rest at this place before he went to Liverpool, that he had not much recollection of it, owing perhaps to its having been overshadowed by what transpired at Blaenannerch on the following day. It was here that the turning-point came, and, as he says, he was "bent." I should have said that Roberts was accompanied from here by many friends, including Mr. Joshua and the New Quay ladies, to Blaenannerch. The meetings that were held there had for their object the deepening of spiritual life and conviction, and were one of a series of very successful conventions held by the Calvinistic Methodists of South Cardiganshire in various places—the first at New Quay some 18 months previously. After Blaenannerch, Roberts was here for about three weeks. But I could not get him to come to school. I was terribly anxious about him, and had grave fears for his condition, because at the time I was totally unable to appreciate the mighty forces working in him. I knew that he spent almost all his time in prayer, meditation, and reading the Bible, but that did not make my anxiety any the less. I thought it would be a good thing to get him out of himself, as it were, and I used to call with him every morning at his lodgings to entreat him to come to school. With smiles and tears intermingled, and genuineness writ plainly on his face, he would say that he was *very sorry*, but that he was not able to do any school work, and that it would be no use for him to come to school in that state. He used to tell me that he loved school work (and I knew it), but that as soon as he would lay hold of a school-book, he felt the Spirit coming on him, crushing him, and that it was only by putting the book aside that he obtained relief. As he said this, a tremor would run through him and his face and neck were seen to quiver in a remarkable way. All this, however, only served to make me more earnest than ever in trying to get him to school, and one morning I succeeded in inducing him to come with me, after telling him that he need not come up to classes, but might go on with Algebra. I believe that he came to please me, being afraid that he might appear obstinate. At least, that is my impression. That was the last occasion on which he came to school. He and Sidney Evans had been invited to a monthly meeting at Bwlchygroes, and they went on the afternoon of that day. From that time forward he was getting more and more of an enigma to me and to all who took an interest in him. About this time he began to have visions—you have undoubtedly read descriptions of

these in the press—and he related them to my father and others. While in chapel on Sunday night, he heard a voice calling him to go home to Loughor to speak to the young people of Moriah (his own chapel). He came to my father's house on that night and related to him his experience. My father at last told him that he had better go to try. But if nobody had told him anything, no power would have held him back. On Monday morning he went. The rest of his history you probably know better than I can describe.

On looking back at these strange events, I cannot help being amused at myself and my anxiety for Roberts. It was very little I understood how the Spirit of God was working in him for a special purpose. It all seems so plain now.

Behind all this it is important to remember that Roberts was for 12 or 13 years living in close proximity to God, and that his prayers during that time were fitting him for the great work to which he has been called.

There is one point I forgot to mention: When he was here a short time ago, I asked him why he did not come to school directly after he had first written to me. The explanation was that as a result of wrestling with the Spirit the way was not made clear for him. . . .

(4)

From Mr. J. G., Nantymoel, Glam.

May, 1905.

I attended five meetings conducted by Evan Roberts; rather, meetings in which he took part. The meetings were held in different places under different circumstances. Each meeting had a complexion and a character of its own, essentially different in that respect from a series of Parochial Mission services. Each meeting stands forth in my recollection like a masterpiece in art.

But I was able to detect a uniform method in the five meetings; rather, I was able to make out certain things, each and all indispensable, apparently, which conditioned each meeting, leaving out of consideration at present the elements which make every religious service a success.

(1) The Welsh language was indispensable. In two of the meetings, ~~were~~ well-intentioned Englishmen, evidently practised in "revival work," nearly put out what the reporters describe as the "fire." Fortunately Welsh in each case reasserted itself.

(2) The meetings revealed the marvellous conformity of the popular Christianity of Wales. It is a conformity which is shared by Welsh Churchmen as well as Welsh Nonconformists. I refer particularly to the

(a) Use of the same hymns and tunes.

(b) Scripture knowledge as shown by apt quotation at the impulse of the moment.

(c) A most homogeneous body of revival divinity. No matter to what sect the speaker belonged, he was orthodox itself.

(3) To this conformity in outward expression must be added the welding power of united prayer, which in each case had preceded Roberts' arrival.

(4) Evan Roberts tests a meeting before he begins to speak. What is most provoking to many of his hearers seems to me the clearest human explanation of his success in bringing each meeting to a dramatic and sensational climax. His apparent indifference and immobility for an hour or so before he says anything breaks up all the composure an audience of human beings can command. Add to this his habit of transfixing each and every person present with his, not unpleasant, but homage-compelling gaze. For a long time he reviews methodically the rows upon rows of faces. It is the gaze of the practised physician. By the time he gets up to speak he has made a mental report or census of his audience. He knows what souls are ill at ease. He predicts conversions, and he detects hindrances. He is doubtless a man of faith, relying on the promptings of the Holy Spirit, but he is not a man who neglects picking up all the data available by human means concerning the condition of his audience. He first waits for his audience to reveal itself to him, and then gets up and tells the people just what they knew already, but they are puzzled and staggered by the fact that this meteoric stranger should know them so well. The result in thousands of cases is an impression which was the means of reclaiming the woman of Samaria (St. John iv. 29, 39), "He told me all that ever I did."

(5) His "break-downs," or what some of his unsympathetic critics call "contortions," must be taken into account. In three out of five meetings I witnessed three of his nervous collapses, and I was on each occasion near enough to him to render "first-aid" if necessary. I could not believe that he was "shamming." He would cry "his heart out," his tears and sobs affecting the most callous present. On two occasions I saw him placing one hand on his neck, as if

pressing something down, or controlling himself where he felt weakest. There was a jerking backward of the head which, as I am not a physician, I will not venture to describe, but I have noted the same thing in persons whose nervous system was somewhat deranged. I think the hand pressing on the neck may be explained in that way. Such involuntary concomitants of the "collapse" made me feel quite sure that it *was* a collapse.

But though no "shamming," the "collapse" was most effective in evoking whatever sympathy the audience had hitherto withheld. There was in each case a burst of prayer throughout the building when the revivalist was in such distress. And as he had a way of recovering suddenly, there was a burst of praise the moment he stood up again.

I write as I observed and felt. A meeting with Evan Roberts turns Welsh human nature inside out. I wonder if a bad man, however clever he might be, could play so effectively with his audience. In this case it is most fortunate that the man is thoroughly good, and discreet with the discretion of a saint. So I believe.

(5)

Report by "Awstin," special correspondent of the *Western Mail*, of interview with Mr. Evan Roberts immediately after the seven days' silence. (*Western Mail*, March 3rd, 1905).

Mr. Evan Roberts said: "On the evening of last Wednesday week I was getting ready to go to the service at Briton Ferry. I had my overcoat on, my gloves in my hand, and my hat on my head, when a voice said, 'Don't go.' I ought to have told you that before that, before I came downstairs, while I was washing, a voice had said in Welsh, 'Paid myn'd i Briton Ferry' ('Don't go to Briton Ferry'), and then, when I got down to the passage, as I have told you, the voice said, 'Don't go.' We were all ready then, and Mr. Mardy Davies was here. Then I felt some pressure (a burden) on my soul. I went back into the room, sat on a chair, and was compelled to pray for the salvation of souls. Then came a second outburst, a greater burden than the other, and I was compelled to go on my knees in great agony of soul. The voice continued to say, 'Don't go to-night.' Then I tried to convey the message to Mr. Mardy Davies, but I failed, so I was compelled to write it down. About that time a voice said, 'You are to be silent for seven days.' The sisters were here at the time, and

after Mr. Mardy Davies left they were asked in writing to sing 'Lead, kindly Light.' The singing was tender and solemn, and they cried as they sang, 'One step enough for me.' They afterwards sang, 'I need Thee every hour,' and were deeply affected as they sang :

Mi lyna'n dawel wrth Dy draed,
 Mi ganaf am Dy werthfawr waed ;
 Mi garia'r groes, mi nofia'r don,
 Ond cael Dy anian dan' fy mron.

"Presently one of the sisters asked, 'What are we to do?' The answer was, 'Wait until I receive an explicit message from heaven. He has suggested (this word was doubly underlined in the book) that one of you should go home and the other remain with me.' After a space of time, and much prayer, the answer came: 'Annie to remain here to wait upon me, and Mary to go home for holidays, or to go with Maggie and Dan.'"

In the last paragraph I am quoting the memorandum-book, and I must explain that 'Mary' means Miss Mary Davies (Gorseinon), 'Maggie' Miss Maggie Davies (Maesteg), and 'Dan' Mr. Dan Roberts.

On Thursday morning the book contained the instruction (to Miss Annie Davies) :

"There is no person except yourself to see me for the next seven days—not even my father and mother. I am not ill. Tell Mary to inform Dan that he need not trouble, for it is the Lord's will."

I may here add from my personal knowledge that Mr. Dan Roberts received that message and acted upon it, although he took the first opportunity available on Thursday after the silence had been broken to see his brother.

"Tell him (continued the note) not to come, for he cannot see me. I cannot see Mary or Maggie."

FIRST DAY.

Continuing to quote from the book, Mr. Evan Roberts read :

"On the Tuesday, at 4.22 p.m., I asked the Lord for a message and received the answer, 'Isaiah liv. 10.' A voice spoke plainly in English and Welsh. It was not an impression, but a voice. There was at this time a struggle going on in my mind as to what the people would say to this."

SECOND DAY.

On the second day it is noted:—

“Referring to the first day’s silence, my experience of the first day was Genesis i. 2—‘Darkness was upon the face of the deep. But, praise His Holy name, the Spirit of the Lord moved upon the face of the waters. On the second day God has given a command, ‘Let there be light.’ Let there be light; light has come into my soul, but this perpetual watching fills my sky with dark clouds—hovering and weary on their way to the West—a seven days’ journey. It is always a seven days’ journey to perpetual rest. Life is only a seven days’ journey.

“I cannot read my Bible properly, for while I read I may see some wonder, and just then give a word of acclamation, and thus rob this silence of its strength, for silence is a mighty weapon. I would prefer being like Ezekiel, unable to speak. If I were unable to speak there would be no need for this watching. Yet possibly the lesson intended to be taught is to be watchful. I must teach myself to say with my beloved Jesus, ‘Thy will be done.’”

THIRD DAY.

11.30 third day—Saturday. “A wave of joy into my heart to-day about 11.30—the sound of the name of ‘Jesus, Jesus,’ uttered in my ear came to me, and I was ready to jump for joy, and I thought He is enough for me, enough for all men—enough for all to all eternity. On this third day I was commanded not to read my Bible—the day would have been easier for me otherwise.”

“A caller from Australia sent in a letter,” said Mr. Roberts to me, “and this is one item of what I wrote on the back of the letter, which I returned to him.” (And he again referred me to the book). “Send your prayers to Heaven as direct as you send this (letter) to me, and God will answer immediately.”

Upon looking at the book I noticed that, besides this item, Mr. Roberts had written on the latter twelve questions bearing upon prayer. On another page of the book Mr. Evan Roberts had written—“Let my conversation be such as could be printed and read by the public without raising a blush upon my cheek. Live a practical life—a life of faith, so that if I leave Wales without a penny in my pocket I shall be satisfied.”

Reverting to the conversation with regard to the first day’s silence,

Mr. Roberts said:—"On the margin of a newspaper which was tear-stained I wrote to say that my tongue was tied, and that I should not speak. When I was left alone the spirit said, 'Now, watch, and don't utter a word.' I was afraid, but found out on retiring to my room that it was not want of power to speak on my part that prevented me speaking, so that it was evident that it was intended to be a lesson to me in obedience."

Then, coming back to the diary, I noticed a memo. to this effect:—"Third lesson. Speak, Lord, in such a way that I may differentiate Thy voice from the cunning of the Evil One."

I then asked him what this meant, and he said that it was a thought which he had written down after meditating upon the bare possibility of listening to the voice of the Evil One instead of that of God.

FOURTH DAY.

A Sunday thought, which I must note in passing, was this:

"6.30 a.m. Wait not until thou goest unto Heaven before beginning to praise the Blood. To praise the Blood in Heaven cannot bring any one soul to accept it. To praise is worthy—if thou canst, by singing the praise of Jesus on earth, bring but one soul to accept Him, it will be a greater thing than all the praise beyond the grave to eternity."

Referring again to the diary, I remarked that here was, I presumed, another thought jotted down as the days wore on. "Fourth day. I am going to be what God wants me to be." Mr. Evan Roberts said, "Yes."

FIFTH DAY.

On the fifth day was this note, which clearly indicates the burden which the silence entailed upon the evangelist:—"Too tired to write." Later on were these notes:

"I have been very near to God this afternoon—so near as to make me sweat."

"I must take great care, first, to do all that God says—commands—and that only. Moses lost himself here—struck the rock. Second, to take every matter, however insignificant, to God in prayer. Joshua lost himself here; he made a covenant with the Gibeonites, who pretended that they lived in a far-off country, while they were living close at hand. Third, to give obedience to the Holy Spirit. Fourth, to give all the glory to Him."

Mr. Evan Roberts explained to me that the underlining of the word "all" in the last sentence was emphatic. He had drawn three lines under the word, and a voice told him to put a fourth. And he put it. Then came this entry on the book: "Here am I, an empty vessel; take me, Lord!"

And following this was the expression of a desire to go to Palestine, and I give it because the same book contains a striking sequel to it:

"I want to go to Palestine," it read. "If it is the Lord's will, I shall go. I should like to go ere long, just to use my experiences afterwards to draw people to the foot of the Cross. I should like to walk on the slopes of Calvary, and while there think of the Blessed Saviour while He wended His way with heavy-laden steps to its summit."

The next item in the diary was in Welsh:

"9.37. I have a mind to shout 'Three cheers for Jesus,' or, as 'Tudno' (a noted Welsh bard) sang—

"Of Heaven and earth, the topic now I sing,
The Godlike Man of this world and the next."

SIXTH DAY.

Then come more memoranda, and among those the sequel to the Palestine wish—"Sixth day. You remember I said I would like to go to Palestine. Yes. Well, you know I said that I should have no money to go. Well, a lady has written me to-day offering to give me £20 towards 'one of the delightful' trips to Palestine! *Diolch!*"

"6.25 a.m. A Voice: The faith of the people is being proved as much as thine own. Did I not sustain thee during your months on the pinnacle, in sight of the whole world? If sustain thee I could in public, is my power less to sustain thee in private? If I sustained thee during four months, can I not sustain thee for seven days?"

"5.21.—Voice: Take thy pen and write:—Lo, I am the Lord, Who hath lifteth thee up from the depth. I have sustained thee thus far. Lift up thine eyes and look on the fields, and, behold, they are white. Shall I suffer thee to spread a table before Mine enemies? As I live, saith the Lord, the windows of Heaven shall be opened and the rain shall come down on the parched earth. With flowers the wilderness shall yet be decked, and the meadow-land shall be the habitation of kings. The ground shall sprout

and blossom in its fulness, and the Heaven shall look down with laughter upon the riches of the earth, yielding glory unto God. Open thine hand, and I will fill it with power. Open thy mouth, and I will fill it with wisdom. Open thine heart, and I will fill it with love. Look towards the west, and call thousands; towards the south, and say 'Come'; towards the north, and say, 'Draw nigh.' Look towards the east, towards the east, towards the east, and say, 'Let the sun arise and shed forth its warmth. Let life spring up. Let the nations which have rejected My name live.' To kings turn thyself and say, 'Bend.' To knights, 'Submit ye.' To the priests, 'Deal out judgment, pity, forgiveness.' Ye islands, seas, and kingdoms, give ear unto Me, I am the Almighty. Shall I lift My rod over you? Did I not swear by the prophet Isaiah: I have sworn by Myself, the word has gone out of My mouth in righteousness, and shall not return. That unto Me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear?"—Isaiah xlv. 23.

SEVENTH DAY.

"Seventh day."—Under this heading the memorandum is:

"5.17.—At my table, tears in my eyes. Why? I have just been opening my heart to my Master, and said that I am only a worker in His fields, doing my best, while others working for the same Master leave His work to come to hinder me. [This refers, so he explained to me, to some of the critical and sarcastic letters which he receives now and again.] I asked my dear Master to protect me. I want to work for my Saviour. Why cannot we have the millions for Him? He died to save millions. How many can I bring to Him? I feel much stronger now God has answered my prayer."

BREAKING OF THE SILENCE.

Then, coming to the breaking of the silence, Mr. Evan Roberts said that the first word uttered was not to any human being, but to God. "I was first commanded to rise from bed (Cyfod o'r gwely). Bend thy knees (Plyg dy liniau). Open thy lips and pray (Agor dy enau a gweddia). The first words I uttered were: 'Derbyn fi' ('Accept me')." "Then when I got out of the room," continued Mr. Roberts, "I saw Mr. Jones, my host, and we greeted each other very cordially. Then I met and spoke to Mrs. Jones, and a little while afterwards Annie Davies arrived, and I had a few words' conversation with her. Then you came."

(6)

Evan Roberts at C.M. Chapel, Liverpool, April, 1905.

At half-past ten the Rev. J. W. called upon the audience to recite the Lord's Prayer to close the service. 211 had already accepted Christ that night. After the Lord's prayer was gone through, Evan Roberts said to the audience, "You can go home if you wish, I cannot go from here, because the work is not finished yet. There is a man here in the struggle now." A test was made, but no one would surrender himself. He prayed silently in the pulpit again, and after he finished some one in the congregation shouted, "Will you kindly say, Mr. Roberts, in what part of the building the man is? That will facilitate matters." Roberts prayed again, and said afterwards that the man was not in the middle nor the sides of the chapel. Now it was clear that he must have been on the gallery. Before a test was made on the gallery, a minister asked the Rev. J. W. to test in English as well as Welsh because that there were some there who could not understand Welsh. E. Roberts interrupted at once and said, "No, there is not a word of English to be now, the man in question is a Welshman." The gallery was tested and some were sitting in the two wings, but not one of them would yield. Roberts prayed again and said that the man was not in either of the wings, hence he could not be anywhere but on the portion of the gallery the further end of the chapel. This again was tested and all stood on their feet. He prayed again and said, "The man must be there, for I am drawn to that direction every time I pray." Another test was made by asking the people to raise their right hands. All did this, and the minister who was going round that part of the gallery said, "I cannot see one here with his hand down." The revivalist prayed once more, and at the end said, "The man has decided now, and he is by the door on the left." In a few seconds a man confessed that he had deceived the audience each time, and that it had now become too hard for him, and that he was giving himself up.

After this, Roberts said to me and the Rev. J. W., "You can go home if you wish, but I cannot. The work is not finished." In a few minutes an Englishman came in from behind the pulpit. Roberts was engaged in silent prayer at the time. This man gave himself up and Roberts said, "I can go home now, the work is finished." This Englishman related his experience afterwards in the hearing of the audience, and said that he was going towards

Toxteth that night, which is a long distance from — and in an opposite direction, when on his way he felt some irresistible influence drawing him towards —. Although he knew that all would be carried on in Welsh there, and consequently that he would not be able to understand a word, he found himself in the chapel somehow and was captivated entirely by the singing. He struggled with his feelings and went out to the nearest public house, called for a pint of ale, made three attempts to drink it, but failed each time. He felt his arm as if it had been paralysed each time he tried.

(7)

Accounts by "Awstin."

I.

June 26th, 1905.

At — Chapel, Penydarren, Mr. Evan Roberts declared that, if he was not mistaken, everybody present in that meeting was going to "come to Christ" *that day*. I, myself, understood that to mean *during that service*, and I was somewhat curious as to whether the prediction would be fulfilled.

Presently, a young man in the gallery pointing to some one sitting in the body of the chapel, urged him to "come now," and added, "I know you have been blaspheming the name of Jesus Christ before now, but come now, William," and he began to pray for the salvation of the man (said by some to be a relative). A young woman in the gallery also prayed for the same man and also appealed to him, while she wept bitterly. Some of the "workers" talked to the man referred to, and presently one of them said the man "wanted more light." "What light does he want?" asked Evan Roberts. There was no answer for a while, until one of the "workers" said "He does not see his way clear." Evan Roberts's answer was, "Pray for him," and the meeting proceeded.

Then a young woman stood up in the gallery and said, "I cannot see my way clear to come to-day"—a voluntary public statement of a kind I had never previously heard made, by a woman, at any rate. Prayers were offered and the meeting proceeded again until E. R. declared that there was some obstacle in the meeting which needed removal. He said he did not know what it was. Then he prayed, and *agonised*, the only words I could hear him utter (and I sat immediately facing the pulpit, in the "big pew") were (in Welsh) "O Lord, remove it." Suddenly, he stopped and said the

obstacle had been removed, but that he did not know what it was. Some one present must know, and he hoped that person would say. There was no answer, and the meeting was brought to a close rather abruptly.

Rev. T. S.— asked me if I knew what the declaration meant. I said I *did not*, but would ask Roberts. At tea I asked him, and he said he did not know, but that it would yet be revealed—to some one.

That night I and Mr. S. and Dr. M. (London Pastors' College) went to *another chapel* to hear Evan Roberts.

When I met Mr. S. two days later he told me that he had had the sequel to the mysterious declaration as to the *removal of the obstacle* at the — meeting. The pastor of that chapel (Mr. O.) had told him that on the night of the declaration a service was held at — (although Roberts was at the other chapel), and that at — the “infidel” of the afternoon service had got up to say that the “obstacle” removed during Evan Roberts’s agonising prayer was the doubt in his (the infidel-atheist’s) mind; that he was a strong-willed man, and positively determined not to publicly admit it when Roberts asked the *person who knew to say*; that he had gone home at the close of the afternoon meeting, but could get no peace of mind until he now came to declare his conversion and to explain what had taken place in the afternoon.

The young woman who could not see her way clear in the afternoon also came to the — meeting that night, and thus seemingly fulfilled E. R.’s prediction, for all others in the afternoon had stood up to declare themselves followers of Christ when the “tests” were put.

II.

Travelling alone in first-class carriage, and having nothing to do, I began cogitating as to what I would say that day if I were Evan Roberts. I wrote two pages on my note-book—making special reference to the (then) coming Christmas, and using in one phrase the words, “Y Crist” (The Christ). I had never heard E. R. use that description of the Saviour, and do not know why I used it. I saw E. R. on his arrival at Treherbert—in presence of others—but had no conversation at all with him as to what I had written in my note-book. He went to have some tea, and I went to the meeting. He followed, later on, and to my astonishment began his address with the same words as I had written in my book, including “Y Crist.”

After writing two pages I had stopped, remarking to myself, "What a ridiculous thing to write, for I am *not* Evan Roberts." Now, however, E. R. went on further than I had written, and when we met, later on, at the house of Mr. E. D., I showed E. R. the notes. He said, "Very good." I asked what they were. He said, "Notes of my address to-day." I asked him if he knew when I wrote them. He said, "No." I told him they were written about an hour and a half *before* he delivered them, and showed him, on subsequent pages of the *same* note-book, my shorthand notes of the actual address.

(8)

From the Rev. W. M. M., of Maesteg, S. Wales.

May 31st, 1905.

(1) The (to me) most remarkable part of the phenomenon called the "Religious Revival" was the ecstatic utterance of illiterate young men and young women. In St. Mary the Virgin's Church, Garth, between 20 and 30 young people took part in extempore prayer regularly at each service (or after-service) for about six weeks. Previous to the Revival not one of these had ever attempted to engage in public extempore prayer, and for the last two months they have all "relapsed" into their former state of silence and calmness of mind. Their utterances consisted for the most part of Bible and Prayer Book expressions, so arranged and fitted together as to form a coherent and beautifully worded prayer.

During the short period indicated above I heard dozens of prayers that for piquancy of expression, richness of cadence, and fervency of utterance would have done credit to a St. Chrysostom. And this from the mouths of young folk whose knowledge would hardly be level with the present-day requirements of the fourth standard!

I asked more than one *where* or in *what manner* he had had his prayer. The answer I invariably got was: "I didn't have it anywhere, sir; it came to me at the time, and I couldn't help praying."

All the young people who took part in these services are members of our Sunday school, and they are nearly all communicants. In age they ranged from fifteen to twenty-five.

(2) A remarkable change took place in the countenances of these young people when under the influence of the spiritual spell. I observed that they became very pale, and their eyes wore a far-away

listless look. One young man told me that for some days after a certain service in which he had prayed, he saw people move like ghosts in the street, and thought there was a thick mist.

(3) We had one remarkable conversion. C. R. G., an irregular member of my congregation, and an unbeliever in the divinity of our Lord, had a vision during a revival service. He saw a lit candle emerge from the font of St. Mary's Church, and the figure of an angel shielding it with his wing from the draught that came from the open door. The flame, he said, was very small, and the least breath of air would have extinguished it, but for the protection of the angel wing. Before the end of the service the young man got up and publicly renounced his heresy. On Christmas Day he was baptised by immersion in the brook Cerdin.

(4) A young man by the name of B. prayed very fervently at one of our Sunday evening revival services for the salvation of his father. Early on the morrow he received a telegram to say that his father had died very suddenly on Sunday evening. It transpired that his father passed away just at the time that he was praying, or shortly after.

Young B. explained to me that he was moved by an irresistible impulse to engage in prayer on behalf of his father, although as far as he knew there was no particular reason for it. His father, up to the hour of his death, was apparently in perfect health. The young man had never before prayed extempore, and I don't know that he has since. My people came to believe, as they still do, that the prayer was inspired. It certainly was a remarkable one.

C. R. G.'s own account of the incident described by Mr. M. is as follows:

June 20th, 1905.

I certify that on Sunday evening the 18th of December, 1904, I did see a vision of an angel by the font of Garth Church, which was sheltering a small candle which seemed to be standing out of nothing, coming up out of the water in the font. There was a draught coming in from the door, but the angel with his wings stopped the candle from douting. It was at the time Mr. M. was speaking of Christ. I did not believe in Christ before that He was our God and my Saviour. I had always denied Him, but never again, for I believed then, and I was baptised in the river Cerdin on Christmas day.

I am 26 years of age. An Englishman.

In regard to the last incident described by Mr. M., Mr. B. writes :

MAESTEG, 5th July, 1905.

In reply to your inquiry, I beg to state that my father died on Monday, December 19, 1904, about 11.30 a.m. The enclosed wire will sufficiently prove this, I think. He was apparently in perfect health up to within about two hours of his death. He was certainly quite well when I had last heard from home ; as also he was on the Sunday evening which I am about to mention. On Sunday evening, December 18, I attended a revival service at St. Mary's Church, Garth. It was a wonderful service, and the Holy Spirit was present. Towards the close of the service, about 9 o'clock, or a little after, I felt an irresistible impulse to pray for my father, which I did. I distinctly saw his face, and heard him asking me to pray for him. I had never engaged in public prayer in my life before, and I regret to say I have not felt strong enough in my spirit to do so since. But I found no difficulty in praying that evening.

I was told at home after my father's death that a very strange thing had happened there on the Sunday evening in question. The children at home usually said their prayers in the bed-room, but at my father's request that evening they said their prayers downstairs in the drawing-room. Father and mother knelt with them and listened to their prayers. When the children had finished my father still knelt, and kept on kneeling for a long time, till my mother thought there was something the matter with him, so she went on and touched him on the shoulder. He said, "I am all right, I was only thinking of the boy"—meaning myself. It is extraordinary to think that at that very time, as near as we can judge, I was also praying for him in church.

There is no mistake about it, I distinctly saw my father in the service. He knelt alongside of me and looked at me with a pitiful face and said, "My dear boy, pray for me." This is the sincere truth. I had never taken religion very seriously before, but I do now. If you want to know more, will you be so good as to ask the Rev. Mr. M.

The telegram enclosed in Mr. B.'s letter is dated December 19th, 1904, handed in at 11.10 a.m., received at 11.26 a.m., and says, "Come home immediately ; dad dying."

In reply to my inquiries, the Registrar of the district

informed me that the date of death, as given in his register and in the doctor's certificate, was December 19th, 1904.

(9)

From Mr. W. H. D., of T—— :

June 21st, 1905.

I have always taken great interest in reading, and always the best books I could get hold of. I was a member of —— Church, T—— (Independent or Congregational Church), for years, also a Sunday School teacher, also a member of their string band. But I left the church $4\frac{1}{2}$ years ago, because I could not agree with them in certain dogmas. Then I took more to reading than ever. I have read all the R.P.A. reprints as published, and I thought they were good, because they satisfied my spirit more than anything else I knew of. The Idea of God and the Spirit World were put aside, and read as much as I could on the subject of Psychic Phenomena. I read the lessons of the American school of science, and a course from the Psychic Research Society and the New Thought. I read Prof. W. James and Stout's books on Psychology; also books on Ethics by Mackenzie and Newman Smith. I read books on Free-thought, Ingersoll, "Saladin," Foote, and Cohen, and some of J. S. Mill's books, also Paine, etc. I also attended lectures on Free-thought. It all led me to Agnosticism and Abstractive Idealism. I may here tell you that I kept myself from all immoral actions. I always tried to think the best and live the noblest. I and a few friends started an Ethical Society, and, being the secretary, took great interest in it, and spent a year splendid together. Then the Revival started here at T——, so we discontinued the meetings of the Ethical Society; but I suggested to my friends that we should continue with our meetings, and if any good was to become of this Revival that we should take the advantage of it. But they refused, so I attended two revival meetings with much interest, and was astonished at the conversions of some of the most reckless men and women I knew of. Questions arose several times to my mind, such as, How was it to be accounted that moral consciousness were centrifiged into the conscience of these people? Although I knew through reading Professor W. James's book, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, that the centrifiging of moral ideas produced great fits of hysteria, etc.; but I was surprised upon seeing and hearing the testimonies of many dozens of people. Some young men of noble

character experienced great joy, because they could see that their prayers were answered. They prayed that God should save some particular friend or person, and these friends were coming from public-houses, and giving themselves up to Christ and His service, bursting into tears for their sins. I knew of some coming miles away in answer to prayers on their behalf. I knew about *Thought-transference*, and have seen it effective several times; but I could not make out why these men and women whom I have seen were morally changed instantaneous, and they live better now than ever.

I attributed many of the conversions to be effected through the psychology of emotions, imitative instinct, imaginations, etc.; also through ideational and conceptual process. In some of the meetings many showed great agony in their bodies, which was unexplainable to me. There were dozens praying the same time at some meetings, and four to six several times I witnessed praying. Several of these were tried to "*hush up*," but it was of no use at all, because many of them lost all consciousness.

In all meetings which I attended up to the end of February I was quite positive to all these various influences, because I practised "*auto-suggestion*," and I knew it to keep me without being affected at all.

I noticed that in many of the meetings I attended there was great lack of enthusiasm, sometimes very quiet; others noticed it. Among them the Rev. J. G. J. was one who expressed this belief on the 20th of November, 1904. I was in this meeting from 7.30 to 10 o'clock, when he made this statement: "I don't know what is the reason that this meeting and others I have noticed are so hard. The Spirit of God does not seem to work here to-night yet, but I know that after the *sceptics* and *lookers-on* have gone home it is then that the spirit works among us." So, I said to myself, I shall see if this is correct to-night and what it is like. I went home and had supper. Then I went back again to the lobby or porch of the chapel, and I determined that I should not go in to disturb anything. I opened the door quietly and peeped in. I never witnessed such a scene or sensation. The great fervour or enthusiasm, the agony, the joy, men and women jumping in their seats, some praying, thanking God for answering their prayers; others praying unto God that they should experience this mighty power in their souls, others testifying that they had received the Holy Spirit, and one person said, "Don't try to understand this, but throw yourself into it. It surpasseth all understanding." But I said to myself, I

want to understand something about it first, then I will believe in it. About 12.30 this night a schoolmaster, a splendid character and scholar, rose up and proclaimed that he had felt something that night which he never experienced before in his life. On seeing this, a friend of mine, T. W., who was sitting with his wife and another friend on the gallery, said he did not believe much in the Revival. He wanted to know something about it, so he thought he would go and ask a few questions to this schoolmaster, what he had to say about it. He caught in his hat and began walking down the staircase, when he was instantaneously knocked (as it were) unconscious. He ran down the stair, and he then jumped five of the steps to the floor (you will remember that I was in the porch all this time), so I was the first that he saw. He looked like a madman, with his eyes penetrating through me as it were. He ran to me and caught hold in my hand, and shouted out, "Here is reality to-night. Here is reality to-night. There is no philosophy in the universe that will explain this, and I am going in here to say what I have felt here to-night, and I want you to be saved, my friend." Then he ran into the chapel, and on by the pulpit. He jumped on top of a seat, and he threw his hat with all his might up towards the ceiling of the church, and with a loud voice he declared that his whole life had been full of hypocrisy and fraud, and shouted for God and men to forgive him. Then he came out again and told me that I ought to get his experience, and that I should pray for it. It could not be explained. It is above all understanding, he said. He remained partly unconscious for a fortnight. The house and everywhere seemed brighter, and he saw a vision of a place beautifully white, and a voice came to him that God would be his refuge and strength. There is a great difference in him now; he is more peaceful than ever and joyous and enthusiastic, and ready to do service to all.

He was moved by the Spirit twice after this fortnight to unconsciousness. How he escaped from injury while jumping and passing across seats was marvellous. He prayed on these occasions with such earnestness and zeal as I never heard before; and he received such physical strength that he thought he could move away a tremendous weight.

I have asked him several times if he desired anything of the kind of experience he had had, and he said, "No, never. I could not think of it; but I am much happier now."

On this great night, however, I was quite cool and unmoved. A

few young men wanted me to believe in Christ, but I could not. I could not see any actual value in this belief, because I believed in Abstractive Idealism, and I thought a better conception of truth could not be got. The Spiritual world was not a *reality* to me, and an answer to prayer I knew nothing of it. I knew of the effect of auto-suggestion upon myself, and I knew what effect a good and healthy suggestion had on others. I wanted an evidence to prove that the Spiritual world was a reality. They insisted that I should believe in Christ first, then I should do what he told us to do (that is, to pray unto God through Him, and I should find out for myself the result). After a few months' time I decided that I should obtain this experience if it was possible. So, on the 25th of Feb., I determined that I would take Christ my ideal in life. I went to the meeting on that night. It was overcrowded. I never was in such a meeting. The prayers in this congregation had an inspiring effect upon me, which caused a thrill through my body, causing great pain. I cried bitterly; why, I don't know.

At the end of the meeting, about 11 o'clock, I went home. I could not sleep all night. Sunday I felt great pain, and Monday as well, and I lost all appetite for food. Monday night I went along to a meeting about seven miles away with some friends. I addressed the meeting and appealed unto those present to accept Christ as a moral ideal; and, about 11.30 p.m., a person came into the chapel with some effect of intoxicants upon him. He came to my side and knelt down, and said a few words very effectively. "I have come here to-night," he said. "I cannot tell you why I was forced to come. I went out to-day for a walk, and have been drinking all through the afternoon, and to-night I went home about 7.30 p.m. There was nobody there waiting me, so I undressed and went to bed, but I could not sleep at all. I used to sleep when I got drunk, but I had to dress again and come out here" (his wife was in the meeting praying that he should come there), and he said that he was going to be a Christian. I was glad to see him. After coming home I felt very painful. Tuesday and in the evening I went to a prayer meeting. I did enjoy myself, but there was great agony through my body. Why, I know not. But it remained through the week, up to Saturday, March 4th, 1905. I went to this prayer meeting, and I prayed unto God to forgive my sins and reveal unto me Himself. I don't remember the prayer. I lost all my consciousness that night. Some friends had put me to sit down on a seat (I suppose). It is there that I regained consciousness, and as I

realised where I was I felt that I perspired very much, so that I thought that water had been thrown over me. When I felt this I said to myself, What's the reason that I have been sweating here to-night? Is it that my emotion has been intensified more than ever before? If that is the fact, I will deny it all again. I must have something more real than this. I want to know the fact if the spiritual world is a reality or not.

And while I was in this attitude of mind (*it came to my mind that I prayed unto God to reveal something to me and to my friends, and I remembered that I named two of them in my prayer*) a voice told me that A. B., one of those whom you are praying for, is in the meeting to-night by the door. And I said, "No, he is not here. He is in the Workmen's Club or Bute Arms. It is there that I should look for him whatever." Then the voice told me the second time exactly the same words, and I answered him back, saying, "I shall see now if this is true."

I stood up and I saw his brother a few seats before me. I went on and asked him if his brother was in the meeting, and he said, "Yes; he has been in the meeting to-night sitting by the door, and has just gone out now."

I was astonished when I found it true. Had the voice only told me once, I would have believed that my desire had formed the thought, but when I heard the voice the second time, I was surprised; but thanks be unto Him for revealing Himself.

I am happier than ever, and will for ever remember that *my body lost all its pain* on that Saturday night. How and why I cannot explain, but it is true.

(10)

From Mrs. J. M. The first account of this was sent to me by the vicar of the parish, the Rev. H. P. J., who is personally known to me. He writes:

February 2nd, 1905.

This afternoon I went up to P. expressly to see Mrs. M. regarding her vision. Her husband, Mr. J. M., is a collier, and is acting Church Army Captain, and a very good man he is. . . . This is what she told me, "I was unwilling for him to be out all the while in the services, and tried to stop him going. On Tuesday morning I told him at breakfast, if he was going to spend all his time in church that day I would make it very uncomfortable for him." She began to wash, and was determined to keep the washing about all day.

She took dinner without him and made no effort to keep anything warm for him. He was very late when he came, and took a little food and went again to the afternoon meeting at the parish room. She went on with the washing, but about 3.30 everything around her seemed to go dark, and then she heard some sound first of all, like the buzzing of bees. Then it became quite light again, and all of a sudden her four little children, who had been buried, came down and appeared before her, exactly as they were on earth, except that they were all in white, and simultaneously with this she heard a crowd singing "O Paradise," etc., and she was forced gently but irresistibly out of the room into the back-yard from which she could see — church, and at that moment there were a dozen men wending their way up the hill to the church, and she exclaimed, "Why should I object to Jim going to the meetings when others are going?" and she fell down and prayed. She saw the children again and Jesus Christ behind them, and the children said, "Crown Him, Mam," and they disappeared. She finished the washing, cleaned up the place, and was dressed up ready for the evening service, with tea ready when he came home at 5.30, and she told him all. Since then she has been quite a different woman and is present in all the services.

That is exactly what she told me. I have not seen her husband since your letter came. I may explain that on December 26th, 27th and 28th, the three holidays, our people, especially our young people, had prayer meetings at — morning, afternoon and evening each day, and all testified they never enjoyed happier Christmastide.

I then sent Mrs. M. a series of questions to the following effect:

- (1) Had she ever had a similar vision?
- (2) What were the dates of the children's deaths?
- (3) Did they appear as in life, or did they seem to have grown since death?
- (4) At the second vision, were the figures seen indoors or in the yard?
- (5) Were the hymns heard in Welsh or English? Which language does Mrs. M. use?
- (6) Did the children speak all together or one only?
- (7) Did they speak in Welsh or English?
- (8) To whom did Mrs. M. first relate the story, and when?

- (9) Will she write and sign her own account of what she saw?
(10) What was Christ like in the vision?

To these questions Mrs. M. replied as follows:

- (1) None whatever.
(2) The first died July 26th, 1897, aged 11 months. The second died February 8th, 1899, aged 7 months. The third (twin of the second) died March 14th, 1900, aged 1 year and 8 months, and the fourth died February 28th, 1901, aged 7 months.
(3) The children were not grown, but exactly the same as in life. All in white.
(4) I did not see a second vision. After the children disappeared, it seemed as if the room was full of people and singing "O Paradise." It was all indoors.
(5) The hymns were heard in English. We speak English.
(6) One spoke and that was the eldest.
(7) She spoke in English and the tone of voice was as natural as in life.
(8) I first related my story to my husband in bed at 12 o'clock p.m.
(9) On December 27th, as on the 26th, there were three meetings each day held by the Church Army. My husband being lieutenant for four years was carrying on the meetings, and as there were many fresh converts he was trying to keep them out of temptations during the holidays. I felt my husband was doing too much work or, as the saying is, pushing his nose too much in the clergy's work, and I wanted him to stay at home and help me in the house, but he would not, and I told him that if he had pleasure in church that he should have none at home. So I went to wash, but it was very slow, I could not get on as usual. But about half-past three I began to feel very queer, the room went all dark and it seemed as if the room was full, or like a swarm of bees around me. I went out to the back yard and I saw about a dozen men going into church, so I said to myself, "Why should I be against my husband doing good when others are going to do good?" and turning into the house again the kitchen was beautiful and light as if the sun was shining there. I went back to the wash tub and there before me appeared the four children, and one of them spoke in English to me saying, "Mam, come," and then they disappeared. I could hear the singing of the hymn "O Paradise" until it died away in the distance.
(10) As natural as you see Him on a picture.

The following are questions I sent to Mr. M. with his answers appended :

- (1) Was Mr. M. praying for his wife when in church ?
- (2) What was going on in church just at the moment when the visions occurred ?
- (3) Is it probable that people were singing the hymns heard, at the time they were heard ?
- (4) Had Mr. M. alluded to the departed children (in conversation with his wife) on the day of the vision, or the day before ? Were they in his mind that day ?
- (5) Will Mr. M. give his own written statement of what his wife told him on his return from afternoon service ?
- (6) It is important to know what Mr. M. was thinking about at the time of the visions.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS.

- (1) Yes.
- (2) I was in church half-an-hour before anybody came, and I prayed while walking around the church for my wife, but not a thought of the children came into my mind, as far as I am aware. I was filled with the Spirit of God.
- (3) No, there was no singing at all about that time.
- (4) Not any whatever.
- (5) She wanted to know what was the matter with me, as I was looking sad and confused. Well, the fact is this, I saw such a wonderful change that I was there giving thanks to the Almighty God for answering my prayer ; and she (my wife) said it will be better from now on, and that she was going to church with me that night, and burst into crying. And I had faith that God had spoken to her, or revealed Himself.
- (6) That God would give my wife a desire to go to the Church Army meetings, being that I was the acting lieutenant of the corps, and have been for four years.

(11)

From the Rev. J. B. J., Rector of ———, Welshpool.

February 20th, 1905.

Our people still continue to see the strange lights. Two women were going home the other evening ; *one* saw the light, the other *did not*. Another man heard some one praying quite plain in the field, although there was no one in the field but himself.

The following short account of the lights and sounds heard by some of the parishioners of certain parishes in Montgomeryshire was sent later by Mr. J. B. J., enclosed in a letter dated March 7th, 1905.

W. H. saw a flash of light lighting the road before him when he and another friend were coming from a farmhouse on Saturday, 18th February, 1905, about 10 p.m. He saw similar light on Saturday evening, the 4th February, but not in the same place. The light only lasted a second or two.

D. D., J. J., and R. J., during the service at the Parish Church, heard bells chiming on 29th January. The sound was over their heads. There were many by them, but they were the only ones that heard it.

E. B., on Wednesday previous, heard about four o'clock what appeared to him to be a thunder clap, followed by lovely singing in the air.

Mrs. R., on Saturday evening, the 14th January, saw a ball of fire descending on the hill in front of her house, and, after rolling some distance, disappeared.

E. E., on Saturday evening, between seven and eight, while returning home from his work, heard some strange music, similar to the vibration caused by telegraph wires, only much louder, on an eminence, the hill being far from any trees and wires of any kind, and it was more or less a still evening.

J. P. heard some lovely singing on the road, about half a mile from his home, on Saturday evening, three weeks ago, which frightened him very much.

(12)

From the Rev. J. N. E., Vicar of ———.

May 30th, 1905.

. . . I observed much latent earnestness and deep religious feelings pervading a goodly number of the parishioners about October, 1904. It manifested itself in greater earnestness at the services of the church, and particularly in greater attendance and interest at a Bible class which I had just started. This feeling, which could be manifestly felt, I also shared; it did not appear to me to be communicated by means of any outside agency.

It is important to note that this latent feeling (or whatever it may be called) was in existence *before* any publicity was given to

the Revival in the public press, and before I even heard of its existence elsewhere.

Shortly afterwards, about the beginning of November, I heard that the subdued spirit to which I have referred had actually broken out into prayer and praise in a small Methodist chapel in the parish. Believing that the root cause was similar to that which I myself experienced, I spoke to some of the most prominent connected with it, and made arrangements that the whole parish should unite in the matter. The suggestion was gladly embraced, and the whole of the parishioners practically assembled in the parish church, when a most remarkable service was held, characterised by the deepest earnestness and a reality which could be felt.

That went on for months, and is being still continued; but on that aspect it is not my purpose to dwell at present. I will endeavour to give some instances such as you require.

(1) A remarkable ease and fluency in prayer and public discourses, which was common to all. I felt this myself to a remarkable degree. Whereas previously I often felt it a burden to speak, my mind seemed to expand, and a new vista of truths would unfold itself, and I could give expression to my thoughts with the greatest ease, and also *pleasure*. Also, the receptiveness of the hearers was such as I never before experienced. I have addressed these meetings on an average two or three times a week for the last six months.

(2) Some almost illiterate persons have broken out in prayer in such a way as to cause great surprise. I can mention two in particular. One, a young girl, 18 years of age. She can scarcely read, and has never had any opportunity for culture—brought up amidst squalid surroundings, her father being a very careless and indifferent man; her mother died when she was a child.

This young girl gives expression to the most refined and literary sentiments, couched in admirable phraseology. Her form of language is partly Biblical and partly the natural mode of conversation. She refers constantly to her mother, though she has been dead about 15 years. I have been much struck by the girl's changed *appearance* during these months. My wife has also marked it.¹ The father is now a changed man, and attends every service in church.

The other case is a labouring man about 40, who had never taken

¹ Her expression has become much more gentle. Her face, previously coarse, has now quite a refined appearance. As one expressed it to me, "She has a Madonna-like face." This feature is, I think, remarkable.

part publicly before this time. He also is extraordinarily eloquent and choice in diction. The form of his language is largely drawn from hymnology.

(3) A few days before Christmas, 1904, I was riding to see some parishioners in —— parish. They lived about three miles up the hillside. As I was gradually ascending I fancied I heard voices singing. I took little notice for the moment, believing it was pure fancy. Gradually the voices seemed to increase in volume, until at last they became quite overpowering. I was trying to imagine it could be nothing outside myself, as it were, but the wonderful harmony seemed to be borne on me entirely from the outside, and was as real to my senses as anything I have ever heard.

I could distinguish the words distinctly. They were :

“ Pwy all beidio cofio am dano,
Pwy all beidio canu ei glod,
Dyma gariad na'd a'n angho,
Tra bydd nefoedd wen yn bod.”

The moment the refrain would come to an end it would be re-started, the volume becoming greater and greater. To me it was an exquisite sensation. When about arriving at my destination the voices suddenly ceased. I have had no trace of the recurrence of such a thing, and never had such an experience previously. I am not given to study or dwell upon any such manifestations.

I sent the following questions to Mr. E., and his answers to them are annexed :

(1) *Can you say why the spirit of the Revival reached L—— and not other places?* There is a marked difference in this respect between different localities. In some, desperate efforts were made, without effect, to stir up a Revival.

(2) *Had there been prayer for a Revival at all amongst your people?* Have any of them admitted, since it began, that it was what they had hoped for and prayed for? Perhaps some of the older people remembered 1859.

(3) *Is it possible to get some account of the beginnings, in November, 1904, of the Revival Spirit in the Methodist Chapel in your parish?* Did it begin there in the same spontaneous fashion as in church? Had none of the Methodists then heard of *Roberts* or of the Spirit in your church? As you spoke to some of the prominent Methodists about this in November, no doubt you can recollect what they said on this point.

(4) *Has the “ease and fluency” remained up to the present time? I*

ask this because temporary excitement might have induced the universal ease.

(5) *Were persons affected by fear or love?* This applies to the possibility of fear of hell as a motive to "conversion." The doctrinal element is of importance. So far as I can trace, fear is *not* prominent.

(6) In the case of the girl affected, *does her reference to her mother mean that she is under the impression of being in contact with her now, or is it simple recollection?* She was three years of age when her mother died. What sort of a person was the mother? Do you suspect hereditary influence?

(7) *Has her ordinary conversational language changed, or is the change confined to prayer and praise?*

(8) Similar questions apply to the man of 40. Does he consider himself helped by some outside agency?

(9) *Singing. Has any one in the parish heard similar singing?* Can you give me the translation of the words heard?

(10) I suppose that it is improbable that the singing came from any house passed on the way?

(11) *Did the horse you were riding behave as if at all conscious of hearing any singing?* This is an important detail.

(12) *Have you ever in life heard this particular verse sung as you heard it during the ride?* Was it unconscious memory?

(13) Have you ever seen a canwyll gorph, or "ghost," or had any remarkably fulfilled dream?

(14) Have you any recollection of any ancestor or other relative who saw or heard anything abnormal?

(15) Has any parishioner seen a light, or a vision, or heard voices?

Answers to Questions re Revival.

(1) The difference between different localities has also greatly struck me, and I have wondered much at the cause. The only explanation that I can offer as regards L—— is, that this neighbourhood has for many years been blessed with a good proportion of earnest and religiously-minded men and women. So that when a spirit of Revival was begotten the conditions were favourable for its nurture and development.

(In a neighbouring parish, *e.g.*, every effort was made to secure a revival, without effect.)

From observation and experience, I am convinced that given favourable conditions in any parish, *i.e.*, a few devout people, *also*

one or two who are in true sympathy with a religious revival, who can understand it on its mental and spiritual sides, and are able to communicate their spirit to others—the movement would overcome every obstacle, and the bulk of the population would be affected by it.

(2) No, not in a definite sense. One man testified recently that he had felt for some years that there was *something* lacking in the Christian church. He could not say or feel what it was, but that he daily prayed God to supply it, whatever it was. This man is one of the best churchmen in the parish; he is thoroughly sound and sane, and above the average in intelligence. When this movement was felt, he was convinced that his prayers were answered.

I know of no similar case here.

Some of the people remember slightly the 1859 Revival, but strange to say, that did not affect this neighbourhood at all, as far as I can learn, and I have made careful inquiries.

(3) In the Methodist Chapel it broke out through the instrumentality of one young man, one of the best I have ever known. He had been at a service with Roberts (before the latter broke out). What I could gather from the Methodists was that this young man was the means of touching the hearts of those present.

(I shall try and get him to communicate with you.)

(4) Yes. One of the best and most impressive meetings we have had was last Monday evening.

(5) *Love* decidedly. (The doctrines chiefly involved are the whole cycle of the Redeemer's life's work, culminating in the atonement. Also the bearing of the whole upon practical life and duty.)

(6) My impression is that she seems to feel her mother's unseen influence, certainly *seeing* and perhaps helping her in her difficulties. The mother was, I learn, a pious woman; the girl cannot have the faintest recollection of her.

I cannot say about hereditary influence—(there is none on the father's side).

(7) No.

(8) No. He is moved by an inward influence.

(9) No.

“Who cannot but bear Him in remembrance,
Who cannot but sing His praise;
Love such as His will not be forgotten,
As long as holy heaven exists.”

It did not proceed from any house. This is certain.

(11) The action of the horse did not attract my attention—being so absorbed in what I heard.

(12) No.

(13) No.

(14) No. As far as I know all my ancestors were very "matter-of-fact" people, and I believe I also could accurately be so described.

(15) No.

(13)

From Mr. S. M. J., of T——. The original narrative is in Welsh. I give a translation of it here.

May 26th, 1905.

... [I was] brought up in a religious family and with religion in the parish church, where my father was parish clerk and churchwarden the greater part of his life. I was confirmed between 14 and 15 years of age, and from that time forward I have been accustomed to speak and to perform every public duty, and to rejoice in every religious service.

In the month of November missioners in connection with the Revival came to the neighbourhood, and I went to the meetings, and by seeing and hearing the effects on other people, I understood that Jesus of Nazareth was walking through our country, but I was unable to feel Him nor see Him to myself, and that was my anxiety for many days, lest Jesus of Nazareth should pass by, and I without receiving a renewing view of Him. But on the 12th December, on a Monday night, I had this heavenly vision which the tongue of man cannot relate or describe appropriately, nor the unspeakable blessings which I received to myself, which things I hid not without declaring them, and I cannot less than give them to you in writing.

And this is the vision. On the night stated, I was travelling by myself on the high road on a work night which was very dark, but in the darkness overhead I beheld a faint light playing over my head and approaching the earth, and as it came nearer it increased and strengthened; and lest I was being deceived by my own eyes, I determined to close them, but I was seeing it (the light) in the same way. Then I opened my eyes to behold the vision, and then it came downwards and stood before me, about the size of a man's body, and in the bright and glorious light I beheld there the face of a man, and by looking for the body in the light a shining white robe was covering it to its feet and it was not touching the earth,

and behind its arms there were wings appearing, and I was seeing every feather in the wings, but they were not natural or material feathers, but the whole was heavenly beyond description. And then the palms of the hands were appearing, and on each hand there were brown spots as they appeared at first. But after I had noticed more minutely, I beheld that they were the marks of the nails, and then I recognised Him as Jesus, and I went forward shouting, "O my blessed Jesus" and then He ascended on His wing without noise, moving a little further ahead, and appearing much more bright and clear, so that the marks of the nails were so fiery and so plain that I can say that they were square nails of the cruellest description, and by the work of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus pulling Him down from the cross, the sores of His dear flesh had come out to the palms of His hands; and this appearance gave such peace to my breast, so that it filled it through with love, so that from that time forth I love every man without difference.

And in the light of this presence the old ugly world came before me in its entirety, so that I saw its mountains, its rocks, its moors, its rushes, its thorns, its entangled growths, its stones, and all hindrances on my way, so that I was retreating (moving away or aside), lest its stones should throw me over, lest its thorns and its entangled growths should rend me. Which journey I would think every true Christian must go through. And after He had led me through this journey in that way, and I beseeching Him to come with me, and when He had stayed the third time, behold He ascended up and out of my sight. And then I besought His forgiveness if poor and unworthy dust had asked too much to the Great and Holy Being.

In answer to my questions Mr. J. wrote:

. . . I had neither been night-watching nor had had a dream before I saw the vision.

None of the family experienced the same thing.

The appearance of the world I saw by means of the light was one vision—not a light showing the earth around, because I am well acquainted with the place—but the surface of the whole world losing itself in the distance.

There are neither bogs nor rushes nor rocky mountains in that district, but good and fruitful land. There are no small stones on the main road along which I travelled. But I was not aware of these things as I was in the vision, not knowing for how long. It

was a vision of the world in its intricacies and difficulties, as well as of Christ; but only *one* vision, the light of Jesus, showed me the world and led me through, and not any other light showing me the ground around, because I did not see any way under my feet except the place described.

Not a word was uttered by Jesus, but the movements went on silently and noiselessly.

(14)

From Mr. C. J. P., of A——, Glamorganshire.

June 2nd, 1905.

. . . The circumstances leading up to the Revival in P—— are not quickly or easily described, because there has been a leading up for years, but the immediately preceding circumstances are these. Hearing of what went on in other places, a week's prayer was decided. At the close of the week a distinct change was noticeable in the manner of the meeting. All seemed to be labouring under a suppressed excitement. On the Saturday the minister saw Evan Roberts, and casually remarked that he did not "feel" anything. The reply he received was that the essential was faith, and not feeling. The minister returned home with this message; and in the evening, when going home from the service with my brother and another young man, suggested an open-air meeting. Instantly they began singing, and were joined by many others. This was about 9 o'clock. The meeting went on until about 3.30 Sunday morning. I made an effort about 10.15 to go home. With difficulty I got away, but felt an overpowering impulse to join the group. However, I made my way along the road, and commenced climbing the hill to my home. This necessitated a slowing down, as it were, and when about halfway up the hill I stopped. Along the road I heard an inward voice saying, "Go back, go back!" whilst I felt quite uneasy. However, I returned to the group, and remained to the end of the meeting. The following day (Sunday) the words of the preacher and others seemed to have a terrible force, and at night I felt bound to do something. I rose from my seat and spoke a few words, saying that I felt that I had not been what I would have been. After this I often had the desire to speak or sing or pray. I realised that there was a great power on my side, and that I must obey that power. With regard to prayer, the general trend was in the language of the Bible and hymns, quotations being much used.

As regards my previous manner of life, and also that of my parents and grandparents on both sides, it is no exaggeration to say it has been decidedly religious. I can give one good instance of a vision, as I suppose it would be termed. Some weeks after my first experience I felt impelled to do a certain difficult thing. What that is, I think, is immaterial. However, I did not do it, and whenever I wished to pray, the thought of not having done this one thing came to my mind; and on one occasion I saw in my mind's eye a large white throne, with no one sitting there, as far as I could see. Across the front of this throne was the word "Disobedience," in large black letters. I saw this every time I attempted to pray, until I had done what I felt I must do. For the past few years I have at various times felt that I should go abroad as a missionary, but had not been able to give in to the desire. I have now been able to overcome the restraining influences of home and friends. I cannot say that I have ever had previous experiences of this sort. . . .

(15)

GLAMORGAN COUNTY ASYLUM, BRIDGEND, 23rd June, 1905.

In my Annual Report for 1904 I stated that: "So far as figures can show, the increase [of insanity] cannot be attributed to any material extent to the religious revival which was such a prominent feature of the last quarter of the year, for in only one per cent. of the admissions was religious excitement deemed to be a contributory factor in the causation."

Since this was written I have seen no reason to depart from the view expressed, and I trust that the extract will suffice for your information.

R. S. STEWART, Medical Superintendent.

(16)

The following accounts of previous appearances of lights at various places along the coast of Tremadoc Bay are taken from *Bye-Gones* (a series of notes on antiquarian subjects which appears weekly in the *Border Counties Advertiser*, Oswestry, and is reprinted in quarterly parts), the extracts having been kindly furnished to me by the editor:

From "*Bye-Gones*," March, 1875 (p. 198).

Mr. Picton-Jones has been kind enough to address to us the

following letter, in response to the request which we made last week for further information :

“Yoke House, Pwllheli, 2nd March, 1875.—The curious lights appeared again on Sunday night. We saw twelve at the same time; two were very bright, the one of a red, the other of a blue colour. They were inland, the same as before, but from what we could observe they did not confine themselves to marshy ground, although at first they seemed to rise from the ground where we knew there were swamps. It was a very dark and foggy night, and my brother, my son Percy, my keeper and I went out about a mile to see if we could get near them. When we had gone about half a mile we observed four or five behind us. We went to the farm adjoining, and called their attention to them. Mrs. Picton-Jones and two servants watched them for an hour and a half, and had, from their description, a better view than we had, as we were occasionally in hollows. On our way home from Bryntani farm we saw a bright light at Yoke House, which we all thought was a lamp put out to direct us home, the night being so dark and our course across country. The other servants by this time, having come home from church and chapel, were watching the curious antics of the lights. I should mention that we had a lamp with us, but it was darkened, except when we came to banks or ditches. Those at Yoke House saw the same light, and thought it was our lamp, but were all mistaken, as, when we got within about 200 yards of our pond, the light turned into a deep blue colour and disappeared. In front of the other pool there are some sheds, and one light that had appeared before we started seemed to go in and out, round the corner, on to the cart horse stable, round its gable end, then on to the barn, exactly the same as if it were a human being, with the exception of rising to such a height that even ‘Tall Agrippa’ could not come up to it. Their movements and the distance which they spread were the same as described before. Our house is about three-quarters of a mile from the Cardigan Bay, and the promontory is about seven miles as the crow flies. Last night they did not appear, but we saw several flashes of lightning.—I am, sir, your obedient servant, G. T. PICTON-JONES.” (*Cambrian News*).

From “*Bye-Gones*,” March, 1875 (p. 210).

“Having read the account by Mr. Picton-Jones of the strange lights seen by him near Pwllheli, I beg to say that I witnessed a very similar phenomenon on the marshy ground near Borth. Some

five or six years ago, owing to an accident on the Cambrian Railway, I had to post from Machynlleth to the neighbourhood of Towyn, where I was then residing. It would then be about 12 o'clock p.m. when I came in sight of the low ground and sandy dunes between Borth and the Dovey, the night being perfectly clear and still and the stars shining, when, to my astonishment, I saw four or five lights moving apparently on the sand hills near the farm of Ynylas. I called the post-boy's attention to them, and never did I see a man so paralysed with fright: I thought he would have fallen off the box, and the perspiration, as I could see by the light of the lamps, fairly ran down his face. He evidently considered them of supernatural origin, as he told me an incoherent story of a boat's crew of shipwrecked foreigners having been murdered when they came ashore there many years ago (upon further inquiry I found there was some tradition of the sort). However, there the lights were, moving about in a sort of aimless way until, as near as I can remember, we reached within a mile or two of Aberdovey. They were white, and about the size and brilliancy of the lamps carried by railway guards and porters. There is yet another phenomenon of which no satisfactory explanation has ever yet been given. On the 24th of September, 1854 (I refer to my game book of that year), a friend was shooting with me in Herefordshire. The day was perfectly still, the sky cloudless, when sounds like discharges of heavy artillery came from the west, which, striking against a range of wooded hills running north and south under which we were shooting, made most wonderfully distinct echoes. These discharges, or whatever they were, continued for several hours at regular intervals of about two minutes. Since then similar sounds have been heard two or three times (judging from the letters to the papers), and principally by persons living in Cardiganshire, but their origin has never yet, so far as I can see, been discovered."

From "Bye-Gones," October, 1877 (p. 292).

"Now we have a statement from Towyn that within the last few weeks 'lights of various colours have frequently been seen moving over the estuary of the Dysynni river and out at sea. They are generally in a northern direction, but sometimes they hug the shore, and move at a very high velocity for miles towards Aberdovey, and suddenly disappear.' Can any of our readers who are qualified to observe natural phenomena furnish us with further information on the subject?"

The following paragraph is taken from the *Western Mail* of March 13th, 1905 :

“Mysterious lights were seen in Wales before this year of revival. Here is an old extract: 1694. Apr. 22. ‘A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea opened itself in Montgomeryshire a furlong broad and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch, and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, only firing barns or thatched houses. It left such a taint on the grasse as to kill all the cattle that eate of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many months.’ From *Memoirs of Evelyn* (1819 edition). Also in the *Powys-Land Papers* for 1883.”

Extract from Pennant’s *Tour in Wales*, Vol. II., p. 372, ed. 1810 :

“Winter of 1694.—A pestilential vapour resembling a weak blue flame arose during a fortnight or three weeks out of a sandy, marshy tract called Morfa Byden, and crossed over a channel of 8 miles to Harlech. It set fire on that side to 16 ricks of hay and 2 barns, one filled with hay, the other with corn. It infected the grass in such a manner that cattle, etc., died, yet men eat of it with impunity. It was easily dispelled: any great noise, sounding of horns, discharging of guns, at once repelled it. Moved only by night, and appeared at times, but less frequently; after this it disappeared.”¹

(17)

INVESTIGATION OF REPORTED PHENOMENAL LIGHTS IN
NORTH WALES.

February 21st, 1905.

In accordance with instructions, I proceeded to Barmouth on Monday, February 13th, arriving there at 6.50 a.m. on Tuesday the 14th, with the object of investigating a report that mysterious lights had been seen on the hill sides above Egryn, which is a little village about four miles from Barmouth. I was accompanied by an assistant to help with the installation and working of the electrical apparatus. This apparatus consisted of an electrical collector raised 20 feet above the ground on a pole and supported on an insulator. Attached to this collector was a phosphor-bronze wire about 300 yards in length and carried on porcelain insulators. This wire constituted the positive electric lead, and in the circuit I placed a

¹ See *Gossiping Guide to Wales*, p. 90, for similar account of 1694 lights.

galvanometer and a telephone receiver, which latter is the most sensitive indicator of abnormal atmospheric electrical conditions. I also placed a delicate compass between the galvanometer and the telephone receiver where it would instantly respond to the slightest electrical influence; the negative poles of these instruments were well "earthed." On testing this line with a single small dry cell, all the instruments responded.

I spent the greater part of the day of the 14th in investigating local reports and in surveying the ground where the lights were reported to have been seen. I visited the local telephone and telegraph stations, and inquired if the instruments there had been interfered with by atmospheric electricity. In no instance was this the case, although the men in charge told me that in consequence of the presence of a large sun spot they had received orders to pay special attention to the working of the instruments. I then inquired if there was a "Marconi Station" in the neighbourhood, but I learnt that the nearest one was at Holyhead. It occurred to me that the lights might have been due to a discharge of what is known as "globular lightning," but this form of electrical disturbance is usually accompanied by an explosion, and much damage is done in the vicinity. A careful examination of the hillside failed to show any signs of this.

I erected my apparatus on the hillside on the spot where the lights were reported to have been seen, and remained by it for many hours of darkness without observing the slightest deflection of the instruments or seeing anything abnormal, with the exception of two brilliant flashes towards the north. These, I afterwards learnt, were due to an attempt on the part of some newspaper correspondents to photograph the chapel by flashlight.

Wednesday, 15th February. On my behalf Mr. Dilnot wired Mr. Jones of Dyffryn to ask for the whereabouts of his wife, who was reported to be the originator of these lights. Mrs. Jones unexpectedly returned to Dyffryn, so I proceeded there and interviewed her. This interview was unsatisfactory; it is obvious to me that the woman is a religious maniac, and that no reliance can be placed on her statements, which were vague and indefinite. Another long night watch resulted in nothing. I certainly saw several lights which might have appeared to be abnormal to the overwrought imagination, but when resolved by a powerful prismatic night field-glass which I had with me turned out to be farm lanterns.

On *Thursday, February 16th*, I returned home *via* Portmadoc, where

Mrs. Jones had been preaching, in order to investigate the local reports. Here again I failed to obtain one single definite statement by an eye-witness.

Conclusion. | It is just possible that there may have been some lights caused by spontaneous ignition of phosphuretted hydrogen generated in the marsh at Egryn and distorted by mist, although I never saw any. Methane, or marsh gas, is never self-ignited, and may be left out of the question. The presence of atmospheric electricity I think I have disproved.

In view of the fact that Mrs. Jones solemnly stated to me that Venus, which *was* particularly brilliant at that period, was a new star, had only appeared since the Revival, and was situated a short distance above her house, I think we may dismiss these lights as phantasies of overwrought brains.

BERNARD B. REDWOOD.

(18)

From Mr. J. J., of D——, Merionethshire. The original account, which I received in January, 1905, is in Welsh; I give here a translation of it:

In reference to the fire concerning which you wrote to me. There are several here who have seen it in varying forms—sometimes near Chapel Egryn, sometimes on the roof thereof, and sometimes some half mile or more from the place.

When I saw it, it was about half a mile from the chapel and about a mile from where I stood. That was about 5 o'clock in the evening. The first form in which it appeared to me was that of a pillar of clear fire quite perpendicular. It was about 2 feet wide and about 3 yards in height. Suddenly another small fire began by its side some 2 yards distant from the first pillar. It rapidly increased until it assumed the same measurement and form as the first. Then another small fire suddenly arose on the other side of the first pillar, and increased rapidly until it assumed the same size and form as the other two columns. So there were three pillars of the same size and form. And as I gazed upon them I saw two arms of fire extending upwards from the top of each of the pillars.

The three pillars and their arms assumed exactly the same shape and remained so for about a minute or two. As I looked towards the sky I saw smoke ascending from the pillars, and immediately they began to disappear. Their disappearance was equally swift.

with their growth. It was a gradual disappearance; the fire became small and went out.

I thought they were natural fire, but it was a very wonderful fire. I never saw fire the same as it in my life—three pillars or columns of the same measure and of exactly the same shape and equidistant from each other. I do not propose to offer any kind of explanation. I leave that to you.

(19)

From Mr. L. M., of H——.

May 30, 1905.

With regard to the lights which appear in this neighbourhood, perhaps one instance of my experience will suffice. I have been an eye-witness of them on more than one occasion. I happened to be with Mr. Beriah Evans, Carnarvon, on that night, the report of which has been given to the world by Mr. Evans himself. I can testify to the truth of the report.

The night which I am going to relate you my experience was Saturday evening, March 25, 1905, when Mrs. Jones, the evangelist, of Egryn, was conducting a service in the Calvinistic Methodist Chapel at Llanfair, a place about a mile and half from Harlech on the main road between Harlech and Barmouth.

My wife and myself went down that night specially to see if the light accompanied Mrs. Jones from outside Egryn. We happened to reach Llanfair about 9.15 p.m. It was a rather dark and damp evening. In nearing the chapel, which can be seen from a distance, we saw balls of light, deep red, ascending from one side of the chapel, the side which is in a field. There was nothing in this field to cause this phenomenon—i.e. no houses, etc. After that we walked to and fro on the main road for nearly two hours without seeing any light except from a distance in the direction of Llanbedr. This time it appeared brilliant, ascending high into the sky from amongst the trees where lives the well-known Rev. C. E. The distance between us and the light which appeared this time was about a mile. Then about eleven o'clock, when the service which Mrs. Jones conducted was brought to a close, two balls of light ascended from the same place and of similar appearance to those we saw first. In a few minutes afterwards Mrs. Jones was passing us home in her carriage, and in a few seconds after she passed, on the main road, and within a yard of us, there appeared a brilliant light twice, tinged with blue. In two or three

seconds after this disappeared, on our right hand, within 150 or 200 yards, there appeared twice very huge balls of similar appearance as that which appeared on the road. It was so brilliant and powerful this time that we were dazed for a second or two. Then immediately there appeared a brilliant light ascending from the woods where the Rev. C. E. lives. It appeared twice this time. On the other side of the main road, close by, there appeared, ascending from a field high into the sky, three balls of light, deep red. Two of these appeared to split up, whilst the middle one remained unchanged. Then we left for home, having been watching these last phenomena for a quarter of an hour.

Perhaps I ought to say that I had an intense desire to see the light this night for a special purpose; in fact, I prayed for it, not as a mere curiosity, but for an higher object, which I need not mention. Some will ridicule this idea, but I have a great faith in prayer. . . .

In reply to questions about his experiences, Mr. M. stated that he had never seen such lights before the Revival, nor before he had heard of others seeing them. He could not say how often he had seen them, but he remembered the dates—January 31st (this was the first time, and at H—), Feb. 1st, March 25th, and May 26th. They were seen “high up in the sky, where no houses or anything else could lead us to make any mistake” (*i.e.* to mistake ordinary lights for them); they were seen both on very dark nights and also when the moon and stars were visible. He had never been affected in any particular way by seeing them, but had only felt a curiosity to know their cause. Neither he nor Mrs. M. had had hallucinations on any other occasions.

Mrs. M. writes as follows:

May 29, 1905.

My husband wants me to write of what I have seen at P— and heard when with Mrs. Jones, Egryn, March 15th. After the evening service we had a little way to walk from the town down to West-End, where we were staying. We both were invited to have supper next door to where we were sleeping, so after supper we went up to a sitting-room on the third floor. It seems that they were having the lights at West-End since the Revival broke out at the commencement of the year above a little chapel of the Methodists, so they were very curious to see the lights this night,

when Mrs. Jones was with them, so that they would be more satisfied. We had no lights in the room. There were two windows to the room: just the room to have proper sight of the light if it would come. Anyway, in a very little while we saw two balls of fire moving back and fro, but it was so very far we were not satisfied with that. We were about twelve to eighteen in the room. Eight were singing hymns, so as to pass the time in watching and waiting for the lights. In a little while we had a better view, and, nearer us, several globes of light, some very light colour, and others deep red. We were enjoying ourselves. I am well used to seeing that kind of light here.

My husband and I have witnessed the sight many a time here. When we saw the light ascending high in the air, like a cross, I felt nervous, but it descended again nearer us—a cross and two other crosses, one each side of the middle one. The two crosses came nearer us now and stood not far from us, and dozens of small balls of fire dancing back and fro behind the crosses, and we heard a voice singing.

I have heard the singing once after at H—, but differently to that at P—, like a well-trained choir, and saw the cross the same time on the sky. The two Misses G., —, are witnesses of the cross in the sky and the singing.

In regard to this last account, I sent Mrs. M. the following questions, to each of which her answers are appended:

(1) Was Mrs. Jones of Egryn one of the company that saw the lights on March 15 at P—? Was she sitting with you in the same room?—Yes.

(2) Have you ever seen any such lights before the Revival began?—No, never.

(3) Could you distinguish the tune or the words when the voices were heard singing? Was the tune familiar to you?—No.

(4) Is it possible to tell me how often during the Revival you have seen lights?—I have seen them so often that I can't say the number. The dates when they were seen?—The first week in January was the first time. How often and when was the singing heard?—Twice.

(5) Will Miss G. send her account of the lights?—She wants me to say that she heard the singing with me.

In sending these answers Mrs. M. wrote that her friends were unwilling to give their names for fear of its doing harm

to Mrs. Jones; they had seen lights since the beginning of the Revival, but had never before had such a vision as on the night described. Miss G. (who could not easily write English) had asked her to write that they saw the light and heard the singing. She continues:

The last time we have seen the lights was 26th of May. I was going to bed. Saw two red lights outside the window after drawing the blind and lighting the candle. In about an hour my husband and self saw it in the room, brilliant. Haven't seen it since.

In a letter sent to me by Mrs. M., apparently referring to the evening of March 15th, one of the witnesses says: "We never saw, though we have looked several times, such a light before or after that night."

(20)

From Dr. E. J. M., of Tylorstown.

June 18th, 1905.

About 10 p.m. on Saturday night I was coming home with Mrs. M. when she drew my attention to a bright light which could be seen over Libanus (C.M.) Chapel, towards the side of the mountain. It appeared as a ball of fire about the size of a cheese plate; it was perfectly fixed.

As soon as I saw it I marked its position, in order to be sure that it could not be due to some one with a light on the road which passes over the mountain, but its position was far enough away from the road.

I then looked towards Stanley Town—which is on the same side of the mountain in another direction, and which is nearer to the place I was standing—in order to compare the lights from the gas lamps on the road. There was no comparison between the lights, as the gas lamps were not nearly so brilliant as this light, and the light I saw was of a more reddish colour.

It remained fixed in the same position for about three minutes, and then disappeared instantaneously. Mrs. Jones was in the chapel at the time holding a meeting. I may say that I was not thinking of the light at the time.

In conversation with Dr. M. on June 21st, 1905, he told me that afterwards he spoke to Mrs. Jones about the light, and she declared that she had seen it inside the chapel. On

June 27th he wrote to me that he had not had any conversation with her about the lights before he saw the light, which was on May 27th; also, in answer to a question of mine on the subject, that he belonged to North Wales, having been born in Carnarvonshire.

A photograph of the place where this incident occurred is reproduced above (see Plate I.).

(21)

From the Rev. E. W. E.

June 26, 1905.

Mrs. Jones of Egryn's last meeting at ———, being rather late on Wednesday, May 24th, it was therefore after midnight that Mrs. E. and myself retired upstairs to rest. After putting out the light in our bedroom I could not go to bed. Then looked out of the window, but could see nothing. Then I went to the back bedroom, where our two boys sleep; and whilst I was looking out of this window towards the Penrhys hill, my wife came behind and put her hand on my shoulder, then asked me if I were looking for something. I said yes, that I was looking for something strange, because I felt very strange. Mrs. E. had just pushed the curtain on one side when she exclaimed, "There's something!" I said, "Where?" When she told me the direction I then exclaimed, "Yes, really, there is the strange light." It appeared to us in the form of a column of fire about two feet wide and several feet high, quite distinct, and of the tint of a fiery vapour. After looking at the column for a second or two, then some bright balls of fire appeared in the column near its base, then these brilliant balls would burst and disappear upwards. Then the column would disappear, but in a moment would appear again in the same form, in the very same spot, and then the balls would appear in the column, and the balls burst and disappear upwards in the same way. This we distinctly saw *six times* (6 times).

It was, as nearly as we could judge, about 12.45 on Thursday morn, May 25, and lasted in all about *three minutes*.

I saw Mr. E. on June 21, 1905, and he pointed out to me the exact spot on the hillside where the light appeared to be. The spot in this case is on the western side of the valley (it was on the eastern in Dr. M.'s case); no houses

near. There is a path by a wall, and it was at a slight break on the top line of the wall that the light appeared to be.

I afterwards sent a series of questions to Mr. E., which I print here with his answers, dated June 28th, 1905 :

(1) Have you ever seen a corpse-light?—No.

(2) Is your birth-place in South or North Wales?—Dowlais, Glam. Also, my father and my mother were born at Dowlais.

(3) Have you seen much of Mrs. Jones before or during her visit?—Never before her coming here, and only at our meetings, until the Saturday after I saw the strange light. Then I had, with a few others, about two hours' semi-private conversation with Mrs. Jones.

(4) Did you hope or expect to see any lights?—No. Neither Mrs. E. nor myself had any desire or longing to see the light. I feel almost certain that what Mrs. Jones said in the meetings about the lights that appeared to her around Egryn, near Barmouth, could have *nothing to do* with the *form*, the *time*, or the *place* of the strange light Mrs. E. and myself saw.

Mrs. E. does not understand Welsh, so Mrs. Jones' addresses could have *no direct* influence upon her. Mrs. E.'s report of what she saw would be similar to mine, and I believe that I sent you as faithful and accurate a report of *what* we saw, and *how* and *when* we saw it, as can be put in a few written words.

(22)

The next two accounts were given in Welsh, and are translated here. Both Mrs. L. and Mrs. W. are North Walian. Mrs. L., whose account I received on June 26th, 1905, describes her experience as follows :

One night, when Mrs. Jones was staying in my house, we prayed to see the light. About 1 a.m. we were standing on the door-step, and I saw a strange light about forty or fifty yards away. It appeared about 1½ feet from the ground. About oval in shape. Cannot describe colour. It seemed to be moving and sparks flying out of it. It appeared for a few minutes, and disappeared in the form of sparks.

Mrs. W. says :

I was praying in the house one night, and afterwards went to the door and saw on the opposite side of the valley, on the side of the hill, a column of fire like a cloud, and I prayed for seeing

it nearer, and it appeared nearer in a round dark column, and a light appeared underneath it. On another night I saw it appearing in the shape of a house with three windows. Afterwards it appeared in the shape of a chapel—very much like the chapel attended by Mrs. Jones in North Wales.

Afterwards I saw it in the shape of an eye right in front of me, and the eye broke in two, and the two parts fell downwards and joined again, and appeared in the form of a man.

I prayed another night, and something came towards my mouth, and I felt it like hot iron, and it nearly took away my breath.

Another vision appeared to me in the form of a man approaching me with a small dish in his hand, and he said, "Take and eat." I did not feel inclined to take it, but as I respected the person, I took it. And after I took it, he said, "Go and preach the Gospel to every creature."

(23)

From Mr. W. P., of D——, M——. The account, which I received on February 11th, 1905, has two signatures, the second one being presumably that of Mr. P.'s sister.

The only positive light I saw was a small one proceeding before me on a quiet road on the way to chapel on a very dark night, which I could not account for.

What my sister saw was something like a ball of light arising from the ground to a great height, and all was light around it everywhere. One end seemed to descend again to the ground till it looked like the shape of a rainbow of white light and disappeared. About the end of January the last one was seen; what I saw was some time before.

(24)

From Mr. W. M., of Welshpool. The account was received on March 13th, 1905.

I personally saw no lights and heard no sounds; but my wife saw a bright light, as it were, reflected on the ceiling, but it was much brighter and of a whiter hue than the reflection from any lamp. It occurred, as nearly as I can remember, about a month ago, but I have no idea as to the time, only that it was at night.

It was circular in shape, and a little larger than the rim of an ordinary tea-cup, and lasted, as nearly as I can gather, about a minute or so.

(25)

From Mr. T. J., of L——, near W——; translated from the original Welsh narrative.

March 27th, 1905.

There was a united meeting at the —— Wesleyan Chapel on Saturday night, January 14th, 1905. We came out and went home after the first meeting, but several of the young people remained to conduct a second meeting, in which it broke out into praise throughout the place. It is impossible to say how many took part in prayer that night. A great difficulty was had to restore order, and the meeting was ended a little before half-past eleven. We had somewhere about a mile and a half of road to go home, and that in the direction of the east from the village where the chapel stands.

When we were about the back of some ten minutes to reach home (we reached about 10.45 p.m.) we were coming up a small hill. There were there another man and his wife besides myself and my wife coming together. We—the two men—were coming together, and the two women likewise were coming together after us.

Suddenly I saw the thing most like that I can describe to that which is called by us the falling of a star. It ran downwards, forming as it ran a kind of long tail, and as it approached the earth it widened a little into small sparks, and it fell into the earth, as it were the other side of the hedge from us, but I cannot say how near, but it was not far.

My wife, M. J., was coming with Mrs. J. a little behind us, as I have already said, and she saw it, a kind of light, on the backs of us two men—some kind of light which she never saw the like of before, and it vanished downwards in the direction of the earth, and that is all we saw.

We heard no kind of sound whatever, and the light was all the same colour.

(26)

From Mr. E. P. G.

June 20th, 1905.

In the autumn of 1876 I attended a number of spiritualist séances, nearly all without a paid medium, and chiefly with the same people meeting at their own houses. In October or November my sister and myself dined with Mrs. S., her daughter being there also. We were to go on and meet Major and Mrs. O., who were

entertaining the medium, Miss M. I had often sat with her as medium, and she generally was a writing medium, either by planchette or direct. As we were getting ready after dinner Major O. drove up and said a servant had been taken suddenly ill, and we must have the meeting at Mrs. S.'s. The dining-room was cleared, and Mr. O., Miss M., and a friend of Mrs. O. (I think a cousin) came; I cannot remember her name. We sat round the dining-room table in total darkness, some gleams of light from the street lamp having been noticed and the curtains carefully pinned together by the Major and myself. I sat next Mrs. S. and between her and Miss M., O. being on the other side of Miss M. I do not recollect how the other four—Mrs. O., Miss S., my sister, and the cousin—sat. We sat in silence for some time, nearly half an hour. At intervals O. asked Miss M. if she felt the power. At last I felt twitching motions in her arms, our hands touching, and expected the usual writing, twitching and jerking generally preceding her writing. I looked up, and saw five small lights moving in the air. They seemed to be near the ceiling, but not touching it. The motion was slow and irregular. They seemed to follow no rules. At times all close together, then moving irregularly about in curves and circles, but never descending lower. So far as I could judge, they kept the same height all the time. The room was a large high one, probably twelve feet in height. I made no remark, and wondered if others saw it. I must have watched for more than a minute when Miss M. said suddenly, "The power is very strong," and then, "They are here." My sister told me afterwards she had noticed the lights before Miss M. spoke. I watched the lights in their movements for some time, when O. said, "Shall I ask?" Miss M. interrupted, saying, "Wait." Some time passed, and Miss M. twitched more sharply, and I turned to her. As I did so I heard Mrs. S. say, "Ah!" and, looking up, found the lights had ceased. In the dark it is difficult to estimate time accurately, but I think it was from five to seven minutes from the time I first saw them to their disappearance. Mrs. S. told me they grew very faint quickly, and then disappeared. My sister said the same. The light was that of a tiny luminous globe, very soft, but not giving off any appreciable illumination. I tried to see the hook in the ceiling from which a lamp sometimes hung, but failed to see it. They were quite unlike the light of fire-flies, and their motion quite different. Two were rather larger than the others.

I made careful notes on getting home, and next morning gave them to my sister to correct, but she found her recollections tallied with mine. I went to several pyrotechnists to see if there were any substances that would produce such a light, but failed.

(27)

The following are the accounts of some of the witnesses who saw the light at Ynysybwl on July 23rd, 1905.

(a) From Mr. M. J. P.

August 3rd, 1905.

Re the lights seen at Ynysybwl on the 23rd of July last, I am sending you my version of the affair, as I had the pleasure of seeing it, which was as follows :

I went on the night of the 23rd, which was Sunday, for a walk after supper ; although not in the habit of taking a walk, something compelled me to go, so in company with a few friends we went along the street for a short distance, when we were attracted by a voice raised in prayer on the mountain side, and we at once wended our way thither, where we had the pleasure of joining in with the company already assembled in prayer and praise to God, and our Maker met with us, and we received a great blessing to each of our souls, praise God. Well, after about an hour and a half we drew the meeting to a close, and commenced our way homeward. By now we had got as far as what is called the Robert Town Square, when we again commenced to praise God, when my attention was suddenly drawn to a mysterious light which appeared in the sky, which I had the pleasure of seeing. *Firstly*, it appeared to my startled gaze to be a ball of light about the size of the moon, with a slight mist over it. I gazed at it for a short time and then the *stars* began to shoot out around it ; then it gradually rose higher in the heavens, and as it rose it grew brighter and smaller and the smaller it got the brighter it seemed to grow, and the last I saw of it, it was a little larger than the evening star, and very bright. I might also say that while the mist covered the light it would open and brighten at intervals, so that [is] all I saw of the Mysterious Light.

Now, sir, that is the manner in which I saw the light, as also did my brother. I might also say that I am not of an excitable nature, therefore do not run away with the idea that what I saw was pure imagination brought on by an excitable nature, because if you do, you will be altogether mistaken.

(b) From Mr. R. J.

August 2nd, 1905.

Re the light seen at Ynysybwl on Sunday night, the 23rd of July, I am sending you my version of the matter as *seen by myself*, which is as follows:

I might say to commence that I as a Sunday School teacher, with the most of my class, eleven in number, went on Sunday evening to a place called Ynysyboeth, a distance of about five miles, to a service conducted by Mrs. Jones, Egryn, the lady that has been seeing all the mysterious lights. So we enjoyed ourselves grand, and after the close of the meeting we went our way back home to Ynysybwl; but we arrived so far as the mountain side that leads down to Ynysybwl, when we felt as if we were compelled to hold a prayer meeting there, which we did, and was in a very short time joined by a godly company, where we met with God in prayer and praise, and God wonderfully blessed us in our souls, and encouraged us to press on to that mark of our calling, which is in Christ Jesus, and also to show us that He was pleased with us, we had a convert. Praise God for it. Now don't you think God met with us? We closed there in about an hour and a half, and went down homewards; but when we got to a place called Robert Town Square, we again started to praise God, but we had hardly started when the mysterious light already referred to appeared, which as I saw it is as follows:

First of all my attention was drawn to it by a person in the crowd, and I looked and saw a block of fire as it was rising from the mountain side, and it followed along the mountain side for about 200 or 300 yards, before it gradually rose to heaven. Then a star, as it were, shot out to meet it, and they clapped together and formed into a ball of fire. It also grew brighter as it rose higher, and then it seemed to sway about a lot; then it seemed to form into something like the helm of a ship. The size of it at this time would be about the size of the moon, but very much brighter, and lasted about a quarter of an hour. I then went home to call my wife to see it (which is a distance of about 300 yards), and [the] strange [thing] about it was I could not see it from there, although my home faces the mountain side. But when I got back to the square already mentioned it was again quite visible. This, sir, is the manner in which I saw the light; mind, saw it, I mean, not imagined it; not at all.

(c) From Mr. J. J. The account was received on August 6th, 1905.

In accordance with my promise to you I write you a full account of how I saw the "light." Eleven of us from Ynysybwl had gone over one Sunday evening to Ynysboeth to a meeting at which Mrs. Jones, Egryn, was present. We had a grand meeting, and two sinners gave themselves up. After the meeting was over, we made our way homeward, singing hymns all the way to Abercynon. After starting across the mountain, some of us felt inclined to have a prayer meeting, but the majority were for having it on the Ynysybwl side, and a glorious meeting it was. The heavenly powers descended with force, and another convert was made.

We had now swelled considerably in number, and proceeded to the square opposite the Robert Town Hotel, and while we were singing the star appeared, like a ball of fire in the sky, glittering and sparkling, and as it went up it seemed to be bubbling over. This continued for about 20 minutes. . . .

(d) From Mrs. C. J. The account was received early in August, 1905.

The manner in which the lights appeared to me at the Robert Town Hotel Square was as follows :

Firstly, there appeared in the heavens a very large and bright ball of fire. It was of a much more brilliant lustre than an ordinary star—very much the colour of a piece of iron white-heated. It had two brilliant arms which protruded towards the earth. Between these arms there appeared a further light or lights resembling a cluster of stars, which seemed to be quivering with varying brightness. This was its form when I saw it, but others who had seen it before me had noticed it growing from smaller dimensions. It lasted for ten minutes or more.

(e) From Miss A. J.

August 5th, 1905.

Re the mysterious light or star which I saw on Sunday night or rather Monday morning of the July 23rd, about 12.30 o'clock a.m. :

The manner it appeared to me was, firstly, a ball of misty light in the heavens about 7 or 8 inches in diameter. It was very misty when it appeared first to me, then it got very much brighter, and as its brilliancy became undescrivable, the ball grew very much

larger, and forming an oval shape, it quivered and glittered very much.

Then there appeared to be two great long streaks of misty light coming from the ball forming something like the shape drawn; those almost reached the earth.

I may say that I never saw anything so wonderful and bright, it was most inspiring, and lasted for about ten minutes. It could not have been any imagination, for there was not any one thinking of any such things until very suddenly our attraction was drawn to it.

The late Dean Howell, Dean of St. David, wrote to the *Cyfaill Eglwysig* (a Welsh monthly) in December, 1902, just before his death, a last message on the need of Wales. This letter ended, "If I knew that this was my last message to my countrymen all over Wales, before I am summoned to judgment and with the light of eternity already dawning over me, this is my message, viz. that the principal need of my country and dear nation at this time is—*spiritual revival through a special downpouring of the Holy Spirit.*"

When this was first published in the *Cyfaill* it attracted considerable notice, and my friend who supplies the translation is not alone in believing that it had much to do with the creation of the Revival atmosphere. The republication of the message in the *Cymru*, a Welsh monthly of large circulation, in November, 1904, probably helped to extend interest in the Revival, especially amongst persons who saw in the movement a response to the Dean's fervent words.

Note.—In his Presidential Address (1897)¹, Sir William Crookes gave a table of the velocity of vibrations in 63 steps, and suggested that the "X-rays" would be found to lie between the 58th and 62nd steps, and he added that, "It seems to me that in these rays we may have a possible mode of transmitting intelligence. . . . Let it be conceived that the brain contains a centre which uses these rays as the vocal chords use sound vibrations and sends them out, with the velocity of light, to impinge on the receiving nglion of another brain. In this way some of the phenomena telepathy and the transmission of intelligence from one sensitive other through long distances, seem to come into the domain

¹ See *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XII., p. 338.

of law, and can be grasped. . . . Is it inconceivable that intense thought concentrated towards a sensitive with whom the thinker is in close sympathy may induce a telepathic chain of brain-waves, along which the message of thought can go straight to its goal without loss of energy due to distance?"

I have suggested in the *S.P.R. Journal* (April, 1905), that the contents of a telepathic message probably amount in volume to no more than a word or two, as in code telegraphy, and that the enlargement of the message into a scene or lengthy verbal communication is the work of the recipient mind.

Accepting the probability of a brain wave of sufficient intensity to carry a word or sign to a mind in conscious or unconscious sympathy with the agent, it would appear that the operation within the brain of the recipient, if sensitive to the message, is of a totally different character. The mind then is not simply perceptive but constructive. and, needless to say, works by the ordinary machinery and vibratory methods it daily employs. The message is realised in the form of sounds, changes of temperature, or visions, in accordance with the mental potentiality of the percipient. Whether the difference in mode of realisation has any relation or not to the mental capacity and habitual thought methods of the operator in other matters might be worth examination. At any rate, the limitation of the initial message to an agent's word or sign, and the attribution of the resultant sounds or sights to the percipient, not only goes far to explain "the clothes of ghosts" and the elaboration of scenic settings, the misunderstandings and erroneous impressions, that are found in our records, but may do a little to remove some of the objections to telepathy felt by many scientific minds even when they are the subjects of its operation.

II.

XENOGLOSSIE :

*L'Écriture automatique en langues étrangères.*¹

PAR M. LE PROFESSEUR CHARLES RICHET.

I.

LES observations, authentiques ou non, dans lesquelles des mots ou des phrases d'une langue étrangère sont écrits par des personnes n'ayant pu avoir par des moyens normaux quelque notion de cette langue, ne sont pas très communes.²

Nous devons d'abord éliminer les cas dans lesquels, sur des ardoises, par l'écriture directe, des médiums professionnels ont donné des réponses en diverses langues inconnues d'eux ; car toutes ces relations d'écriture directe sont assez problématiques, et le fait d'une langue étrangère, écrite par quelqu'un qui l'ignore, si merveilleux que soit le fait même, est peut-être moins merveilleux encore que le fait d'un crayon qui écrit tout seul : de sorte que le problème de l'écriture directe en langues étrangères est en quelque sorte un double miracle, qu'aucun témoignage, dûment et authentiquement contrôlé, ne vient encore confirmer.

Quant aux faits de langue étrangère parlée ou écrite automatiquement, ils sont vraiment peu abondants. Il faut laisser dans la pénombre des légendes l'histoire des saints qui, le jour de la Pentecôte, ont parlé toutes les langues ; l'histoire des religieuses de Loudun qui, possédées par des démons,

¹ An incomplete English version of this article has appeared in *The Annals of Psychological Science* for June, 1906.—EDITOR.

² Je me permettrais volontiers ici un néologisme ; nous pourrions dire que cette écriture en langues totalement étrangères est de la xénoglossie (*Ξένος*, étranger, *γλῶσσα*, langue).

répondaient en latin aux exorcismes du prêtre ; ou même le récit de cette femme qui, étant malade, parlait l'hébreu, ce qu'on attribuait à un souvenir de son enfance (elle avait été, dans sa jeunesse, servante d'un savant qui lisait tout haut en hébreu). L'histoire a été souvent racontée ; mais on ne peut que difficilement recourir à la source véritable.¹ Citerons-nous le français de M^{me} Piper, qui n'a jamais appris le français ? Il ne dépasse pas ce qu'on peut savoir de la langue française en lisant les journaux anglais. Reste, il est vrai, la très belle observation, si admirablement prise par notre collègue M. Flournoy. Hélène Smith transcrivait (avec beaucoup de fautes), quelques mots de sanscrit, mais sans réussir à faire des phrases ayant un sens. M. Flournoy a bien expliqué qu' "elle a absorbé ce qu'elle savait de sanscrit en feuilletant une grammaire ou d'autres documents écrits." (*Des Indes à la Planète Mars*, 1^{re} édit., 1900, p. 317.)

D'ailleurs, je ne veux pas faire ici une étude complète, critique et bibliographique, de ce phénomène, car j'aurais divers faits intéressants à citer (notamment les récits curieux de Judge Edmunds, en Amérique, 1859) ; je désire seulement relater des faits dont j'ai été témoin. L'interprétation est extrêmement difficile, et je dois dire, en commençant, que je ne pourrai donner d'explication adéquate. Pourtant, il est bon d'analyser minutieusement, autant que possible, des phénomènes de cette nature, car on ne saurait admettre à la légère les hypothèses non rationnelles ou les affirmations téméraires ; et la dissection, si je puis dire, de ces faits paradoxaux, veut être poussée très loin.

Aussi m'excusera-t-on des détails dans lesquels je serai forcé d'entrer.

Il s'agit de phrases, même de pages grecques, écrites par une personne qui ne sait pas le grec. Nous discuterons les conditions de ce phénomène, et les déductions qu'on peut en donner. Il faut d'abord indiquer le fait lui-même.

II.

La personne qui a écrit ces phrases grecques, en état de somnambulisme, ou en état de demi-conscience, est une dame

¹ See *Journal S.P.R.*, Vol. XI, p. 16 (January, 1903), for the origin of this story.—EDITOR.

de 35 ans, qui n'est pas professionnellement médium, encore qu'elle ait présenté à diverses reprises des faits remarquables de clairvoyance. Comme son nom ne peut être donné ici, je l'appellerai M^{me} X.

Je vis M^{me} X. à Paris pour la première fois le 7 novembre 1899. Notre ami commun, Fréd. Myers, avait disposé cette entrevue. Quoiqu'il ne s'agit pas ce jour-là d'une séance, dans le sens ordinaire du mot, cependant en réalité, peu de temps après que je fus arrivé, et pendant cette visite même, M^{me} X. perdit à peu près connaissance, et, dans un état de transe, les yeux fermés, elle écrivit péniblement au crayon la phrase suivante:¹

(i) Η ανθρωπινη σοφια ολιγου τινος αξια εστι και ουδενος
αλλα γαρ ηδη αρα απειναι.

Remarquons tout de suite qu'il y a là deux phrases distinctes; et qu'il faut mettre un point après *ουδενος*. De même, il faut lire non *ηδη αρα απειναι*, mais *ηδη ωρα απιέναι*.

M. Piddington, qui était présent, a constaté comme moi le grand effort, presque la souffrance de M^{me} X., pendant qu'elle écrivait ces lignes. C'est avec une notable lenteur, et une sorte de tremblement convulsif que les caractères étaient tracés. Au réveil, il ne semble pas que M^{me} X. en eût conservé le souvenir.

Le sens de la première phrase est très simple: *La sagesse humaine est peu de chose, et même elle n'est rien*. Le sens de la seconde est: *Voici que déjà je vais vous quitter*.

D'après les renseignements précieux que m'a donnés M. Shipley, la première phrase se trouve dans l'Apologie de Socrate (IX. 23. A), de Platon, et la seconde aussi, à la fin de ce même ouvrage.

Quelques jours après, étant encore dans le même état de transe, M^{me} X. écrivit en ma présence ces mots:

(ii) Χαιρετε εγω κατιστος ονοματο Αντωνινος Renouard.
Χαρστωτ τω θεω.

Cette phrase se divise en deux parties. Pour la première

¹Nous la donnons telle qu'elle a été écrite, sans les accents ni la ponctuation.

partie, en cherchant dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios¹ (1^{re} édit.), à *ὄνομα*, on trouve, ainsi que me l'a fait remarquer M. J.-B. Shipley, la phrase suivante: *κάποιος ὀνόματι Ἀντωνίος: Un nommé Antoine.* (Remarquons en passant cette coïncidence vraiment singulière, que, en 1846, ç'a été le nom d'Antoine qui a été pris comme exemple.) Alors il faut corriger *κατιστος ονοματο*, en lisant *κάποιος ὀνόματι*, et le sens de cette première phrase devient: Salut (*Χαίρετε*). Je suis le nommé Antonin.

Remarquons aussi que dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios (dans la première et non dans la seconde édition) il y a la coupure *Ἀντώνι-* et à la ligne suivante *ος*: de sorte que la lettre *ν*, qui ne se trouve pas dans le texte, est, peut-être, la transcription imparfaite du trait qui suit *Ἀντωνι*.

Quant à la seconde phrase, elle signifie: Rendez grâce à Dieu.

Le nom d'Antoine Renouard, qui pouvait être connu de M^{me} X., est le nom de mon arrière-grand-père, Antoine-Augustin Renouard, éditeur et bibliophile, de Paris (1770-1853). A.-A. Renouard a publié diverses éditions d'auteurs grecs: entre autres *Daphnis et Chloé*, de Longus. Son nom se trouve dans les dictionnaires bibliographiques et dans les encyclopédies. Il fut le père de Ch. Renouard, le père de ma mère (1794-1878).

Quelques autres communications, signées aussi de A.-A. R., furent données à la même époque (nov.-déc. 1899).

¹ Comme j'aurai l'occasion de revenir souvent sur ce dictionnaire, je dois en donner ici l'indication bibliographique exacte: Dictionnaire grec-français et français-grec, par Ch.-D. Byzantios publié par André Coromélas. Edition seconde, stéréotype. Athènes: Imprimerie d'André Coromélas, rue d'Hermès n° 215, 1856, 1 vol. de 520, 422 et *προλεγόμενα* de la première (xi) et la deuxième (viii) édition.

L'exemplaire qui m'a été adressé par le Dr Vlavianos est la deuxième édition. Mais, comme on le verra par la suite, tous les passages donnés par M^{me} X... se retrouvent dans la première édition; et en outre il en est un qui ne se trouve pas dans la seconde édition, et qui se trouve dans la première, de sorte que c'est, à n'en pas douter, d'après l'image de la première édition que les phrases grecques ont été reproduites.

J'ai trouvé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris cette première édition. *Λεξικὸν ἑλληνικὸν καὶ γαλλικόν, συνταχθεὺς μὲν ὑπὸ ΣΚΑΡΑΔΑΤΟΥ Δ. ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ, ἐκδοθεὺς δὲ ὑπὸ ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ ΚΟΡΟΜΗΛΑ. [Ἀθηναίῳ] ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Ἀνδρέου Κορομηλα (1846).*

(iii) *Ευχη θεος ευλογιω και ηλθα κατα προσκλησιν του κατα τα δεδομενα.*

Συμπατριωτες και δισεγγενος. A. A. R.

Il faut lire probablement *θεω* au lieu de *θεος* et *ηλθε* au lieu de *ηλθα*. Et alors le sens est: *Prière au Dieu de bénédiction, et répondons à l'invitation qui nous est faite de nous conformer aux doctrines (?) ou à ce qui nous a été enseigné [διδομενα pour δεδομενα].*

Quant à la signature, il faut lire: *Συμπατριώτης* (compatriote), au lieu de *Συμπατριωτες*, *δισέγγονος*, au lieu de *δισεγγενος*. Remarquons d'ailleurs que *δισέγγονος* ne veut pas dire *arrière-grand-père*, mais *arrière-petit-fils*.

(iv) *Συμπατριωτης εγω ειμαι.*

Les deux communications suivantes furent données plus tard dans l'été de 1900. Elles n'ont pas été signées par A.-A. R.

(v) *Τοις δει δεδη τοιουτος τοιουτοις ανηρ υπομνημασιν ορθως χρωμενος τελεος αι τελ ε τας τελουμενος τελεος οντως μονος γινεται ασπασμος.*

M. Shipley a retrouvé cette phrase tout entière dans le Phèdre de Platon (249, c.).

“L'homme qui sait se servir de ces réminiscences est initié sans cesse aux mystères de l'infinie perfection, et seul devient lui-même véritablement parfait.” (*Trad. franç. de Saisset. Dial. Socrat., II, 338.*)

Il y a peu d'erreurs de transcription. Notons le *δει* du début, qui est une hésitation corrigée par *δε δη*.

Voici le texte de Platon:

Τοίς δὲ δὴ τοιούτοις ἀνὴρ ὑπομνήμασιν ὀρθῶς χρώμενος, τελέους αἰὲ τελετὰς τελούμενος, τέλεος ὄντως μόνος γίγνεται.

Quant au mot *ἀσπασμός*, en grec moderne, il signifie: Salutation (adieu!).

(vi) *Εκετε ολιγην υπομενην ολα υπαχουν και ευχην θελετε ευχαριστηθη.*

Ανατελλοντος και δοντος του ηλιου η σκια εκτεινεται μακραν.

La première phrase contient des fautes. Il faut lire *νην* pour *υπομενην*, et alors le commencement signifie:

Ayez un peu de patience. On trouve dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios à *εὐχή*: ὅλα ὑπάγουν κατ' εὐχὴν (*Tout vient à souhait*).¹

La phrase *θέλετε εὐχαριστηθῆ* se trouve aussi dans le dictionnaire au mot *Εὐχαριστῶ* (p. 181, col. 3). De même aussi *Ἔχετε ὀλίγην ὑπομονήν* au mot *ὀλίγος* (p. 310, col. 1).

L'autre phrase, ainsi d'ailleurs que toutes celles qui précèdent, a été écrite par M^{me} X. devant moi. Mais ce jour-là, M^{me} X. était dans un état de grand tremblement nerveux. C'était au mois de juin, vers 7 h. 1/2 du soir. Dans la petite chambre où nous nous trouvions, le soleil se couchait; et la phrase grecque qui fut alors écrite se rapporte exactement à cette circonstance particulière: *Quand le soleil est à son déclin ou à son lever, les ombres s'allongent.*

Or cette phrase se trouve textuellement dans le dictionnaire grec de Byzantios au mot *Ἐκτείνω* (p. 139, col. 2). Signalons une légère erreur: *εκτεινεται* pour *εκτείνεται*; la traduction française en est donnée: *Quand le soleil est à son levant ou à son couchant, l'ombre se projette au loin.*

Nous aurons l'occasion de revenir sur cette remarquable expérience.

Pendant longtemps, aucune phrase grecque ne fut plus donnée. Mais en 1904 les mots suivants furent écrits:

(vii) *Πρωτοκοκος τα Χριστου λευκα σκληρωσ Θα τιμωρηθη αναλωσ* (et, comme à ce moment M^{me} X. ne pouvait plus écrire, les lettres suivantes ont été données, sans que j'insiste ici sur les conditions physiques du phénomène, par le moyen des raps) *σκληρωσ τα κριματα κυριου αβυσσος*. Le mot *κριματα* a été corrigé trois fois: *κριματι*; *κριμαθε*; *κριματα*. *Κυριου* a été corrigé aussi trois fois, de *κυρου* à *κυριον* et *κυριου*.

Pour le commencement de la phrase, M. Shipley suppose que le quatrième mot est sans doute *λεγων* (pour *λευκα*) et à la fin de la phrase *αναλογως* pour *αναλωσ*: ce qui peut se traduire: "Le premier né, le Christ. Celui qui parle rudement sera puni pareillement durement."

Quant à l'autre phrase: *Les jugements de Dieu sont un*

¹ Dans la seconde édition, à *Εὐχή*, on lit (p. 182) ὅλα βαδίζουσι κατ' εὐχὴν.

abîme, elle se comprend et est très correcte. Cette phrase se trouve dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios au mot *κρίμα* (τα κρίματα κυρίου ἀβυσσος), p. 246, col. 2.

Telle est à peu près, brièvement exposée, ce que je pourrais appeler la première phase du phénomène. Nous arrivons à la seconde phase, qui débuta par un fait remarquable.

La communication suivante en langue grecque m'a été adressée par M^{me} X., alors qu'elle était à Paris et moi à Carqueiranne, en octobre 1904.

Elle est écrite sur une seule feuille de papier et est divisée en quatre parties d'inégale étendue. La partie que j'appellerai A est en gros caractères, comme aussi la seconde (B). La troisième partie (C), qui ne comprend que deux mots, est en très gros caractères. La quatrième partie (D) est en caractères très fins.

(viii A) Χρῆσθαι λέξεσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς, ἐπειδὴν Ῥωμαίας προχείρους μὴ ἔχουσιν. . .

. . . Ὀχιμόνον. .

Ἐξετύλιξαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατα υφάσματα της κινας, λαμπασα δικτυωτὰ, δαμασκου λευκα καί στυλπινα, ως ἡ χλόη τῶν λιβαδιων, ἄλλα δέ κατασραπτοντα την ορασιν με την οξειαν αυτων ερυθρότητα, σηρικα ῥοδ ὀχροα, ἀτ, λάζια πυχνά, πεκινια μαλακότατα, ναγκίνια ἄσπρα και κίτρινα, τελευταῖον ἕως και περιζώματα τῆς Μαδα—

(viii B) Γαλλία ἀφ' ὄν δια πολυειδων αγωνων κατωρθωσατο την πολιτικὴν αυτης παλιγγενεσίαν, σπενδει ηδη προς αλλον ουχ ηττον ευκλεῆ σκοπον, την ανακτησιν της απο των φώτων και της παιδειας προγονικῆς αυτης ευκλειας.

(viii C) Χόπος συγγώρησις.

(viii D) Εἰς ταῦτα προσθέσατε τὴν τέρψιν
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐχόντων ὑπ' ὄψιν
ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους, τὰς σμαραγδίνους
γλαφυρότητας κήπου δασυφύλλου
ἐρημικοῦ, βρύντος ἀπὸ ἄνθη, κατοικουμένου ἀπὸ
πτηνα πολυποίκιλα, διαβρεχομένου ἀπὸ μικρῶν
ῥυάκιον ὕδατος ζῶντος, τὸ ὅποιον, προτοῦ νὰ
διαχυθῆ ἐπὶ τοῦ δροσεροῦ λειμῶνος, καταλείβεται

ἐκ τοῦ ὑψους βράχου τινος μέλανος καὶ ἀγροτιχοῦ,
 [λάμπει ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ ὡς λεπτοῦφής ταινία ἐξ ἀργύρου, ἔπειτα δέ εἰς
 μαργαριτῶδες, μεταβαλλόμενον ἔλασμα χύνεται ἐντὸς
 δεξαμενῆς διαυγεσάτης, ὅπου ὠραῖοι κύκνοι ὡς τὴν
 χιόνα λευκοὶ πλέουσι μετὰ χάριτος. . . .

Cette communication était, ainsi que je l'ai dit, accompagnée d'une lettre dans laquelle M^{me} X. me disait: "Je n'ai vu que du grec, et du grec, et enfin ma main a dû écrire ce nonsens que je vous envoie avant que j'aie pu me mettre au travail. Ma main était dans un état d'amnésie longtemps après... J'espère maintenant me retrouver... How absurd! Ma main va me trahir de nouveau. On n'a pas d'idée combien est drôle cette sensation; je lutte contre quelque chose comme dans un rêve; tout semble loin, et je ne sais qui va gagner." Les derniers mots de cette lettre contenaient des caractères grecs: σ et ς pour s.

Après avoir cherché tant bien que mal à traduire ce grec difficile, je fus mis sur la voie de l'origine très étrange de ces longues citations. En cherchant dans le *Dictionnaire de la langue française* de Littré, au mot *Damas*, M. Courtier trouva cette phrase: Ils déroulèrent des magnifiques étoffes de soie de la Chine, des lampas découpés à jour, des damas d'un blanc satiné... (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Paul et Virginie*.) Il était donc évident que la première phrase (viii A) était la traduction d'un passage de *Paul et Virginie*.

Comme à Paris il me fut impossible de trouver une édition grecque de *Paul et Virginie*, je m'adressai à mon confrère le D^r Vlavianos, d'Athènes, en lui faisant part de mon désir, et du motif pour lequel je le lui témoignais. Il me répondit en me disant que les phrases viii A., B. et D. se trouvaient textuellement dans le dictionnaire grec-français et français-grec de Byzantios et Coromélas. Et il m'envoya ce dictionnaire, (seconde édition) dont j'ignorais absolument l'existence.

En effet, dans cet ouvrage, qui est sans doute le dictionnaire classique qui sert aux jeunes gens grecs à apprendre le français, il y a dans les Prolégomènes de la première édition, Prolégomènes qui sont écrits en grec (page α, ligne 29), la phrase *Χρῆσθαι λέξεσιν Ἑλληνικαῖς, ἐπειδὴν Ῥωμαίας προχείρους*

μὴ ἔχωσιν. Cette phrase n'est pas traduite en français : c'est la traduction d'une phrase de Cicéron donnée en latin : "*Graecis licet utare, cum voles, si te latinae forte deficient.*" Ces mots latins étaient suivis immédiatement de la traduction grecque, mise entre parenthèse et guillemets, ("Χρῆσθαι..." etc.).

On remarquera la rigoureuse exactitude du texte et des accents, alors que, dans les écritures précédentes, il n'y avait que très irrégulièrement et rarement des accents.

A la ligne suivante du dictionnaire, le mot ὄχι μόνον revient souvent ; en effet l'auteur, M. Byzantios, parlant de son dictionnaire, dont il fait naturellement l'éloge, dit qu'il contient les mots, non seulement Anecdote, mais Anecdotier ; non seulement Mystique, mais Mysticisme ; non seulement Phénomène, mais Phénoménal. (ὄχι μόνον Mystique, ἀλλὰ καὶ Anecdotier, καὶ Anecdotique ; ὄχι μόνον Anecdote, ἀλλὰ καὶ Mysticisme, καὶ Mysticité ; ὄχι μόνον Phénomène ἀλλὰ καὶ Phénoménal). Peut-être le mot ὄχι μόνον mis dans la phrase viii A. a-t-il été pris pour *Phénomène* ; mais rien ne l'indique et ne nous autorise à supposer un contre-sens. Ce mot veut dire : *Non seulement* ; et ce n'est qu'une hypothèse assez hasardée que d'admettre que, dans le document écrit qui m'a été envoyé, il a été mis pour signifier *Phénomène*. Cela d'autant plus que à ὄχι, on trouve ὄχι μόνον, *non seulement*.

La phrase viii C. : Χοπος. Συγγωρησις, semble indiquer qu'à ce moment il y a eu fatigue (Κόπος) et excuse, pardon (Συγχώρησις) pour cette fatigue.

Il est même probable que ce sont ces deux mots qui ont été écrits les derniers.

Mais deux autres citations se trouvent en grec moderne dans les Prolégomènes du Dictionnaire de Byzantios (page e de la 2^e édition). Je les donne ici textuellement pour qu'on puisse se rendre compte des minimes différences entre ce qui est imprimé dans le Dictionnaire, et ce qui a été écrit par M^{me} X.

Voici d'abord la citation viii A. :

Ἐξέτύλιξαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατα ὑφάσματα τῆς Κίνας, λαμπάσα
πὰ, δαμάσκα λευκὰ καὶ στίλπνὰ, ὡς ἡ χλόη τῶν λιβαδίων,
ἔ καταστράπτοντα τὴν ὄρασιν μὲ τὴν ὀξείαν αὐτῶν ἐρυ-

θρόνητα, σθηκὰ ροδόχροα, ἀτλάζια πυκνὰ, πεκίνια μαλακότατα, ναγκίνα ἄσπρα καὶ κίτρινα, τελευταῖον ἕως καὶ περιζώματα τῆς Μαδα(γασκάρ).

Voici le texte de Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, qui a été traduit en grec :

“Ils déroulèrent de magnifiques étoffes de soie de la Chine, des lampas découpés à jour, des damas d’un blanc satiné, d’autres d’un vert de prairie, d’autres d’un rouge à éblouir, des taffetas roses, des satins de pleine main, des pékins moelleux comme le drap, des nankins bleues et jaunes, et jusqu’à des pagnes de Madagascar.”

Les accents sont mis dans la proportion suivante. Il y en a 51 dans le texte grec. Il y en a eu 28 dans le manuscrit de M^{me} X., soit un peu plus de la moitié, et ils sont correctement mis, sauf pour Ἐξετύλιξαν qui est écrit Ἐξετύλιξαν. Il n’y a d’erreur dans le texte que pour καταστράπτοντα, qui est écrit κατασραπτοντα. De plus ἀτλάζια est écrit ἀτλασια; et περιζώματα est écrit περιζώματα, comme si la lettre ζ était impossible à transcrire.

Quant au texte lui-même, il est peu intéressant; il a été pris par Byzantios comme exemple de la possibilité qu’il y a de traduire en grec moderne des expressions françaises peu usitées et un peu étranges.

La phrase viii D. est aussi une transcription d’un passage du Dictionnaire de Byzantios. Là encore l’auteur a voulu donner un spécimen de termes français peu usités que l’on peut traduire en grec. C’est la traduction d’un passage des *Mystères de Paris* d’Eugène Sue :

Εἰς τὰντα προσθέσατε τὴν τέρψιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐχόντων ὑπ’ὄψιν ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρους, τὴν σμαραγδίνους γλαφυρότητας κήπου δυσφύλλου ἐρημικοῦ, βρύντος ἀπὸ ἄνθη, κατοικουμένου ἀπὸ πτηνὰ πολυπόκιλα διαβρεχομένου ἀπὸ μικρὸν ρυάκιον ὕδατος ζῶντος, τὸ ὁποῖον, προτοῦ νὰ διαχυθῆ ἐπὶ τοῦ δροσεροῦ λειμῶνος, καταλείβεται ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους βράχου τινὸς μέλανος καὶ ἀγροτικοῦ, λάμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ὡς λεπτοῦφης ταινία ἐξ ἀργύρου, ἔπειτα δὲ εἰς μαργαριτῶδες μεταβαλλόμενον ἔλασμα χύνεται ἐντὶς δεξάμενης διαυγεστάτης, ὅπου ὠραῖοι κύκνοι ὡς τὴν χιόνα λευκοὶ πλέουσι μετὰ χάριτος.

Voici le texte d'Eugène Sue :

“ Joignez à cela l'été, pour perspective, les vert(e)s profondeurs d'un jardin touffu, solitaire, encombré de fleurs, peuplé d'oiseaux, arrosé d'un petit ruisseau d'eau vive, qui, avant de se répandre sur la fraîche pelouse, tombe du haut d'une roche noire et agreste, y brille comme un pli de gaze d'argent, et se fond en lame nacréee dans un bassin limpide où de beaux cygnes blancs (comme la neige ?) se jouent avec grâce.”

Les accents sont très exactement mis ; il y en a 94 dans la copie, et 104 dans le texte grec. Même les accents relativement peu usités comme *ώρα* et *λεπτοῦφης* sont correctement transcrits.

Il n'y a pas de fautes de texte ; je signalerai seulement ceci : d'abord la lettre ζ est correctement transcrite à ζωντος, par exemple. Ensuite, le ψ est écrit d'une manière assez étrange qui peut à première vue faire penser qu'il y a confusion entre le φ et le ψ. Mais ce ne serait une erreur ; car les deux lettres sont écrites différemment. Le ψ est écrit comme un I au milieu duquel un o a été inscrit ; ce qui donne l'apparence φ. Le φ au contraire est écrit tout à fait normalement.

Une curieuse erreur est à la ligne 5 du manuscrit. Le mot *μικρὸν* est écrit, sans qu'il y ait de confusion possible, *μικρσν*, et il n'y a pas d'accent sur le σ. Nous verrons plus tard qu'il y a lieu d'insister sur la nature de cette erreur.

Enfin,—mais c'est peut-être là une coïncidence—il y a comme une consonance en forme de rimes dans les deux premières lignes ; de sorte qu'il y a au début presque deux vers rimés, ayant chacun dix syllabes. Rien d'analogue n'existe dans le texte grec, qui est écrit comme de la prose.

J'ai dit déjà que cette citation viii D. est écrite en caractères beaucoup plus fins que les deux autres. Il semble que ce soit une tout autre écriture. A la loupe, on reconnaît qu'il y a un léger tremblement, manifeste surtout vers la fin.

La phrase viii B. se trouve dans la première édition (et non dans la seconde), du livre de Byzantios ; mais avec un changement important.

Le dictionnaire est en effet dédié au roi Louis-Philippe, et la dédicace est en deux colonnes, une colonne pour le français, une colonne pour le grec.

Le premier alinéa (grec) est la phrase viii B. tout entière, avec cette différence que le mot Γαλλία, donné par M^{me} X., est, dans le texte de Byzantios et Coromélas, Ἡ'Ελλάς.

Et voici le texte français... *Après avoir conquis par de pénibles travaux son indépendance politique, la Grèce se propose aujourd'hui un nouveau but non moins noble que le premier : elle veut rappeler dans son sein les lumières qui l'avaient jadis couverte de gloire.*

Je ferai remarquer que, dans l'exemplaire de la Bibliothèque nationale, que j'ai sous les yeux, le dictionnaire français-grec (dans lequel il n'y a d'ailleurs pas de phrases grecques citées), n'est pas coupé, tandis que le dictionnaire grec-français est coupé. Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas de traduction dans le dictionnaire français-grec du mot France en Γαλλία; mais au dictionnaire grec-français est ajouté un petit lexique des noms propres (p. 400-401; *πιναξ κυριων ονοματων*) où Γαλλία (ἡ) est traduit par France.

Les accents ont été mis dans la proportion suivante: il y en a 44 dans le texte grec: il y en a 8 dans l'écriture de M^{me} X. *Il n'y a pas de faute de texte*; car le κ et le χ sont écrits à peu près de la même manière par M^{me} X., de sorte qu'il est difficile de savoir quand elle écrit κ et quand χ.

Enfin il existe entre le document viii et les autres phrases grecques données plus haut, cette différence fondamentale que toute l'écriture grecque (viii A., B., C., D.), m'a été envoyée sans que j'aie vu M^{me} X. l'écrire.

Or, ces jours-ci, un nouveau phénomène s'est produit, d'une extrême importance, car en ma présence M^{me} X. a écrit toute une longue phrase semblable à celles que j'ai données plus haut, et relevant de la même origine, le dictionnaire de Byzantios.

J'avais annoncé à M^{me} X. que j'avais reçu le dictionnaire de Byzantios; et elle n'avait pas été médiocrement surprise de cette découverte imprévue. Mais je ne lui avais pas apporté le livre. Or, une ou deux semaines plus tard, le 2 mai, comme je lui allais rendre visite, et que je lui parlais de mon dessein d'apporter le livre de Byzantios à Londres, un nouveau phénomène se produisit.

Ce jour-là, en effet (le 2 mai), elle me dit soudain, après quelques mots de conversation, qu'elle se sentait incapable

de parler en anglais, et qu'elle se voyait entourée de caractères grecs ; alors, dans un état de demi-conscience, elle prit un stylographe, et, devant moi, debout sur son balcon, elle écrivit la phrase suivante :

(ix) “ . . ολα τα ταυτὰ,

puis elle barra ces trois mots et écrivit alors sans interruption les lignes suivantes :

“ . . ολα τὰ τωματα τατια . . είχαν ως σολισμαδς . . δμιλους ανθρωπιων τῆς πηλοπλαφικῆς τέχνης τοῦ Κλωδιωνος και απα, άδην ἐπὶ ὑποβάθρων ἰόσπιδος ἢ ἀμυγδαλίτου ἀρχαίου λίθου, πολυδόπανά τινα διὰ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου ἀντίτυπα τῶν θελκτικωτέρων βακχίδων του ἀποκρύφου Μουσεζου τῆς Νεαπόλεως.”

Pour le dire tout de suite, cette phrase est le commencement de la citation d'Eugène Sue donnée plus haut, et elle se trouve aussi, précédant la phrase viii D., dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios. Je la donne ici telle qu'elle est dans le texte imprimé, pour qu'on puisse la comparer avec le manuscrit écrit sous mes yeux par M^{me} X.

“ . . “Όλα τὰ δωμάτια ταῦτα . . είχαν ὡς στολισμοὺς . . ὀμίλους ἀνθρωπιῶν τῆς πηλοπλαστικῆς τέχνης τοῦ Κλωδιωνος, καὶ σποράδην, ἐπὶ ὑποβύθρων ἰόσπιδος ἢ ἀμυγδαλίτου ἀρχαίου λίθου, πολυδάπανά τινα διὰ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου ἀντίτυπα τῶν θελκτικωτέρων βακχίδων τοῦ ἀποκρύφου Μουσείου τῆς Νεαπόλεως.”

(Traduction du français d'Eugène Sue) : “ Toutes ces pièces... avaient pour ornements des groupes de biscuit ou de terre cuite de Clodion, et sur leurs socles de jaspe ou de brèche antique quelques précieuses copies des plus joli(e)s groupes du Musée (apocryphe de Naples), en marbre blanc.”

Je ferai d'abord quelques courtes remarques quant à la manière d'écrire de M^{me} X. Elle écrivait debout ; tenant en mains le stylographe et le cahier, et par conséquent dans des conditions d'assez difficile écriture, qui est alors assez tremblée et parfois peu distincte. M^{me} X. semblait regarder dans le vide et copier quelque chose qu'elle voyait devant elle. Il était 4 heures de la journée. J'étais tout près d'elle, et je puis assurer qu'il n'y avait rien d'écrit dans le cahier de papier blanc qu'elle tenait à la main ; de sorte qu'il n'y

a pas pour moi le plus léger doute sur l'origine même de cette écriture faite sous mes yeux, dans des conditions d'absolue certitude.

Maintenant, pour la comparaison du manuscrit avec le texte donné par Byzantios, quelques points intéressants doivent être développés. Les points avant "...δλα" et après "στολισμούς..." sont exactement conformes au texte. Les accents sont mis presque tous. Il y en a 49 dans le texte, et 39 dans le manuscrit. Les erreurs sont peu nombreuses, un peu plus nombreuses cependant que dans la précédente transcription: πολυδόπανα pour πολυδάπανα; τωματια pour δωμάτια; πηλοπλαφικῆς pour πηλοπλαστικῆς; ιάσπιδος pour ιάσπιδος: απα, άδην pour σποράδην; αντίευπα pour αντίτυπα, etc.

Je dois dire qu'on peut lire αντίτυπα et peut-être σποράδην dans le texte donné par M^{me} X.

Je signalerai aussi deux erreurs extrêmement intéressantes, parce qu'elles semblent nous prouver qu'il y a eu là un phénomène visuel, quelle que soit la nature essentielle de ce phénomène.

En effet, le mot στολισμούς est écrit σολισμαδς. Je ne me préoccupe pas du τ du commencement, qui a été omis dans la transcription, ce qui s'explique par ce fait que dans la première édition στ est écrit ς: abréviation typographique qui est dans la première édition, et non dans la seconde. Mais j'appelle l'attention sur le δ final qui remplace le ù de la fin de στολισμούς. σολισμαδς est un mot qui n'est pas grec et qui n'a même aucune consonance grecque; car presque jamais un mot grec ne se termine en μαδς. Seulement, le ù ressemble de loin à un δ, si bien que c'est comme si les caractères typographiques avaient été vus de loin et superficiellement transcrits par quelqu'un qui ne sait pas le grec.

De même, όμιλους, qui a été écrit, à n'en pas douter, δμιλους, n'a guère forme grecque. Mais ό ressemble de loin à δ, et alors la transcription visuelle a donné δμιλους pour όμιλους. J'en dirai autant de Μουσειου, qui est transcrit Μουσεζου.

Me réservant de revenir d'ailleurs sur quelques-unes de ces particularités curieuses, je passe tout de suite aux autres

écritures qui me furent alors données par M^{me} X. immédiatement après cette transcription du dictionnaire de Byzantios (il est inutile de dire que je n'avais pas montré le livre à M^{me} X.). Je lui demandai de me donner en grec une explication de la phrase écrite, et de me parler de la prochaine communication que je devais faire sur ce sujet à Londres.

(x) ἐν παρόδῳ, περαστικῶ δὲν ἠξεύρω Ἀγγλικά.

(xi) τὰ ἀντίγραφον εἶνε ὁμοιον μὲ τὸ πρωτότυπον. A. A. R.

(xii) μοί εἶνε ἀδύνατον να παρεκτραπῶ ἀπὸ τὰς ὁδηγίας τὰς ὁποιαῖς ἔχω.

(xiii) τὰ σχόλια τὰυτα θὰ κάμουν τὸν τόμον ὀγκωδέστερον
A. A. R.

Voici la traduction de ces phrases, signées, comme on voit, de A. A. R. (Antoine Augustin Renouard), ainsi qu'aux premiers jours, au début des premières communications en grec qui m'avaient été données.

(x). *En passant... pour le passager... Je ne sais pas l'anglais.*

(xi). *La copie est conforme à l'original. (Il faut lire probablement τὸ ἀντίγραφον.)*

(xii). *J'ai mes instructions dont il m'est impossible de m'écarter.*

(xiii). *Ces notes grossiront encore plus le volume.*

Puis encore, quelques instants après, M^{me} X. me donna les deux phrases suivantes :

(xiv) ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος δυοφέρει ὅλην τὴν Ευρωπην.

(*Cette guerre intéresse toute l'Europe.*)

(xv) ενθυμησουτο, νὰ τὸ ενθυμῆσαι!

(*Souvenez-vous-en.*)

Toutes ces phrases se retrouvent dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios. Je les transcris ici :

(x) ἐν παρόδῳ, *en passant* (à παρόδος, p. 341, col. 2).
δὲν ἠξεύρω Ἀγγλικά (à Δὲν, p. 103, col. 1). *Je ne sais pas l'anglais.*

(xi) τὸ ἀντίγραφον εἶνε ὁμοιον μὲ τὸ πρωτότυπον (à ὁμοιος, p. 313, col. 2).

(xii) μοὶ εἶνε ἀδύνατον νὰ παρεκτραπῶ ἀπὸ τὰς ὁδηγίας τὰς ὁποίας ἔχω.

J'ai mes instructions, dont il m'est impossible de m'écarter (au mot Ὅδηγία, p. 307, col. 3).

(xiii) τὰ σχόλια ταῦτα θὰ καμουν τὸν τόμον ὀγκωδέστερον.

Ces notes grossiront encore plus le volume. Au mot ὀγκωδης de la première édition.

(xiv) ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος διαφέρει ὄλην τὴν Εὐρώπην.

(Cette guerre intéresse toute l'Europe) au mot Διαφέρειω, p. 113, col. 1 et 2). Il y a δυοφέρει pour διαφέρει.

(xv) ἐνθυμήσου τό! νὰ τὸ ἐνθυμῆσαι.

(Souvenez-vous-en) au mot Ἐνθυμούμαι (p. 149, col. 3).

Si l'on compare les accents mis dans ces diverses citations, on en constatera l'exactitude; il y en a 56 dans le texte grec, et 52 dans la transcription, ce qui veut dire en somme que tous les accents sont mis, et mis correctement. Il n'y a d'erreur que pour (x) παροδφ au lieu de παροδφ; (xi) τὰ ἀντίγραφον pour τὸ ἀντίγραφον. En somme, extrêmement peu de chose.

L'erreur de παροδφ pour παροδφ est bien intéressante, car c'est une erreur visuelle, comme en pourrait commettre quelqu'un qui lit hâtivement et ne connaît pas le grec. Il n'y a pas plus de terminaisons en οδφ que plus haut en μαδς pour στολισμοῖς. La lecture de l'φ, à une lecture superficielle, fait croire à l'existence d'un φ.¹

Je dois aussi faire remarquer que ces phrases grecques s'appliquent avec une certaine précision à des choses actuelles; car j'avais demandé à M^{me} X. de me donner une explication sur la communication qui venait de m'être faite par elle; et les mots (x) et (xi) s'y adaptent exactement, comme aussi (xii) et (xiii).

Quant à la phrase (xiv), elle se rapporte à un événement

¹ La ressemblance est beaucoup plus grande dans certains caractères grecs typographiques que dans ceux qui sont employés ici.

actuel, la guerre russo-japonaise, dont nous avons parlé aussi; et enfin pour la phrase (xv), ce jour-là même M^{me} X. avait fredonné à diverses reprises une vieille chanson française (*Monsieur et Madame Denis*), dont le refrain est "Souvenez-vous-en," et elle m'avait demandé si je la connaissais.

Au point de vue de la signification générale de ces phrases grecques, sans nous occuper maintenant de leur origine, on peut leur assigner, quant à leur finalité en quelque sorte, une double *cause*.

Dans un cas, elles ont pour but de donner une preuve matérielle, technique pour ainsi dire, de la connaissance et compréhension du grec (citations longues—soleil et ombres allongées—copie conforme à l'original, etc.).

Dans l'autre cas, ce sont des idées générales, un peu mystiques à ce qu'il semble, sur la voie à suivre, sur la nécessité de poursuivre l'étude des mystères (v), l'imperfection de la sagesse humaine (i), etc.

De sorte que, malgré l'apparente incohérence de ces phrases, on découvre la trame serrée d'une sorte de pensée directrice cherchant à atteindre par deux voies différentes le même but.

Tels sont donc, en somme, les faits dont je vais chercher l'explication, avec tous les détails nécessaires.

III.

Je dirai tout d'abord, pour simplifier, que les trois seules hypothèses que dans l'état actuel de la science on puisse émettre, sont: (1), une fraude consciente, astucieuse, voulue, prolongée et habile; (2), une mémoire inconsciente de choses vues et oubliées; (3), l'intelligence d'un esprit pénétrant l'intelligence de M^{me} X. Or ces trois explications me paraissent toutes trois également absurdes et impossibles.

Je vais les examiner librement l'une après l'autre.

(1) D'abord qu'il me soit permis de demander pardon à M^{me} X. de discuter l'hypothèse de la fraude volontaire. Je connais sa loyauté irréprochable, et je m'en porte garant comme s'il s'agissait de moi-même. Mais c'est une dure nécessité de ces sortes d'expériences d'exiger autre chose qu'un acte de foi. Même s'il s'agissait de moi, je serais contraint de donner des preuves autres que des preuves morales. Ces preuves

morales, si puissantes qu'elles soient pour moi, ne suffiront pas aux autres, et je dois, ainsi que M^{me} X. me l'a elle-même instamment demandé, examiner en toute indépendance cette question de fraude, et faire comme s'il ne s'agissait pas d'une personne dont la sincérité est au-dessus de tout soupçon.

D'abord M^{me} X. ne sait pas le grec. Certes il est impossible de prouver d'une manière absolue qu'on ne sait pas une langue. Quoiqu'on puisse facilement prouver qu'on connaît une langue étrangère; il est radicalement impossible de prouver qu'on ignore. Pourtant, on peut arriver à établir que le grec est une langue difficile à savoir, et qu'on ne l'apprend pas au pied levé; que M^{me} X. n'a jamais, ni dans son enfance, ni plus tard, étudié les livres grecs; que ni ses amis, ni moi, nous ne l'avons jamais vue étudier le grec; et que par conséquent, même *a priori*, l'in vraisemblance qu'elle a étudié et qu'elle connaît le grec est extrême.

Il faut faire une réserve lorsqu'il est dit qu'elle n'a vu ni ne possède de livres grecs. En effet, au mois de novembre 1899, quelques jours avant la première visite que je devais lui faire, elle se sentit soudain envahie par le désir d'apprendre le grec, et alors elle s'adressa à une dame de ses amies, et la pria de lui procurer quelques livres grecs. M^{me} Z. acheta alors deux petits livres classiques, d'occasion, maculés par les écoliers qui y avaient travaillé, et portant encore les taches et les dessins dont sont coutumiers les enfants; ces deux livres, M^{me} X. ne les regarda même pas. Il paraît qu'il lui suffit de les avoir. Elle les mit dans un recoin de sa bibliothèque sans les regarder davantage. Ce sont les *Premiers exercices grecs* de l'abbé Ragon (12^e édition, Paris, Poussielgue, 1898), et la *Chrestomathie grecque*, par l'abbé Ragon (4^e édition, Paris, Poussielgue, 1897).

J'ai longuement examiné ces deux livres. Il ne s'y trouve rien qui ressemble de près ou de loin aux phrases qui ont été données; il n'y a même pas d'alphabet grec. Le mot *αθροισμα*, qui est dans la première phrase écrite en novembre 1899, ne se trouve ni dans l'un ni dans l'autre de ces deux ouvrages, au petit lexique sommaire qui leur est annexé.

D'ailleurs, cette constatation était assez inutile, puisque les livres de Ragon sont des livres de grec ancien, et qu'il s'agit dans les manuscrits donnés par M^{me} X. de grec moderne.

Il est inutile d'ajouter que M^{me} X. n'a jamais vu le dictionnaire de Byzantios, et que la première fois qu'elle a aperçu cet ouvrage, ç'a été quand je le lui ai apporté le 2 mai, après que toutes les phrases grecques rapportées plus haut avaient été écrites par elle.

Donc, en toute évidence, M^{me} X. ne sait pas le grec, et ce qui vient corroborer avec une autorité irréfutable cette affirmation, c'est que dans ses écrits grecs il y a des fautes telles qu'elles ne peuvent être commises par quelqu'un qui connaît le grec, même très superficiellement. Ainsi, par exemple, τὸ ἀντίγραφον pour τὸ ἀντίγραφον; ἐν παρόδῳ pour ἐν παρόδῳ; μικρον pour μικρόν, etc. Ce sont là des fautes qu'un écolier, deux semaines de rudiment, ne commettrait pas.

Je donnerai une autre preuve encore, tout à fait technique, pour montrer que M^{me} X. écrit le grec comme une personne qui ne le connaît pas.

Mon ami J. Héricourt, dans une étude attentive faite à propos d'un document célèbre (le fameux papier de l'affaire Dreyfus) a démontré que l'écriture courante, vue à une très forte loupe ou reproduite avec grossissement par la photographie, n'était ni tremblée ni irrégulière, tandis qu'il en était autrement pour l'écriture imitée. Celle-là est tremblée, irrégulière, trahissant l'hésitation dans le graphisme; de sorte que l'on peut, en étudiant à la loupe une écriture quelconque, reconnaître, selon qu'elle est tremblante ou non, si c'est une écriture courante ou une écriture imitée. Or l'écriture grecque de M^{me} X. est très tremblée, tout à fait comme le serait celle d'une personne qui n'écrit pas le grec couramment, mais en le copiant, sans pouvoir l'écrire, d'après une image qu'elle a devant les yeux.

Donc, en résumant toute cette discussion, j'arrive à considérer comme dûment et solidement établi que M^{me} X. ne sait pas le grec.

J'aborde maintenant ce qui est le fonds même de la question, à savoir pourquoi la similitude rigoureuse, absolue, entre les phrases grecques qui ont été écrites soit devant moi, soit en mon absence, et les phrases que l'on trouve en divers endroits du dictionnaire de Byzantios.

Remarquons d'abord que l'exemplaire que je possède m'a été, vers le 1^{er} avril de cette année, envoyé d'Athènes, qu'il a été

imprimé à Athènes, et qu'il n'en existe probablement pas beaucoup d'exemplaires à Paris. Je me suis adressé à un libraire de Paris qui m'a dit ne pouvoir s'en procurer qu'en le faisant venir d'Athènes même. L'autre exemplaire (1^{re} édition), provient de la Bibliothèque nationale. Cela ne veut pas dire assurément que cet ouvrage ne puisse se rencontrer quelque part à Paris; mais il est très rare, à coup sûr. J'admets fort bien qu'il en existe (ou qu'il en a existé), à Paris; mais c'est un livre très rare, à coup sûr; ce n'est pas un livre de classe, car nos jeunes écoliers n'apprennent *jamaïs* le grec moderne; et les dictionnaires grecs qu'on peut se procurer couramment sont tous, *sans exception*, des dictionnaires de grec ancien.

Pourtant il est évident que la relation entre les phrases écrites par M^{me} X. et les phrases du dictionnaire de Byzantios n'est pas fortuite. A partir de la phrase vi, jusqu'à la phrase xv, toutes les citations, les longues et les courtes, se trouvent dans le dictionnaire dont elles sont la transcription rigoureuse. On peut donc dire qu'après le mois de juin 1900, toutes les phrases grecques écrites par M^{me} X. sont des phrases du dictionnaire grec susdit.

J'ai déjà dit que je me refusais, pour des raisons morales, qui me paraissent primordiales, à admettre l'hypothèse d'une fraude. Mais laissons de côté les raisons morales, si puissantes à mes yeux. Il est des raisons matérielles, aussi puissantes, qui concourent à rendre cette hypothèse absurde.

(1) Il est matériellement impossible, étant données nos connaissances actuelles sur les limites de la mémoire humaine, qu'il y ait une transcription exacte et complète, en une langue inconnue, de toute une série de phrases, avec ponctuation, points et accents, comme pour les phrases, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, qui ont été écrites devant moi, dans l'espace d'une heure à peine.

Cela est d'autant plus impossible qu'il s'agit d'une transcription visuelle, puisqu'il y a $\delta\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ pour $\acute{\omicron}\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; $\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\delta\varsigma$ pour $\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\delta\phi$ pour $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\delta\phi$; ce serait donc une transcription sans nulle lecture préalable, puisque la lecture aurait donné $\acute{\omicron}\mu\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, $\sigma\omicron\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, et $\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\delta\phi$. Par conséquent c'est une transcription de signes n'ayant aucun sens, puisque aussi bien la terminologie grecque restait ignorée

J'ai fait le compte, par curiosité, des lettres et accents grecs ainsi écrits sous mes yeux, en conformité avec les phrases du dictionnaire. Le nombre en est de 622 (phrases ix à xv). Les erreurs ou omissions sont au nombre de 42; cela fait donc une proportion de 6,7 pour cent d'omissions ou d'erreurs. Ainsi, 622 signes ont été écrits, avec seulement 6 pour cent d'erreurs.

A ces 622 signes il faut en ajouter 913 qui sont dans la lettre qui m'a été envoyée, écrite, ainsi qu'il m'a été dit, dans les mêmes conditions; au total 1535 signes, écrits de mémoire, sans compréhension du texte.

Supposer qu'une mémoire humaine ait cette puissance, c'est dépasser les limites de l'invraisemblable.

(2) Voici une seconde démonstration plus nette encore. La phrase du début "Χρησθαι," etc. (viii A), n'est pas donnée en français dans le dictionnaire grec de Byzantios. Elle est seulement donnée en latin, et dans le latin de Cicéron, assez difficile à comprendre, quand on n'a pas fait l'étude spéciale du latin.

Je mets en fait qu'une personne qui ne sait pas très bien le latin ne pourra pas comprendre ces mots: *Gracis licet utari, cum voles, si te latinae forte deficiant.* On arriverait donc à cette absurdité que M^{me} X., tout en ne connaissant pas le grec, connaît le latin, puisqu'elle a employé pour dire ce qu'elle voulait dire une phrase grecque (qu'elle ne comprenait pas), traduite d'une phrase latine (qu'elle ne pouvait pas comprendre davantage). Il y a là une seconde manifeste absurdité.

(3) Le fait que la phrase ix a été écrite devant moi, avec autant de perfection dans la transcription que les phrases viii A., B., et D. rend extrêmement vraisemblable que ces phrases ont été écrites dans les mêmes conditions que la phrase ix. Les modalités de l'écriture sont identiques. Ainsi par exemple le mot μικρον pour μικρόν. La proportion des accents est à peu près la même; dans un rapport de 66 pour cent pour les phrases écrites en mon absence; tandis que dans les phrases écrites devant moi, le rapport a été de 86 pour cent. Les accents ont donc été bien plus correctement et complètement mis dans les phrases écrites sous mes yeux que dans les phrases écrites en mon absence.

Donc toutes les citations de la traduction de Bernardin

de Saint-Pierre, et de la traduction d'Eugène Sue, ont été données dans les mêmes conditions que la phrase ix, récemment écrite devant moi.

(4) Dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios, il y a un dictionnaire français-grec et un dictionnaire grec-français. Or toutes les phrases que je viens de citer sont puisées dans le dictionnaire grec-français; autrement dit, dans un dictionnaire dont on ne peut se servir qu'en connaissant le grec, pour traduire du grec en français. Car, si l'on veut traduire du français en grec, on ne trouve dans ce dictionnaire que le mot seul, sans qu'il soit accompagné d'une phrase détaillée ou explicative; de sorte que, pour exprimer une idée (pour faire, autrement dit, un thème grec, ce qui serait le cas), ce lexique très abrégé ne donne aucune des phrases susdites. Donc il faut savoir le grec pour employer l'autre dictionnaire grec-français; autrement dit, le dictionnaire est fait pour la *version* grecque et non pour le *thème* grec. Cette remarque est d'une importance majeure; car on comprend mal que ce qu'on veut dire puisse être dit, uniquement à l'aide d'un dictionnaire fait pour la version. Par exemple, supposons un écolier qui veuille dire: "L'écriture ressemble à l'original," ou: "La copie est comme le livre"; il trouvera à *écriture* γραφή; γράφισμον; à *manuscrit* χειρόγραφος; à *copie* αντίγραφον, ἀπομίμημα; d'autre part à *ressembler* il lira ἀλλάζω; à *semblable* ὅμοιος, παρόμοιος; et à *impression* τύπωσις; à *livre* βιβλίον; à *original* πρωτότυπος. De sorte qu'il y aura sept à huit phrases possibles. Or justement la phrase qui a été écrite est identique à celle qui se trouve à ὅμοιος (du dictionnaire grec-français). Il faudrait donc supposer, ce qui est absurde, que ce thème grec a été fait avec un dictionnaire qui sert à des versions, et qui ne peut être utile qu'à une personne sachant déjà le grec.

Pour toutes ces raisons d'ordre technique, qui sont décisives, et qui, je le répète, ont tout autant de force que les raisons d'ordre moral, je considère l'hypothèse d'une fraude, savante, compliquée, prolongée, impliquant l'achat, la possession et la méditation à diverses reprises, pendant près de six ans, du livre de Byzantios, comme ridiculement absurde.

L'absurdité devient plus éclatante encore, si l'on songe que l'emploi du dictionnaire de Byzantios ne suffirait pas. Il

faudrait y joindre Platon, avec l'Apologie de Socrate et le Phèdre. On verra à l'appendice qu'il faudrait aussi supposer le Nouveau Testament. Du moment que l'hypothèse d'une fraude serait admise, on ne voit pas pourquoi M^{me} X. se serait arrêtée en chemin. Si sa mémoire est aussi extraordinaire, elle eût pu chaque jour me donner des citations des auteurs les plus divers. Et il n'y a rien eu pendant quatre ans.

Que l'on me permette ici une courte digression.

Trop souvent, lorsque l'on est en présence de faits qu'on ne peut pas expliquer, on est tenté de les résoudre par un simple soupçon que rien ne vient appuyer. Quelle que soit l'honorabilité des personnes en jeu, on n'en tient plus aucun compte. On résout tout d'un mot bref, qui explique sans commentaires et sans preuves. On oublie que, si la mauvaise foi est facile à établir, il est impossible de prouver la bonne foi. Je ne sais plus qui disait jadis: "Si l'on m'accusait d'avoir mis dans ma poche les tours de Notre-Dame de Paris, je commencerais par me mettre à l'abri des poursuites." En réalité, dans l'espèce, l'hypothèse d'une fraude est tout aussi absurde que celle du vol des tours de Notre-Dame. Et il n'y a d'autre raison pour croire à la supercherie que l'impossibilité d'admettre un phénomène que nous ne comprenons pas! Comme si nous comprenions tout ce qui est dans la Nature! Hélas! En réalité, nous n'en avons aucune notion, même approchée.

Parler de fraude parce qu'on ne comprend pas; c'est aussi déraisonnable que l'exclamation d'un excellent homme, académicien respectable, qui, lorsqu'on vint lui montrer en 1879 le premier phonographe, déclara que c'était de la ventriloquie. *Il ne comprenait pas*; et, pour ne pas admettre un phénomène qui lui était incompris, il supposait la fraude, ce qui le dispensait de tout effort d'intelligence.

Nous arrivons maintenant aux deux autres hypothèses, lesquelles, je dois le dire, me paraissent tout aussi inacceptables.

(2) L'hypothèse de la mémoire inconsciente doit être examinée de près.

Ici en effet il n'est plus question de fraude. Car cette hypothèse suppose que le livre en question a été vu en passant, pour ainsi dire, pour quelques instants seulement, puisqu'il a été oublié, et que ce souvenir s'est gravé dans la mémoire

inconsciente (le *subliminal self*) sans que la personnalité consciente, réfléchie, en ait connaissance.

De tels exemples ne sont pas rares, et dans l'étude de l'hypnotisme, on en a signalé de remarquables. Mais nous ne croyons pas qu'il puisse en être question ici pour diverses raisons.

Je ferai remarquer d'abord que, lorsque M^{me} X. donnait les écritures en question, elle n'était nullement en état d'hypnose. Au début, dans les premières expériences, il y a eu *transe* véritable; mais peu à peu les phénomènes se sont produits sans aucune *transe*, avec la conservation complète de la personnalité normale, consciente; tout au plus un léger *vague*, une obnubilation passagère, que les moindres paroles extérieures dissipent.

Peu importe, d'ailleurs; car il n'est pas nécessaire de supposer l'état d'hypnose, latent ou manifeste, pour qu'il y ait manifestation de la mémoire inconsciente.

La difficulté réside uniquement dans l'extension prodigieuse, inouïe, invraisemblable, qui serait alors donnée à la mémoire humaine.

Supposons que M^{me} X. ait, à l'étalage d'un bouquiniste ou ailleurs, observé et feuilleté le livre de Byzantios, ce n'est pas impossible, assurément, quoique peu probable. Mais ce qui est impossible, c'est qu'elle ait inconsciemment lu au moins cent pages de ce livre grec, de manière à avoir eu sous les yeux au moins une fois des phrases s'appliquant aux situations diverses où elle devait se trouver; car elle a écrit cette phrase qui répond exactement à la question que je posais: τὸ ἀντίγραφον, etc... *La copie est conforme à l'original.* Il est absurde d'admettre qu'en ouvrant le livre elle a eu justement sous les yeux cette phrase pour se souvenir en temps opportun et de la signification française, et de la forme typographique grecque correspondante. Même cela ne suffit nullement, car elle a encore vu bien d'autres phrases, dont elle aurait inconsciemment retenu le sens, après en avoir lu les caractères. Pourquoi aurait-elle dit: "Je ne sais plus l'anglais," en même temps qu'elle écrivait; Δέν ἤξέρω Ἀγγλικά, et fredonnait-elle: *Souvenez-vous-en*, en écrivant ἐνθυμησου τὸ? Cela supposerait cette énorme absurdité qu'elle avait parcouru *tout le dictionnaire* (dans l'état d'inconscience), et qu'elle en avait retenu assez de phrases pour pouvoir les appliquer aux diverses conditions en

lesquelles elle allait se trouver. (Les pages, en effet, où se trouvent les notes citées sont multiples : pages *a* et *e* de la préface ; pages 181, 139, 310, 246, 341, 313, 307, 113, 149. Cela suppose au moins onze pages lues.)

On peut, à l'extrême rigueur, admettre qu'une lecture superficielle, conservée par la mémoire inconsciente, porte sur une phrase ou deux, n'ayant pas de sens directement applicable aux conditions présentes. Mais qu'il y ait ainsi plusieurs phrases toutes très cohérentes, cela est vraiment absolument impossible, et le fait de feuilleter un livre ne donne pas ces souvenirs précis et multipliés.

Les considérations relatives à la durée doivent aussi entrer en jeu. Car, d'une part, d'après le témoignage de M^{me} X., si elle a eu l'occasion, très rare, et certainement accidentelle, de feuilleter, en passant, de vieux livres, ç'a été à une époque relativement lointaine ; c'est-à-dire, seulement en 1899 ; et, depuis cette époque, elle n'a certainement pas eu l'occasion d'avoir sous les yeux un livre grec quelconque.

D'ailleurs, déjà en juin 1900, se trouvait une phrase identique à celle qui est dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios (vi), et probablement même le mot *διεργγενοσ* donné en novembre 1899, mot qui n'appartient pas au grec ancien, mais au grec moderne, indique que déjà à cette époque, il y avait une relation entre le dictionnaire de Byzantios et l'écriture grecque de M^{me} X. De sorte que, même en supposant, ce qui nous paraît inadmissible, la mémoire inconsciente, il faudrait lui attribuer ce privilège inouï, de persister *pendant cinq ans* sans aucune altération, avec la reproduction graphique textuelle de tous les signes, incompréhensibles, mais persistant dans la mémoire.

Enfin, la difficulté n'est pas moindre à supposer cette prodigieuse aptitude (inconnue jusqu'à présent) de la mémoire à retenir les moindres signes graphiques. Quelque crédit qu'on accorde à la mémoire inconsciente, quoique l'on prétende en faire une divinité souveraine qui peut tout, ce n'est pas une explication rationnelle. Nous avons refusé tout à l'heure à la mémoire consciente, réfléchie, un pareil pouvoir, ce n'est pas pour en doter la mémoire inconsciente, non réfléchie, non voulue, capable de beaucoup, mais incapable de fixer tous les détails d'un tableau aussi complexe qu'une page de grec, quand chacun des signes tracés est vide de sens, et que la langue est ignorée.

En outre, l'objection que je faisais plus haut, objection fondamentale, d'extrême importance, qui est l'impossibilité, pour celui qui ne connaît pas le latin, de comprendre la phrase de Cicéron : *Graecis licet utare, cum voles, si te latinae forte deficiant*, subsiste tout entière, aussi bien pour la mémoire inconsciente que pour la mémoire réfléchie.

Nous pouvons donc résolument conclure que le fait d'écrire ainsi, avec une exactitude graphique presque parfaite, de longues phrases grecques, alors qu'on ignore le grec, est, dans l'état actuel de la psychologie, absolument inexplicable, et que c'est une tentative désespérée, pour échapper à l'inexplicable, que de se réfugier dans l'hypothèse d'une mémoire prodigieuse.

Car jusqu'à présent, en fait de mémoire, on n'a jamais rien vu d'analogue. Quand les calculateurs prodiges déroulent au bout d'un quart d'heure les nombreuses séries de chiffres qu'on a énoncés devant eux, en réalité ils parlent une langue spéciale, qui leur est familière, et auquel un long usage, servi par un extraordinaire appareil cérébral, les a pliés. Quand un musicien retient toutes les parties d'orchestre d'une partition, il s'agit encore d'une langue qu'il connaît bien. Mais ici rien de semblable : ce sont des signes, et rien que des signes, qui sont reproduits avec leur délicate ponctuation dans leurs moindres détails, et qui sont symboles d'une langue absolument incomprise.

Pourtant le fait existe. Il est indiscutable, aussi brutal qu'un fait, et nul ne peut le nier. Il ne s'explique pas par la mémoire. Nous venons de le prouver.

(3) Les deux hypothèses précédentes ayant été démontrées absurdes, il est permis de recourir à une hypothèse autre. Mais nous allons voir que l'hypothèse des *esprits* n'est pas davantage recevable.

En effet, ce que nous savons ou croyons savoir sur la réalité des esprits et sur leur puissance est tellement vague, qu'en réalité la supposition qu'il s'agit d'esprits revient à affirmer notre non-connaissance des choses. Les esprits sont des *Dii ex machina* faciles à inventer pour suppléer à une explication. Expliquer un phénomène incompris par des phénomènes plus incompréhensibles encore, c'est d'une logique très contestable ; de même que les sauvages expliquent la grêle, la pluie et les éclairs par l'action des génies et des diables, de même les spirites expliquent ce qui dépasse nos connaissances

humaines par des forces inconnues, imprécises, qu'ils appellent des esprits.

Autrement dit, c'est essayer d'éclaircir l'inexpliqué au moyen de l'inexplicable.

Cela dit, admettons un moment que la personnalité des morts ne disparaisse pas, et qu'elle se mêle à notre vie terrestre. Dans ce cas, la personnalité qui serait revenue serait probablement, puisque la signature A. A. R. a été donnée, Antoine Augustin Renouard. Mais cette supposition soulève maintes difficultés.

D'abord, Antoine Augustin Renouard n'était pas, à proprement parler, un helléniste. Il était imprimeur et bibliophile; il a imprimé *Daphnis et Chloé*; mais sa connaissance du grec n'était pas exceptionnelle, et il ne savait probablement pas le grec moderne. Or le livre en question date de 1846. A.-A. R. est mort en 1853; et d'ailleurs depuis 1825 il avait complètement abandonné l'imprimerie, pour se consacrer exclusivement à la recherche et au culte des très vieux livres.

Je passe volontairement sous silence d'autres indications d'un autre genre, qui sembleraient faire croire qu'il y a eu intervention réelle de A.-A. R., car il ne faut pas mélanger à cette étude spéciale, envisagée au point de vue de la connaissance des langues étrangères, les autres communications reçues, nécessitant, elles aussi, pour être analysées, une longue et laborieuse discussion.

On remarquera aussi que A.-A. R. a signé *δισεγγενος*, ce qui ne veut pas dire *arrière-grand-père* mais *arrière-petit-fils*. Dans le dictionnaire de Byzantios (dictionnaire français-grec), il n'y a rien à *arrière-grand-père*: il y a *πάππος* à *grand-père*, à *bisaïeul* il y a *πρόπαππος*, et *δισεγγονος* (non *δισεγγενος*) à *arrière-petit-fils*.

Si les preuves sont faibles, ou pour mieux dire nulles, en faveur de l'hypothèse qu'il s'agit de la personnalité survivante d'A.-A. R., elles sont naturellement plus faibles encore pour l'hypothèse de l'intervention d'une autre personnalité quelconque, et il est inutile de s'y appesantir.

Reste encore, il est vrai, le recours à une sorte d'hypothèse mixte, dans laquelle il y aurait eu d'une part mémoire inconsciente, d'autre part emploi, par une intelligence étrangère, de ces signes laissés dans la mémoire subliminale. Mais nous

nous heurtons aux mêmes difficultés que tout à l'heure ; car l'hypothèse d'un esprit n'explique rien, et il est tout à fait impossible, comme nous l'avons dit, de supposer à la mémoire inconsciente (aidée ou non par un esprit ?) de garder cet amas énorme de signes graphiques.

Quant à l'hypothèse d'une transmission de pensées, si, à la rigueur extrême, on peut l'admettre, pour les dernières phrases données, alors que j'avais déjà, étant près de M^{me} X., lu et parcouru attentivement le dictionnaire, elle est inadmissible pour toutes les phrases du début, les plus nombreuses, qui m'ont été données, alors que j'ignorais totalement l'existence du livre.

Nous voici arrivés au terme de cette analyse que je n'ai pas pu rendre plus courte.

Nous avons vu qu'on peut formuler trois hypothèses, mémoire consciente, mémoire inconsciente, influence d'un esprit ; et nous avons montré qu'elles sont toutes trois absurdes.

Mais, parce que les explications sont absurdes, est-ce une raison de rejeter les faits ? Ce serait une grave erreur que de vouloir à toute force donner aux faits qu'on ne comprend pas une explication rationnelle. Les faits qui, dans l'immense Nature, dépassent notre intelligence sont plus nombreux que les autres. Avant qu'on eût connu le mouvement des astres, pouvait-on comprendre les éclipses ? Quelle explication pouvait en être fournie à ceux qui ignoraient la rotation de la lune et de la terre autour du soleil ? Si Thalès, qui a découvert les propriétés électriques de l'ambre, revenait parmi nous, il ne comprendrait rien à la théorie des ions. Basile Valentin, si on lui avait parlé *ex abrupto* des théories de la stéréochimie, aurait à bon droit conclu à une magie quelconque. Lavoisier, ce génial et fécond découvreur, niait qu'il existât des météorites, et il était tenté de croire au mensonge de ceux qui affirmaient avoir vu des pierres tomber du ciel.

Or ici nous sommes en présence d'un fait certain, indéniable. Nous ne pouvons l'expliquer. Si nous admettons que c'est un phénomène de mémoire, consciente ou non, nous tombons dans une série de prodigieuses invraisemblances. Nous sommes forcés de supposer à la mémoire des puissances qu'elle n'a pas de construire tout un échafaudage de suppositions, non con-

formes aux faits; contradictoires de toute justice et de toute vérité. N'est-il pas mieux de dire que nous sommes en présence de l'inexpliqué?

Et pourquoi la science aurait-elle peur de prononcer ce mot? Inexpliqué ne veut pas dire inexplicable. On a vu que successivement, les phénomènes se sont dévoilés en devenant, à de longs intervalles de temps, de plus en plus nets; sans atteindre encore le degré de précision nécessaire. Qui sait si, en poursuivant cette étude avec patience (attendant les phénomènes, car ils ne peuvent être provoqués), nous n'aboutirons pas à la solution d'un problème dont j'ai posé les termes, tout en déclarant que la solution m'en est inconnue?

Pour ma part, je n'ai aucune hésitation à déclarer qu'un fait, minutieusement observé, peut demeurer *inexplicable*. C'est un aveu que je n'hésite pas à faire, car on aurait, je pense, évité bien des erreurs, si l'on avait plus souvent, dans l'étude des phénomènes de la nature, eu le courage de la modestia.

APPENDICE.

Cet article était écrit lorsqu'un nouveau phénomène s'est produit. Le 26 mai, après avoir montré à M^{me} X. cet article même, comme nous avions parlé abondamment de quelques-uns des faits qui s'y rapportaient, M^{me} X., dans un état de demi-transe, écrivit devant moi les phrases suivantes que je donne ici textuellement, dans l'ordre et la forme suivant laquelle elles furent écrites.

Comme pour les phrases précédentes, l'écriture a été lente, tremblée; il semblait qu'elle fût donnée par M^{me} X. avec un grand effort d'application, comme si un texte quelconque était devant ses yeux, qu'elle cherchait à lire dans le vide.

1. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐὰν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδητε, οὐ μὴ πιστευσητέ.

2. Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, κἀκεῖνος ποιήσει καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει ὅτι ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου πορεύομαι.

3. Καὶ ὁ, τί ἂν αἰτησῆτε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, τὸ ποίησω ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ.

4. Ἐάν τι αἰτήσῆτε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

5. Ἐπι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκ ἐτι θεωρεῖ ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσεσθε.

6. Οὐκετι υμᾶς λεγῶ δούλους.

7. Ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπατε ἀλλήλους.

8. Μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει ἵνα ἴσῃ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἢ ὑπερ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

9. Νῦν δὲ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντά με.

10. δὲν ἠμπορῶ πλέον.

11. τελεσιουργός.

12. τέλος.

13. ⲛⲟⲩⲧⲏⲩⲱⲛⲧ¹

BYZANTIOS A. A. R.

Toutes ces phrases, moins les quatre dernières, sont la reproduction des paroles du Christ dans l'Évangile de saint Jean. Je donne ici le texte grec d'après l'édition de Tauchnitz (Leipzig, 1903):

1. Ἐἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐάν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδῃτε, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσῃτε (IV. 48).

Alors Jésus lui dit: Si vous ne voyez pas des prodiges et des miracles, vous ne me croirez pas.

2. Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ κακείνος ποιήσει, καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει, ὅτι ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου πορεύομαι (XIV. 12).

¹In a note by Mr. J. B. Shipley in *The Annals of Psychical Science* for July, 1906, it is stated that this Hebrew writing, in which there are two slight mistakes, represents two words which occur in Psalm cxviii. 25, and are translated in the English Authorised version as "Save now." A shortened form of the same word was in liturgical use, and is represented in the English version by the word "Hosanna."—EDITOR.

En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis ; celui qui croit en moi fera lui-même les œuvres que je fais, et il en fera même de plus grandes, parce que je m'en vais vers mon Père.

3. Καὶ ὃ τι ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, τοῦτο ποιήσω ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ (XIV. 13).

Et ce que vous demanderez en mon nom, je le ferai pour que le Père soit glorifié dans le Fils.

4. Ἐάν τι αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐγὼ ποιήσω (XIV. 14).

Ce que vous demanderez en mon nom, je le ferai.

5. Ἔτι μικρόν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκέτι θεωρεῖ. ὑμεῖς δὲ, θεωρεῖτέ με, ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσεσθε (XIV. 19).

Encore un peu de temps, et le monde ne me verra plus ; mais vous, vous me verrez ; parce que je vis et que vous vivrez.

6. Οὐκέτι ὑμᾶς λέγω δούλους... (XV. 15).

Je ne dis pas que vous êtes mes esclaves.

7. Ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπάτε ἀλλήλους (XV. 17).

Je vous recommande ces choses pour que vous vous aimiez les uns les autres.

8. Μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπην οὐδεὶς ἔχει, ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῇ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ (XV. 13).

Personne n'a un plus grand amour que de donner sa vie pour ses amis.

9. Νῦν δὲ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντά με... (XVI. 5).

Et maintenant, je vais vers celui qui m'a envoyé.

Les mots de la fin (10, 11 et 12) sont du grec moderne.

10. δὲν ἠμπορῶ πλέον.

11. τελεσιουργός.

12. τέλος.

On trouve à Ἐμπορῶ (p. 146, col. 2, 1^{re} édit. du dict. de Byzantios), δὲν ἠμπορῶ (être dans l'impossibilité). Le sens est

donc : (10) Je ne veux pas davantage... (11) celui qui a fait son œuvre... (12) Fin.

En faisant la même analyse technique que celle qui a été fait plus haut, nous remarquerons la presque absolue conformité de l'écriture donnée avec le texte grec.

Il y a eu 633 lettres, accents et points. La proportion des erreurs y est faible. En erreurs et omissions, il n'y en a que 54, soit à peu près 8 pour cent, ce qui est vraiment minime.

Il s'agit presque toujours d'ailleurs soit d'accents omis, soit d'accents mal mis, et comme fautes de texte, il n'y en a vraiment que deux : dans la phrase 4, au lieu de *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου*, le τ de *ὀνόματι* a été omis, et il a été écrit *ἐν τῷ ὀνόμα ι μου*. Dans la phrase 8, il s'agit aussi d'un τ qui a été omis ; et au lieu de *ἵνα τις τὴν ψυχὴν*, l'écriture donne *ἵνα ις τὴν ψυχὴν*.

Il faut d'ailleurs faire une remarque essentielle ; c'est que, si le texte de Byzantios est unique, et qu'il ne peut y avoir de variantes quant aux accents et à la ponctuation, on ne peut en dire autant de l'Évangile de saint Jean qui a eu assurément de très nombreuses éditions. M^{mo} X. dit avoir un souvenir vague d'une édition grecque du Nouveau Testament, assez ancienne, qui était dans sa famille. Il est à penser que les accents ne sont pas rigoureusement identiques à ceux de l'édition de Tauchnitz, que j'ai sous le yeux. Ce qui me fait penser à une relation avec l'édition ancienne, c'est que *τοῦτο* est écrit *τ8το* ; *ὀνόματι μου* est écrit *ὀνόματί μ8*. D'ailleurs, à la ligne suivante, *μου*, est écrit *μου*, *ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ* est écrit *ψυχὴν αὐτ8*. Plus haut, à la phrase 2, *πιστεύων* est écrit *πισεύων*, ce qui semble prouver que le texte en relation avec l'écriture est un texte d'ancienne orthographe grecque.

Le mot *οὐκ ἐτι* est écrit en deux mots à la phrase 5, et en un mot à la phrase 6.

Le nombre des accents dans le texte grec est de 167 ; et dans l'écriture de M^{mo} X., pour les phrases correspondantes, il est de 121. La proportion des omissions est donc de 27 pour cent.

Mais ce qui frappe vraiment, c'est la correction presque absolue du texte, correction probablement bien supérieure à celle dont seraient capables à la dictée la plupart des écoliers de seize ans, après deux ans d'études grecques.

Enfin, l'adaptation est parfaite aux idées qui veulent être exprimées, puisque, après ces belles paroles que saint Jean prête au Christ, il est dit: "Je ne puis en faire davantage... J'ai achevé mon œuvre. C'est la fin." Et cela d'après un tout autre texte, presque en une autre langue, le texte de Byzantios et la langue Grecque texte moderne.

Il est inutile d'insister sur la variété des phrases grecques données ainsi. Nous avons en effet, non seulement des phrases du dictionnaire de Byzantios (Préface, Dédicace, Lexique), mais encore des citations de Platon (Apologie de Socrate et Phèdre), et de longues citations de l'Évangile de saint Jean. En somme, il s'agit là de quatre ouvrages absolument différents, et *toujours* la phrase donnée, ainsi que je l'ai dit à maintes reprises, s'adapte admirablement aux conditions présentes.

Peut-être de nouveaux phénomènes se produiront-ils, pour confirmer ces premières données, dont l'explication me paraît aujourd'hui non pas difficile, mais impossible. Cependant, ainsi que je le disais plus haut, l'absence d'explication plausible ne doit pas nous faire passer sous silence un fait rigoureusement établi.

III.

DISCUSSION OF PROFESSOR RICHEL'S CASE OF
AUTOMATIC WRITING IN A LANGUAGE
UNKNOWN TO THE WRITER.

I.

BY SIR OLIVER LODGE.

I HAVE been interested in Professor Richet's paper on what he calls Xenoglossy, and have had an opportunity of discussing some of the details with him, and of gathering some first-hand information as to its mode of occurrence.

I think it may be of some assistance if I comment on the subject, and especially if I arrange the events in an order more chronological than that in which he found it convenient to describe them.

I must premise that the lady whom he calls Mme. X. is to be thought of as one who distinctly possesses the usual, or perhaps unusual, occult powers; that is to say, the fact of automatic writing, or of crystal vision, or other modes of automatism and response to suggestion, however that suggestion originates, may be regarded as the expected in her case.

One of the most striking proofs of her possession of definite power in this direction is that related by Professor Richet in the *Annals of Psychological Science*, Vol. I., p. 130, February, 1905, under the heading, "A Singular Case of Lucidity." The episode there related cannot possibly be accounted for by fraud of any kind: it must be due either to chance or to lucidity, and my impression is that any one who studies it will find by deciding that the hypothesis of chance has to be ejected. On that occasion however other people were present,

so it is just possible that the lucidity displayed did not belong to Mme. X. But that is rather a forced hypothesis, since a number of instances of ostensibly clairvoyant faculty on the part of Madame X. when acting alone are known to Professor Richet.

But because a medium possesses genuine power it does not follow, as we know well, that that power may not occasionally be eked out by something which may legitimately be called 'fraud,'—though this name is far too general and indiscriminate to be usefully applied to all the many gradations of conscious or subconscious or unconscious ingenuity, by means of which normal or accustomed processes are made to do duty for the unusual and unaccustomed processes which we are desirous of investigating.

Accordingly this case of Xenoglossy must be studied in a fully critical manner, and the only use that can be made of the medium's known powers is to help towards an explanation of the mode in which the phenomenon in question might occur, if the fact of the phenomenon is first rigorously established. The admitted existence of some power has one useful consequence, in that it enables one to speak of 'visions,' and of ostensible 'control' such as that exercised by a secondary personality or otherwise, without circumlocution or difficulty.

With this prelude I will give a short account or summary of the occurrences connected with the writings, as testified to by Professor Richet; it being understood that I am only going over them for convenience, and that I am not giving evidence in the case.

It appears that in November, 1899, Mme. X. had a 'vision' of a clean-shaven old man who subsequently often appeared to her, and who later gave his name as A. A. R., or sometimes in full as Antoine Augustin Renouard—the name of Professor Richet's maternal great-grandfather—concerning whom particulars will be found in Professor Richet's paper. He seems to have been a more or less learned bibliophile, but not in any special sense a scholar. With this vision she at once began to associate the idea of the Greek language—a vague notion which interpreted itself in her waking state as a sort of desire to learn Greek. She accordingly applied to a lady friend for some elementary Greek text-books, and two second-hand soiled

school books were bought and given her. The desire, however, seems only to have been momentary, for it appears that the books were not utilised, but were simply stowed away.

About that same time, viz. on November 7th, in the presence of Professor Richet and Mr. Piddington (neither of whom then really knew Mme. X.), at an interview arranged for by Mr. Myers, she went into a trance and, with her eyes closed, wrote in pencil her first Greek sentence, which, as a matter of fact, consisted of two fairly simple phrases run together. The meaning was obvious, but the source of the two was unknown. (i.)

Later in the same month, in the presence of Professor Richet, Mme. X., again in a state of trance, wrote a Greek sentence which means that the name of the control is Antoine (or Antonine) Renouard. (ii.)

In the same and following month a few other short sentences were written (iii and iv), and in the summer of 1900 a longer one, which was unintelligible at the time, even to so ingenious a Greek scholar as Mr. Myers. (v.)

Some of the phrases, like (vi), are in Modern Greek, and these are usually colloquial, often referring to the control; other phrases are in Classical Greek, and these appear to contain general sentiments or dignified propositions. But in both cases the writing was nearly without accents, and with several errors such as might be made by an ignorant but very painstaking copyist who had writing given him which he was to imitate without understanding. It seems to me probable, however, that such a copyist, unless extraordinarily careful, would be likely to make more errors than actually were made. To test this I asked my amanuensis, Mr. Briscoe, to copy a few lines of Greek from the bottom of page 346 of Vol. I. of the *Annals of Psychological Science*. I took the paper away before he had finished, so as to give no time for revision, thus imitating the circumstance of the automatic writing with fair closeness. The errors are few, but they seem to me of the same general character as those in the automatic scripts; and perhaps Mrs. Verrall, to whom I sent this short piece of writing, will include it in her detailed analysis.

So far, all the phrases were written by Mme. X. in Professor Richet's presence, and no source was known for any of

them; that is to say, they all might have been original. Those given in June, 1900, had no signature attached to them.

Nothing more is reported until the Spring of 1904, when a Modern Greek sentence was partly written and partly given by raps (vii); and, in the Autumn of that same year, very long and complicated paragraphs in Modern Greek were written by Mme. X. in Paris, and sent to Professor Richet at Carqueiranne, with a letter accompanying them saying:

"I have seen nothing but Greek, and Greek, and finally my hand had to write this nonsense which I send you before I could set about my work. My hand was in a state of amnesia [meaning anæsthesia] for a long time afterwards. . . . I hope now to be all right again. . . . How absurd! My hand seems to play me false again. You have no idea how curious this sensation is; I struggle against something as though in a dream; everything seems far away. . . . I do not know who will win."

These paragraphs (viii), transmitted by post, which it may be supposed were written more at leisure, contain errors of the same kind as those written under supervision, and, what is noteworthy, contain errors in about the same proportion and of about the same kind; but they include accents, which the previous sentences did not. These long and complicated paragraphs, which were very difficult to translate, happened to put Professor Richet on the right scent as to source, in a manner which he describes in his paper. Briefly thus:—A quotation in Littré's French Dictionary indicated that the meaning of one of these sentences occurred in Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's book *Paul et Virginie*. It looked therefore as if it were taken from a Modern Greek translation of this book, but no such translation was known; so Professor Richet wrote to Dr. Vlavianos, of Athens, asking him if there were such a thing, at the same time explaining the reason of the request by sending the Greek sentences. Dr. Vlavianos replied in the negative, but said that he had found the sentences in the Preface to a dictionary, published about 60 years ago, for use by Greek students learning French. It appears that in this Preface the author (Byzantios), anxious to demonstrate the adaptability of Modern Greek, proceeded to translate some complicated descriptive out-

of-the-way French into his own language. In accordance with this plan he chose sentences from *Paul et Virginie* and from Eugène Sue's *Mystères de Paris*. These are the sentences which, with a few alterations, such as putting Γαλλια instead of 'Ελλας, were written by the automatist. This dictionary, we are told by Prof. Richet, exists in the National Library of Paris; and the leaves of its Greek-French portion are cut.

In April Professor Richet informed Mme. X. of his discovery, but did not show her the book. On May 2nd he went to see her and told her of his intention to take the *Byzantios* Dictionary with him when he went to London to read his paper to the S.P.R. While he was telling her this, she began to go into a trance again, said she "felt unable to speak English, and saw Greek characters all around"; then in a state of semi-consciousness she took up a pen and, standing beside him, wrote a long Greek phrase in a blank note-book, writing it slowly as if she were copying something held up in front of her eyes, while in reality she was looking into space, and writing slowly and painfully. This paragraph, so written, contains the same kind of errors as before—practically no more and no less—it exhibits complete ignorance of the language on the part of the writer; and it also was found in the Preface to the same dictionary, being in fact the commencement of a quotation from Eugène Sue, a later portion of which had already been given. (ix.)

Professor Richet then asked her thus semi-entranced to give an explanation of the paragraph written; this she did not do,¹ but wrote instead in Modern Greek, the following sentences (x-xv):

"Just at present I do not know English."

"The copy agrees with the original."

"I have my instructions from which it is impossible for me to depart."

"These notes will make the volume still larger."—A. A. R.

And, a little later, she further wrote in modern Greek:

"This war interests the whole of Europe,"

[they had been mentioning the Russo-Japanese war] and

¹In *Byzantios*' Dictionary, the translation is opposite the text, so that, had she got the thing up, Mme. X. could have answered his question.

“Souvenez-vous en,”

[a song she had been humming].

But the strange thing is that all these phrases, too, are to be found in the Greek-French Dictionary, scattered about at different places; not in the Preface, but as specimen phrases illustrative of certain words. In these latter cases of writing many of the accents were inserted: in fact nearly all of them. The errors are few, but again they are those of a very careful and competent copyist who did not know the language.

A few days later, Professor Richet came to London and gave to the S.P.R. an address on these phenomena, the substance of which appears in the preceding paper.

The meeting in London was on May 11th, and after Professor Richet's return to Paris, while he was writing his article on the subject, viz. on May 26th, Mme. X., with whom he was at the moment discussing the matter, went into semi-trance again, and once more wrote a quantity of Greek, writing as before with difficulty, and exactly as if she were trying to decipher something held up before her eyes in space. (See Appendix to Prof. Richet's paper.) This was neither Classical nor Modern Greek, but proved to be a collection of extracts from the Gospel of St. John, concluding with the text, “But now I go my way to him that sent me.” These extracts were supplemented by a few sentences in Modern Greek which mean:

“I can do no more.”

“Have finished work.”

“The End.”

This writing is signed “Byzantios A. A. R.”—that is to say, it is signed with the old signature A. A. R., as many times previously, but with the word “Byzantios” prefixed, Byzantios being the name of the author of the now known Greek-French Dictionary.

This new signature indicates that the automatist accepted the now recognised source of the majority of the quotations.

Since then no more of this phenomenon has occurred. But in June, 1905, Mr. Shipley, who had become interested in the case, set himself to ascertain the sources of the Classical Greek also. He found that each part of the double sentence

first written (i) occurred in separate passages of Plato's "Apology," the second half being a not inappropriate farewell sentence.

The next and more unintelligible classical phrase (ii) he found (without the errors and verbal repetitions of course) in the "Phædrus," though, as it is not of a simple character, the mistakes made by the copyist had rendered it unintelligible, so that for all these years it had been considered only gibberish. The concluding word of this writing is not in the "Phædrus," but is a Modern Greek salutation apparently added as an adieu.

For a full discussion of the whole matter, and especially for the kind of explanations that may or may not be reasonably suggested, readers must study Professor Richet's paper; and likewise Mrs. Verrall's future comments thereon, which I am told she is preparing.

In writing the above I have not seen this paper of Mrs. Verrall's, because I thought it best to make my statement independently. The explanation, in so far as it can be called an explanation, which seems to me the only feasible hypothesis, short of conscious and deliberate deception, is that the entranced or semi-entranced medium sees in a vision certain writing which she proceeds to copy; being influenced thereto by some control, the nature of which is unknown to me.

The fact that the writing thus produced already exists in type is of course an extremely suspicious circumstance, but if for a moment we may make a rather wild hypothesis and assume an intelligent control distinct from the medium's normal intelligence, who wished to give, as a test-phenomenon, something markedly attractive and attention-compelling—who wished to give, in fact, a foreign language which he himself knew, but which the medium did not know—I ask myself, and I ask the reader, to consider how either of us, placed in these imaginary circumstances, would proceed.

When it is a case of conveying *ideas*, by some process which we call telepathic, the ideas themselves must be *thought*, and in some approximately corresponding form can perhaps then be reproduced by the medium; but if it were our object to convey a foreign language, this method would be useless: the ideas would merely reproduce themselves in a language known to the medium. Consider therefore what method is

available for the purpose. One plan would be to get somebody present to call over the foreign alphabet, letter by letter, and then by some means to give a signal at the right letter. This is a well-known tedious process, which on one occasion, in connection with script No. vii, seems to have been actually made use of in this case. How else could a foreign language be conveyed? By speaking it slowly and distinctly? That would do, if the medium were intended or disposed to give verbal utterance to what we said. But by hypothesis she is an automatic *writer*, and has to write it down, not speak it. What must we do then? What could possibly be done except hold up a text, either to her physical or to her mental eyes, and constrain her to copy it letter by letter? In other words, we should have to influence her subconsciousness in the same sort of way as the subconsciousness of a crystal gazer is influenced, one letter or one word being displayed or called up at a time. Why it should be easier thus to convey an impression of words when the said words are already actually written or printed is not in the least clear to me; but our experience in an increasing number of cases tends to show that it is so, and that the fact of a document being in the neighbourhood of a clairvoyant renders the perception of the meaning contained in that document an easier matter than it otherwise would be—a circumstance manifestly inconvenient from the point of view of trustworthy evidence, and open to sinister interpretation. So if we further asked *what* text we should employ, it would not be surprising if the answer had to be, something already written or in type. I see no other way of getting anything to copy unless the control had the power of *direct* writing first. As a text, the New Testament would naturally occur to one, but it might be rejected in the first instance as too obvious and easily accessible. Some classical author would next occur; not perhaps the too well known Republic, but some dialogue of Plato might very likely suggest itself. A still better choice, however, would be to employ some out-of-the-way book, such as could hardly be accessible; and if the text thus selected were of an extraordinary and out-of-the-way kind, only intelligible with considerable difficulty, and the source of it not likely to be detected until after the lapse of a year or two, it would seem to us, I think—at any rate I think it

might easily seem to me, under those hypothetical and outlandish conditions—to be an extra good proof of supernormal occurrence.

In this way I have endeavoured to give to the ostensible and superficial appearance of the phenomenon the most favourable chance of consideration possible, because it is eminently desirable to look at the matter from all sides, if a supernormal hypothesis is to be tentatively admitted at all. A working hypothesis of this sort seems to me the only one which satisfies the demand for a rational grasp of what occurred, short of cheating. Admittedly the circumstances would seem puzzling when the sources of the original text was discovered, and the critics of the writing would go through much the same sort of self-questioning and doubt of the medium's honesty as they are going through now in this particular instance. Still I think it must be regarded as not an impossible thing to happen, given the possibility of anything akin to crystal-vision pictures in the form of letters and words, which indeed we know to occur; and for myself I am not disposed altogether to scoff even at the idea of some action or activity on the part of some intelligence, calling himself A.A.R.—a personality analogous to that of "Phinuit," for instance,—for I gather that this personality has incidentally endeavoured to give proof of identity to Professor Richet, and has succeeded in showing such knowledge of family affairs as would to some more credulous persons constitute a substantial proof of identity. But Professor Richet is not convinced, and he is the best judge concerning A.A.R. All that, however, is not a matter on which I wish to express an opinion; for one thing I have not the data before me. Nor do I see that it much matters for the present problem. All that I claim is that the ostensible and apparent explanation of the phenomenon as due to an intelligent control—subliminal or other—is not *absurd*, on our present knowledge, but on the whole is the only reasonable explanation that can be offered, provided deliberate fraud be considered out of the question. On the whole I am inclined to reject the hypothesis of fraudulent knowledge of Greek, coupled with considerable memory, and the still more difficult hypothesis of abnormal memory of form alone without any knowledge of substance. Undoubtedly the normal hypothesis of the fraudulent cultiva-

tion and utilisation of ordinary memory must be faced, and some experiments carried out recently at my request by Professor Sonnenschein, on the recollection of persons who, knowing no Greek, had practised copying, recollecting, and after some delay reproducing, a phrase or two in Greek writing, are distinctly striking. I am sending the result of these experiments, as so far conducted, to Mrs. Verrall, who will, I hope, refer to them in her report. But in spite of these interesting experiments, I doubt if the script of Madame X. represents a case of memory at all; it seems to me more like a case of copying—of copying something either actually before her, which Professor Richet's evidence appears to negative, or else of type mentally seen in a manner something analogous to a crystal vision—where the thing seen is vivid enough to be drawn or written down, without necessarily any understanding at the time.

II.

BY MRS. A. W. VERRALL.

THE paper by Professor Richet on a case of Xenoglossy which has recently come under his personal observation is of extreme interest, and well worthy of study, whatever hypothesis is ultimately accepted as to its cause.

For the convenience of readers, I preface my discussion of it with a list arranged in chronological order of the items in the automatic writing,—giving an English translation, where necessary, and the source of each piece, so far as this has been traced,—and the principal external events of the case.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY.

November (beginning of month), 1899; Madame X. procures two Greek exercise books.

November 7, 1899. Script (i): Η ανθρωπινη σοφια ολιγου τινος αξια εστι και ουδενος αλλα γαρ ηδη αρα απειναι.

“Human wisdom is of little worth or none” (Plato, *Apology*, c. 9).

“But now the time has come for departure” (Plato, *Apology*, c. 33).

November (later), 1899. Script (ii): Χαιρετε εγω κατιστος ονοματο Αντωνινος Renouard. Χαριστωτ τω θεω.

“Greeting to you.”

“I am one named Antonius” (Dict. under *ὄνομα*).

“Thanks to God” (Dict. under *χάρις*).

November and *December*, 1899. Script (iii) and (iv):

(iii) Ευχη θεος ευλογω και ηλθα κατα προσκλησιν του κατα τα δεδογμενα.

Συμπατριωτες και δισεγγενος. A. A. R.

- (iv) Συμπατριώτης εγώ είμαι.
- (iii) First sentence unintelligible and unidentified.
 "Compatriot and great-grandson" (Dict.: see συμπατριώτης and δισέγγονος).
- (iv) "I am your compatriot" (Dict.: see συμπατριώτης and είμαι).

June, 1900. Script (v) and (vi):

(v) Τοις δει δεδη τοιοντος τοιουτοις ανηρ υπομνημασι
 ορθως χρωμενος τελευτος αι τελ ε τας τελουμενος τελευ
 ουτως μονος γινεται ασπασμος.

(vi) Εκετε ολιγην υπομενην ολα υπαχουν και ευχην θελετε
 ευχαριστηθη.

Ανατελλοντος και δνοντος του ηλιου η σκια εκτειναται
 μακραν.

(v) "Only the man who makes a right use of these
 reminiscences and so continually receives complete
 ritual initiation becomes really perfect" (Plato,
Phaedrus, p. 249c).

"Greeting" (Dict.: see ἄσπασμος).

(vi) "Have a little patience" (Dict. under ὀλίγος).

"All goes well (according to desire)" (Dict. under εὐχί).

"You will be satisfied" (Dict. under εὐχαριστῶ).

"When the sun is rising or setting the shadow
 stretches far" (Dict. under εκτένω).

1904. Script (vii): Πρωτοτοκος τα Χριστου λευκα σκληρω
 θα τιμωρηθη αναλωσ;

[then by raps] σκληρωσ τα κριματα κυριου αβυσσος.

First sentence unintelligible and unidentified.

"God's judgments are an abyss" (Dict. under ἄβυσσος
 and κρίμα).

October, 1904. Script (viii A, B, C, D):

(viii A) Χρησθαι λέξεσιν Ἑλληνικαίς, ἐπειδὴν Ῥωμαίας
 προχείρους μὴ ἔχωσιν. . .

. . . Ὀχιμονον. .

Ἐξετύλιξαν μεγαλοπρεπέστατα υφάσματα της Κινας, λαμπασα δικτυωτά, δαμασκα λευκα καί στυλπινα, ως ἡ χλόη τῶν λιβαδιων, ἄλλα δέ κατασραπτοντα την ορασιν με την οξειαν αυτων ερυθρότητα, σηρικα ροδόχροα, ἀτλάζια πυχνά, πεκινια μαλακότατα, ναγκίνια ἄσπρα και κίτρινα, τελευτατον ἕως και περιζώματα τῆς Μαδα—

(viii B) Γαλλία ἀφ' ον δια πολευειδων· αγωνων κατωρθωσατο την πολιτικὴν αυτης παλιγγενεσίαν, σπενδει ᾗδη προς αλλον ουχ ἠττον ευκλεῆ σκοπον, την ανακτησιν της απο των φώτων και της παιδειας προγονικῆς αυτης ευχλειας.

(viii C) Χόπος συγγώρησις.

(viii D) Εἰς ταῦτα προσθέσατε τὴν τέρψιν
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἐχόντων ὑπ' ὄψιν
ἐν ὥρᾳ θέρουσ, τὰς σμαραγδίνους
γλαφυρότητας κήπου δασυφύλλου
ἐρημικοῦ, βρύντος ἀπὸ ἄνθη κατοικοιμενου ἀπὸ
πτηνα πολυποίκιλα διαβρεχομένου ἀπὸ μικρον
ῥυάκιον ὕδατος ζῶντος, τὸ ὅποιον, προτοῦ νὰ
διαχυθῆ, ἐπὶ τοῦ δροσεροῦ λειμῶνος, καταλείβεται
ἐκ τοῦ ὕψους βράχου τινος μέλανος, καὶ ἀγροτιχοῦ
[λάμπει ἐπ'
αὐτοῦ ὡς λεπτοῦφῆς ταινία ἐξ ἀργύρου, ἔπειτα δέ εἰς
μαργαριτῶδες, μεταβαλλόμενον ἔλασμα χύνεται εντὸς
δεξαμενῆς διανγεσάτης, ὅπου ὠραῖοι κύκνοι ὡς τὴν
χιόνα λευκοὶ πλέουσι μετὰ χάριτος. . . .

- (A) "Use Greek words if Latin happen to fail" (Dict. Introduction, p. 1, quoted in Latin from Cicero).
"Not only" (Dict. Introduction, p. 1).
"They unrolled, etc., etc." (Dict. Introduction, p. 5. Extract from Bernardin de Saint Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*).
- (B) "France, after having, etc., etc." (Dict. Dedication; first edition only).
- (C) "Weariness" (Dict.: see κόπος).
"Pardon" (Dict.: see συγγώρησις, συγγνώμη).
- (D) "Add to these, etc., etc." (Dict. Introduction, p. 5. Latter part of extract from Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*).

April 1, 1905 (about). Dictionary sent to Prof. Richet from Athens.

April, 1905. Madame X. told of discovery of Dictionary.

May 2, 1905. Script (ix), (x), (xi), (xii), (xiii), (xiv), (xv).

(ix a) " . . . ολα τα ταυτά."

(ix b) " . . . ολα τὰ τωματια τατια . . . είχαν ως σολισμαδς . . . δμίλους ανθρωπίων τῆς πηλοπλαφικῆς τέχνης τοῦ Κλωδιωνος καὶ ἀπα, ἀδην ἐπὶ ὑποβάθρων ἰάσπιδος ἢ ἀμυγδαλίτου ἀρχαίου λίθου, πολυδόπανά τινα διὰ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου ἀντίεπτα τῶν θελκτικωτέρων βακχίδων του ἀποκρίφου Μουσεζου τῆς Νεαπόλεως."

(x) ἐν παρόδῳ, περαστικῶ
δὲν ἤξεύρω Ἀγγλικά.

(xi) τὰ ἀντίγραφον εἶνε ὁμοιον μὲ τὸ πρωτότυπον.
A. A. R.

(xii) μοὶ εἶνε ἀδύνατον να παρεκτραπῶ ἀπὸ τὰς ὁδηγίας τὰς ὁποίας ἔχω.

(xiii) τὰ σχόλια τᾶντα θὰ κάμουν τὸν τόμον ὀγκωδεσ-
τερον. A. A. R.

(xiv) ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος δυοφέρει ὅλην τὴν Ευρωπην.

(xv) ενθυμησοντο, νὰ τὸ ενθυμῆσαι!

(ix a) "All these."

(ix b) "All these rooms" etc. etc. (Dict. Introduction, p. 5.
Earlier part of extract from Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*).

(x) "By the way, in passing" (Dict.: see Passer and παρόδος).

"I do not know English" (Dict.: see under δὲν).

(xi) "The copy is like the original." (Dict. under ὁμοιος).

(xii) "It is impossible that I should depart from the instructions which I have" (Dict. under ὁδηγία).

(xiii) "These notes will make the volume still larger" (Dict. under ὀγκωδής).

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(xiv) "This war interests all Europe" (Dict. under διαφέρω).

(xv) "Remember that! mind you remember!" (Dict. under ἐνθυμούμαι).

May 2nd, 1905 (later in day). Dictionary shown to Madame X.

May 11th, 1905. Prof. Richet's paper read in London at a meeting of the S.P.R. and heard by Madame X.

May 26th, 1905. Prof. Richet's article shown to Madame X.

" " (later). Script: Appendix (1) to (12).

(1) Ἐλεπεν οὖν ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρὸς αὐτόν Ἐὰν μὴ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἴδῃτε, οὐ μὴ πιστευσητε.

(2) Ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμε, τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐγὼ ποιῶ, κάκεινος ποιήσει καὶ μείζονα τούτων ποιήσει ὅτι ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου πορεύομαι.

(3) Καὶ ὁ, τί ἂν αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, τούτο ποιήσω ἵνα δοξασθῇ ὁ πατήρ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ.

(4) Ἐὰν τι αἰτήσητε ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

(5) Ἔτι μικρὸν καὶ ὁ κόσμος με οὐκ ἐτι θεωρεῖ ὑμεῖς δὲ θεωρεῖτέ με ὅτι ἐγὼ ζῶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ζήσετε.

(6) Οὐκετι ὑμᾶς λεγὼ δούλους.

(7) Ταῦτα ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἀγαπατε ἀλλήλους.

(8) Μείζονα ταύτης ἀγάπης οὐδεὶς ἔχει ἵνα ἰς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ θῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

(9) Νῦν δὲ ὑπάγω πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντά με.

(10) δὲν ἠμπορῶ πλέον.

(11) τελεσιουργός.

(12) τέλος.

BYZANTIOS. A. A. R.

(1) "Then said Jesus unto him Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe" (S. John iv. 48).

(2) "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and

greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father" (St. John xiv. 12).

- (3) "And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son" (S. John xiv. 13).
- (4) "If ye shall ask anything in my name, I will do it" (S. John xiv. 14).
- (5) "Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more; but ye see me; because I live, ye shall live also" (S. John xiv. 19).
- (6) "Henceforth I call you not servants" (S. John xv. 15).
- (7) "These things I command you, that ye love one another" (S. John xv. 17).
- (8) "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends" (S. John xv. 13).
- (9) "But now I go my way to him who sent me" (S. John xvi. 5).
- (10) "I am not able" (Dict.: see ἡμπορῶ).
"more" (Dict.: see πλέον).
- (11) "one who finishes his work" (Dict.: see τελεσιουργός).
- (12) "end" (Dict.: see τέλος).

Professor Richet discusses three possible explanations of the case—(1) fraud, (2) unconscious memory of what has been seen but not understood, (3) action of a discarnate spirit—and dismisses them all as "equally absurd and impossible." The objections urged by him to the two latter theories appear to me conclusive; the first it is obviously our duty to examine carefully before considering any other hypothesis. By the kindness of Professor Richet and Madame X., I have been able to see the greater part of the original automatic writings, and the copy of the second edition of the Dictionary of Byzantios, which, as the reader will remember, contains many of the passages given in the script. I have made a detailed examination of the automatic writing, including the mistakes

which occur in it. Readers unfamiliar with Greek, and unacquainted with the original script, may be helped towards a solution of the problem set to us by our President, by reading the observations and comments of one who has some experience both of Greek texts and of automatic writing.

I have in this paper confined myself to the consideration of what conclusions, if any, may be drawn from an examination of the writings themselves, and a comparison between them and the printed matter which is their undisputed source; that is, I have endeavoured to form an opinion on the internal evidence alone, disregarding all external reasons for attaching value to the documents, and proceeding as though the script and the printed matter which it reproduces had been deposited, like a foundling on the doorstep, with no claim to attention but what it could itself convey. Professor Richet, a knowledge of whose paper is pre-supposed on the part of my readers, has explained the conditions under which the writing was obtained, and the steps by which many of the passages in the script were traced to their original source. The copy of the Dictionary of Byzantios sent to him from Athens and seen by me is of the second edition¹; a copy of the first edition is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The Dictionary consists of two parts; in the Greek-French, after each Greek word (printed in capital letters) is given the French equivalent, followed by a selection of phrases (in small Greek letters) and their translations; the French-Greek part consists of a vocabulary only, with no phrases. The phrases introduced into the script from the Dictionary come from the Greek-French part, except in one case² where the script gives consecutively two equivalent Greek expressions which only appear in juxtaposition in the French-Greek part of the Dictionary. Professor Richet has pointed out that where the editions differ it is the first and not the second edition of the work that is followed by the script. He informs us that in the copy of the first edition in the Paris Library the leaves of the French-Greek part are uncut.

It will be necessary, at the risk of wearying the reader with *minutiae*, to begin with a detailed commentary on the actual writings. These consist, as shown above, of a series of

¹ See however note at the end of the paper.

² See p. 235.

extracts from Greek books, ancient and modern; produced in and out of the presence of Professor Richet, by a friend of his whom he designates as Madame X. The earlier passages are numbered i to xv in his article; a supplementary series, produced after the reading of his paper on May 11th, 1905, and described in his Appendix, is numbered 1-12. I shall keep the notation used by him, referring to the pieces of script¹ as i, ii, . . . xv, 1, 2 . . . 12.

The number of pieces of script is 31 (counting viii A, B, C, D and ix a, b separately). Of these I have seen 23, namely all the writing after vii, except the short sentence numbered xv. These 23 constitute far the greater part of the script, and contain more than 300 words. The number of words in the earlier writings, not at present accessible to me, is 88.

My comment on the appearance of the script and its textual errors is confined to the 23 originals which I have examined; in discussing questions connected with the source and appropriateness of the extracts, I have included the whole 31.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SCRIPT; ITS APPEARANCE AND FORM.

Though there is considerable variety in the general aspect of the writings produced at different times, there is, I think, no such difference as would lead one, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to suppose them to be the work of different writers. Certain letters (α , ϵ , τ and others) are formed in the same way throughout the script.

The chief differences among the pieces are as follows:

viii A appears to have been written with rather less hesitation than the rest of the script;

viii B is remarkably deficient in accents and breathings, and some of its letters are slightly decorative in character;

viii D is the most cultivated hand; very few accents or breathings are omitted;

Appendix, 1-12, has a different κ , and is perhaps slightly more fluent than the scripts viii B and ix to xiv. It contains a considerable number of strokes ', representing either

¹A preliminary effort (see p. 174) preceded the longer passage numbered ix; I therefore number as ix a and ix b what Professor Richet numbers as ix.

accents or breathings,¹—though these also occur, but rarely, in viii A and xi.

FORMS FOUND IN SCRIPT.

Letters. α. Throughout the Roman form of this letter is used; not α but α.

β. Two forms of this are used; β at the beginning of a word, β̄ in the middle. Byzantios' Dictionary² uses both forms in the same way.³

γ. The letter somewhat resembles a γ, being made not γ but γ; the Dictionary has the usual γ.

δ. Nothing to note.

ε. The form used is not ε but ε, as in the Dictionary.

ζ. Professor Richet⁴ thinks this letter does not occur in viii A, but I take the shape ζ in ἀτλάζια to be a roughly formed ζ not an s, as the top rises⁵ above the line. There is a well formed ζ in viii D, and another, though not quite so clear, in 2.

η. The right-hand stroke of this letter is apt to be short, so that the letter sometimes resembles a Roman n. The Dictionary η is normal.

θ. Nothing to note.

ι. This letter is occasionally difficult to distinguish from υ; see 1 and 2 and especially πιστευσητε. In ix on four occasions and once in viii D, where there should be an accented iota (ῑ), there appears a dotted ι̇, but as the dot also appears over an α it is probably an incomplete accent, and not a confusion with the Roman i. In viii c a dot appears over an unaccented i.

κ. In the earlier writings this letter is represented by two short crossed lines x; in the Dictionary it appears x which to any one not knowing Greek is more suggestive of x, than of k. Written thus, x, with two cross strokes, the letter is liable

¹ See below, p. 216.

² i.e. the Second Edition, to which throughout I refer.

³ The letter does not occur in the passages from S. John.

⁴ See p. 171.

⁵ Contrast ζ=στ in καταστραπ

to be confused with χ (chi), but the two letters are usually distinguished¹ in the script, the *chi* being longer and having one stroke curved, thus χ .

In viii A there are 13 $x = \kappa$ (kappa). [None extend below the line.]

 " " 6 $\chi = \chi$ (chi).
 " " is 1 χ by mistake for κ (*πυχνά*).
 " " 1 capital K (correct) (*Κινας*).

In viii B there are 6 $x = \kappa$.

 " " is 1 $\chi = \chi$.
 " " 1 χ by mistake for κ (*ευχλειας*).

In viii C there is 1 χ by mistake for κ (*χόπος*).

In viii D there are 13 $x = \kappa$.

 " " 7 $\chi = \chi$.
 " " is 1 χ by mistake for κ (*ἀγροτιχού*).

In ix-xiv there are 11 $x = \kappa$.

 " " 5 $\chi = \chi$.
 " " is 1 x by mistake for χ (xii *ἔκω*).
 " " 1 capital K (correct).
 " " 1 illegible scrawl = κ (ix *αποκρούφαν*).

Total: 43 x for κ ; 19 χ for χ ; 2 capital K for K; 4 χ for κ ; 1 x for χ .

In the Appendix² the κ is throughout normal and unmistakable.

λ. Nothing to note.

μ. This letter occasionally has the left stroke so short as to resemble the Roman u, *e.g.* twice in ix.; note that in *μαρυάρον* there is hardly any distinction between fourth and last letter.

ν. This letter is normal for the most part, but peculiarly

¹ See viii A x in *Ελληνικά*, χ in *προχείρους*.

² Before Nos. 1-12 (Appendix) were obtained, Madame X.'s attention had probably been called to the similarity between the letters x and χ in the script; it is noted in Professor Richet's paper. It would be interesting to ascertain the shape of the *kappa* in the copy of the New Testament which (see Professor Richet's article) was accessible to Madame X. Probably it was not of the somewhat unusual form of the Dictionary *kappa*.

formed in viii B; τ , like a shortened γ , or Roman r. This occurs only in viii B, and there invariably.

ξ . Nothing to note.

o . Nothing to note.

π . Normal for the most part, but slightly more ornate in viii B (twice).

ρ . Normal, but slightly more decorative in viii B (cf. π), and apparently made in two parts; otherwise, as normally, without lifting the pen.

σ . The medial and terminal letters σ , s , are correctly written, the medial being usually drawn from left to right; but once, viii C, from right to left, as is shown by the thick down stroke.

τ . The downward stroke is curved, not straight; not τ but τ . This occurs throughout, except in Appendix 12, where the τ probably represents a capital T. Once, in viii A, the upright stroke extends above the cross stroke, thus: t.

u . Twice, in viii A, the Roman u is written for u , otherwise the form is normal.

ϕ . Normally this is clear, but in viii D it is to a casual glance not easy to distinguish from ψ . There is, however, no real confusion; *psi* is written in two strokes ϕ ; and *phi* in one stroke ϕ .

χ . See above under κ .

ψ . See under ϕ for writing in viii D. The letter does not occur elsewhere except in the Appendix, where it is quite clear.

ω . Nothing to note.

Capitals. Normal.

Double letters.

$\sigma\tau$. This is represented sometimes by a single letter ς ; sometimes fully written $\sigma\tau$.

| | | | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|---|--------|-------------|---|------|
| In viii A | there is $\sigma\tau$ | 2 | times; | ς | 1 | time |
| " viii D | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| " ix-xiv | " | " | " | " | " | " |
| " Appendix | " | " | " | " | " | " |

The abbreviation ζ is used (I understand) in the first edition of the Dictionary though not in the second; it is not uncommon in texts of fifty years ago or more.

δ for *ou*. This appears only in the Appendix, and there not exclusively. There are 12 double vowels (*ou*), and 4 contracted letters in the twelve sentences; of these 11 doubles and 4 contractions are in the nine extracts from S. John. The abbreviation is well known,¹ but is not usual in modern texts.

Breathings. Both ' ' , smooth and rough breathings, occur. A breathing is also represented by a stroke ' , and it is not always possible to determine the direction of the stroke, whether ' or ' .

In viii A, out of 18 breathings, there are given 12, 3 of them being strokes.

In viii B, out of 13 breathings, there is given 1.

In viii C, out of 0 breathings, there is given 0.

In viii D, out of 30 breathings, there are given 26.

In ix-xiv, out of 30 breathings, there are given 23, 10 of them being strokes.

In Appendix, out of 57 breathings, there are given 46, 19 of them being strokes.

Accents. All three occur, ' , ' ; the circumflex is usually written \sim .

| | | | |
|------------|--------------------|-------------------------|----|
| In viii A, | out of 49 accents, | there are in the script | 31 |
| „ viii B | „ 29 | „ „ „ | 6 |
| „ viii C | „ 2 | „ „ „ | 2 |
| „ viii D | „ 69 | „ „ „ | 63 |
| „ ix-xiv | „ 75 | „ „ „ | 59 |
| „ Appendix | 107 | „ „ „ | 82 |

Stops. All the usual stops occur: comma, full stop, inverted commas, apostrophe, and dots, and they correspond to those used in the Dictionary. Two or three times a stop is omitted, or a full stop substituted for a comma. The marks of omission . . . in ix b are exactly reproduced.

¹ Thus in a sixteenth century Aeschylus printed at Antwerp both the above abbreviations occur, neither exclusively.

Other marks.

Iota subs. In viii D there should be 2, and the script has 2

| | | | | | |
|------------|-----|----|-----|-----|---|
| " x | " " | 1, | " " | " " | 0 |
| " Appendix | " " | 6, | " " | " " | 1 |

In Appendix 2, the script has an *iota subscript* where it would not be found in a modern text, but might in an old one; *κάκεινος* in script for *κᾶκεινος*.

The *diaeresis* .. is marked once in the Dictionary and reproduced in the script, viii D.

For marks in script not in Dictionary, see below, under Mistakes.

MISTAKES.

As any classification of mistakes involves assumptions as to their cause, I begin by enumerating them with comments in chronological sequence.

Mistakes¹ in letters or words.

viii A. (1) Impossible accent: Ἐξετύλιξαν for ἐξετύλιξαν.

(2) Wrong breathing: ἀτλάζια. The breathing is slightly reversed. But there is a smooth breathing under the τ, thus:

ἀτλάζια;

this may be a correction. On the other hand, in the Dictionary though not in the script, immediately under the τ of ἀτλάζια is the smooth breathing of the ἀ of ἄσπρα; thus:

ἀτλάζια
ἄσπρα

So the τ, may be a visual and unintelligent error;² in that case the smooth breathing of ἄσπρα appears twice in the script, as it is also represented by one of the double strokes on ἄσπρα (*sic*).

(3) χ for κ in πυχνᾶ. See under κ.

(4) ξ for ζ in περιξώματα. See Professor Richet's comment, p. 171 and also under ζ.

¹The mistakes are numbered in chronological sequence for convenience of reference.

²See, however, Note at end of paper.

There seem to be two corrections: in *τελευτατον* the *υ* is written over what might be either a badly made *υ* or a *ν*; and the *δ* of *Μαδα-* has a superfluous stroke suggesting that it began as an *σ*: but neither of these points is certain.

There is an acute accent at the end of a line, *δέ*, possibly suggesting intelligence,¹ if it is intentional, but the direction of the slope of accents is not to be counted on (see p. 223).

viii B. (5) *υ* for *υ* in *ἀφ' ὅυ* which appears *ἀφ' ον*.

(6) *χ* for *κ*, in *ευχλειας*. Note that the *κ* is given earlier in the passage, in the same word *ευκλεῆ*. See note on *κ*; the two letters are so much alike in the script that this may be a mere slip.

viii C. (7) *χ* for *κ* in *κόπος*. See above. But here the *χ* is unmistakable; it is not a lengthened *κ*, though it may represent the writer's failure to distinguish between the two letters. But as the *κ* appears in viii A, as a capital, it would appear either (1) that *χ* here is a mistake for *κ*, or (2) that *κ* and *χ* are regarded as alternative forms for the small letter. If that is so, it is surprising that the confusion between the letters is not more frequent. See under *κ*. On the whole I regard this as an error of the same type as No. 5.

(8) *συγγώρησις*. This is plainly written with two *gammas*, *γγ*, instead of *γχ*, *gamma chi*. Nowhere else is there confusion between *γ* and *χ*.

In the Dictionary *συγχωρησις* (in Capitals) is correctly printed in its place, and there is nothing there to refer a reader to any other entry. Under *paridon*, in the French-Greek, are the words *συγγνώμη*, *συγχώρησις*, both rightly spelt. But *συγγνώμη* in the Greek-French (in Capitals) is described as equivalent to *συγγχώρησις*, thus spelt (in Capitals). The mistake is not identical with that of the script, but the occurrence of the double *γγ* in Dictionary and script does not seem likely to be fortuitous.

If there is a connexion between the mistakes in Dictionary

¹*I.e.* some one who knew that the final accent before a stop was ' (acute) would be more likely to reverse an accent at the end of a line than in the middle; out of seven cases (see p. 223), where the accent is wrongly reversed in the script, two are at the ends of lines.

and in script, we must suppose that the entry under *συγγνώμη* was seen by the writer of the script; and, if only the Greek-French part is used, that involves a knowledge of Greek Capitals, as in the Greek-French part, the word *συγχωρησις* is not found in small type. The use of both parts of the Dictionary, to complement one another, would involve a power of reading Greek letters, small and capital, with intelligence.

In this connexion it is curious to note in the same word the occurrence of the dot over the unaccented *i*, which the very least knowledge of Greek would show to be impossible.

viii D. The accent on *δέ*, before *εἰς* is acute and not grave; but see above, p. 216.

(9) There is possibly a *χ* for *κ* in *ἀγροτιχοῦ*, but the letter is only slightly longer than *κ* should be.

(10) Under the *μ* of *λάμπει*, which has its accent, is a meaningless stroke thus: *λάμπει*. In the Dictionary, though not in the script, under the *μ* is the accent of *ἔπειτα*; thus

λάμπει
ἔπειτα

so that the stroke may represent the accent of the word below. See No. 2, above.¹

viii D. (11) *μικρον* represents *μικρόν*. See Professor Richet's comment, p. 172. The mistake is impossible to any one with the least knowledge of Greek.

There is another point to notice; *σ* may very well be misread for an original *ό*; but in this case the original is *ο*. It therefore seems as if the original word in the Dictionary, *μικρόν*, were visualised apart from its context as *μικρόν*,—which is the way the single word would be written, and might be visualised by any one knowing Greek;—and then *μικρόν* is, by the visual error of a person wholly ignorant of Greek, made into the impossible *μικρον*. Here then, as in No. 8, there seem to be two inconsistent intelligences at work.

ix a. (12) Omission of word. *ολα τα [δωμάτια] ταυτὰ*.

(13) Wrong accent, *ταυτὰ*.

ix b. (14) *τωματια* for *δωμάτια*. This suggests that the

¹ But see also Note at end of paper.

original word has been misheard; it does not seem to be a visual error, as τ and δ are not alike in either print or script. The first attempt (see Professor Richet) omitted the word and had ὅλα τα ταῦτα .

(15) τατια for ταῦτα . So it appears at first sight; but the word may be ταυτα ill written. It is thus given: ΤΑΤΙΑ , which possibly represents ταυτα , the top of the τ having been put too far back on the preceding letter. Note the curved shape of the τ in the script.¹ If, however, we take it to be τατια , it is one of a class of errors familiar to critics of MSS. and due to the similarity of the preceding syllable: -ματια τατια would be a likely error in a copied document.

That it is not the mistake of a person ignorant of the language, while able to read the letters and reproduce syllables by sound, seems to be shown by the first attempt, ix a , which gives the word ταυτα correctly (though with a wrong accent), but commits another common copyist's error, namely, the omission of δωμάτια .

(16) ζολισμαδς for ζολισμούς . A mistake of the same class as No. 11, involving complete ignorance of Greek: -οδς is an impossible termination, whereas ὸ , with the grave accent, is easily taken for δ by a visual error, when no Greek is known: for $\zeta = \sigma\tau$, see double letters above, p. 215.

(17) δμίλους for ὀμίλους . The same remarks apply as above; ὀ might be taken as δ by the visual error of a person ignorant of Greek.

(18) πηλοπλαφικῆς for πηλοπλαστικῆς , or rather πηλοπλασικῆς . This again seems to be a visual error due to a likeness between the letters ϕ and ζ in the script, ζ being misread and reproduced as ϕ . But it is possible that there is no error here, but only an ill-formed letter. The double letter ζ , if carelessly written, would resemble the letter found in the script, which is not a good ϕ .

(19) and (20) απα,άδην^2 for σποράδην . There is here clearly α for σ ; the other error is not so clear. The symbol after $\alpha\tau$ may be a bad ρ , but it looks more like a Roman α and a stroke. If it is an error it appears to be a visual one, ορ

¹ See above, p. 215.

² Or perhaps αποράδην .

being read as *a*,—a quite meaningless combination in Greek. *σ* and *a* might easily be confused in a casual reading.

(21) *ιάσπιδος* for *ιάσπιδος* gives *ο* for *σ*, another visual error.

(22) *πολυδόπανά* for *πολυδάπανά* gives *ο* for *α*.

(23) and (24) *άντιενπα* for *άντίτυπα* is curious. We have *ν* for *ν*, a very common visual error, and *ε* for *τ*, not a likely visual error, unless the shape of the *τ* of the script is remembered; the ordinary *τ* could hardly be read as *ε*, but the letter of the script could, if the top stroke were placed too low.¹ In the Dictionary, the descending stroke of the *τ* is not straight, but has a slight curl upwards, but the letter is plain enough in the second edition, and could not be taken for *ε*. The first edition should be examined. If there is no ambiguity in the first edition,² this error, like No. 11, suggests to me a double process, first the visualisation of the word in written (not printed) character, and then its unintelligent reproduction.

(25) *άποκρύφαν* for *άποκρύφον* gives *α* for *ο*.

(26) *Μουσεξον* for *Μουσείου* suggests (see Professor Richet, p. 175) that *ι* has been misread as *ξ*.

x. (27) *έν παρόδφ*, for *έν παρόδφ* is of the same type as Nos. 11, 16, 17,—a visual error only possible to some one completely ignorant of Greek, as *δφ* is an impossible termination. The *iota subscript* in the Dictionary appears exactly in the middle of the letter, *ω*, so that it might easily be read as *φ*. The stroke , after the *φ* in the script probably represents the comma, which in the Dictionary appears after the phrase *έν παρόδφ*, given under *πάροδος*.

(28) *περαστικω* has no *iota subscript*. A curious point arises in connexion with this word and alternative explanations are possible. Under the heading *περαστικός*, there is no phrase quoted in the Dictionary, and therefore nothing to show that when the last syllable terminates in *-ω* it must have the circumflex accent. To accent it thus shows a considerable knowledge of Greek, which seems irreconcilable with the writing of *παροδφ*.

On the other hand, in the French-Greek Dictionary, under

¹ See above, under *τ*.

² There is no such ambiguity.

the heading *Passer*, occur in juxtaposition the phrases *ἐν παρόδῳ, περαστικῶς*. If this part of the Dictionary is the source for the script, we must suppose the final *ς* to have been omitted, and in that case the mistake shows no knowledge of Greek.

xi. (29) *τὰ* for *τὸ*, a visual error, see No. 25, but one hardly likely to be made by any one knowing even a word or two of Greek.

(30) The fifth letter of *ἀντίγραφον* is more like *ν* than *γ*, but that may be a mere slip.

xii. No mistakes.

xiii. No mistakes.

xiv. (31) *δυοφέρει* for *διαφέρει*. This may be an error of sight or of hearing; the script-forms *υ* and *ι* are much alike, and *ο* and *α* are confused twice (see Nos. 22 and 25).

Appendix 2. (32) *ὐμῖν* for *ὑμῖν* may be bad writing, but the first and last letters are exactly alike, though over the first is what may be a rough breathing, but is more like a dot. The third letter is probably a circumflexed iota, but it closely resembles a *τ*. *υ* and *ν* are apt to be confused.

Appendix 3. (33) *ποιμσω* for *ποιήσω* gives *μ* for *η*, not a likely mistake for a person with any acquaintance with Greek.

Appendix 4. (34) There is a superfluous stroke (accent or breathing) over *ῥῶ*; there might be an explanation in the original text of the Gospel if we had it (see above, Nos. 2, 10).

(35) The *τ* is omitted in *ὄνομα ι*; the accent and breathing seem to have been interchanged, and the mark is on *μ* instead of the second *ό*.

Appendix 5. (36) The breathing comes on the *μ* of *υμεις* the first time, but is rightly placed the second time.

Appendix 8. (37) The *τ* is omitted before *ις*.

Mistakes in accents.

Besides the impossible accent on *ἐξετύλιξαν* (No. 1), and the incorrect one on *ταυτά* (No. 13) in the cancelled first attempt, there are no misplaced accents. In a few cases it

is difficult to determine whether the accent is acute or grave; sometimes the accent appears to be reversed, thus:

- viii A. δέ (end of line in script).
 viii D. δέ εἰς "
 τήν "
 ix. ἀρχαῖον. The accent is grave (or possibly circumflex); the script is not clear.
 xi. πρωτότυπον.
 xii. ὁποιάς.
 App. 2. ᾶ (doubtful).
 5. δέ.
 8. ψυχήν.

There are three or four occasions where the accent is rightly reversed before an enclitic, e.g. Appendix 5, θεωρεῖτέ με; Appendix 9, πέμφαντά με. In xii., the breathing (represented by a stroke) and the accent seem to have been transferred one place to the right, ἀδύνατον for ἀδύνατον, the accent being, in that case, reversed.

Mistakes in breathings.

The breathings (see p. 216) being sometimes represented by strokes ' , instead of commas , ' , it is not possible always to say whether they are correct. Out of 76 which can be tested, four only are incorrect; one in viii A ἀτλάζια (mistake No. 2), and three in the Appendix, viz. (3) ἀν, νῖῶ, and (5) ὑμῖν. In the case of initial diphthongs the breathings are invariably placed (correctly) over the second vowel.

On two occasions in the Appendix, there appear to be superfluous breathings; in No. 3, we find εν 'τω, where the supposed rough breathing may represent the *iota subscript* (counted on p. 217 as omitted), and in No. 5, we find θεωρεῖτε, where the double stroke over ε̄ is quite incorrect and inexplicable.

I append an analysis of the errors contained in the transcript by Mr. Briscoe referred to by Sir Oliver Lodge (p. 197). The passage to be copied is part of what in the script is numbered viii A, beginning Ἐξετύλιξαν.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|---|----|
| Number of words in original, | - | - | 20 |
| " " in copy, | - | - | 19 |

Mistakes in copy:

| | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|--------|
| ν for τ, - | - | - | - | - | - | once. |
| ν for υ, - | - | - | - | - | - | once. |
| word omitted (καί), - | - | - | - | - | - | once. |
| accent omitted (την), | - | - | - | - | - | once. |
| ambiguous letter, ν or υ, - | - | - | - | - | - | twice. |

It should be said that the accent omitted is on the last word, and that the omission is probably due to the removal of the document from the copyist. All other accents and breathings are inserted, and are correct.

The extract is very short, so that inferences from internal evidence are naturally limited and tentative. The mistakes, as in the script, are mainly of the usual type of copyist's error, and correctness of accentuation is present here as in the script. But there is a marked indication here of growing familiarity with the appearance of the original, a feature which is conspicuously absent in the script. It is here shown in two ways:

(1) In the passage copied the small ε occurs six times; in Mr. Briscoe's copy on the first five occasions it is written ε, in close resemblance to the letter in the printed original. But the sixth time it appears as ε, showing that the writer has understood what the symbol ε stands for,—has, in fact, read it as a Greek ε, and is reproducing its meaning and not merely its appearance.

(2) A careful examination shows that the letters ν and υ, not distinguished at first, are gradually differentiated by the writer. Thus there is no appreciable difference between the fifth and last letter of Ἐξετυλιξαν, but the initial letter of ὑφάσματα is undoubtedly υ, and the third letter of Κίνας probably ν. A judicious ambiguity is maintained in the next two cases, δικτυωτὰ and λευκὰ; the ν still lacks sharpness in τῶν; but our observant and careful copyist has by now learnt the difference between the two letters, and the last three cases, λιβαδιών, καταστράπτοντα, τήν, where the ν is unmistakable, show an appreciation of the special characteristic of the letter, entirely lacking in its first appearances.¹

¹ For the contrast, in respect of internal evidence for progressive familiarity, between Mr. Briscoe's writing and the script of Madame X., see below, p. 227.

COMPARISON BETWEEN DIFFERENT PIECES OF SCRIPT.

Before discussing the nature of the mistakes and the knowledge or ignorance of Greek indicated by them, it will be best to consider whether the type or number of mistakes varies in the different pieces, and, in particular, whether the writing produced in Professor Richet's presence differs in these respects from the writing sent to him by Madame X., as described by him on p. 168. The four divisions of viii A-D were thus sent to him, while the other writings were produced in his presence. The writing in his presence (henceforth called P), which I have examined, consists of the passages ix-xiv and 1-12; the other (called NP) of viii A-D. The number of words in NP stands to the number of words in P in the ratio of 17 to 20, *i.e.* NP has 85 to every 100 words of P.

Leaving out of account for the present the question of the insertion of breathings and accents, and confining ourselves to the mistakes enumerated in the preceding list, we see that of the total of 37, 11¹ are in NP and 26² in P, that is, allowing for the difference in length between P and NP, there are nearly twice the number of mistakes in what was produced in Professor Richet's presence as in what was not seen by him till after its production.³ This is a remarkable fact, and not without suggestiveness. But other facts must be noted before we can form a judgment. In the first place, the comparative absence of mistakes in NP is mainly due to the excellence of one passage (D), which presents (see p. 212) a much more scholarly appearance than any other passage, and contains only 3 mistakes (or possibly 2). Excluding this, the percentage of mistakes in NP is 10.⁴ The comparatively large number of mistakes in P, 14·3 per cent., is mainly due to the number contained in ix b; excluding ix b, the percentage of mistakes in P is under 9 per cent. So that, putting aside these two passages, viii D with a percentage of 4·3, and ix b with a

¹Of which one is doubtful, No. 9.

²Of which four are doubtful, Nos. 15, 18, 20, 30.

³Percentage of mistakes to words in P is 14·3; in NP 7·4.

⁴The method of estimating frequency of error by the ratio of mistakes to words in a given passage is only a rough one; the length of the words is an important element, and there are other considerations overlooked by this method of comparison.

percentage of 37, we have about the same proportion of mistakes in all the rest of the passages, whether produced in Professor Richet's presence or not.

Two long passages were produced in Professor Richet's presence, on May 2nd, 1905, a passage from the Dictionary (ix b), and on May 26th, 1905, some texts from S. John's Gospel (Appendix 1-9). Comparing these two, we find that the percentage of mistakes to words in the latter is only 6 per cent., so that in one of the long passages in P the number of mistakes is below the average of mistakes in NP. The extracts from the Gospel, however, though they contain three times as many words as the faulty passage from the Dictionary (ix b), produced under similar conditions, would not be *ceteris paribus* so difficult to commit to memory as that passage, for the average length of the words is considerably less, and many of the words recur.

If now we turn to the question of the insertion of accents and breathings in these two groups, P and NP, we find results quite unlike those obtained from a comparison of the number of mistakes.¹ Out of 274 possible accents and breathings in P, 214 are inserted in the script, *i.e.* 78.1 per cent.; in NP, out of a possible total of 195, we have 124, *i.e.* 63 per cent., so that the reproduction of accents and breathings is decidedly more correct in the case of those writings produced in Professor Richet's presence than in that of those sent to him.

Nor is it possible to say that attention drawn to the question of the insertion of these symbols is a cause of the correctness in the P section. For the percentage in Appendix 1-12, produced after the paper read by Professor Richet, and communicated to Madame X., is no higher than in the rest of section P.

The relative deficiency in NP is mainly due to the almost complete failure in this respect of one of the pieces sent to Professor Richet, *viz.*: viii B, where out of 42 possible accents and breathings only 7 are inserted in the script, *i.e.* 16.6 per cent. In fact, here too, as in the case of the mistakes, we seem to have wide differences as to correctness between individual passages, but not between the two groups obtained under

¹I am here only dealing with the insertion or omission of these symbols; for errors, see list on p. 222. But the errors are very few, and may be disregarded for this purpose.

different conditions. If we had no external knowledge as to the conditions of production, and were to attempt a classification of the various passages upon internal evidence alone, we should undoubtedly separate viii D from the rest of viii, as being on the whole the most correct and scholarly production of the script in spite of one damning mistake (No. 11); we should also place viii B among the more illiterate productions, on account of its lack of accents and breathings and the general slovenliness of the writing.

As regards the type of mistakes—as distinct from their frequency—I have not been able to discover any differences between the two sections P and NP. An examination of the type of mistake is, I think, profitable, at least in suggestions, but I have not found in the study of types any reason for regarding the division into P and NP as fundamental,—any reason, that is, for supposing that the presence of Professor Richet seriously affected the nature of the automatic writings.

I have also carefully examined the script to see if any improvement were traceable in the course of its production. But I have found no such trace. The point is of some importance as bearing on the genuineness of the phenomena. A person, wholly ignorant of Greek and deliberately producing the script, could hardly fail to acquire in the process some knowledge not possessed at the beginning, even if it were only a slightly increased familiarity with the appearance of the letters and words, or a dim perception of the intention or at least the possible positions of such marks as accents or breathings. Such increased familiarity might be expected to manifest itself on a minute examination of the script. But I have detected nothing of the sort. Individual pieces of script vary as to apparent ease and correctness of production, but I find no indication of general improvement.

The above was written before I had the opportunity of examining a piece of Greek copied under known conditions as described by Sir Oliver Lodge on p. 197. It will be seen that in the copy of a Greek unintelligible original produced deliberately by Mr. Briscoe there are indications of the increased familiarity for which I looked, and looked in vain, in Madame X's script. It is true that I have not seen the first seven pieces of that script, but the unfamiliarity with Greek letters

in the earliest which I have examined, viii, is so marked that there is plenty of room to note even an extremely slight indication of increasing comprehension of the symbols. There is none that I can detect; the likeness to one another of the Greek characters used by the script in the extracts from the Dictionary¹ is strong and shows no traceable development or modification: the general appearance of the letters in the Appendix varies somewhat from that of the letters occurring in the extracts from the Dictionary. But that may very well be due to a difference in the character of the type used in the printed copy of the New Testament known to Madame X., which in all probability differs considerably from that used for the Dictionary of Byzantios.

COMMENTS ON MISTAKES.

I have not attempted a rigorous classification of mistakes, as some may be attributed to more than one cause. But certain types are to be observed, and I have grouped together such as resemble one another. Thus we arrive at the following list:

- A.
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|----|------------|
| 1. Confusion of letters, | - | - | 19 | instances. |
| 2. Accidental slips, viz.: | - | - | 7 | „ |
| <i>a.</i> Careless writing, | | | 5. | |
| <i>b.</i> Interchange of signs, | | | 1. | |
| <i>c.</i> Slip of pen, | | | 1. | |
| 3. Copyist's errors, | - | - | 2 | „ |
| 4. Omissions, | - | - | 3 | „ |

B. Or we may divide them differently, according as the error seems to be auditory or visual.

C. Again we may classify according to the acquaintance with Greek indicated by the mistakes, thus:

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|---|---|----|
| 1. Showing acquaintance, | - | - | 2. |
| 2. „ unfamiliarity, | - | - | 1. |
| 3. „ complete ignorance, | - | - | 9. |

Some of the mistakes² appear under more than one head, as the classes are not exclusive.

¹ It is possible that an explanation of the unusual and somewhat decorative character of the Greek letters in viii B is to be found in some peculiarity of the type employed in printing the Dedication of the Dictionary. The Dedication occurs only in the first edition, which I have not been able to see.

² All doubtful cases are included in these lists.

COMMENTS ON THE ABOVE CLASSIFIED MISTAKES.

A. 1. *Confusion of letters, 19 instances, including 12 errors, some recurring.*

The larger number of mistakes is produced by the substitution of one letter for another, thus:

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| a for o thrice; | o for a twice. |
| a " σ once; | o " σ once. |
| ε " τ once; | τ " δ once. |
| μ " η once; | ν " ι once. |
| ν " ν twice; | ν " ν once. |
| ξ " ζ once; | χ " κ four times. |

The substitution of χ for κ (see above, p. 213) may be due to a real confusion in the writer's mind, *i.e.* to a failure to apprehend that Greek has two distinct letters; or it may be due to the resemblance between the form of the characters in the earlier script. In the first case we might infer on the part of the writer ignorance of Greek, in the second unfamiliarity. But there is hardly enough evidence to warrant any inference, as the four cases of error may be mere slips of the pen.

With the exception of the substitution of μ for η and perhaps ε for τ (but see above, p. 221) the other mistakes are of a common enough type, very familiar to proof readers. They are probably visual errors,¹ but they are considerably more frequent than would be expected in the writing of a person acquainted with Greek, and suggest that the letters are at best unfamiliar to the writer of the script. The substitution of μ for η (No. 33) in the word *ποιῶ* seems impossible to any one with the least knowledge of the language, the combination μσ being quite impossible. Nor is the appearance of the letters μ and η alike, but in the shortened forms used by the script there is a certain resemblance² which might lead to confusion in the case of the mechanical reproduction of an original using these forms.

¹ Except τ for δ, which seems to be auditory.

² One represents the other upside down.

2. *a, b, c. Slips and accidental errors, 7 instances.*

These errors have been described above, and need not detain us here; little or nothing can be inferred from them as to the writer's knowledge or habit of mind.

3. *Copyist's errors, 2 instances.*

The mistake (No. 15), if it be a mistake and not merely a piece of careless writing, by which *τατια*, instead of *ταῦτα*, follows the similar word, *δωματα*, is common enough in Greek manuscripts, and is due to the 'influence of the immediate context' which 'has been a fertile source of error in transcription.'¹ The juxtaposition of several similar syllables in the opening words of ix, *δλα τὰ δωμάτια ταῦτα*, is probably responsible for the three errors numbered 12, 14, and 15, all of which belong to the class described by Sir R. C. Jebb as due to the influence of the immediate context. The similarity of *-ατια* and *ταυτα* led first (No. 12) to the omission of a word; then in the recommenced transcript (ix b) to the substitution of *τ*, the wrongly introduced letter in the cancelled portion, for *δ* (No. 14), and finally to the reappearance of the combination *-ατια* instead of *-αυτα* (No. 15). From this group of errors then we can only infer what we may infer in many similar cases in Greek MSS., namely, that the document is a copy—not an original—and that the copyist is ignorant, or at least for the moment inattentive and mechanical. In the case before us this inference does not help much: whether the automatic writing reproduces passages in a book never seen by Madame X., or passages deliberately learnt by her, the methods of reproduction must be those of a copyist, and of a copyist at the best unfamiliar with the language of his original document.

4. *Errors of omission, 3 instances² (one word; two letters).*

The first case (No. 12) has just been discussed; the other two, Nos. 35 and 37, are of a different type, and suggest a defective text in the original which they reproduce. It is noticeable that in each case the letter omitted is *τ*: the word *ονοματι*, complete, occurs just before the defective *ονομα*,

¹ See article on "Textual Criticism," by Professor Sir R. C. Jebb, *Companion to Greek Studies*, p. 612.

² For No. 28, which may be an error of omission, see p. 234.

and in the $\iota\varsigma$ which stands for $\tau\iota\varsigma$ there is no breathing on the vowel as there usually, but not always, is in the script on an initial vowel. That is to say, these omissions point to a mechanical—and certainly a non-intelligent—reproduction of the original.

It would be very interesting, if it were possible, to examine the copy of the New Testament which (see Professor Richet's article, p. 193) Madame X. believes her family to have possessed.

B. *Division of errors into Auditory and Visual.*

Professor Richet (p. 175) gives reasons for thinking that the phenomenon in question, whatever its ultimate explanation, is a visual one. I have examined the mistakes from this point of view and come to the same conclusion. Naturally all the mistakes cannot be thus classified with certainty. I have excluded all cases of confusion of letters—though in the majority of these the confusion is probably due to visual error—as it is possible that they may be due to slips of the pen in writing, not to misreading of the prototype. I have also excluded the 'copyist's errors' discussed above; errors of audition as well as of vision probably contribute to these. There remains one ambiguous case and ten (of which three are doubtful) of visual error.

No. 31, the ambiguous case, is a possible, though doubtful instance of mishearing of an original. The word $\delta\nu\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$ is used for $\delta\iota\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota$, and the first two vowel sounds may have been misheard. On the other hand, as noted on p. 213, the letters ν and ι are much alike in the script, and the mistake of o for α occurs elsewhere (No. 22) as well as that of α for o (No. 29).

It is curious, though probably accidental, that the substituted prefix $\delta\nu\omicron$ (for $\delta\iota\alpha$) is an intelligible combination in Greek; it is possible to see in this error a trace of acquaintance with Greek, but if any intelligence, and not pure chance, has gone to the production of $\delta\nu\phi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ it must be strictly limited, and does not include a knowledge of the meaning of $\delta\nu\omicron$, *two*, or a rudimentary acquaintance with the principles of verb-composition.

The visual errors consist of three doubtful and seven certain

cases: the three doubtful are Nos. 18 and 20, which may be slips in writing; but may also be visual confusions between similar signs (see comment on mistakes), and No. 34, where a superfluous stroke may represent something seen and incorrectly reproduced.

Some such mechanical reproduction seems to explain two of the visual errors, Nos. 2 and 10, where marks occurring in the Dictionary are reproduced wholly without comprehension in the script. The accuracy with which marks in the Dictionary are reproduced is commented on by Professor Richet,¹ and is evidence, as far as it goes, that the reproduction is absolutely mechanical, and the process a visual one.

The other five visual errors, *μικρον*, *ρολισμαδς*, *δμίλου*, *Μουσεξου*, *εν παρόδφ*, discussed by Professor Richet, have been commented on above. They are also dealt with below as bearing on the knowledge of the Greek language shown in the script.

C. *Inference from errors as to knowledge or ignorance of Greek.*

We now come to the discussion of such mistakes as give any evidence as to knowledge or ignorance of Greek. Only two² of the mistakes show, I think, any acquaintance with Greek, and in both cases other explanations are admissible. In No. 31 it is possible that a dim recollection of *δυο* may have helped to the corruption of *διαφέρει*; in No. 15 it is conceivable, though in my opinion highly improbable, that the mistake, if it be a mistake, of *τατια* for *ταυτα*, is made by a person able to read Greek letters and pronounce the resulting word.

On the other hand, there are many indications in the mistakes that Greek is wholly unknown to the writer of the script. In No. 29 *τὰ* for *τὸ* is doubtless a visual error, or a slip of the pen, but, as Professor Richet has pointed out, one hardly possible to any one with the smallest acquaintance with the language. Ignorance of the laws of accentuation is shown by the first mistake (No. 1), where a circumflex is substituted for an acute accent on the antepenultimate syllable. Incident-

¹ See pp. 181-2.

² See however below, on mistakes 11, 8, and 28.

ally I may remark that the extraordinary correctness of accentuation in the script—only two errors occurring among more than 300 accents given—constitutes in my opinion a strong reason for believing that the script is a purely mechanical reproduction of what has been clearly visualised, and not in the least understood. Mistakes 2 and 10, where unmeaning strokes are reproduced, as well as the accuracy of the punctuation throughout, not forgetting the representation of dots marking omissions, inverted commas, a diaeresis, and so on, confirm this view; this accuracy is to be expected in a copy which is mechanically reproduced, either by a clear visualising memory, or by a person too ignorant of the meaning of the document before him to venture to tamper with a single dot.

Mistakes 11, 16, 17, 27, 33, and possibly 20,¹ show gross and complete ignorance of Greek; three of them, *-αδς* for *-ους*, *δμ* for *όμ*, and *δφ* for *δφ*, are easily explained as visual errors, and another, *-μσω* for *-ησω*, as a confusion of letters, all possible only to a writer ignorant of Greek. No. 11, as I have said, is not so simply accounted for, though it shows as complete an ignorance as the others. But I fail to see how *μικρόν*, which appears in the Dictionary, could be reproduced as *μικρσν*, unless it passed through the intermediary of *μικρόν*. This it might do in the case of a person knowing Greek, who would get from the Dictionary passage the notion not of the collection of signs, *μικρόν*, but of the group of words of which one was the accusative of *μικρός*, that is *μικρόν*. But here we are in a dilemma, for this person could not possibly be the ignoramus who writes *μικρσν*. In fact, it seems as if two² persons, or two personalities, were required to explain this mistake, X¹ who knows enough of Greek to reverse this accent and to think of *μικρόν* instead of the *μικρόν* of the Dictionary, and X² who is so ignorant as to turn *μικρόν* into *μικρσν*—in the very middle, be it noted, of the best written, best accented, and most correct of all the

¹ If the third sign in the substitute for *σποραδην* is not an ill-formed *ορ*, it is an impossible combination α, due to a visual error.

² See p. 221, where a double process is suggested by the second mistake in the word *ἀπρίτυα*; there too there seems to be an X¹ who knows, and an X² who does not know Greek.

extracts—one too where the absence of supervision gave every opportunity for use of the Dictionary.

It will be noticed that two of the mistakes, Nos. 8 and 28, are not included in any classification. If the double *gamma*, γγ, in the script is a mere slip, as it may be, for the *gamma chi*, γχ, of the actual word *συγχώρησις*, no inference can be drawn: if it is a reminiscence of the misprint in the Dictionary, double *gamma chi*, γγχ, under the heading *συγγνώμη*, it shows that the writer of the script has enough acquaintance with Greek to read Greek capitals.

The juxtaposition and appropriate position of the two words *Κόπος Συγχώρησις* suggests that their meaning was known; if that knowledge was obtained from the French-Greek part, confirmation was sought—always supposing that the double *gamma* is not a mere slip—in the Greek-French part where the mis-spelling occurs.

The deliberate use of the Dictionary is not in any case proved, even if we assume a causal and not accidental connexion between the misprint of the Dictionary and the error of the script, as the writer might have obtained his knowledge from the Greek-French part, if he had seen—normally or supernormally—the note under *συγγνώμη* and had also seen the word *Κόπος* with its meaning. In that case this mistake contributes nothing to the solution of the problem beyond the fact that the writer of the script can read Greek capitals, as he reproduces in small letters what his prototype prints in capitals, and, therefore, that no absolute ignoramus or purely mechanical copyist is at work here; in fact we have X¹ and not X².

The other unclassified mistake, No. 28, may be accounted for in two ways; if the origin of the word given in the script as *περαστικῶ* is to be found in the Greek-French part of the Dictionary, we must admit that the writer of the script:

- (1) reads Greek Capitals;
- (2) knows enough of the laws of accentuation to alter the acute accent on the final syllable to a circumflex, when the vowel is lengthened;
- (3) attempts a modification of the termination to make a construable phrase.

This is all, I think, extremely improbable; we may take it as almost beyond a doubt that the origin of the word is to be found in the French-Greek part of the Dictionary, where under the head *Passer*, occur in juxtaposition, as renderings of *en passant*, the phrases *ἐν παρόδῳ, περαστικῶς*. The script reproduces these, with the intervening comma, but with two mistakes, ϕ for φ in the first word, and omission of the final ς in the second. Accepting this explanation of the mistake, we may infer *acquaintance* with the French-Greek part of the Dictionary, but no knowledge of Greek.

The reader will observe that I here use the term *acquaintance* and not *use*; the case is not precisely like the preceding one, even if we accept in both cases the connexion between the script and the French-Greek Dictionary. Here nothing further is required than a visual reproduction of a phrase out of the French-Greek part, exactly of the same type as the reproduction of phrases out of the Greek-French part, the Introduction, and the Dedication, or out of S. John's Gospel, and a couple of Plato's Dialogues. In fact we learn nothing from this mistake but the provenience—to use an archaeologist's term—of a passage in the script.

The earlier case, No. 8, is quite different; there, if the French-Greek Dictionary is to come in at all—a thing I am far from maintaining—it must have been deliberately used, for the purpose of combining the notions of 'Fatigue,' and 'Excuse.'

Having frankly set out this possible evidence for a deliberate use of the Dictionary, in other words for fraud, as an explanation of the phenomena, I am bound to say that this explanation of mistake No. 8 is an alternative only, and that personally I believe the other alternative more probable, namely, that its origin is to be sought in the Greek-French part, where the mis-spelling occurs. It is quite as likely that the word *συγχώρησις* should be reproduced from the page where it appears under *συγγνώμη* as from the page where it is given under its own heading. In both cases, we have to suppose on the part of the writer—or rather a writer—of the script an acquaintance with Greek capitals; in fact we have to postulate the existence of X¹ as well as of the mere copyist X².

From a consideration then of the evidence from the actual text of the script, we are led to the apparently inconsistent view that both knowledge and ignorance—of an irreconcilable kind—are to be found in the writer of the script, in fact that our unknown quantity is double, that there is an X¹ who knows Greek, and an X² who is wholly ignorant. There is more evidence for the existence of X² than of X¹, but before dealing further with the general problem—which hitherto our investigation has not simplified—let us see whether any evidence in either direction can be obtained from a consideration of other points than the text,—from the meaning, for instance, and source of the quotations given in the script. For this purpose I shall not confine my criticism to the 23 pieces of which I have examined the originals, but shall include the whole 31 pieces described in Professor Richet's article.

SOURCES AND APPLICABILITY OF QUOTATIONS IN SCRIPT.

The sources of almost every piece have been ascertained, and are given by Professor Richet; but parts of iii and of vii have not been traced. No. iii begins with some words, not construable as they stand, though needing but little correction. The rest of the sentence is less intelligible though certain expressions are clear. The extract runs thus: *Εὐχη θεός εὐλογίω και ἦλθα κατα προσκλησιν του κατα τα δεδομένα.* Emendation is dangerous where so little is known of the nature of the writing; I prefer to consider the text as it stands. It is not certain that it represents modern Greek; the words which it indicates are known to classical Greek—though the form *ἦλθα* is modern and forms of the first three words appear in close conjunction in the Dictionary under *εὐχή*, viz.: *εὐχή = εὐλογία*; and later *εὐχή θεοῦ*. The last phrase cannot occur in the Dictionary, as the ancient verb *δοκῶ* seems to have been replaced by *δοκιμάζω*, so that the participle *δεδομένα* is not recognised there. The phrase *κατὰ τὰ δεδομένα* is very good ancient Greek for 'according to the doctrines,' and, at present, I see no reason to alter it, as suggested in Professor Richet's article, to *διδόμενα*.

No. vii also opens with a sentence not intelligible and not traced to any source: here the form of the sentence suggests that the language is modern Greek, but the phrases used have

not been found in Byzantios' Dictionary till we come to the last four words.

With these two exceptions, the source of the quotations is known; the books drawn upon are:

Byzantios' *Dictionary*; at least twenty different places in the vocabulary columns, besides the Dedication, and two parts of the Introduction.

Plato, *Apology of Socrates*, two distinct places.

Plato, *Phaedrus*.

S. John's Gospel, chapters iv, xiv, xv, and xvi.

Speaking generally, the selection of passages from the body of the Dictionary does not require any knowledge of Greek. The Greek phrases in that book are followed by their French equivalents, so that the meaning is at once apparent. The long passages from E. Sue and Bernardin de S. Pierre (Nos. viii A, D and ix) likewise demand no knowledge of Greek, as their meaning is unimportant. But this is not always the case. There are three instances (i and viii A, B,) which seem to show some acquaintance with Greek. In viii B the word Ἑλλάς (Greece) in the dedication is replaced in the script by the word Γαλλία (France); this requires at least an elementary acquaintance with the letters, so that the right substitution may be made.

A much stronger proof of acquaintance with Greek is in my view to be found in the appropriate use, at the beginning of viii A, of the phrase translated from Cicero in the Introduction to the Dictionary, on which Professor Richet dwells on p. 182. It is to me quite inconceivable that this phrase should occur where it does *by chance*. Let us recall the circumstances: Professor Richet receives from a lady, who has already produced in his presence short Greek sentences, a long document in Greek. This document begins with the remark that in the lack of Latin words Greek words may be used, and then goes on to give three long Greek extracts, concluding¹ with a statement (viii C), that the writer is fatigued

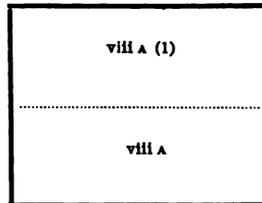
¹I have, to avoid confusion, kept to Professor Richet's numbering of the extracts in viii, but I do not think, nor does he assert, that his numbering represents the chronological sequence of the script. I believe the order to be viii A, D, B, C. An examination of the document makes this clear, I think. A and D are written on opposite sides of the paper, the same way up; to read

and begs to be excused, expressed by two nouns, 'Weariness, Pardon.' Can anything be more appropriate? The conclusion, it is true, could be given by a writer ignorant of Greek who had used the Dictionary, found separately the words for Weariness and Pardon, combined them and reproduced them with blunders. But not so the opening words. As Professor Richet points out, the Dictionary contains no translation into French of the phrase about using Greek, which occurs in the Introduction side by side with its Latin original, and I think every one will agree that it takes a considerable knowledge of Latin to see the meaning of the quotation from Cicero, 'Græcis licet utare, cum voles, si te latinae forte deficient.' If our writer knows no Greek, his Latin scholarship at any rate is good. And be it noted that there is no reason to attribute to Madame X. a knowledge even of elementary Latin.

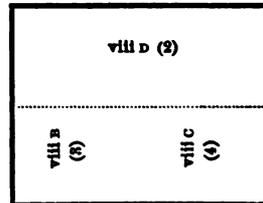
The appropriateness of the shorter phrases from the Dictionary to the circumstances of their production argues intelligence, but not necessarily knowledge of Greek. From the instances in the Dictionary it would be possible for an intelligent person ignorant of Greek¹ to pick out phrases of sufficient general

B and C the sheet must be turned through an angle of 90°. The sheet is folded laterally, but the writing in A pays no attention to the fold. D terminates before the fold is reached; the sheet is then folded and turned half round for B and C. See Diagram.

FRONT OF SHEET.



BACK OF SHEET.



The horizontal dotted line represents a lateral fold of the paper. The positions of the original writings correspond to those of the letters given to them in Professor Richet's numbering. The figures in brackets represent what I believe to have been the actual order of production.

¹There is in one place, Appendix 10, a combination of words in the script which does not occur in the Dictionary. The script has *δὲν ἡμπορῶ πλέον* (I can do no more). The Dictionary gives *πλέον plus* (more), and *ἡμπορῶ pouvoir* (to be able) and under this heading the words *δὲν ἡμπορῶ* appear, but not in combination with *πλέον*. But to produce such a combination little knowledge of Greek is needed beyond the power of reading the letters. The

applicability to be introduced on occasion with appropriateness, and the extracts in question are not so distinctive or unusual as to be limited in applicability to the precise circumstances of their production. Remarks about a war which interests Europe, copies resembling their original, notes which will make a volume larger, and lengthening shadows, could without difficulty find appropriate places in many conversations, and these or similar phrases could probably be acquired without much labour by an industrious person with a good visual memory, even without a preliminary knowledge of Greek. The use of them shows intelligence, but not knowledge of Greek.

Nor is it necessary to see a proof of knowledge of Greek in the introduction of the name of Professor Richet's great grandfather by means of a phrase from the Dictionary (ii); it is true that the word *ὄνομα*, name, would be likely to be a good hunting ground for any one intending to produce a Greek speaking personality, but the blunders both in the name *Αντωνινος*—the equivalent not of Antoine but of Antonin—and in the two preceding words *κατιστος ονοματο* for *κάποιος ονόματι* are not suggestive of the very slightest acquaintance with the language. It puts no strain upon the laws of chance to suppose that the phrase 'un nommé Antoine' was accidentally noticed and fixed upon as appropriate by the intelligence—of whatever kind—that is responsible for the production of the script.

So much then for the evidence as to knowledge of Greek from the contents of the Dictionary. Nothing can be obtained from an examination of the verses from S. John's Gospel. The division into numbered verses and the resultant facilities, even for one who has no Greek, of comparison between the original and a translation places these extracts in much the same position as the Dictionary phrases; their selection demands intelligence, but not Greek.

But the case is different with the extracts from Plato. I find it hard to believe that a comparison between the Greek

case is worth noting, however, as it is not a mere visual reproduction of a printed original, but a combination showing intelligence of the same type as in iii (where two nouns, separately entered in the Dictionary, are joined by the conjunction 'and') and iv (where a sentence is made up of three words occurring separately in the Dictionary).

text and a translation would enable a person who could not read Greek to pick out from the long paragraphs of the myth of the *Phaedrus* a single complete sentence intelligible without its context and so well suited for enunciation by the mysterious and impressive means of automatic writing, as this description of the complete initiate (v.). An interlinear word for word translation alone would make this likely, and I am not acquainted with any such except for a few books of a simple kind adapted for the use of beginners. It appears to me unlikely that any such edition of the *Phaedrus* exists in France. Nor is the sentence likely to form one of a series selected for scholastic purposes to illustrate points of syntax or idiom.

The evidence for acquaintance with Greek obtainable from passage No. i is stronger. Here we have two sentences from Plato's account of the Defence of Socrates. The first of these, 'human wisdom is of little worth or none,' is found in the ninth chapter of the Dialogue, and is the interpretation put by Socrates himself on the famous answer of the Delphic oracle that no one was wiser than Socrates. The second, 'but now the time has come for departure,' is the opening clause of the last sentence of the Dialogue (chap. 33). The two phrases are not in juxtaposition in the Dialogue, so that no casual glance would have perceived them both. The first sentence is one that might be used, out of its context, to illustrate a point of syntax, or might be quoted in an article on Socrates.¹ But there is nothing distinctive about the second sentence, and it is not likely to be quoted anywhere out of its context. The conjunction of two disconnected sentences out of the same Dialogue and the appropriate use of the second cannot possibly be fortuitous, and would be natural enough to a Greek scholar; that a person unable to read Greek should have hit upon such a combination is to my mind outside the range of the most widely ranging Chance. But though we have reason to see the work of X¹ in the selection of the passages, his collaborator X² seems also to have done his share; *apa* for *ōpa* is an unlikely slip for a reader of Greek, and *απειvai* for *ἀπιέναι* is an elementary blunder.

¹That Madame X. is interested in Socrates and his 'guide' is within my personal knowledge.

So then from a consideration of the contents of the automatic writing as well as from that of its form, we are led irresistibly to the paradox that the writer possesses both knowledge and ignorance, knowledge and ignorance of an irreconcilable kind. For what we have observed is not the alternate presence and absence of knowledge of Greek, but the simultaneous possession of knowledge and non-knowledge of the same thing.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FROM THE ABOVE EXAMINATION.

The reader, if any reader has followed me so far through the wearisome technicalities of this examination, will perhaps ask what is my general conclusion on the whole matter, or in a concrete form, who are the X¹ and the X² into whom I have resolved the comparatively comprehensible 'Madame X.' of the original problem.

To this question—which I would remind the reader I am here approaching only from the standpoint of internal evidence of the script itself—I can give no satisfactory answer; we have not sufficient information to warrant a conclusion. Such evidence as we have suggests this double source, and all we can do at present is to register the evidence, and see what light it throws upon existing theories. Of theories that have been or may be advanced to explain this case of Xenoglossy some are ruled out by the acceptance of this double source; the explanation by unconscious memory—that is, the reproduction of printed matter seen but not consciously observed—must be rejected, as it fails to account not only for the knowledge of Greek, but also for the intelligence shown by the writer; moreover, as Professor Richet has pointed out, we have no other instance of production by unconscious memory of such a mass as is before us here, nor of matter from such various sources.

For the spiritistic hypothesis, communication from 'Antoine Renouard,' there is at present no evidence before us but the unsupported 'ipse dixit' of the script, and those who are acquainted with automatic phenomena will know how much weight to attach to that.

No theory which does not admit intelligence and knowledge of Greek will fit my view of the facts, so that I should not

be able to accept a hypothesis which gave a large share to chance as a cause. Chance might indeed account for some of the successes, for the discovery of the name Antoine, for instance, or perhaps for the finding of an appropriate quotation from Plato, but not for the finding of three appropriate quotations from Plato, and the combination in one sentence of the two which come from the same dialogue. Thus a combination of Chance, Fraud, and Ignorance of Greek will not, as I believe, explain the phenomena.

Fraud, in certain conditions, would account for the facts; if, for instance, we suppose two persons, X^1 and X^2 , who combine to make a sensational story. X^1 has a knowledge of Greek, looks out appropriate passages, consults Byzantios' Dictionary, and passes on his information to X^2 , who knows no Greek; X^2 , copying blindly from transcripts (see mistake No. 11) or from marked books, introduces the illiterate blunders that are not infrequent. Readers must judge for themselves of the value of other considerations—the 'moral proofs' of which Professor Richet speaks—which make unlikely the hypothesis of fraud on the part of Madame X.—the X^2 of the above theory; these considerations necessarily carry more weight with Madame X.'s friends and acquaintances than with strangers. Fraud, being an ascertained cause of many phenomena, must always be admitted as a possible, even a probable, cause. I would, however, point out that the introduction of a second person, which I regard as a necessary deduction from the evidence, more than doubles the risk of discovery, and thereby increases the improbability of fraudulent action where the producer of the fraudulent phenomena has much to lose by discovery. I would also point out that on the theory of fraudulent collusion between X^1 and X^2 we must admit that X^1 uses less intelligence than we might expect. Given an intelligent person, who knew Greek, and was deliberately working this business, a much better show might have been made.

This, perhaps, suggests that the theory of fraud and the double origin of the script are best reconciled if we suppose X^1 to be innocent, supplying material without being aware that he is so doing to X^2 , who gets books and suggestions from him. This proceeding is more comprehensible, but hardly

less dangerous for X², unless it is certain that X¹ will hear nothing of the stir made by this strange case of Xenoglossy.

But the splitting or doubling of the producer of the script, the division of X into X¹ and X², need not imply fraud. If the phenomena are regarded as genuine, X¹ and X² will be two manifestations or aspects of the producing cause, whatever that producing cause may be. The phenomena, whatever their origin, are at least presented to us by the hand of Madame X., who, on this theory, knows no Greek and who may thus easily supply our X². X¹ is then to be found perhaps in her Subliminal Consciousness, or in some external force acting upon the Subliminal, or again in some aspect of that Personality which we are coming to recognise as Multiplex. Is the contrast between our X¹ and our X² stronger than that between Ansel Bourne and his alias A. J. Brown?¹ Does the knowledge of Greek mark a difference deeper than is shown in the knowledge and practice of an ethical code exhibited by Miss Beauchamp and unknown to Sally?² Is the power to read an unknown tongue more remarkable than the power of drawing possessed by the B10 personality of Dr. Wilson's patient,³ Mary Barnes? These are problems for the psychologist; it is the business of us psychical researchers to investigate such phenomena as bear no *prima facie* evidence of fraud, to examine them in detail, to analyse the results, to draw what inferences we may from the facts presented, to provide established data for the future construction of theories; in short, to put a plain label on each particular pigeon hole of that large receptacle of observed facts which it is the chief duty of our Society to keep accessible and well arranged.

Since writing the above paper, I have been able, through the kindness of Professor Richet, to examine a copy of the first edition of Byzantios' Dictionary. The following points may be noticed :

In three places mistakes in the script (Nos. 2, 8, and 10) seemed to be closely connected with the typography of the second

¹ See Article by Dr. Hodgson in *Proceedings S.P.R.*, vol. vii., p. 221.

² See Dr. Morton Prince's Article in *Proceedings S.P.R.*, vol. xv., p. 466.

³ See *Proceedings S.P.R.*, vol. xviii., p. 372.

edition. None of these can be traced to the first edition. In 2 and 10 the arrangement of the words is quite different. As to 8, the first edition has not the mis-spelling of *συγχώρησις*, and in the Greek-French part uses capital letters as initials, but not otherwise.

On the other hand, the type of the Dedication (which is in the first edition only) is found, as I suggested before seeing it, to account for the peculiar forms of letters in Extract viii B. See note on p. 228, and comment on letters *ν*, *π*, *ρ*.

It will be seen, then, that there are circumstances which would appear *prima facie* to connect the script with each edition as distinct from the other. I am not disposed at present to draw any inference from these facts, and do not wish to suggest any.

III.

BY THE HON. EVERARD FEILDING AND ALICE JOHNSON.

THE problems presented by M. Richet's paper may perhaps be stated thus. Here is a series of phenomena which can reasonably be explained only in two ways: (1) fraud, (2) clairvoyance of such a singular character that, as M. Richet himself points out, no theory of which one can form any conception can be constructed to suit it. We have therefore to consider which is the *easier* explanation, and the answer must be fraud of one kind or another, *unless* there is strong evidence against it. The suspicious circumstances of the case were of course obvious to M. Richet, and he has not hesitated to set them forth—with the full consent, it must be noted, of M^{me} X. herself—plainly and emphatically. Yet he concludes that the balance of evidence is against fraud. When we ask what the arguments in support of this conclusion amount to, there appear two answers: (1) the apparent good faith of the medium; (2) internal evidence resting on the characteristics of the script itself, tending to show that it could not have been produced by normal means.

In regard to the first, M. Richet's intimate knowledge of the lady and the conclusions which he has been led to form from it must of course command the greatest respect. Knowledge of this kind may be sufficient, and in certain cases is legitimately sufficient, to produce conviction in the mind of him who possesses it. It is in reliance on such kind of knowledge that we all act with completest confidence in matters of ordinary life, or human intercourse would be impossible. But it is clear that in order to establish the nature of phenomena of such an almost unprecedented description as those contained in his paper, evidence of more universal application is necessary. M. Richet is, of course, himself the first to admit this, and he therefore adduces a number of arguments tendin

to show from the script itself that agency of some supernatural character must have been at work.

In this paper we purpose, therefore, first to consider the chief points of evidence in turn in order to test their validity. The task is not a grateful one, for we must on our side admit that even should we succeed in meeting most of M. Richet's arguments, the result will be purely negative, and though it may perhaps be concluded that they are insufficient to establish the supposed supernatural agency, it is equally certain that we cannot establish any other.

There may, however, be certain considerations which point to, though they cannot prove, an alternative conclusion to M. Richet's, and it will be the second portion of our task to sum up what these amount to, though without intending to commit ourselves in any way to the opinion that this conclusion is the right one.

M. Richet's argument may very shortly be summarised and its constituent parts numbered as follows. (1) Mme. X., who knows no Greek, writes in a shaky hand, which of itself suggests that the writing was executed as if by a copyist, ignorant of Greek and unaccustomed to write it, a number of Greek sentences. While some of these were written in his absence and may therefore have been copied from a book, the bulk were written in his presence. (2) The quantity of the latter sentences is so considerable, and their execution on the whole so accurate, that it is impossible to suppose that they could have been learnt by heart. (3) Further, the mistakes which do occur, both in the sentences written in his absence as well as in those written in his presence, are often of such a character that they cannot be accounted for, on an assumption of fraud, in any consistent way. (4) And again, inasmuch as the mistakes in the former class of sentences, where a text to copy from might be assumed, are not less numerous than those in the latter class, which were certainly written without text, it is reasonable to assume that both were written under the same conditions, *i.e.* without text. (5) The fact that the majority of sentences are found in an extremely rare dictionary, and in the Greek-French part of that dictionary, makes it improbable that Mme. X. could have had access to the dictionary, or (6) since she

knew no Greek, could have made any practical use of it if she had. (7) The appropriateness of many of the sentences produced in M. Richet's presence is so remarkable that it must follow that their production was the work of some extraneous intelligence. (8) Although it is true that most of the sentences found in the dictionary have French translations alongside them, there is at least one of quite especial appropriateness (viz. VIII. A. *χρῆσθαι λέξεσιν*, etc.), which has only a translation in somewhat difficult Latin (also an unknown language to Mme. X.) from which fact particularly deliberate rational intelligence is to be assumed. (9) Finally, that such intelligence is again revealed by the choice of the phrases from Plato's Apology and Phædrus and the Gospel of St. John, which are also stated to be appropriate.

Let us then take these arguments *seriatim*, which for the sake of brevity we will refer to by their respective numbers.

(1) Much of M. Richet's paper is devoted to showing that Mme. X. knows no Greek. We admit at once that it is clear she knows extremely little. *We see, however, no reason for supposing that she has not learnt the letters*, a task which any ordinarily intelligent student could master in an hour, and which would enable her, if necessary, to look up words in a dictionary and in any case would greatly facilitate the learning of passages by heart. This question of ignorance we deal with in greater detail when we come to a consideration of point (3).

(2) *Assuming that Mme. X. had learnt the Greek alphabet, and was thus able to associate in her mind the approximate sound of the words with the printed text, is it possible to learn a number of sentences by heart, and reproduce them with reasonable accuracy afterwards? We should have thought it was.* It must be remembered that Greek, like Latin, is a language the spelling of which is absolutely phonetic. Once the sound is mastered, the spelling follows inevitably. It is therefore not in the reproduction, but in the original learning, that the difficulty arises. Is it then possible to learn by heart passages which mean nothing to the learner? Prof. Richet maintains that it would be "materially impossible" for any one to reproduce from memory and with so much accuracy phrases in a language unknown to him as long as the passages IX. to XV., which were written in his presence on a single occasion.

The longest and most difficult of these passages is IX., which consists of 41 words; the other six are short and comparatively simple, containing 44 words altogether. It would no doubt take a good deal of time and trouble to learn as much of an unknown language as this by heart, but we cannot feel that it is a feat of superhuman difficulty. We would suggest as analogous instances a schoolboy who learns, in most cases with hardly the ability to construe them, and certainly without taking the trouble to do so, long passages of Greek or Latin verse for punishment tasks; or the still more appropriate case of entirely uneducated Roman Catholic boys who learn by rote, often without the slightest attempt at verbal comprehension, long passages of Latin for the purpose of serving at Mass or other devotional exercises.

There is nothing in the circumstances of Mme. X.'s case to prevent the passages having been carefully studied and copied out again and again before they were produced in M. Richet's presence, for the Dictionary was, as he states in his paper, in a public library where she is accustomed to read, and there can be no difficulty in finding a Greek New Testament in Paris.

(3) The points on which we venture to differ from M. Richet depend a good deal on our different conception of the process that would have been employed, supposing there was fraud. Thus as to the character of the mistakes, it must be noticed that a person ignorant of Greek and learning it by heart might do this in two ways: (a) by a process of mere visualisation, which would no doubt be a very difficult task; (b) by learning the letters sufficiently well to be able to associate sounds with them, and by then learning the passages by sound like a parrot. This, as already suggested, is the more probable and easy method.

But it is still more probable that the two methods would have been combined, in which case, while trying to reproduce a passage so learnt, mistakes due either to faulty visualisation, such as ϕ for φ , or δ for \acute{o} , or to faulty audition, such as τ for δ , might creep in.

Following Mrs. Verrall's analysis of the mistakes, we find at the outside only nine cases showing such complete and gross ignorance as δ for \acute{o} , or ϕ for φ , out of 372 Greek words. This is a very small number, and after all, what evidence is there that the script writer did not really know better? If

indeed, she had been questioned about inaccurate letters, and was unable to see that they were wrong, this would show real ignorance; or if she had read over the script carefully and had not found out the mistakes, this would show at least great carelessness. It is surely not necessary to attribute all the mistakes specifically either to faulty visualisation or audition. It all depends on whether the mistakes were made, so to speak, deliberately, while the conscious attention of the writer was directed towards the letters, or were mere slips. We all know that educated people make extraordinary mistakes in writing or even in speaking, which—if we did not know they were slips—we might take as evidence of gross ignorance. It seems not impossible, then, that these bad mistakes of Mme. X.'s were mere slips, and if so, they do not afford evidence of any greater ignorance than the mistakes which Mrs. Verrall classifies as confusion of letters, accidental slips, copyist's errors and omissions.

The fact of the second phrase in passage VII. being given by raps—instead of in writing, like all the other passages (see Prof. Richet's paper, p. 167) seems to involve some knowledge of the letters on the part of the automatist.

This production of some of the sentences by raps is surely of considerable importance, if only as tending to show the improbability of Sir Oliver Lodge's theory of the *modus operandi* of the unknown intelligence. It is difficult enough to assume that this intelligence or control, if it is attempting to induce visions, can only do so by means of a printed text. But it is going further still to assume that it can only rap out sentences already existing in print. If it can rap alphabetically, the natural deduction is that it must be able to rap out original sentences. If it cannot do this, we can only account for its deficiency by another and an entirely unfounded hypothesis,—that its knowledge is limited to the understanding of *written* Greek, and is not extensive enough to enable it to compose original phrases. But—and this is a point on which we wish to lay special emphasis—the appropriate substitution of the word Γαλλία (France) for Ἑλλάς (Greece) in VIII. B, suggests at least enough familiarity with the letters to be able to look up words in a dictionary. It appears, then, either that the extraneous intelligence *can* compose

original Greek (which for the purposes of his argument M. Richet seems bound to assume it *cannot*) or Mme. X. knows enough of the Greek alphabet and can apply her knowledge with sufficient intelligence to make appropriate alterations in the text given in the Dictionary.

The omission of all the accents in the first seven passages of the script, and their sudden appearance later, is another point that tells strongly against the theory of a purely visual and mechanical method of production, or against Sir Oliver Lodge's hypothesis of a psychic printed text serving as a copy.

(4) M. Richet argues (p. 182) that since passage IX., written in his presence, shows just the same characteristics as VIII., written in his absence, it is almost certain that the two passages must have been produced under the same conditions. Mrs. Verrall's analysis, however, shows that IX. was in fact far more inaccurate than VIII., and that VIII. D (which is the longest of the four portions into which VIII. is divided, being made up of 77 words, whereas the other three portions together contain 85 words), "presents a much more scholarly appearance than any other passage and contains only 3 mistakes (or possibly 2)."

This is obviously what would be expected if VIII. had been simply copied from the Dictionary, while IX. had been learnt by heart and written out from memory.

(5) As to the difficulty of supposing that Mme. X. could have had access to so rare a book as the Byzantios Dictionary, it must be remembered, assuming fraud, that *it was she who had the initiative in selecting the book*. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, if she were fraudulent, she would naturally select a rare book in hopes of not being afterwards found out. Besides, as M. Richet states, the book is in the library at Paris, in which it is known that Mme. X. is in the habit of studying, and the Greek-French part to which nearly all, if not all, the quotations from the Dictionary have been traced, is cut, while the French-Greek part, to which Mrs. Verrall has apparently traced one phrase (part of X.) is not.¹

¹ Mrs. Verrall, however, who has since had an opportunity of seeing the copy from the Paris Library, tells us that parts of the French-Greek section are cut, that all the cuts are quite ancient, and that all the pages, cut or uncut, can be easily read.

(6) It is in the Greek-French part chiefly, if not exclusively, that any phrases occur—Greek phrases being given, followed by a translation into French. The French-Greek part consists almost entirely of separate words, followed by their Greek equivalents. This would certainly make it difficult for a person ignorant of Greek to look up *a given phrase* in the Dictionary; but it would put no difficulty in the way of his making a little miscellaneous collection of phrases out of it, by glancing at the French phrases and learning their Greek equivalents.

Much of the script suggests such a heterogeneous collection of phrases, and could easily be accounted for by supposing the Dictionary to have been used in this way.

(7) Perhaps the argument on which M. Richet lays most stress is that based on the applicability of some of the sentences written in his presence. Some of these do show a certain applicability to the circumstances suggestive of knowledge and intelligence, and this no doubt has to be accounted for. With regard to VI., X.-XV. inclusive, and Appendix 10-12 (pp. 206-9), we think with Mrs. Verrall that it would not be difficult to learn up a number of phrases which would be at least as appropriate as these to the circumstances of the sittings and which could be produced with the same appearance of spontaneity. In order to test this hypothesis, Miss Johnson, who knows no Greek, spent about half-an-hour searching in the Greek-French part of the Dictionary for phrases which might apply to the known circumstances of the case—viz. (1) to the general nature and conditions of the phenomenon, and (2) to M. Richet's projected journey to England to read a paper on it before a meeting of the S.P.R.

This brief and cursory search revealed a mine of material in the way of phrases, two or three of which might easily have been learnt at a time and brought in with effect at the next sitting. Most of the phrases that actually occur in the script, when appropriate at all, are, it may be noted, of such a generally or vaguely applicable nature that no "forcing" would have been required. But in any case, supposing phrases had been learnt, a slight exercise of ingenuity would suffice to lead the conversation on to some topic into which they could be introduced, as answers to or comments upon the remarks of the sitter. To illustrate this, we have constructed an "imaginary

conversation" between sitter and script, in which the statements of the latter are composed exclusively of French phrases given in the Dictionary with their Greek equivalents. This should properly be conceived of as extending over the course of several sittings, including a number of irrelevant circumstances; but for brevity we condense it into a single scene, composed of the crucial points alone and omitting the irrelevantia.

Sitter. "How vexing that this intelligence is so rebellious to adequate tests!"

Script. "*Il y a trois ans qu'il me mène de la sorte.*"

Sitter. "There are a good many mistakes in his last effort."

Script. "*Un manuscrit chargé de fautes.*"

Sitter. "I wonder if he knows that the Dictionary has been found in the Paris Library."

Script. "*Cela peut faire naître des soupçons.*"

Sitter. "If he did, it was stupid of him not to foresee the result."

Script. "*Mélez-vous de vos affaires.*"

Sitter. "After all, it may only be your own subconscious personality."

Script. "*Une autre moi-même.*"

Sitter. "But it is difficult to reconcile this theory with your complete honesty."

Script. "*Vous me soupçonnez mal-à-propos.*"

Sitter. "I wonder if I shall have a good audience when I address the S.P.R. in London?"

Script. "*La salle commence à se remplir de monde.*"

Sitter. "I suppose that even my own good faith may be doubted."

Script. "*Le caractère d'un homme se perçoit plus ou moins dans ses discours.*"

Sitter. "Do you think my argument will prove convincing?"

Script. "*Je n'ose aborder cette question.*"

Sitter. "I trust, however, that it will at least excite the interest it deserves from a psychological point of view."

Script. "*Puissent vos projets réussir.*"

We repeat that this conversation is not intended as a specimen of what could be supposed to have actually occurred but is simply given in order to show that the Dictionary contains a number of sentences, easily memorised, of which one or

another would with any reasonable good luck prove appropriate at one moment or another, and we think that if two or three of the phrases suggested above had been produced, no one could fail to be struck with the apparent intelligence shown by the script. On the other hand, no one would complain if the writing had no application whatever to the circumstances. Indeed, M. Richet *does not* complain of the flagrant inappropriateness of most of it. A fraudulent medium therefore would have everything to gain and nothing to lose by learning up sentences that might with a little luck be appropriate. The phrases of salutation and farewell, several times repeated (I., II., V., VIII. C, and Appendix 10-12) could not fail to be appropriate.

(8) Now as to the passage '*χρησθαι . . . etc.*' on which M. Richet lays such stress. A series of passages, five in number, VIII. A (two parts) to D, p. 27, were written in M. Richet's absence. These follow one another closely in the Dictionary. *Four of them have no applicability whatever*; one of them, *i.e.* the first part of VIII. A, appears to have some. If we are to take the exhibition of intelligence as a criterion, why does the presence of this one appropriate sentence, which possibly only comes first because it also comes first in the Dictionary, show intelligence, unless the presence of the other four inappropriate ones does not equally show no-intelligence? The choice of the non-appropriate sentences must admittedly have been at hap-hazard. Why is the choice of the first not equally at hap-hazard? *Either the intelligence knew what it was writing or it did not. If it did, why should the bulk of what it wrote have no applicability whatever? And if it did not, how is it possible to attach any importance to the fact that one of the sentences it wrote does appear to have a certain appropriateness?* This appears to us an unanswerable dilemma.

But we would further argue that although this sentence, "*χρησθαι, etc.*," appears to have some appropriateness, it certainly has no *meaning*. What can it possibly mean to say, "You can when you like use Greek if by chance Latin fails you," when the Latin of this very sentence appears on the same line in the Dictionary, and therefore does not fail anybody; and when in any case the obvious choice is not between Greek and Latin but, as indicated in the letter accompanying the

script, between Greek and French? We suggest that the words 'Graecis' and 'Latinae' indicated that the sentence had some bearing on a choice of language, and therefore prompted the selection of the sentence for transcription. If it did mean something, so much the better, and the control would, as it has done, make a distinct score. If it did not mean anything, it would in no way suffer, any more than it has done from having written all the other sentences which have no meaning either.

(9) Our argument, then, so far maintains that a number of short passages might have been picked out—partly at random and partly for their appropriateness—from the Dictionary and learnt by heart, and that this could be done by a person having the knowledge of the letters only. The same can obviously be said of the quotations from St. John's Gospel. Once Mme. X. had selected a French sentence from it, she need have no difficulty in finding the Greek equivalent.

Mrs. Verrall argues that the case is different with the extracts from Plato: (a) that it would be very difficult to find these particular phrases in the two Dialogues supposing one had only an ordinary translation as a guide; and (b) that the remarkable appropriateness of the quotations has to be accounted for.

As to (a) we cannot help thinking that Mrs. Verrall exaggerates the difficulty of finding the phrases by the help of a translation. The second quotation from the *Apology*, being taken from its last sentence, could, of course, as she implicitly admits, be found easily. The others would take much more trouble to find, since they occur in the middle of the dialogues in question. And as to (b), this second easily found quotation is to our mind just the only one which is really appropriate at all. The sentence from the "*Phaedrus*" (script v., p. 206), which Mrs. Verrall considers specially appropriate to the process of automatic writing, does not, we confess, impress us as much as it seems to impress her. All that can be said for it is that it is more appropriate than the quotations from Eugène Sue, and less so than that from Cicero. The remaining phrase (script i., 1st sentence, p. 205), quoted from the "*Apology*," is a vague utterance of a type indifferently appropriate or inappropriate under almost any conceivable circumstances.

We think, in any case, that Mrs. Verrall's argument somewhat confuses the issue. It is not, to our mind, a question of finding *one particular appropriate phrase*, but of finding a phrase likely to prove appropriate—obviously a far easier task. What has to be accounted for, we repeat, in this case as in those already dealt with, is not that *these particular passages* should have been produced, but that *some appropriate passages* should be written—a very different as well as an easier thing to do, and one which demands intelligence only, and no real knowledge of the language.

The argument against fraud, then, dwindles down to the difficulty of learning so much Greek by heart. As to Sir Oliver Lodge's hypothesis that the impression of the Greek words may have come to Mme. X. in the form of a vision—like the crystal visions with which we are familiar—abundant analogies may of course be found for such a supposition, as we know from records in the *Proceedings* alone that sensory hallucinations, whether induced by crystal gazing or occurring more spontaneously, may take the form of any object whatever, as well letters or words as anything else. But the form taken by the impression does not appear to us a matter of any real significance. The discussion of automatic processes in *Human Personality* shows that the question whether an impression externalises itself as a sensory hallucination or as a motor impulse, and the question of what particular sensory or motor effect is produced, depend almost entirely on the idiosyncrasies of the automatist. Psychologically the form of the impression is important and interesting, but from the point of view of psychical research, what we are concerned with is the content alone. We have only to ask whether or not it goes provably beyond the knowledge that the medium either already possesses or could have acquired by normal means.

We do not of course mean to assert that—supposing there is an external agency concerned in the production of such phenomena—that agency may not be limited both in knowledge and in the kind and degree of influence which it is able to exercise on the medium. Our entire and absolute ignorance of the matter, in fact, affords scope for any and every speculation as to what these limitations may be, and it is possible, as Sir Oliver Lodge suggests, that it may be easier for a control to

make use of a printed text, though we think the evidence for this hypothesis both scanty and dubious. But the assumption of such an arbitrary limitation of power seems inconsistent with some crucial features in the case—such as the substitution of *Gallia* for *Hellas*, or the occasional conjunction of words or phrases that occur separately in the printed sources—which would seem to involve wide powers of dealing and tampering with the text on the part of the control. And supposing, as Sir Oliver Lodge suggests, that the control chooses the text from an out-of-the-way and little known book, so that its source is not detected for a long time, the phenomenon might, as he says, at its first appearance seem “an extra good proof of supernormal occurrence,” but could not fail afterwards to appear all the more suspicious. We should then have to make a further hypothesis to explain it; we should have to suppose either that the “control” had plotted deliberately to cast suspicion on the medium, or that he was so extraordinarily stupid that he did not see how suspicious it would look. We feel bound to say that the argument has an unfortunate resemblance to those with which we are only too familiar in the domain of spiritualism—the constant assertion that the only conditions under which spirits can work are precisely those which either facilitate fraud or make it practically impossible to detect it. This may, of course, be true; but if it is true, the sooner we leave off wasting our time in psychical research, the better.

It seems to us, in fact, impossible to construct any consistent and reasonable hypothesis to explain the peculiarities of Mme. X.'s script on the assumption of *limitations of power on the part of the control*; while it is explained in the simplest and most obvious manner by supposing that *the limitations were on the part of the automatist*, who, being ignorant of Greek, had access only to two or three Greek books; who, for the main part of the script, deliberately chose a rare book (the *Byzantios Dictionary*) in hopes of the source of her knowledge escaping discovery, and who when, notwithstanding this precaution, the source was detected, then chose a well-known book (the *New Testament*) in order to blur the effect of the detection.

There is indeed another possibility which we think should not be ignored—the possibility that many of the Greek sea-

tences were actually copied at the time from concealed scraps of paper. It is hardly necessary to point out that it would account at once for all the mistakes made in what was written in M. Richet's presence, if the writer had to copy from what she could see of a paper concealed from her visitor. It appears, though it is not stated explicitly by M. Richet, that the sittings were held generally in her own house, where she would have had every opportunity of making arrangements and concealing papers to copy from. Extremely small pieces would clearly have been sufficient for the purpose. Or if she was not in her own house, a paper might be hidden inside her sleeve or some other part of her dress, and by some movement or arrangement be made visible to herself, though not to a bystander looking in a slightly different direction.

Obvious as this suggestion may appear, we have looked in vain in M. Richet's paper for any indication that it ever occurred to him or that any precautions were taken to guard against the possibility of this or of some similar trick, and we cannot but regard the omission as a serious evidential flaw *either* in the observation *or* in the record of it.

There is one more general criticism that appears to us of considerable weight, viz., the absolutely unprecedented nature of the case. In no other instance of alleged clairvoyance coming from sources which we have reason to trust do we find this extraordinary combination of *precision in the details* with *rigid limitation in their nature*.

There are two kinds of cases where analogies might be expected to be found—cases of experimental telepathy between the living and cases of purported communications from the dead. In the former class we never find a series of completely successful experiments in the least degree comparable in extent to this Greek script. For instances of our most successful series, see the experiments of Mr. Guthrie in the telepathic transference of diagrams in *Proceedings*, Vols. I., II. and III. (of which a summary is given in *Human Personality*, Vol. I., pp. 601-614), or Mrs. Sidgwick's Brighton experiments, see especially *Proceedings*, Vol. VI., pp. 142-3, and Vol. VIII., pp. 540-41 and 556-59. The reader who refers to these will see how constantly the successes are interspersed with failures.

Of trance experiences in some ways more analogous to Mme. X's, when the automatic speech or writing purports to be "controlled" by an external intelligence, perhaps the most remarkable series ever recorded are the "G.P. communications" of Mrs. Piper (*Proceedings*, Vol. XIII., pp. 295-335), but even in this we find a considerable mixture of incorrect with correct statements. It may be argued that the case is not strictly analogous, since M. Richet does not give us in his paper all the Renouard "communications," which we may suppose do exhibit the usual admixture of incorrectness. He does, however, give here all the "communications" of this particular type—all those, that is, which were given in Greek—and they are, we repeat, of an absolutely unprecedented kind.

Mrs. Verrall's analysis brings this out in an even more startling manner than M. Richet's own account; for it appears that not only are the words of the Dictionary followed with extraordinary precision, but even that some of the typographical peculiarities of the first edition (which there is strong ground for regarding as the source of most of the quotations) re-appear in these quotations, *e.g.* the contracted form of $\sigma\tau$ and the peculiar forms of the letters ϵ and κ (see above, p. 213); whereas, in regard to the letter κ , it is noteworthy that in the quotations from the New Testament it is written in the usual way, *viz.* that found in most Greek New Testaments. Mrs. Verrall also states that the stops correspond very closely to those used in the Dictionary, and even the marks of omission . . . which occur three times in IX. b are "exactly reproduced."

Is it possible to conceive of any result more widely different from what is met with in the best authenticated cases of trance "communications" than this rigid adherence to a particular text? *And is it not, on the other hand, just what might be expected to occur, supposing a person ignorant of Greek desired for some reason to produce Greek writing?*

Some other points brought out by Mrs. Verrall's investigations strongly suggest the work of a careful but ignorant copyist—*viz.* the use of, or approximation to, the Roman instead of the Greek form of some of the letters. Thus the Roman *a* is always used for α ; the ι is dotted six times (though in five cases Mrs. Verrall states that the dot seems to be used instead of an

accent); the down-stroke of the τ is curved round at the bottom, and once the upright stroke extends above the cross stroke, turning the letter completely into a Roman *t*. Again, the letters are liable to be confused with Roman letters resembling them. Thus γ is written rather like a *y*; η sometimes with a short right-hand stroke, like *n*; μ has sometimes a short left-hand stroke, like *u*; ν throughout VIII. B is written *r*, like one written form of *r*; and *v* is written twice as *u*. The kind of ignorance here shown appears to us to point strongly to a mundane source for its origin.

To sum up the case, it appears to us that, with the single exception of the argument based upon Prof. Richet's strong conviction of the medium's *bona fides*, there is no evidence which of itself must compel one to a belief in the supernatural character of the phenomena. Indeed, the facts considered *by themselves* seem to point distinctly, though not, it is true, inevitably, in the other direction.

We have, in addition to the negative arguments already adduced, the following positive ones, most of them drawn from M. Richet's statements:

- (1) Mme. X.'s known desire to learn Greek in November, 1899.
- (2) The presence of the Greek Dictionary in the library.
- (3) The reproduction of some of the typographical peculiarities found in this Dictionary.
- (4) The evidence that Mme. X. may have known a little Greek from the substitution of *Gallia* for *Hellas*, and from the production of one of the sentences by raps.
- (5) The evidence of progress in the accuracy of the script: some of the first seven passages being unintelligible, and all of them entirely without accents.
- (6) The humming of the tune "Souvenez vous en" before the production of the corresponding Greek phrase.
- (7) The fact brought out by Mrs. Verrall's analysis that, notwithstanding M. Richet's statement to the contrary, the longest of the passages written in his absence is much more scholarly than any other of the whole series.

If it is necessary to assume anything abnormal in the case, it would seem that the abnormality may consist in nothing more than an unusually strong and vivid visual memory, the concentration of which would be assisted by a possibly perfectly genuine trance. And if we were obliged to suggest any theory of the genesis of the affair, it would be the following; that at first, possibly as a kind of jest, possibly from a semi-automatic impulse,¹ Madame X. (who had evidently, judging from the purchase of the Greek exercise books, a notion of learning Greek and perhaps did get so far as to learn the Greek alphabet) produced certain Greek phrases. Finding that these excited serious interest, she kept the game up by producing more. When to her surprise the passages were all discovered in the Dictionary, she felt she had gone too far to retreat, and could not bring herself to admit that she either possessed or had had access to the Dictionary. Expecting that tests would then be made, she resorted to a more elaborate procedure, though even here we have to assume nothing more than a little trouble taken to learn by heart for the next sitting one fairly long sentence (IX.) as well as six short ones (X.-XV.) bearing on probable subjects of conversation, to be produced when occasion offered. It would not have been very difficult to do this during the week or two that elapsed after M. Richet had first mentioned the Dictionary to her before the sitting of May 2nd. The last of the six short sentences so selected had, perhaps, struck the medium's fancy as being identical with the refrain of a song which she happened to know, and, as remarked above, it looks as if she

¹ Some years ago, whether before or after the commencement of the production of this Greek script cannot, on account of the notes of the incident having been mislaid, be remembered, Mme. X., in the presence of Mr. Piddington and Mr. Feilding, went suddenly off into what appeared to be a genuine trance. In this condition she made signals for paper and pencil, and wrote a short sentence in what looked like Arabic. The script, on being sent to an Arabic scholar, was pronounced to be intelligible, but consisted only of a couple of very familiar words, such as would be found on Oriental carpets or embroideries, Cairo tea trays, etc. The production of such words, though it could have no tendency to show the operation of any extraneous Arab intelligence or supernormal agency, and would therefore be of no 'metapsychical' importance, has a certain psychological interest, and would be quite consistent with complete honesty on the part of Mme. X. It seems not impossible that the first Greek sentence *may* have been produced in a similar way.

had hummed this song in M. Richet's presence with a view to introducing the phrase with apparent appropriateness later.

In conclusion we wish to add that we feel with M. Richet the greatest difficulty in reconciling the above tentative theory with the personal knowledge, slight as it is, which we have of Mme. X. And if we venture to put it forward, it is only because our Society has always regarded it as an imperative necessity to criticise freely whatever evidence for supernormal phenomena may be put before it. It is in accordance with this accepted principle that we have ventured to examine the validity of Professor Richet's argument, our inability to see the force of which may, after all, be purely constitutional to ourselves. It may be assumed that our interest in the phenomena under consideration is of itself sufficient to raise in us an earnest hope that the course of events may prove us wrong, and in anticipation of that happy issue we offer our apologies to Prof. Richet and Mme. X. for the contents of the above article.

IV.

RÉPONSE AUX OBSERVATIONS DE M. E. FEILDING
ET DE M^{lle}. ALICE JOHNSON.

PAR M. LE PROFESSEUR CHARLES RICHEL.

JE répondrai brièvement aux observations de M. E. Feilding et de Mad^{elle} Alice Johnson.

Il y a d'abord un point de doctrine qui peut être résolu en quelques mots. Il s'agit, disent mes critiques, de savoir si leur explication est plus simple et plus facile (*easy*) que la mienne. Ce n'est pas ainsi que la question se pose : car je ne donne *aucune explication*. Si j'en donnais une, je comprendrais fort bien qu'on lui opposât l'argument simple—voire même simpliste—de la fraude. Mais je ne construis absolument aucune théorie : de sorte que l'explication par la fraude n'est ni plus simple, ni plus facile que la mienne ; puisque je n'en donne pas. Là où il n'y a rien, il n'y a pas lieu de faire une comparaison. Je prétends seulement que cette explication par la fraude—sans la mettre en balance avec les autres explications—ne peut pas se soutenir.

Et bien entendu je laisse de côté les objections morales ; et je ne prends que les objections techniques.

Même, dans ces objections techniques, je ne reviendrai pas sur divers points de détail. Il est clair en effet qu'il est peu important de savoir si le dictionnaire de Byzantios est rare ou commun, si certaines pages sont coupées ou non coupées, et si le dictionnaire français-grec peut servir, quand on l'étudie à fond, à construire des phrases s'adaptant aux conditions extérieures. Il est évident aussi que l'écriture tremblée ne prouve que l'inexpérience de l'écriture. Rien de moins ; rien de plus.

Ce qui est essentiel, le voici, sous forme de syllogisme rigoureux.

- (1) Mad. X. ne sait pas le grec.
- (2) Les phrases qu'elle a écrites sont des phrases reproduites par mémoire visuelle, et non par mémoire phonétique.
- (3) Or il n'est pas possible de supposer que la mémoire visuelle soit assez puissante pour fournir de longues phrases,

dont le sens est incompris, et qui ne se révèlent que par de purs signes visuels.

Je vais démontrer successivement ces trois points.

(1°) Mad. X. ne sait pas le grec. Sur ce point l'argumentation de Mad. Verrall est décisive. MM. F. et J. sont forcés de le reconnaître (*she knows extremely little*). Mais cet extrêmement peu de grec est si peu que ce n'est rien. Les efforts que Mad. X. a faits pour apprendre le grec se sont bornés à faire acheter deux livres grecs scolaires par une de ses amies, et à ne pas les regarder. Il n'y a d'ailleurs, dans ces deux livres, *aucun alphabet* qui permette d'apprendre les lettres. (Je sais parfaitement qu'on peut se procurer sans peine un alphabet grec.) Et puis, si réellement Mad. X. eût voulu me dissimuler qu'elle avait fait emplette de ces deux livres, rien ne lui eût été plus facile. Elle eût sans effort pu cacher ces deux minuscules volumes; et supprimé alors un argument qui paraît important à MM. F. et J. (1. Mad. X.'s desire to learn Greek).

(2°) Les phrases sont de l'écriture *lue*, et non phonétiquement prononcée.

Le fait est capital et mérite toute notre attention.

D'abord je ne comprends pas comment MM. F. et J. peuvent dire qu'il n'existe, dans le cas actuel, que peu d'exemples établissant que la reproduction s'est faite par la mémoire visuelle. En réalité toutes les lettres ont été reproduites par mémoire visuelle. Par exemple, quand il y a ". . . ολα etc. . . ." et que le texte grec porte ". . . ὄλα etc. . . ." il est évident que ces deux points qui précèdent et ces deux points qui suivent ne répondent à aucun phonétisme, mais seulement à un fait de représentation visuelle. De même pour tous les accents, sans exception. Si l'on ne peut pas citer beaucoup de mots où la représentation visuelle se révèle avec éclat, c'est que, toutes les fois que la copie est exacte, on ne saurait décider s'il s'agit de phonétisme ou de visualisation. Mais alors pourquoi les accents? Pourquoi y a-t-il τοῦ Κλωδίου exactement comme dans le texte, alors que la mémoire phonétique eût pu faire écrire, par celui qui ignore le grec, aussi bien τού Κλώδιου que τοῦ Κλωδίου? Et pareille argumentation peut se répéter pour tous les mots sans exception.

De sorte qu'il est évident que tout a été écrit par visualisation, et non par phonétisme.

Donc nul doute sur ce point. Ce n'est pas par phonétisme qu'il y a eu mémoire représentative, c'est par visualisation.

Or est-il possible de concevoir une mémoire assez étendue pour reproduire des signes visuels (et dépourvus de sens, puisque Mad. X. ne sait pas le grec), en aussi grand nombre et avec une telle perfection ?

Je suggérerai à MM. F. et J. une expérience simple qu'ils pourront faire sur eux-mêmes ; c'est uniquement de prendre trois lignes d'un livre arabe, par exemple, de faire travailler là dessus leur mémoire pendant plusieurs heures, et en tous loisirs, puis ensuite, *le même jour*, de reproduire ces signes avec assez de précision pour qu'ils puissent être lus par un Arabe. Quoique je sois doué d'une fort bonne mémoire, je déclare pour ma part qu'il me serait tout à fait impossible de reproduire de mémoire une seule ligne. Et que l'on songe alors que Mad. X. a écrit ainsi par visualisation, le 2 Mai, toute une série de phrases.¹ Cela fait 622 signes, assez correctement écrits pour qu'il soit difficile à un copiste, d'habileté moyenne, de faire aussi peu de fautes.

Et alors je conclurai en disant : *Reproduire, uniquement par visualisation, 622 signes, cela dépasse les bornes de la mémoire humaine.* Jusqu'à ce que l'on m'ait montré un pareil prodige, je persisterai à trouver l'hypothèse d'une mémoire extraordinairement suractivée, comme dénuée de toute autorité.

D'ailleurs je trouve cet aveu dans la remarque que sont contraints de faire MM. F. et J. "The abnormality lies in an unusually strong and vivid visual memory." Et à la vérité je ne puis affirmer autre chose, en tant qu'il s'agit de discuter les conditions techniques. Mais on avouera qu'une hyperacuité de la mémoire, telle qu'on n'en saurait pas citer d'exemple, ne peut servir d'explication à un phénomène déjà rendu invraisemblable, à priori, par l'ensemble des conditions morales où il s'est produit.²

¹ MM. F. et J. supposent avec raison que j'ai pris toutes précautions pour empêcher qu'il y eût une page quelconque écrite par avance, dissimulée par Mad. X., et qu'il lui eût été loisible de copier devant moi.

² Si l'on fait cette supposition d'une hyperacuité de la mémoire, il faut ajouter sa persistance pendant un temps prolongé. Car Mad. X., qui a été très rarement à la Bibliothèque nationale avant 1900, depuis cette époque n'y est pas retournée, ainsi que je puis le prouver.

Les cartes délivrées par la direction de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris sont de deux ordres. Il y a les cartes données pour un jour, et renouvelées

Ainsi nous arrivons à cette conclusion qu'on est forcé, en tout état de cause, d'admettre un phénomène anormal, à savoir une mémoire visuelle d'une intensité telle qu'elle est *jusqu'à présent* totalement inconnue. Mais il faut alors reconnaître que ce n'est pas une explication *rationnelle*. On doit considérer comme rationnel ce qui est établi par l'expérience; or nulle expérience n'a jusqu'ici prouvé que la mémoire visuelle peut reproduire vingt-cinq lignes d'une langue inconnue.

Il est un autre élément d'appréciation sur lequel n'insistent guère MM. E. F. et A. J. Mais j'y insisterai; car il est de majeure importance. C'est la phrase qui est traduite de Cicéron; et dans laquelle le texte latin et le texte grec sont seuls donnés, de sorte que Mad. X., qui ne connaît pas le latin, a écrit la phrase grecque, sans savoir quel en était le sens.

quand on le demande. De celles-là il n'est pas tenu registre. Il y a aussi les cartes régulières dont on tient compte et qu'on classe. D'après une lettre que m'adresse le directeur de la Bibliothèque nationale, il n'y a pas eu de carte régulière délivrée à Mad. X. de 1894 à 1904. Si donc elle a été à la Bibliothèque nationale, ç'a été avec une carte délivrée pour un jour.

D'autre part, en interrogeant Mad. X., j'ai appris d'elle—ce que j'avais indiqué d'ailleurs, mais avec moins de certitude—qu'elle n'avait pas été travailler à la Bibliothèque nationale depuis 1899.

De fait, elle m'a dit n'y avoir été qu'une fois, et elle m'a montré à cet effet son *Diary*, de 1899. Le 2 Février, 1899, elle note la visite du Father X. qui lui donne une carte d'entrée pour la Bibliothèque nationale et le 9 Février, 1899, il est noté sur son *Diary* qu'elle va à la Bibliothèque nationale pour consulter "Morley on Diderot."

Le *Diary* est muet sur toute autre visite ultérieure à la Bibliothèque nationale et Mad. X. dit qu'elle n'y est pas retournée; ce qui est confirmé par ce fait qu'elle n'a pas demandé ni obtenu de carte régulière.

Il paraît donc bien évident que, depuis le mois de Février, 1899, Mad. X. n'a pas pu consulter à la Bibliothèque nationale le Dictionnaire de Byzantios, de sorte que, si l'on fait cette hypothèse, toute gratuite d'ailleurs, que les pages du Dictionnaire français-grec ont été coupées par elle, ç'a été en 1899; ce qui rend plus extraordinaire encore la persistance de la mémoire visuelle jusqu'au mois de Mai, 1905, pour toute une longue série de longues phrases.

Au fond cela n'a pas grande importance; car, si l'on fait l'hypothèse (absurde à mon sens) de la fraude, il est beaucoup plus simple de supposer que Mad. X. a acheté quelque part le Dictionnaire de Byzantios, qu'elle l'a soigneusement caché, pour pouvoir le consulter, le méditer et l'étudier à loisir; c'est plus simple, dis-je, que de supposer des visites à la Bibliothèque nationale.

Mais toute une série d'objections se présente alors. Pourquoi acheter ce livre étrange, introuvable, rarissime? Où le cacher pendant cinq ans? Pourquoi ne pas en donner d'autres extraits de 1900 à 1904? Et où l'Apologie de Socrate? Et où le Phèdre? Et où l'Évangile? C'est toute une bibliothèque secrète!

Si cette phrase était insignifiante, cela ne prouverait rien ; mais il se trouve justement que cette phrase s'applique, en toute précision, à ce qui suit.

Comment ! Voici Mad. X. qui m'adresse un document en écriture grecque ; et au début de ce document il est dit, en grec : *Il est permis de se servir de caractères grecs quand on n'a pas de caractères latins sous la main.* Est-il possible de soutenir que cette phrase ne s'applique pas, en toute rigueur, à l'envoi de documents écrits en grec ?¹

Assurément on peut invoquer le hasard. Mais cette explication, si c'en est une, est trop facile pour qu'on en fasse usage dans une discussion scientifique.

Je me résume, et je conclus.

L'explication que proposent MM. F. et J. est fondée sur trois propositions liées l'une à l'autre, et toutes trois nécessaires.

(a) Il y a eu fraude prolongée, astucieuse, délibérée, permanente.

Or toutes les conditions morales sont contre cette supposition, puisque la seule et unique raison qu'on invoque pour la soutenir, c'est l'étrangeté du phénomène produit.

(b) Il y a eu une suractivité prodigieuse de la mémoire visuelle.

Or jusqu'à présent une pareille hyperacuité de la mémoire n'a encore été observée sur personne. C'est donc faire une hypothèse invraisemblable que d'admettre un phénomène dont on n'a pas encore trouvé d'exemple.

(c) Il y a eu des hasards heureux, qui ont fait rencontrer précisément les mots et les phrases qui devaient être écrits.

Or le hasard, en fait d'explication scientifique, n'existe pas.

Plutôt que d'admettre ces trois concomitantes absurdités, fraude, hasard, et mémoire supranaturelle, j'aime mieux tout simplement déclarer que je ne comprends pas.

De sorte que ma conclusion, qu'il s'agit d'un phénomène inexplicable,—et je n'ai jamais prétendu davantage—reste absolument intacte.²

¹ La traduction de la phrase de Cicéron—*Graecis licet utare, cum voles, si te latinus forte deficiant.* "You can when you like use Greek if by chance Latin fails you"—n'est peut-être pas tout à fait exacte ; car c'est plutôt le mot *litteris* — le mot *verbis* qui est sous-entendu. Il est vrai que *graecis litteris* signifie bien des mots grecs, que des caractères grecs.

² d'ajouter que, si l'on cherchait des exemples analogues de ce qu'on trouverait quelques-uns de bien authentiques, ne fût-ce que ce que juge Edmunds, cité par C. de Veame.

SUPPLEMENT.

The Goulstonian Lectures for 1901. Certain Mental Changes that Accompany Visceral Disease. By HENRY HEAD, M.D., F.R.S. (Reprinted from *Brain*, Vol. XXIV., Part III., 1901.) London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd. 1901.

These lectures should have received an earlier notice in the *Proceedings*, for, though addressed primarily to the physician, they have an important bearing on a subject of special interest for our Society.

It has long been recognised, Dr. Head points out, that grave mental changes often arise in connection with visceral diseases. Delirium, for instance, is directly traceable to a failing heart, the hebetude of myxoedema to a diseased condition of the thyroid gland, and morbid mental states follow toxic poisoning of the blood due to disease of some excreting organ.

But what had not been formerly recognised is that certain well-marked and characteristic changes in consciousness may be traced to the effects of the reflected pains of visceral disease. To Dr. Henry Head belongs the credit of this discovery.¹

¹Professor Charles Lasègue had, indeed, long before published the following observations:—"C'est surtout dans les affections mitrales que le cauchemar s'observe: le sommeil, dans sa période d'état, [*i.e.* between 1 and 3 a.m.: the third and most stable period of sleep, according to Prof. Lasègue's 'chronology of sleep'] est troublé par de la peur, de l'anxiété, de l'angoisse non respiratoire et des hallucinations visuelles. Ces dernières n'ont pas analogie avec celles des alcooliques: l'alcoolique voit toujours l'objet en mouvement et lui donne immédiatement une signification; le cardiaque ne précise pas, il reste dans le vague, et, malgré ses efforts, n'arrive pas à donner un corps à son hallucination: il devient alors fort anxieux." *Études Médicales, Le Sommeil*, p. 442.

But on a passing reference of this kind could hardly be based a claim of priority of discovery; nor can the parenthetical observations of Prof. Lasègue,

These changes in consciousness are moods of depression and of exaltation; a state of unreasonable suspicion; and hallucinations of vision, hearing, and smell. It is with the last class only that this review is concerned.

Dr. Head's investigations extended over a period of some seven or eight years. In all he had under observation 192 cases of men and women suffering from some form of visceral disease: chiefly pulmonary, cardiac, or abdominal. The patients were inmates of the Victoria Park Hospital for Diseases of the Chest and of the London Hospital, and belonged to the usual hospital class. No patient who had been insane, or who was at the time suffering from any form of nervous disease, or who was suspected of alcoholic excess or of hereditary taint of insanity or epilepsy was included in the investigation.

This was a natural and proper precaution, but Dr. Head was not content to stop there, for he went to the length of excluding "all Hebrews, owing to the recognised tendency of this race to functional neuroses." I would not regard this precaution as over-scrupulous. But Dr. Head might, without confusing the main issue, have adopted the less drastic and more instructive plan of dealing separately with the Jewish cases, which could afterwards have been compared with the results obtained with patients of other nationalities; and then, had any marked divergence between the two been shown to exist, we might have learned whether a racial tendency to functional neuroses renders a member of the Jewish race more liable or less liable to hallucinations of the senses when suffering from visceral disease. Furthermore, Dr. Head was careful to exclude all experiences which might have had an objective basis (*i.e.* illusions), and also "*illusions hypnagogiques*."

In every case Dr. Head interrogated the patients himself, himself took the notes, and, except towards the end of the investigation, when it was desirable to have his observations controlled by others, he took care to question his patients in privacy; for they were reticent as to their experiences and afraid of being thought madmen or liars. *Psychical Researcher*

who speaks of cardiac disease only and does not note the connection between reflected pain of visceral origin and the hallucinations, be held to rank with Dr. Head's exhaustive and systematic study.

often have to circumvent similar reticences, though sometimes, it must be admitted, it is rather an exuberant and irrepressible effusiveness which makes their task a difficult one.

I will now try to state, in as brief and simple a manner as I can, the conclusions to which his researches led Dr. Head: conclusions which I am not competent to criticise, but which cannot, I imagine, in view of the thoroughness which marks his work, fail to meet with the acceptance of medical men.

The main factor underlying the production of *all* the mental changes in question, viz. moods of depression and of exaltation, states of unreasonable suspicion, and hallucinations of the senses, is the presence of reflected visceral pain of considerable intensity and duration, accompanied by superficial tenderness.

But the causes underlying each separate form of these mental changes can be further differentiated; and each will be found to appear, usually if not invariably, in relation to certain well-defined varieties of reflected visceral pain.

Thus the depressed mood is specially associated with pain and tenderness over the abdominal areas. The sense of exaltation or of exaggerated well-being may arise from various causes. It may be no more than a reaction from a preceding mood of depression,—such alternations of feeling-tone being specially pronounced in the case of sufferers from visceral pain—or it may be due to the patient's ignorance of the gravity of his condition, or, in disease of the aortic valves, to attacks of excitement of apparently vascular origin. The state of suspicion is merely a development of the mood of depression or of ill-being which invariably precedes or accompanies it.

We come now to the last and most important class—most important, as affording evidence of the most obvious and unmistakable deviation from the normal—I mean, hallucinations of the senses.

Hallucinations are always preceded by the appearance of the depressed mood: but, though the same rule applies, visual hallucinations are not necessarily contemporaneous with an attack of depression.

Probably headache is the only necessary concomitant of the hallucinations; for in every case where Dr. Head was able to make a complete examination of the patient within 24 hours

of the occurrence of a hallucination, scalp tenderness of the reflected visceral type was found to be present: and herpes zoster ophthalmicus, a disease (not of visceral origin) involving intense pain over the forehead, but not necessarily preceded nor accompanied by marked depression, is liable to produce visual hallucinations. If, in addition to headache of the reflected visceral type, there is similar pain and tenderness over the trunk, the tendency to hallucination is increased.

But here the question presents itself: What determines whether the hallucination shall be visual, auditory or olfactory?

An analysis of the cases where a hallucination occurred during the patient's stay in hospital has convinced Dr. Head that no permanent error in the sense organ implicated was responsible for the form of the hallucination, and has led him to suggest tentatively that the sense affected depends on the position of the headache and on the area of the accompanying scalp tenderness. Thus, visual hallucinations are mainly associated with tenderness over the forehead; auditory hallucinations with tenderness over the parietal and vertical regions; and olfactory hallucinations with tenderness over the temporal area of the scalp.

My next task is to enumerate, as far as possible in Dr. Head's own words, the main characteristic features of hallucinations that accompany visceral disease, and at the same time to enquire to what extent the same features appear in the hallucinations of the sane and healthy collected by the S.P.R. For the purpose of this enquiry I shall but seldom go outside the Report on the Census of Hallucinations, and I make this large use of the Census Report partly for convenience of reference, and partly because it comprises cases of so widely representative a character that it rarely fails to furnish the needed parallel or antithesis.

But as the comparison and discussion on which I am about to embark will involve me in an amount of detail which is likely to seem excessive and tedious, I should like, by way of apology, to preface them by an explanation of the motives which have led me to undertake them.

A friend, who first drew my attention to these lectures, gave me to understand that the hallucinations of persons suffering from visceral disease, as described by Dr. Head, showed

damaging points of resemblance to the hallucinations of the supposedly sane and healthy, as represented in the Society's collection of cases. I accordingly took up Dr. Head's lectures in some trepidation. It is true that a hasty perusal was sufficient to dissipate any misgivings, but others, who, like my friend, have not made a close study of the class of hallucinations with which our Society is specially concerned, might not so readily detect how non-essential such resemblances as do exist between the two really are. For their benefit primarily I have undertaken to work out in detail the resemblances and differences.

In the second place, it seemed to me that a comparison of the hallucinations of the sane and healthy with those of the sane and unhealthy was likely to prove of interest for its own sake.

Thirdly, although Dr. A. T. Myers "carefully considered" the 146 cases of hallucination reported in the Census Collection in which a certain degree of ill-health was reported, and "gave special attention to their medical aspect, so far as this could be judged from the information given," we are acquainted only with the results of his labours, and are not allowed to follow step by step the process by which the Committee, acting on his advice, rejected some and retained others of these particular cases. As, then, the Census Report did not provide any *detailed* comparison of the hallucinations of persons in good health with those of persons in disease, such a comparison, even though restricted, as here, to one special—albeit a very large and comprehensive—group of diseases, seems to me to be worth the unmaking.

In the fourth place, at the time when the Census Report was published the medical world did not know of (and did not even, I believe, suspect) the association of certain changes in consciousness, among which hallucinations occupy a prominent place, with the reflected pains of visceral disease. Moreover, the Committee, while rejecting 23 cases as being clearly due to a morbid physical condition, retained 123 cases of hallucinations experienced during a state of illness when the morbid conditions were such as were not then known to be associated generally with hallucination. "*In 21 of them, says the Report, the percipient was in a state of convalescence after*

some illness,—the nature of which is not always specified, but which was apparently acute,—or recovering from a recent operation, or on the verge of a severe illness. In 55 cases the percipient was in a state of depressed health or minor illness—e.g. ‘in a nervous dyspeptic condition,’ ‘in a very low state of health,’ ‘bronchitis with weakness of heart’—the condition being one with which hallucinations are not supposed to be generally associated, though it may have rendered the patient more liable to them than a person in normal health would be. There remain 47 cases of still slighter indisposition than the above, such as being ‘a little below par, and somewhat nervous and excited,’ where it seems very doubtful whether the physical condition had any share in producing the hallucination.” (*Proceedings*, Vol. X., p. 160.)

Now, especially among the 55 cases mentioned above, it seemed to me far from unlikely that there might be some which were due to reflected pain of visceral origin: such, for instance, as the hallucination experienced by the percipient suffering “from bronchitis with weakness of heart.”

Again, the Report states (p. 161) that “in 780 first-hand cases (that is, 48 per cent.), no statement at all is made as to health.” The Committee, it is true, were of opinion that “the tendency was rather to exaggerate than to overlook any possible connection that there may have been between the hallucination and the state of health at the time.” With this opinion I find myself so far in agreement as to have little doubt that had a person experienced a hallucination within a few days of an attack of, say, typhoid or scarlet fever he would, in answering the Census *questionnaire*, have drawn attention to the probable connection between the two events. But visceral diseases are less abrupt and more insidious in their onset, and may remain undetected and unsuspected for many a month; and even if already causing some degree of discomfort or uneasiness, might easily be dismissed in all good faith by the person affected in some such phrase as “a little below par,” or “in a very low state of health.”

On this ground, then, an *advocatus diaboli* might argue that many a case out of the 780 where the percipient gave no account of his state of health, and even a few out of the 719 cases where the percipient positively affirmed his state of

health to be good, ought properly to have been rejected, as being outside the scope of the Census, the aim of which was to ascertain the proportion of persons who "have had sensory hallucinations while awake, and not suffering from delirium or insanity or *any other morbid condition obviously conducive to hallucination.*"

Now supposing that an examination conducted in the light of the new facts which Dr. Head has contributed to medical science should justify the criticism of my imaginary devil's advocate, what would the effect be? It might result in a large number of the so-called "purely subjective" cases having to be discounted, and yet might leave the "coincidental" cases untouched. But such a result would be improbable, for coincidental appear to be distinguished from subjective hallucinations solely by their greater impressiveness and by their greater liability to affect more than one sense. These by themselves are but flimsy *differentiae*; and if in other respects many of the coincidental hallucinations were found to show affinity to hallucinations of the visceral type, there would be left only their "veridicality" to explain away; and that would not be a difficult task for destructive criticism to achieve, *once granted that the characteristic features of the hallucinations associated with visceral disease were found to be present in coincidental cases.*

(It is true that such affinity would not in itself explain away the coincidences if they were sufficiently numerous and definite; but it would very strongly suggest that the percipients in these particular coincidental cases were suffering from a visceral disease, and were therefore liable to repeated hallucinations (*v. XV., p. 323*); and that accordingly the coincidences were due to chance and not to any telepathic action. This argument would do no more than make the justifiable assumption that the percipients had forgotten or deliberately ignored the considerable number of their hallucinations with which no coincidence had been traced.)

One aim, therefore, of this review is to forestall any such attack; and a defence to be satisfactory—satisfactory, at least to me, who, like the Sosnik in Maxim Gorky's tale, "live on worms and like facts"—must rely not on broad denials based on broader generalisations, but on a minute and thorough-going dissection of the evidence.

For the sake of brevity I shall speak of persons suffering from visceral diseases generally and of Dr. Head's patients in particular as "Visceral Patients," of their hallucinations as "Visceral Hallucinations," and of the type of their hallucinations as the "Visceral type"; of persons of whose experiences an account has been contributed to the S.P.R., and especially to the Report on the Census of Hallucinations, as "Psychical Percipients," and of their hallucinations as "Psychical Hallucinations." I do not attempt to defend these barbarous terms on any ground whatever except that of convenience.

All references to Vol. X. of the S.P.R. *Proceedings* (which contains the Report on the Census of Hallucinations) are given thus: *e.g.* (232); meaning S.P.R. *Proceedings*, Vol. X., p. 232. Each section and subsection is prefaced by a heading printed in block type. All but three of these headings are quotations from Dr. Head's lectures; one is based on statements contained in the lectures, and the remaining two explain themselves.

In these quotations printed in block type are set forth the chief characteristics of Visceral Hallucinations; and, as it will be easier to follow what I have to say if these are first grasped, I would recommend the reader to begin by studying them without reference to the intervening matter.

Passages placed within quotation marks and printed in italics are *verbatim* quotations from the *Report on the Census of Hallucinations*. Passages printed in italics but not placed within quotation marks are paraphrases of extracts from the same Report.

Where I have not brought out *in detail* the differences between a Psychical Hallucination and the Visceral type of Hallucination, and have contented myself with stating that no real similarity between the two exists, I have given the reference to the former, and so enabled the reader to check my statement in each case.

VISUAL HALLUCINATIONS.

I. "The commonest form assumed by the Hallucination in these [i.e. visual] cases is that of a figure."¹

"Most visual hallucinations represent human beings." (113)

To this statement the following foot-note is appended :

"In the present collection, [i.e. the S.P.R. Census Collection] 830 out of 1112 do so. Mr. Gurney found that in his collection, out of 302 subjective visual hallucinations, only 20 represented objects other than human beings. (See *Phantasms of the Living*, Vol. I., p. 503.)"

But of hallucinations occurring during ill-health, the Committee reported: "The proportion of realistic human apparitions (69 out of the 106 visual cases) is, however, distinctly small. And the non-realistic apparitions include a disproportionately large number (namely, 9), of grotesque, horrible, or monstrous apparitions." (161)

I. (a) "Neither arms nor legs are seen."

"The limbs are never visible."

"When they [the phantoms] move, . . . the movement is almost always such as we are accustomed to see. The phantom stands on the ground and appears to walk along the ground." (114)

In Census cases legs are not often specifically referred to; but their absence is not remarked, even in cases of "incompletely developed apparitions"; and in one such case it so happens that specific reference is made to the arms: "the arms were crossed." (119-120)

I have noted only three cases among apparitions not classed as "incompletely developed" where doubt was expressed as to the figure possessing legs and feet.

Mr. E. Mamtchitch, describing the first of many appearances of a figure which he calls Palladia, writes: "*Je voyais distinctement ses épaules et sa taille, mais ne me rappelle pas*

¹ Where, as here, the heading of a section or sub-section is immediately followed, without explanation or comment, by a quotation in italics, it should be understood that I am contrasting in a broad and general way the characteristics of Visceral Hallucinations with those of Psychical Hallucinations, as summed up respectively in Dr. Head's treatise and in the *Report on the Census of Hallucinations*.

du bas de son habit, et avais-je vu les pieds?—peut-être, parce que tout le temps je lui regardais dans les yeux.” (388)

And in a *résumé* of the leading characteristics of the appearances he adds:

“Je vois distinctement son visage, sa tête, les épaules et les bras, mais je ne vois pas ses pieds, ou plutôt je n’ai pas le temps de les examiner.” (389)

But so widely do the experiences of Mr. Mamtchitch differ in almost every other respect from those of Dr. Head’s patients that by no ingenuity could his case be forced into line with Visceral cases: and Mr. Mamtchitch’s doubts are, I incline to think, those of an exceptionally scrupulous observer. How often would one in a normal state, after seeing a real live flesh-and-blood figure of man or woman, be able to decide on examination of one’s recollections whether one had seen the legs or feet unless something had specially drawn attention to them?

In the second case (293-5), after a conversation with the percipient, Mrs. Sidgwick writes:—“She did not see the figure clearly at all below the knees.” The case, a coincidental one, compares as follows with the Visceral type:

Resemblances.

Figure did not speak (*v. I. m.*)¹

Percipient felt riveted.

Percipient’s heart and pulses beat unnaturally fast (but only after disappearance of figure) (*v. V.*).

Apparition seen near the door (*v. I. h.*).

Figure “melted away” without movement (*v. I. k.*).

Seen by percipient when in bed (*v. I. i.*).

Differences.

Percipient “remarkably well”: and “not much frightened” (*v. V.*)¹

Apparition seen in a sort of halo of light.

Face and hands clearly seen (*v. I. a.*).

Figure in ordinary clothes (*v. I. b.*).

Figure and its sex recognised (*v. I. e* and VIII.).

¹These and similar references enclosed in brackets allude to the various section-headings. If the reader will turn to them he will at once see why I class some features as resembling, and others as differing from the characteristic features of Visceral hallucinations. Let, for instance, the reader look up the reference to *I. m.* He will there learn that the hallucinatory figures seen by Visceral patients never speak. In the case under discussion above the figure did not speak. Absence of speech, accordingly, is a common element, and is classed as a ‘resemblance.’

In the third case (309-10) the figure was apparently entirely visible to one percipient, but to another percipient who shared the hallucination visible only "from the waist up."

Resemblances.

Figure's head "tied up in a handkerchief" (*v. I. b*).

One percipient "horrified," the other fainted (*v. V.*).

Differences.

Both percipients "in good health and spirits."

Figure moved across room (*v. I. h*).

Figure and its sex recognised (*v. I. e* and VIII.).

Bisensory, tactile and visual, in case of one percipient (*v. XVII. and XVIII.*).

Collective (*v. XVIII.*).

Yet in spite of these exceptions there can be no doubt that the majority of *Psychical Percipients* either saw the legs of the figures or failed to notice their absence. Skirts and trousers are mentioned specifically, and though skirts and trousers are not legs, still as they cover the places where legs ought to be, it would be unfair not to infer that they hid spectral legs from view.

Arms and movements of arms are frequently mentioned. But the point is really met by the constant insistence of *Psychical Percipients* on the life-like completeness of the figures which they saw.

A proportionately greater number of instances of limbless figures probably exists in the specially marked class of incompletely developed hallucinations, with regard to which the Committee write:—

"They are either shadowy, vague, transparent, or colourless; or they represent part only of the human form, the rest being conspicuously absent (not merely apparently hidden by intervening objects.)"

With regard to these incompletely developed apparitions, however, it should be borne in mind that the Committee were careful to explain that they classed them among the "doubtful experiences." A certain proportion of them they excluded from their Tables, and that they did not exclude more may be attributed chiefly to their desire to avoid the charge of

having unfairly reduced the number of non-coincidental hallucinations.

I. (b). "The figure appears to be draped and not clothed. Patients are unanimous that the figure is unlike anything that they have ever seen and they are peculiarly definite in describing it as 'draped,' 'wrapped in a shawl,' 'wrapped in a sheet.' . . . The head may be covered."

"As far as the reports as to dress enable us to judge, phantoms, both recognised and unrecognised, generally appear in ordinary modern dress. The great majority of hallucinations are like the sights we are accustomed to see." (113)

Again, here, as in the case of limbless figures, the few cases of shrouded or draped figures which do occur in the Census collection are to be found almost entirely among the imperfectly developed class, in which, says the Report (118), were placed "veiled and shrouded apparitions even when quite solid looking." Yet even these cases do not necessarily conform completely to the Visceral type. The two cases of the kind quoted as illustrations in the Report (119-120) both exhibit some points of divergence. In the first case a lady, who reports herself as having been at the time in good health, saw a "draped and shrouded figure standing near" her. The face she could not see, because "it was shrouded"; the head was bent, and the figure, which did not move nor speak, gradually faded away. But note the distinctions from the Visceral type: the arms were seen and said to be crossed; it was a solitary experience, and, though a solitary experience, no mention is made of fright (v. V.). On the contrary, the percipient writes: "I thought it might be some one with a message to me, and sat quietly waiting for it to speak." (For further comments on this case, v. XIX.) In the second case the percipient had seen a hallucinatory figure three times in the course of two or three years. The figure "*always appeared in the same way; that is, on getting into bed and putting the light out, there would be a sort of movement in the air, which gradually took the form of mist and then developed into a dark veiled figure, which came nearer to me, and when bending over and about to touch me, I threw my hands into it and it vanished. Until it was almost touching me, my terror*

was so great that I could neither call my sister, . . . nor move hand or foot." In addition to the figure being shrouded, there are two other points of resemblance to the Visceral type, namely, the terror and the dissipation of the figure by movement on the part of the percipient (*v. I. h*). But, *per contra* the figure was *not* stationary (*v. I. h*), and the percipient says, "I have always been in good health."

Only 19 cases of a veiled or shrouded figure are to be found in the Census collection. A case is recorded (204-5) where *two sisters collectively felt a hallucinatory touch on the face, while one of them thought she saw a figure; this joint experience being followed a week or so later by both awaking from sleep with a sense of some one being present in the room. Then, again, after an interval of some days, one sister saw "a very vague muffled form or shadow; and lastly, on another occasion," the other sister "saw a vague form."* The figure apparently on each occasion took the same course, namely, appeared standing between the two beds and then passed from one to the other. Great terror was felt by both sisters. The terror (*v. V.*), the vagueness of the figure, and perhaps the movement (*v. I. h*), accord with the Visceral type; but, on the other hand, the collectivity of the tactile hallucination, and of the sense of presence, the apparent identity of the two visual experiences, together with the improbability of two percipients, who both report their health at the time as good, being both in the incipient stages of some disease of visceral origin, make it impossible to consider their experiences as attributable to visceral disease.

I. (c).

"The face is frequently misty."

"The face is frequently not visible."

It is unnecessary to labour this point. Any one who will take no more trouble than to scan either the Census Report or the S.P.R. *Proceedings* or *Journal passim* will readily discover that mistiness of the face is emphatically not a trait of S.P.R. apparitions, and that Psychical Percipients again and again insist on the distinctness of the features of the hallucinatory figure. Only 6 cases in which the face or head of the figure was certainly indistinct or invisible occur in the Census collection; and these, again, were all placed in the class of

incompletely developed apparitions. The one instance quoted in the Report (120-1) as an example of this small group was an experience of Mrs. Verrall; and it is to be noted that the percipient, although at the time of seeing the figure she had no reason to suppose herself not to be well, had had "a short illness some two weeks earlier, due, it was thought, to over-fatigue, after some weeks of considerable strain in other respects." Mrs. Verrall saw the figure several times within a period of 4 or 5 weeks, and although able to distinguish details of its dress, and particularly of a brooch fastening a grey knitted shawl covering the shoulders of the figure, and although the figure always walked towards her, yet she could never see the face: "there seemed a blank within the cap."

But the case differs markedly in several points from the Visceral type:

(1) The appearance of the figure was twice accompanied by the sound of footsteps (*v. I. j*).

(2) It was once certainly, and on other occasions probably, seen in good light (*v. IV.*).

(3) It "was always in movement" (*v. I. h*).

(4) It was unhesitatingly recognised as a female figure (*v. I. e*).

(5) It was seen neither at the moment of waking nor when the percipient was in bed (*v. I. i*).

(6) The percipient "was neither startled nor alarmed" (*v. V.*), and "knew at once that it was a hallucination."

In addition to the above the Report contains two probable instances of invisibility of the face, both in Local Apparition cases.

In the first case (352-6) there were seven percipients in all, and the figure was seen collectively by two or three of them on more than one occasion. The face was certainly not seen by the majority, either because of the general indistinctness of the figure or because the head was turned away; and the want of precision in the evidence leaves it doubtful whether even a single one of the percipients ever saw the face.

Similarly, in the second case (344-6), also collective and recurrent, it remains uncertain how many of the percipients saw the face of the figure, or rather figures, for there were

two ghosts, hunting in couples. One percipient, however, certainly did, and wrote as follows:—"The grey figure appears to have no features. The white one has a very good profile, but I cannot recognise it." I think it will be found that in Local Apparition cases generally invisibility of the face is not uncommon; but it is sometimes explained by the relative positions of the percipient and the ghost.

L (d). [The face] "when seen is always beardless."

I have come across only four references to the beard of an apparition in the Census collection.

The first is of little value, as it does not occur in the account of the percipient herself, but only in that of the percipient's sister. The latter writes:

"You said a tall gentleman, dressed in tweed, walked past you, and went into a little inlet or creek. I think, but am not sure, that you said he had a beard."

The other three references are, however, unimpeachable.

Mr. Heintze writes:

"Une figure humaine se forma. . . . Dans cette figure je reconnus mon père. Il était en frac, il avait des moustaches fortement grises, comme de son vivant, mais outre cela une courte barbe complètement blanche, que je ne lui connaissais pas." (379)

The beard in this case is specially interesting, because, quite unknown to the percipient, his father had in his last illness grown a small and perfectly white beard.

Countess Eugénie Kapnist writes:

"Mes yeux prirent connaissance des moindres détails de ce visage, qui me sembla connu: . . . un menton très maigre à barbe rare et d'un blond foncé." (285)

Dr. Vladimir Solovioff writes:

"L'homme blanc approcha de mon lit. . . . Il se pencha sur moi, et alors je vis distinctement les traits de sa figure. Elle était très pâle et d'un type mongol mitigé, avec une petite barbe d'un roux clair." (202-3)

(Note the colour of the beard in these last two cases, and v. III).

Still, although these are the only four references to beards that I can find in the Census Report, there is little reason to suppose that S.P.R. apparitions are necessarily beardless.

Apparitions are frequently recognised as perfect likenesses of male relations or friends, and a beard must have been wanted in some of these cases to make the likeness complete.

I. (e). "Patients express great difficulty in deciding whether the figure was that of a man or a woman. The face is frequently not visible. When seen it is always beardless, which makes many say they think it must have been a woman."

With one exception, and that a case presenting in all other respects the strongest possible contrast to the Visceral type (v. 196), I can find only among the "incompletely developed" class instances of doubt as to the sex of the apparition (e.g. 120, 268, and 312). Out of 793 apparitions of human figures reported at first hand 673 were classed as "realistic," and if a figure is realistic there can practically be no doubt as to its sex. Of the remaining 120, although classed as incompletely developed, it must not be assumed that the sex was necessarily open to doubt. And even where the uncertainty exists, it seems to have been due, in some cases at least (v., e.g., 268, Miss Egerton's case, "the impression disappeared instantaneously;" and 312, Mr. and Mrs. C.'s case—a collective one, by the way—"the figure was too evanescent and unrecognisable, and insufficiently defined in outline, to identify"), as much to the momentary nature of the experience as to the indefiniteness of the figure. The indistinctness of the hallucinations of Visceral Patients cannot be accounted for in this way, for they seem to have usually been anything but fleeting, and were often persistent and prolonged; and, even supposing that some were but momentary, the quality of indefiniteness or haziness attaches to them all without exception.

I. (e²). "The complete flatness and absence of the usual undulations of a woman's figure suggest that it may have been that of a man."

This point is met by the comments on e¹, unless, indeed, the cruel suggestion be advanced that all the female figures described as realistic, or recognised as those of female relations or friends of Psychical Percipients, were wanting in the "usual undulations."

I. (*f*). "If the figure was white, most say at once 'It was a corpse.' Curiously, not one of my patients spoke of the hallucination as a ghost, possibly owing to the almost entire ignorance shown by the London-bred population of ghost stories or fairy tales."

With regard to phantasms of the dead (232 first-hand cases in all) the Committee reported as follows:

"Apparitions of the dead, like other apparitions, usually appear dressed like ordinary human beings, and without symbolic accompaniments, such as white robes or wings.

In four cases it is specially mentioned that the phantom appeared in the clothes in which the dead person was buried. Usually the appearance in dress or otherwise is what the percipient was accustomed to associate with the person in life." (364-5)

Of the four cases referred to in the Census Report where the phantom appeared dressed in the clothes in which the dead person had been buried, it must not be understood that these clothes were necessarily grave-clothes: for in one case, already referred to (*v. I. d*), a phantom of his father dressed "en frac" (*i.e.* in evening dress clothes) was seen by Mr. Heintze, who subsequently learned that his father "avait été enterré en habit noir (frac)." (379)

In another of these four cases, the apparition was seen dressed in grave-clothes (141-2); but this was a memory image rather than a hallucination, the percipient having "shortly before" seen the dead man lying in his coffin and "the sight of the corpse had produced a profound impression" on him.

Among veridical cases of phantasms of the dead I note one instance (372) of the hallucinatory figure taking the form of a corpse. Except for this the case shows no likeness to the Visceral type. The hallucination was coincidental, having occurred on the same day as the funeral of the percipient's mother, whose death, and even illness, was unknown to her; and the percipient was at the moment engaged in serving macaroni and milk to her children; the day was fine and hot, the time 1.30 p.m., and consequently the light must have been strong (*v. IV.*); and the vision was exceptionally complete and vivid, and apparently coloured (*v. III.*).

Dr. Head thinks it curious that his patients never spoke of the figures as "ghosts," and attributes this to their ignorance of ghost stories or fairy tales. But though they may not have *spoken* of them as "ghosts" they may have *thought* of them as such; and that this was the case in at least one instance would appear from the quotation which heads Section VIII.

In view, too, of the reticence shown by Visceral Patients (*v.* above, p. 268), it is not surprising if they refrained from the use of the word "ghosts." "Hallucinations" would sound so much better, especially when one was conversing with a medical man, and even such expressions as "funny experience" or "funny feelings," if less scientific, would recommend themselves in preference to "ghosts" as likely to excite less ridicule or less distrust.

Moreover, S.P.R. percipients do not often, even to sympathetic ears, use the question-begging and mirth-provoking word "ghosts"; and so it does not surprise me that patients drawn from a class proverbially apprehensive of ridicule did not employ it.

Again, the fact that many of the hallucinations repeated themselves (the recurrency being obviously not attributable to "local" causes) and that they recurred under similar conditions of light, time, mood, etc., may have led the patients to feel that their experiences were not "ghosts" of the proper traditional kind.

I. (*g*). "Whatever the form assumed, the figure or face is single. I have found no instance so far in the sane where more than one face or figure appeared if the patient's eyes were open. I have very carefully excluded the not uncommon condition where faces or figures seem to stream past when the eyes are closed, though the patient is awake."

We may clear the ground for a comparison by saying that visions of objects seen with closed eyes, and visual experiences of the type called "*illusions hypnagogiques*," were likewise excluded from the Census collection, and are not collected by the S.P.R.

As regards the main point, the Committee reported:

"In the great majority of realistic cases, the apparition represents a single figure only, though there are exceptions." (113)

A "very peculiar" example of the contrary, described, for other reasons, as perhaps "the most remarkable case in our collection of a phantasm of the dead conveying true information," is quoted in the Report (380-2):

September 14th, 1891.

"On June 5th, 1887, a Sunday evening between 11 and 12 at night, being awake, my name was called three times. I answered twice, thinking it was my uncle, 'Come in, Uncle George, I am awake,' but the third time I recognised the voice as that of my mother, who had been dead 16 years. I said, 'Mamma!' She then came round a screen near my bedside with two children in her arms, and placed them in my arms and put the bedclothes over them and said, 'Lucy, promise me to take care of them, for their mother is just dead.' I said, 'Yes, Mamma.' She repeated, 'Promise me to take care of them.' I replied, 'Yes, I promise you,' and I added, 'Oh, Mamma, stay and speak to me, I am so wretched.' She replied, 'Not yet, my child,' then she seemed to go round the screen again, and I remained, feeling the children to be still in my arms, and fell asleep. When I awoke there was nothing. Tuesday morning, June 7th, I received the news of my sister-in-law's death. She had given birth to a child three weeks before, which I did not know till after her death.

"I was in bed but not asleep, and the room was lighted by a gas-light in the street outside. I was out of health and in anxiety about family troubles. My age was 42. I was quite alone. I mentioned the circumstance to my uncle the next morning. He thought I was sickening for brain fever. [I have had other experiences, but] only to the extent of having felt a hand laid on my head, and sometimes on my hands, at times of great trouble." (380)

Professor Sidgwick, after interviewing the percipient, wrote as follows:

"The children seemed to be with her a long time; indeed they seemed to be with her when the clock struck 12. The room was usually light enough to see things in,—e.g. to get a glass of water, etc.,—owing to the lamp in the street, but the

distinctness with which the vision was seen is not explicable by the real light. The children were of ages corresponding to those of her sister-in-law's children: i.e., they seemed to be a little girl and a baby newly born: the sex was not distinguished. She was not at all alarmed . . . She never had any experience of the kind, or any hallucination at all, before: but since she has occasionally felt a hand on her head in trouble."

Tactile hallucinations, it should be noted, are not mentioned among the experiences of Visceral Patients (v. XVIII.).

For other instances of more than one figure, see
(169) Wife and child: visual only.

(195-6) Mother and child: visual and auditory (vocal).

(103) Old woman nursing a child: visual only.

(412) Ayah and child, "as if made of plaster of Paris":
visual, auditory, and recurrent.

In the last two of the above cases, however, the hallucinations were connected with illness. The percipient of the old woman nursing a child himself draws attention to the fact that he was at the time suffering from "nerves" and insomnia, and that the hallucination was the precursor of a "severe illness." The percipient of the ayah and child was at the time suffering from "a long neurotic attack" which had been preceded by an attack of bronchitis.

In five instances out of the six which I have traced in the Census Report the second figure is that of a child: a curious result, which can hardly be due to chance, and probably arises from the intimate association of the idea of mother and child, or of nurse and child.¹

In the sixth case (classed as a "Vision"), the percipient saw her uncle lying on a sofa and seemingly dying: and at the same time saw her uncle's bearer and her aunt's ayah passing each other in going across the room, and apparently looking at her and sighing. The time and the details of the vision coincided very closely with the time and circumstances of the death of the uncle, whose illness was unknown to the percipient.

I. (h). "In the majority of instances the figure remained stationary at the foot or on one side or other of the bed. It

¹ See also *Phantasms of the Living*, vol. i., p. 544.

may, however, pass in front of the bed from left to right or from right to left, and is sometimes seen in the doorway."

"In more than half of the visual cases the figure is seen to move in various ways." (110)

"When they [phantoms] move, which . . . happens more often than not, the movement is almost always such as we are accustomed to see." (113-14)

With regard to stationary *transparent* figures the Report says: *"It seems possible that in some cases in which a transparent apparition was motionless, it may have been an illusion, rather than a hallucination. But other cases of motionless transparent apparitions seem to be clearly genuine hallucinations."*

Two such are referred to: one purely subjective, the other veridical.

In the former (103) the apparition was recurrent nightly, and even several times a night during a period of five or six weeks; it was seen always in one particular spot on a landing: it was draped, and the percipient, who was suffering from overstrung nerves, sorrow and fatigue, speaks of the "horror" which it caused her. So far, except for the occasion and place of perception, the case presents considerable resemblances to the Visceral type; but there is one mark of differentiation: the figure was blue (*v. III.*).

In the veridical case (284-6) the only point of resemblance to the Visceral type is the absence of movement; but this is perhaps not remarkable, as the figure was seen seated in a carriage which the percipient was entering; and in two particulars the divergence is most marked, namely, in the distinctness of the colouring of the face and clothing (*v. III.*) and in the fact of the figure having a beard: *"un menton très maigre à barbe rare et d'un blond foncé." (v. I. d)*

In 5 cases out of 12 of transparent apparitions included in the Census collection "the transparent figure was seen to move in such a way as to make it almost certain that it could not have been an illusion." (119)

I. (i). **"Usually the patient wakes from sleep to see [the figure] standing near his bed."**

Out of 1062 visual hallucinations contained in the Census collection, 129 were experienced by the percipient immediately

after waking, 294 when awake in bed, 438 when up and indoors, and 201 when out of doors.

But proportionately more incompletely developed hallucinations occurred at the moment of waking than visual hallucinations of any other class. Thus, once again, we find among this special class a closer conformity than in any other to the Visceral type of hallucination.

"In 38 per cent. of visual, 34 per cent. of auditory, and 44 per cent. of tactile cases, the percipient was in bed. Considering what a small part of our lives we generally spend awake in bed, the fact that over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the hallucinations occur under these circumstances is certainly remarkable: and the proportion that occurs immediately after waking—about 12 per cent. of visual hallucinations—is still more striking." (171)

The Report then proceeds to discuss why a state of repose is favourable to hallucinations: but into this question we need not enter, for, striking though the proportion of hallucinations experienced at the moment of or shortly after waking is, it certainly could not be asserted of Census visual hallucinations that they "usually" occur under this condition.

I. (j). "No sound accompanied the appearance of the hallucination of vision in any case."¹

"When [the figure] moved no footsteps were heard."

Whether it be true of the generality of hallucinatory figures seen by Psychical Percipients that they "like to noiseless phantoms flit" is a difficult question to decide, owing to the lack of positive information in most cases. All that can be asserted with confidence is that sound (and for the moment I am leaving out of consideration articulate speech: for which see Section I. m.) accompanies the appearance of Psychical phantoms in a certain number of cases, and the absence of sound is categorically noted in a very few cases only.

Out of the 1120 Census cases of visual hallucination recorded at first hand, 912 were visual only, 87 visual and auditory (vocal), 19 visual, auditory (vocal), and tactile, 31 visual and tactile, 67 visual and auditory (non-vocal), 4 visual, auditory (non-vocal), and tactile.

¹For an exception to this rule see the heading of Section XVII.

For the purposes of our comparison we can eliminate the 106 hallucinations of which a vocal sound formed an element, because, as we shall see, the hallucinatory figures seen by Visceral Patients do not speak (*v. I. m*), and also because Visceral auditory hallucinations are never articulate voices (*v. IX.*).

Confining ourselves, therefore, to non-vocal sounds, we find that the Census Committee reports as follows regarding them:

"There are 71 cases . . . in our collection where a non-vocal sound is heard accompanied by a visual hallucination, and in 56 of these the sound precedes the apparition."

There are therefore 15 cases in the Census collection in which a non-vocal sound *accompanies* (in the strict sense of the word) a hallucination of vision.

We may briefly compare with the Visceral type three cases where absence of sound was noted:

"The shadow of a human form fell on the moonlit floor. Half turning my head I saw a tall woman dressed in white, her back to me. By the contour and the gleam of the plaits round her head I recognised my cousin, and deemed she had doffed her black dress to try a white one. I addressed an ordinary remark to her. She did not reply. . . . Then she went out of the door down the entrance steps, and as she disappeared I wondered I had heard nothing of a step or the rustle of her dress. I sat and puzzled over this, though without taking fright, for a few minutes. I was . . . in robust health; completely awake; untroubled." (187)

Resemblances.

Absence of sound and no footsteps heard.
 Figure does not speak (*v. I. m*).
 Face invisible (*v. I. c*).

Differences.

Figure and its sex recognised (*v. I. e* and VIII.).
 Figure not stationary (*v. I. h*).
 No fright (*v. V.*).
 Perhaps colour (gleam of plaits of hair) (*v. III.*).

"Out of the passage came an old woman about 5 feet in height, wearing dark brown dress, and large black shawl fastened across the chest, the point of it reaching nearly to the bottom of her dress, and a small poke bonnet. She walked before us some yards, exciting my wonder by her noiselessness upon the gravel

path, and finally by the fact that she cast no shadow. Putting my hand upon my sister's arm, I said, 'What a funny old woman,' but with the movement of my hand she disappeared, we being by the blank wall in which there was neither gate nor opening, with plenty of gas-lights. . . . I was in perfect health and peace of mind." (194)

Here the only resemblances to the Visceral type are the noiselessness of the footsteps and the dissipation of the figure by movement on the part of the percipient (v. I. l).

"I saw the figure quite distinctly; it made no sound in walking, which did not strike me as at all strange, as it had only a wrapper on, and probably, as I thought, bedroom slippers." (353-6)

The above is an extract from a local apparition case, in which non-vocal noises were prominent. The phenomena are attested by 7 first-hand witnesses, whose experiences were on several occasions collective. Although, as described in the extract given above, one of the percipients noted that the figure's movement was noiseless, another percipient states that a sound of footsteps preceded the appearance of the figure, while another unspecified non-vocal sound succeeded it:

"I heard what I thought was my grandmother walking about the room. Just as I was going to run past the screen, the . . . figure . . . passed me very quickly and went into the dressing-room. My first impulse was to follow her, but I heard such a strange noise in the dressing-room that I feared to enter."

I append a quotation from the Census Report bearing specially on the question of audible footsteps:

"Non-vocal sounds, such as footsteps, which sometimes precede the seeing of an apparition, may occasionally be real noises. . . . But in some cases the apparition is first seen, and then footsteps or some other sound apparently caused by it are heard." (193)

I. (k). **"After a variable interval it [the figure] disappears without movement."**

"Appearance or disappearance by an unrealistic means is . . . rare. . . . Even when a phantom is stationary, it does not usually either suddenly appear out of empty space, or similarly vanish before the percipient's eyes, but is generally seen by the

percipient on turning his eyes that way, and vanishes, he does not know how, or when he is looking away. There are, however, instances of sudden appearance and disappearance in free space." (114)

Two such instances are quoted in illustration; in one (261-2) the percipient "simply ceased to see the figure"; in the other (114) the percipient writes:—"I looked at it [the figure] for several seconds in surprise, . . . when it suddenly disappeared." Neither instance shows any resemblance worth mentioning to the Visceral type, and both present very strongly marked divergences from it.

I. (I). "On the appearance of such a hallucination [*i.e.* stationary figure near bed] several male patients, before admission to the hospital, sprang out of bed to seize the person whom they supposed to have entered the room. The figure at once disappeared."

It would appear from the above that in Visceral cases movement, or at least violent movement, on the part of the patient dissipates the hallucination. Dr. Head records no case where on movement having been made by a patient the hallucination persisted. Evidence is lacking on this point in the great majority of Psychical cases: but instances do occur both where movement does dissipate and where it does not dissipate the apparition. There are several cases where percipients touch, follow and even run after a hallucinatory figure without their action resulting in its immediate dissipation (*v. e.g.* 133, 192, 215 and 295.) In one case (118) the percipient put his hand through the appearance, and, though no tactile sensation was felt, his "*hand went through as it would through water, . . . the clothes kept their fold and position (as water keeps its level) making no break. My hand with the white night-shirt sleeve was wholly hid, and when I withdrew it there was no hole left behind.*" 40 or 50 seconds later the figure slowly disintegrated. There is also a case (coincidental) where the percipient performed precisely the same action as some of Dr. Head's patients: namely, springing out of bed; but the result was different.

"*I lay for a few seconds and then spoke, but getting no answer, jumped out of bed with hands outstretched towards the figure, which, on my approach, retreated to the outer room still*

smiling with peculiar sweetness. I followed it, and watched it vanish through the outer door, which was closed." (286)

In the following instance the figure disappeared on the percipient getting out of bed and touching it. "*She got out of bed, and, walking up to the glass, laid her hand on the girl's shoulder; but it passed through empty air, and she found herself looking at her own self in the glass.*" (359.) But apart from the vanishing of the figure on movement by the percipient, this case shows no resemblances to, and many clearly marked differences from, the Visceral type.

In another case (120) (already referred to under I. b) the figure, seen on three different occasions, always vanished when the percipient "threw" her "hands into it." This case was placed in the incompletely developed class; and shows other points of resemblance to the Visceral type, but also some differences (*v. sub. I. b.*).

In another case (103) Prof. G. "*saw an old woman with red cloak, nursing a child in her arms. She sat on a boulder. . . . Early autumn in bright sunny weather. Made several attempts to reach her, but she always vanished before I could get close up to the stone.*"

Here, except for the apparent immobility of the figure, its dissolving on the near approach of the percipient, and that the experience was followed by "a severe illness" (unspecified), it will be noticed that the figure was coloured (*v. III.*), was seen in bright daylight (*v. IV.*), and was not single (*v. I. g.*).

I. (*m*). "The figure did not speak [in any case]."

In 106 out of 1120 first-hand cases of visual hallucination in the Census collection the apparition seemed to speak articulately.

Visual and auditory (vocal) cases were, it may be remarked, also more numerous than visual and auditory (non-vocal): the latter numbering 71 against 106 of the former.

I. (*n*). [The figure] "made no gestures, and the 'grimacing' occasionally mentioned probably refers rather to an unpleasant expression of the face than to any mobility of the features."

Gesture is a common characteristic of S.P.R. apparitions; so common that it is unnecessary to quote examples.

As to mobility of the features, it may be fairly assumed that in at least some proportion of the visual and vocal auditory cases the lips were seen to move, although we do meet with one curious instance where it is definitely stated that in spite of the lips being seen to move no audible sound was heard (373).

The apparition is constantly said to smile, but the language used is never precise enough to make it clear whether the smile was one of the kind (rendered famous by a certain advertisement) that "won't come off," or whether at a given point the features of the phantom broke into a smile (*e.g.* v. 389, 390, and 122). Once a "fixed and agonised stare" (preceded, however, by a turning of the head, 260), is spoken of; "looked me full in the face," "looking straight at my face," "looking straight before her," "gazing fixedly," "looked intently," "gazing wistfully," and similar expressions frequently occur.

Grimacing is not mentioned,¹ and an unpleasant expression is very rare indeed. On the whole, though there are hardly definite enough data from which to form an estimate, I am inclined to think that while mobility of feature is sometimes met with, immobility is much commoner.

II. "Sometimes . . . [the figure] may consist of a face only." "More than one patient complained . . . of . . . 'a pair of eyes looking through the bars at the foot of the bed.'"

"In one case only the patient saw a hand and arm come round the door. . . . This arm was extended on to the white counterpane, and she sat up in bed expecting the body to appear round the edge of the wide-opened door."

A few cases, under 30 in all, occur in the Census collection of the appearance of a face or head only, and these were all classed as "incompletely developed apparitions," though "merely on account of their fragmentary character," and not on account of any lack of distinctness in the percept (121). The cases quoted in illustration are quite unlike the Visceral type (*v.* 121-2, 116, 105, and 240).

¹For an instance of a 'grimacing' hallucinatory figure, seen by a child, *v. S.P.R. Journal*, vol. ix., p. 124.

15 cases are contained in the Census collection where a hand or hand and arm only, and 3 cases where legs only were seen. In one case the hand and in one the legs were recognised as belonging to a particular person. Both of the two illustrative cases quoted diverge from the Visceral type (v. 241 and 122).

III. "These hallucinations in all cases are white, black, or grey. They are never, so far as my experience goes, coloured or even normally tinted. For if the face is white, even the lips are said to be colourless. . . . This forms a differentiating point between these hallucinations of the sane and the usual hallucinations of the insane."

Colour is a very common characteristic of Psychological hallucinations. Specific reference is often made to the colour of the clothes or of the face of the apparition: and even where no such reference is made, there is usually little doubt about the vision having been coloured. In one class only, namely, the less realistic or imperfectly developed apparitions, is absence of colour relatively frequent. "They are either shadowy, vague, transparent, or colourless." (50 and 119). Though even among this class colour is not necessarily absent: v., e.g., a (recurrent) hallucination of the head of a "red setter dog" (143), "a semi-transparent figure, dressed in a black hat, surtout, and blue waistcoat" (119, footnote²), of the "head and shoulders of a man, middle-aged, stout, with iron-grey hair and blue eyes" (116), of the head and shoulders of a woman, described by the percipient "as exactly like a coloured picture of her mother" (123). And a marked example of colour in an incompletely developed apparition is the following (already referred to under I. d):

"Je vis dans un petit jour gris qu'on eut dit factice . . . une figure à la silhouette émoussée, diaphane, plutôt qu'indécise. Cette vision dura un instant, pendant lequel, pourtant, mes yeux prirent connaissance des moindres détails de ce visage. . . . Ce qui me frappe, lorsque j'y pense à présent, c'est d'avoir vu les différentes couleurs, malgré que la lueur grisâtre, qui éclairait à peine l'inconnu, eut été insuffisante pour les distinguer dans un cas normal." (285)

One apparition is described (143) as "semi-opaque, neutral-

tinted, like thick smoke or cloud": but the case does not conform to the Visceral type, as the features were distinctly seen, the figure took its departure by a window, carried a basket, was recognised as female, and the details of its dress were carefully observed.

In the very few cases where the apparition took the form of a corpse no doubt the lips would have been colourless.

In the case of a local apparition (346-349), seen collectively in the first instance and subsequently many times by some of the same percipients separately, one percipient describing one of the later experiences writes:

"The hair was very dark and smooth; the one eye not covered by the shawl was turned up, and the face like death. It had the look I have seen since on the faces of the dead."

Except for the ghastriness of the face the case shows no approximation to the Visceral type. In three cases of apparitions coinciding with death the pallor of the hallucinatory face is spoken of (*v.* 223-4, 224, 235-6), but here the pallor forms part of the true information supernormally conveyed (see also 217), and none of these cases otherwise conforms to the Visceral type.

For colour of hair, complexion, and eyes, *v.* 79 (case of an apparition seen in the dark), 358, 352 (a recurrent case), and 374. For colour in dress, etc., *v.* 369, 385, 163 (a recurrent case), 73, 230, 359-361, and 300.

I have traced no actual reference to the lips: but apart from the above cases, where the colour of the eyes, hair, cheeks, etc., is positively described, the constantly reiterated and emphatic statements of numerous percipients as to the lifelike character of the features of the phantoms is evidence enough that the faces and lips are not pale and bloodless like those of the ghost of literary tradition. On the contrary, the S.P.R. ghost seems to be quite a full-blooded animal.

IV. "Hallucinations of vision do not occur in the bright light of day. . . . In other cases the hallucination appeared in the evening when the patient was sitting quietly in a dimly-lighted room."

"Things seen in actually complete darkness, but with eyes open— as the percipient believed—belong to a somewhat different category,

and have required careful consideration. Some of them are undoubtedly hallucinations, but in other cases there is some uncertainty. On the whole, we have decided that apparitions which, notwithstanding the darkness, seemed to the percipient to be seen occupying a definite place in his room—standing by his bed, for instance—should be classed as genuine hallucinations, and that others were to be regarded as probably pseudo-hallucinations. The number of apparitions seen in the dark thus included in our tables is 30.

"In 17 of the 30 cases, the figure alone appeared illuminated. . . . In 12 other cases out of the 30 the room appeared illuminated, though it was really dark." (78-9)

"Sometimes the seeing of an apparition seems to depend on the presence of light, and this is probably due to suggestion. . . . Thus in one case . . . the figure, seen by the light of a lamp, disappeared when the lamp was turned out. In [a case printed on pp. 385-7] the percipient first heard footsteps, and did not see the apparition till he had struck a light. Again in [a case printed on p. 192] the apparition vanished when the light was put out, and was seen again on relighting it." (191)

Apart from the above quotations, which are alone sufficient to disprove the existence of any similarity between Visceral and Psychological hallucinations so far as the particular condition of perception in question is concerned, it may be noted as further evidence of disparity that no mention of illumination of the room, of the figure seeming to emit light, or of its being surrounded by a luminous halo, is made in Dr. Head's descriptions of the experiences of such of his patients as had hallucinations of vision. I append a few quotations picked at hazard from cases in the Census Report :

"I saw it constantly; it used to come into my room and stand by my bed, but I don't remember seeing it once when it was quite dark." (348)

"I constantly saw it, nearly always by daylight; though once I remember seeing it exceedingly distinctly by firelight." (351)

"The hours of appearance have varied, but it has oftenest been broad daylight. . . . Its appearances . . . are much more usual in daylight than at any other time." (352)

"The gas shone full on her [i.e. the apparition's] hair." (361)

"It appeared both by daylight and candlelight, most frequently about 12 mid-day." (345)

"All this [i.e. a collective apparition] took place on a bright summer afternoon." (347)

Here, again, it may be remarked, the S.P.R. ghost refuses to subject itself to the rules laid down for ghosts in literary and popular tradition.

V. "Almost every case felt frightened with the first hallucination of vision, and in many cases the fear was accompanied by sweating, heart beating, and 'goose-flesh.' If the hallucination is frequently repeated men, as a rule, recover their self-control, and ultimately come to look upon the repetition of the hallucination with curiosity."

The Census Report deals only indirectly with the question of fright. So far, however, as we are concerned to compare the emotional states that accompanied the *first* hallucinations of Visceral Patients and of Psychical Percipients, no difficulty arises, for the large majority of cases of hallucination in the Census collection were unique experiences in the lives of the various percipients.

Fright is often admitted, and even horror; yet it would be very far from the truth to say of S.P.R. cases that "almost every case felt frightened." Not only is fright often expressly denied, but composure or even pleasure is affirmed.

But, in any case, I cannot suppose that the presence or absence of fright and of its accompanying physical symptoms could ever serve as a useful *differentia* between one order of hallucination and another. Its absence or presence could do not more than exemplify differences of mental or moral temperament, and though doubtless true that many a Psychical Percipient when he saw an apparition

"panted hard

Like one that feels a nightmare on his bed,"

it would no more go to prove that his hallucination was due to visceral disease than to nightmare. Were a *questionnaire* addressed to people who had been in carriage or railway accidents, for instance, and information asked for as to their emotional state during and after the accident, I imagine

that, while most would admit to having felt frightened and many of them to having experienced heart-beating or sweating, or even "goose-flesh" during or after the event, a certain proportion would deny that they felt any of these things.

From the quotations from the Census Report given below, it would appear that Visceral hallucinations furnish no parallel (unless, indeed, Dr. Head failed to observe or to report it) to a rare symptom of Psychical hallucination: I mean the "cold shudder" which is sometimes said to *precede* the hallucination.

Perhaps this "cold shudder" answers more or less to "goose-flesh," but, if so, the "cold shudder" sometimes *precedes* the hallucination, whereas the "goose-flesh" of Visceral Patients always *accompanies* it. If, however, it does not, then "goose-flesh" is not reported in any Census case so far as my knowledge goes: and sweating only once, and then only at second hand (341); but perhaps a natural delicacy would have prevented many from mentioning this symptom in the absence of a direct request for information on the point.

"The first [organic] effect to be noticed is the 'feeling of cold'—generally described as a 'chill' or 'cold shudder'—which is sometimes reported as accompanying or immediately preceding hallucinations. This is so common in magazine stories of apparitions that our readers may expect to find it a normal feature in the narratives collected by us: it is, however, on the contrary, quite an exceptional feature, being only reported in seven cases—exclusive of about half-a-dozen cases in which a 'feeling of cold breezes' is mentioned." (198)

"It will be observed that in some of these cases the chill is reported as preceding, in others as accompanying or following, the hallucination. In the latter cases it would seem to be a natural result, on certain physical temperaments, of the emotional excitement—terror, awe, etc., caused by the unusual experience. . . . But where the chill precedes the hallucination, it seems clear that the sensation must be regarded as an incident of the whole nervous disturbance of which the hallucination is one effect." (200)

Elsewhere (392) the Report says that it was unusual to find hallucinations accompanied by an abnormal physical condition.

I adjoin a few instances of (a) the absence of fright being noted; (b) of some unusual physical effect unaccompanied by fear; (c) of feelings incompatible with fright being reported.

(a.) "*I did not feel at all alarmed, but very curious and surprised, and I jumped out of bed, came up behind [the figure], and was going to touch her on the shoulder.*" (361)

"*I felt no fear, but the strain of emotion was so great that I remember thinking, etc.*" (369).

"*There was nothing to alarm any one in the apparition. It was a very gentle, mild-faced old man, and not one bit like a story-book ghost.*" (351)

"*I lay for a few seconds and then spoke, but getting no answer, jumped out of bed. . . . I followed it, and watched it vanish through the outer door. . . . I was not afraid, only wondering. . . .*" (286)

"*Mr. Cass was not inclined to give details about the figure, beyond saying that it passed through the room, that he knew it was spiritual, but felt no alarm.*" (231)

"*Je n'ai pas ressenti de peur, j'étais étonné, stupéfait, et plutôt enclin à croire à la présence réelle de mon père qu'à une 'apparition.' Quand l'apparition disparut, j'ai éprouvé une angoisse excessive, un pressentiment, la conviction qu'il devait arriver quelque chose à mon père.*" (236)

"*I was lying asleep or nearly so, one night, when I felt a hand laid gently on my shoulder. I was not surprised or frightened. I thought it was my sister Alice. . . . I was too sleepy to rouse myself till I felt the hand pressing more heavily, as if to wake me; then I said, 'What is it, Alice? What do you want?' and at the same time opened my eyes. . . . It was quite dark; but close to my bedside stood, enveloped in light, a figure like my sister. . . . There was the golden-brown hair, blue eyes, and fair complexion, and yet it looked like a being from another world, standing in light unlike any earthly light. . . . I felt deep awe, but no fear.*" (79)

"*I was not frightened. . . . I looked after [the ghost] for a moment, crossed myself, put out the candle, and fell asleep with the sense of joy which a man who has done his duty must feel.*" (385)

(b.) "*I felt completely rivetted, but though my heart and pulses were beating unnaturally fast, neither much frightened*

nor surprised, only with a sort of impulse to get up and go after the figure."

Mrs. Sidgwick reported after interviewing the percipient:

"The feeling of her heart beating fast was only what one feels after anything sudden and startling. She only felt it after the figure disappeared." (293-5)

"I felt a strange thrill and a vague anxiety, but no fear." (295)

"Ma première sensation fut un frisson dans le dos. Je fus comme pétrifié et ma respiration fut suspendue; mais ce n'était pas un effet causé par la frayeur ou l'excitation,—c'était quelque chose d'autre." (388-9)

(c.) "Le visage d'Olég [a very young child who had just seen an apparition simultaneously with his father, the narrator] était tout à fait tranquille et joyeux." (390)

"I plainly saw [my sister] lying dead beside me, . . . I scarcely slept at all that night, and there my sister lay beside me, and I was glad to have her." (234)

"Her mother came and lay close beside her. . . . Her mother spoke to her very sympathetically. . . . She assured her that all was right at home, and in order to satisfy herself [i.e. the percipient] that this was so, she should see her youngest child. Accordingly she saw the child up in a corner of the room near the ceiling. Her mother encouraged her to look up where the child was, and assured her it would do her no harm. When this occurred her mother had been dead four years. . . . She has never at any other time seen or heard anything that she would deem supernatural." (196)

VI. "The feeling-tone that accompanies the colourless white figure varies greatly, but the dark or black hallucinations are uniformly associated with fear or its physical manifestations."

Except possibly for a few examples among "incompletely developed" cases, I doubt if the Census report contains any instances of dark or black hallucinations in the sense intended by Dr. Head. For instance, the following case could not properly be used for purposes of comparison, for I do not think that in spite of the grey dress, pale face, black eyes and hair, the figure really corresponded to a dark or a black figure of the Visceral type; and although the percipient

makes no such statement I should imagine that in spite of the paleness there must have been slight traces of colour in the complexion, for otherwise the play of the features, the impression of beauty, and of alternate gaiety and sadness can hardly be explained :

"Je vis une personne, dont je ne saurais pas dire le sexe (v. I. e), habillée en une très large robe grise. Elle était très pâle, avec de grands yeux noirs, et de longs cheveux noirs retombant sur les épaules, avec une raie au milieu. Je ne fus nullement effrayée et même pas étonnée. . . . J'étais bien portante, gaie. . . . Cette ombre ou vision ne m'a jamais quittée 2 mois ou 6 semaines de suite. . . . 'L'ombre' avait une très belle figure, tantôt gaie, tantôt triste. . . . J'étais tellement habituée à cette vision que je ne m'en inquiétais pas. C'était la première figure que je voyais en me réveillant, la dernière en m'endormant. Elle ne me disait jamais rien (v. I. m), mais elle me faisait quelquefois des signes de la tête." . . . (v. I. n)

The collector, Mme de Holstein, wrote of the percipient as follows : "*Mme R. est actuellement une femme absolument saine au point de vue nerveux.*" (196)

Of two examples of draped or veiled figures quoted in the Report (119-120) and already referred to above (v. I. b), one was certainly and the other probably dark or black. In the first case, the "terror" of the percipient upon the appearance of the "dark veiled figure" was "so great, that" she "could neither call" her "sister . . . nor move hand or foot." In the second case, no emotional disturbance is mentioned, and the absence of fright may be inferred from the following statement made by the percipient:

"I could not recognise the person ; but was so fully awake that I thought it might be some one with a message to me, and sat quietly waiting for it to speak ; this it did not do."

(For a comparison of these two cases with the Visceral type see I. b and XIV).

In another "incompletely developed" case a percipient sees "two black legs walking towards" him (122). The percipient is silent as to his emotional condition, but the tone of his narrative does not suggest fright.

In a case (204-5) already referred to (*sub.* I. b) two sisters experienced extreme terror—a terror so great that

its effects lasted for a long time afterwards—as the result of four successive and varied uncanny experiences. The experiences comprised a collective tactile hallucination, a collective sense of presence, and non-collective but apparently identical hallucinations of “a very vague muffled form or shadow.” This form was no doubt dark, if not black, and its appearance induced extreme terror in the percipients; but as pointed out below (*v. I. b*) this case cannot be brought into line with the Visceral type.

VII. “In no case do they [i.e. hallucinations of sight, hearing and smell] appear without the depression having already made its appearance, but hallucinations of vision are in no way necessarily contemporaneous with an attack of depression.”

“These [i.e. visual] hallucinations are not uncommonly accompanied by the depressed mood.”

The depression to which sane persons suffering from visceral disease are liable is essentially an irrational mood: “it comes on in paroxysms without reason,” says Dr. Head, “and forces the patient to seek some solitary place.” And not only is the mood irrational, but even the patient himself does not seek to attribute it to any definite cause.

Since the depression is not necessarily contemporaneous with a visual hallucination, it is, of course, possible that if the reports of Census Percipients had covered a period of some days, weeks or months previous to the occurrence of their hallucinations, some traces of the existence of such fits of senseless depression would have been found; though I am certain that such traces would have been of the very rarest, both because the characteristic traits of Psychological hallucinations differ so widely and in so many details from those of Visceral hallucinations and also because of the rarity of cases where depression contemporaneous with the appearance of a Psychological hallucination is mentioned.

The following quotations from the Census Report will help the reader to form his own estimate of the frequency of moods of depression contemporaneous with the appearance of a hallucinatory figure.

“Omitting cases where definite or permanent ill-health has been produced, the percipient states himself to have been—at the time

he experienced a hallucination—overworked, overstrained, extremely tired, in a state of overwrought nerves, or in some similarly described condition, in some 25 cases in the present collection. . . In 8 of the 25 cases, a definite cause of anxiety is mentioned, and in 3 others the percipient speaks of himself as worried.” (166)

Deducting, then, these 8 cases of anxiety attributed to a definite cause, there remain only 17 cases among which we can look for instances of causeless depression. But even of these 17 cases all cannot be treated as affording possible examples of depression, for a deduction must again be made to allow for cases of overwork and overstrain, and extreme fatigue: expressions which could hardly have been used to describe depression. There remain, then, only those cases where the percipients reported themselves as “in a state of overwrought nerves,” or in some similarly described condition: and in this small balance of cases only could we legitimately seek for examples of contemporaneous depression. But from the following quotation it is clear that cases of depression were not intentionally included by the Committee under the terms “overwrought nerves, or . . . some similarly described condition”:

“Taking all hallucinations, whether of sight, hearing, or touch, of which we have first-hand accounts, we find that anxiety, more or less grave, about the illness of a relative or friend, is stated to have been present, or appears from the evidence to have been probably present, in about 89 cases. In 54 other cases, we find mention of anxiety, or worry, or serious trouble about other subjects than illness—or at least not stated to have been about illness.

[Practically all these cases may be dismissed, even supposing that “anxiety” or “worry” be held to include some cases of depression, because a cause is assigned for the depressed state of mind.]

Then there are about 49 cases,¹ in which the percipient appears to have been in grief, or unhappy (besides some already counted [see above] in which he states himself to have been in anxiety, as well as in grief); and if we add cases of

¹ In 42 out of these 49 cases the grief was due to the recent death of a friend.

depression (5) and of agitation in various forms (23), we get altogether, out of 1622 hallucinations, about 220 cases in which emotional disturbance accompanied the hallucination. In 437 cases a positive statement is made that no grief or anxiety existed, and there seems to be no reason to suspect the presence of either in the great majority of the cases where no answer is made to the question about emotion, nor any information given bearing on the subject." (168)

There were then only 5 instances out of 1622 hallucinations of all kinds, or out of 1120 visual hallucinations, where depression is categorically said to have been present; and even in these five cases it is not said that the depression was causeless.

There are doubtless plenty of cases where depression has followed on the seeing of an apparition, whose appearance was taken to convey or to forebode news of a depressing nature; but here, of course, both the time relation and the existence of a motive distinguish such depression from the depression that precedes or precedes and accompanies the hallucinations of Visceral Patients.

I have not traced in the Census Report any mention by a percipient of a fit of apparently motiveless depression preceding a visual hallucination, but it would not surprise me if examples of this could be found in the *Proceedings and Journal*. For supposing that a message of a depressing character has in some way reached the consciousness of a percipient with sufficient intensity for its general emotional tenour to be communicated, but with not enough intensity for the full particulars to be externalised hallucinatorily, during the period of incubation or development one may easily conceive that the percipient should be seized with a feeling of vague depression—a depression which would seem meaningless and motiveless until explained by the appearance of the ill-boding apparition.

I have, perhaps, laboured this point with unnecessary prolixity: but of all the distinguishing features of Visceral hallucinations none seems to me more outstanding than this one; namely, that they are *always* preceded by moods of depression. Consequently I have thought it right, even at the risk of tediousness, to enter into as full and detailed a

discussion as the evidence on this point furnished by the narratives in the Census Report allows.

VIII. "These hallucinations are not uncommonly accompanied by the depressed mood. . . . In such cases the patient is convinced that the appearance is a sign that some ill-fortune has happened, or is about to happen. He believes some near relative is dead or in trouble, and not infrequently says that the figure was that of some dead relation, e.g. 'my sister.' Asked if it resembled his sister he answered, 'Not in the least, but I know it must have been my sister, because she is the only one of my relations who is dead.'"

The latter part of this statement might be paraphrased as follows: "Recognition of the figure is inferential, not instinctive." The large number of cases of unrecognised apparitions—315 first-hand cases out of 830 first-hand cases of realistic apparitions—as well as the large number of apparitions recognised as those of living persons—352 out of 830—shows that there is little tendency among Psychical Percipients to assume causelessly that apparitions represent dead or dying persons, or subsequently to the experience to identify an apparition which at the moment of its appearance was unrecognised. In other words, there is little tendency to inferential recognition. Nor is there any resemblance between the inferential identification of the hallucinatory figures seen by Visceral Patients and the few examples of "deferred recognition" cited in the Census collection (*v.*, *e.g.*, 128-9, 142-144, and 284). In one class of cases only—namely, cases of local haunts—does there appear to be any tendency to read back into the experiences resemblances which were not noted in the first instance.

The latter part of the paragraph which heads this section agrees with a statement made by the Census Committee: "The most primitive, and still the most widely spread and deeply rooted, conception of apparitions is that they represent dead persons." (389) If this statement of the Committee be true, it will be noticed that Census Percipients were not unduly influenced by this widely spread and deeply rooted conception: a strong tribute to the trustworthiness of their evidence on this particular point of recognition of the figures.

With regard to the cases of alleged death-coincidences, the Report says:

"Have we good reason to believe that it [the figure] was recognised before the death was known, and not merely, having been unrecognised at the time, assumed afterwards to have represented the decedent because of the coincidence?" . . . "Of the . . . kind of error, by which an unrecognised figure is afterwards remembered as a recognised one, we have no proved instances; nor had Mr. Gurney when 'Phantasms of the Living' was written. . . . Still, it is an error respecting which we ought to be on our guard." (210-11)

It is, of course, true that the appearance of recognised figures is often held by Psychical Percipients to be of evil omen: for the very good reason that the figure, by the form it assumes, by its speech or gesture, or symbolically, seems to convey news of death or misfortune. Sometimes a Psychical Percipient after seeing and recognising an apparition, which beyond the mere fact of its appearing has nothing about it suggestive of misfortune, does put the same gloomy interpretation on the incident as a Visceral Patient. But, without going into other particulars, we can always (except, perhaps, in cases of "deferred recognition," where we have to rely on other points of dissimilarity) draw this clear line of distinction between the experiences of the two, that, while the Visceral Patient only "recognises" his apparition as a result of subsequent reflexion, the Psychical Percipient recognises his apparition instantaneously and instinctively.

AUDITORY HALLUCINATIONS.

IX. "Hallucinations of hearing, occurring in sane persons suffering from visceral disease, are never articulate voices."

Neither in the Society's general collection nor in the Census is account taken of non-vocal or inarticulate hallucinations of hearing unless they happen to form part of a bisensory hallucination, or unless they occur among a series of hallucinations affecting other senses.

The hallucinations of Visceral Patients are only very rarely, if ever, bisensory; and we have already seen (*v. I. j*) that their visual hallucinations are not accompanied by sound; and we now learn that their auditory hallucinations are never articulate.

Seeing that the hallucinations of Psychological Percipients are frequently articulate, frequently preceded and sometimes accompanied by sound, and are often bisensory, it is clear that very broad lines of cleavage divide the one order of hallucinatory phenomena from the other.

It may seem, therefore, a work of supererogation to pursue the comparison further; but I am led to do so for the following reasons:

The diversity between the two is brought out much more forcibly by entering into detail than by merely contrasting, as above, the broad features of each.

Moreover, both the Census Report and the publications of the Society generally do contain records of isolated non-vocal sounds supposed to be hallucinatory, when these sounds form part of a series of hallucinations of a different form. Instances are to be found chiefly in cases of 'Haunted Houses.' These isolated non-vocal hallucinations of Psychological Percipients I propose, then, to compare with the equally isolated and equally non-vocal hallucinations of persons suffering from visceral disease.

My last reason is less obvious, and needs some preliminary explanation.

Dr. Head says in one place (*v. I. j*) that "no sound accompanied the appearance of the hallucination of vision in any case." From a subsequent passage in his treatise (*v. XVII.*) it appears, however, that this statement needs qualification, though Dr. Head himself does not make the qualification and seems to be unaware of the need of it.

The passage runs as follows: "It is uncommon to find two hallucinations occurring together at the same moment. One patient told me she heard tapping at an upstairs window and, looking, saw a white face."

A few Visceral hallucinations of vision, then, are "accompanied" by a non-vocal sound, and are at any rate *prima facie* bisensory.

Dr. Head quotes the above case in illustration of "two hallucinations occurring *together at the same moment.*" If he was speaking advisedly, then I am justified in saying that some Visceral hallucinations of vision are "accompanied" by sound. But as a matter of fact it seems to me to be more likely that in this case the sound preceded than that it accompanied the apparition. If this really was so, then the case resembles in this respect a considerable number of Census cases, classed as "bisensory," where a non-vocal sound *preceded* a visual hallucination. But they were put into this class chiefly because the *percipients* thought the sound to be hallucinatory, the Committee themselves thinking it probable that in many cases the sounds were real sounds, due to unexplained causes, and not hallucinatory at all; and that these real sounds provoked the subsequent hallucinations of vision.

In the same way the tapping at the upstairs window may have been a real sound, and may have provoked the apparition of the white face; for we have no proof that Visceral Patients are not as liable to the effects of suggestion as other people.¹

In various passages throughout this review I contrast the rarity of bisensory hallucinations among Visceral Patients with their comparative frequency among Psychological Percipients, and claim that herein lies a broad differentiation between the two.

But if we find, first, that bisensory hallucinations do occur among Visceral Patients, and, secondly, that in the only example of them which Dr. Head quotes the auditory part of the compound hallucination seems to have preceded the apparition and thus to resemble a large number of very doubtfully bisensory cases contained in the Census, it follows that "bisensoriness" alone, when the auditory part is non-vocal and precedes the visual part of the hallucination, is no longer in itself a sufficient mark of differentiation. Differences must therefore be looked for in other directions; and this I propose to do in the following sections.

¹In Section XVIII., however, I point out that such evidence as there is tends to show that Visceral Patients are less susceptible to suggestion than the ordinary run of people.

X. "Amongst [Dr. Head's] cases the hallucinations assumed the form of tapping or knocking (eleven cases), the sound of one or more bells (seven cases), a low whistling sound (one case), a sound like treading or heavy footsteps (one case), and a sort of breathing or inarticulate whispering (one case)."

In Census cases where an auditory hallucination *immediately preceded* a visual or tactile hallucination, we find the following forms:

A percipient "was sitting at tea talking with his wife when he heard a distinct knocking at the window. He . . . turned round and saw his grandmother. He saw her face quite clearly—in the bonnet and cape that she used to wear, and saw her hand in the attitude of having just tapped at the window. . . . It was about 5 o'clock in April—full daylight. . . . He has never had any experience of the kind before or since." (226)

The hallucination coincided with the death of the percipient's grandmother: and the figure displayed none of the characteristics of the Visceral type; and it will be noticed that the percipient was engaged in conversation at the time (v. XI.).

"I was awaked by a rattling noise at the window. . . . The rattle came again in a few minutes, and I sat up in bed, and distinctly saw the image of one of my step-brothers . . . pass from the window towards the door. . . . I was in good health and spirits." (227-8)

The hallucination coincided with the death of the step-brother, whose illness was unknown to the family; and was unique in the percipient's experience.

"I heard a knocking and turned to the door. I saw an individual, a man who was once my master, and he said: 'Well, Agnes, how are you?' 'Oh, it's Mr. Middleton.' He then vanished. [I was] sitting talking to my husband, in good health. . . . My husband saw nothing, but heard the knocking."

This percipient had "never had any other hallucinations of sight, but a week or two after this, she and her husband used to hear constant knockings or hammerings at night." (370-1)

The first experience took place 6 days before the wife's confinement. The second experience, auditory (non-vocal) only and shared by the husband, who had likewise shared in the (*non-vocal*) auditory part of the first, occurred within a week or two of the husband's sudden death. It will be noted that in the first hallucination there was first a non-vocal and afterwards a vocal hallucination. The apparition of the figure preceded the percipient's reception of the news of the death of Mr. Middleton by less than 20 hours.

"I had just put out the candle when footsteps were heard in the adjacent room—a sound of slippers shuffling, I might say." (385)

The visual hallucination that followed shows the following divergences from the Visceral type:

Variety of colours in dress of figure. Percipient "not frightened" and fell asleep with a "sense of joy." The figure spoke and moved, and made two distinct gestures. The hallucination was tri-sensory—auditory (non-vocal and vocal), visual and tactile; and was seen by the light of a sulphur match. The experience was not collective, but the same figure appeared on the same night to a second person, and spoke words of the same purport as to the first percipient.

I next give a *résumé* of a local apparition case where though non-vocal sounds did precede they did not by any means *immediately* precede the usual hallucination.

According to the first-hand account of the percipient she was awakened . . . by a tremendous noise apparently in the next suite of rooms, as if some huge iron boxes and other heavy things were being thrown about with great force. This continued about half-an-hour, and was followed first by a noise as if the fire in a room underneath were being violently poked and raked for some minutes, and then by a most terrible and distressing coughing of a man. The same things went on at night during the rest of her week's visit.

On a second visit to the haunted house a year later the same percipient heard a very noisy martial footstep ascending the stairs, and then marching quickly up and down the corridor outside her room. Then violent coughing, and afterwards the footsteps again.

Some nights later she saw a long, very thin, very dark

black figure bending over a Bible. The figure, apparently disturbed, though not dissipated, by movement on the percipient's part (*v. I. l*), suddenly darted up, jumped off the window-ledge, on to the wash-stand, and thence to the ground, and flitted quickly across the room, in the direction of a table on which were a lot of bangles and rings. The percipient then heard a slight jingle as if some one were feeling quietly her bangles and rings (*341-3*).

If Dr. Head's theory that the form of the hallucinations of Visceral Patients depends on the position of the headache be correct, it is only to be expected (as, indeed, nearly always seems to be the case) that a considerable interval should elapse between the occurrence of a hallucination of hearing and of a hallucination of vision. So we might expect to find in such a case as this last one, where a long interval elapsed between the first hallucination of hearing and the subsequent hallucination of sight, to find a closer resemblance to the Visceral type than in the foregoing cases where the visual *immediately* followed the auditory hallucination. So far, however, from there being any closer resemblance, the differences are quite as marked, as the following considerations show.

Except for one tactile and visual hallucination some three years previously, the percipient had experienced no other hallucinations, and these were her only auditory hallucinations, and they all occurred in the same house, and that a house which she visited only at intervals. According to the percipient's own account, the regular inmates of the house constantly heard similar sounds. Once a similar figure had been seen, and at least on one occasion a second person had heard the same strange noises as herself. The auditory hallucinations were at first unaccompanied by a visual hallucination, and when the figure did appear it was not preceded but followed by an auditory (non-vocal) hallucination. On the occasion of the first manifestation of the noises the percipient expressly states that she "did not feel a bit scared" (*v. XIII.*): nor apparently was she on subsequent occasions. The figure, though very black, and though it did not speak (*I. m*), was anything but stationary (*v. I. h*): and the experience was simultaneously bisensory on one occasion, namely, when the figure was seen and the jingling was heard.

There are two instances only in the Census Report which furnish a strictly parallel phenomenon to the auditory hallucinations of Visceral Patients. The first case was not included in the Census statistics because the sounds, though vocal, were not articulate, and because no other sense than that of hearing was affected: but it was printed in the Report because "the impression was a perfectly definite one, and unique in the experience of the percipient," and because the evidence for a telepathic origin seemed strong.

The percipient living in Dunbar heard one evening about 10 p.m., while preparing to go to bed, some one sobbing. After satisfying herself that the sobbing did not proceed from any one in the house, she at once thought there must be something the matter with her greatest friend who at the time was living in Lincolnshire. She wrote three days later to ask her friend if on the night in question she had been crying.

The friend replied that she had been crying on account of pain caused by toothache: and had thought of the percipient, and wished intensely that she was with her. (291)

Evidentially the coincidence is well-established: and the percipient had never had a similar experience.

The second instance crops up incidentally among information supplied by a percipient who had already sent an account of a coincidental articulate hallucination of hearing which he had experienced collectively with his father and cousin.

"Mr. Cary further informs us that he has had no other hallucinations except the hearing of footsteps. He heard them first in 1879 [i.e. four years after his articulate hallucination] and his brother died shortly after. He did not then know that such sounds were regarded as premonitory of a death. He has heard them twice since, and on each occasion a cousin of his died. His father also had heard them more than once, and each time lost a brother." (316)

The evidence is of course sadly lacking in detail: but the object of the enquiries addressed by the Committee to the percipient was not to obtain evidence of coincidence between non-vocal hallucinations and deaths, but to ascertain the extent of the percipient's susceptibility to auditory hallucination.

In conclusion I quote one specimen each of cases where non-vocal hallucinations were followed and perhaps accompanied by a hallucination of some other sense than that of sight.

A percipient lying in bed convalescent from an attack of scarlet rash, unaccompanied, however, by fever or derangement of consciousness, felt her bed shaken under her, and heard a gurgling noise, and a distinct cry for help. (269)

It will be noticed that unlike the cases observed by Dr. Head the inarticulate auditory hallucination was preceded by a tactile hallucination.

The hallucination coincided very closely in time with the death by drowning of a cousin.

Non-vocal noises play a considerable part in the alleged phenomena of haunted houses: but in many cases there is very little reason to attribute them to any but ordinary causes, even where they are followed by undoubted hallucinations of vision (*v.* 180, and 340).

In one case (346-9), however, a collective visual hallucination (perhaps collectively auditory (non-vocal) also) preceded by a few days a collective auditory (non-vocal) and visual hallucination, and was later on followed by a series of non-vocal hallucinations. The figure first seen does not conform to the Visceral type; for, apart from its having been seen collectively, its sex was recognised (*v.* I. *e*); it was not stationary, it walked downstairs (*v.* I. *h*); its dress rustled (*L. j*), and its clothes contained colour (*v.* III.); and it appeared during "a bright summer afternoon" (*v.* IV.). A few days later, during a meal, all the members of the family heard the latch of a door lifted and saw a shadow go quickly up the stairs. Subsequently non-articulate noises of various kinds were heard either collectively or singly by members of the family during a considerable period of time. They are described as follows:

"The noises in the house were at times almost unbearable—exactly as though half-a-ton of coals had been shot down the stairs. Mother never actually saw the old woman, though she constantly followed the sound of the footsteps up the stairs to try and discover what it could be; and once . . . she heard it come downstairs, and made up her mind she would look;

but directly the door began to open she covered her face, and distinctly heard it come all round the room and go out leaving the door open." (346-9)

Eventually the father while suffering from "one of his favourite bilious attacks heard some one coming, and in walked the old woman." This was the last straw, and the family left the house: and the next inmates are said to have left after a short stay on account of the "awful noises."

The collectivity of these hallucinations of hearing is alone sufficient to distinguish them from the non-vocal auditory hallucinations of Visceral Patients; and, as another broad distinction, I note that the non-vocal sounds heard by Psychological Percipients are much more varied in character and are also perhaps more violent than the sounds heard by Visceral Patients. The former frequently hear several different kinds of noises together or in rapid succession, whereas the latter appear to hear only one kind of noise at a time.

XI. "These hallucinations usually occur at night. But as it is only necessary for their appearance that disturbing noise should be absent, they may occur during the day if the patient is in a quiet place; for as light was found to be a disturbing factor in the case of visual hallucinations, so external noise seems to prevent the appearance of auditory hallucinations."

Light is emphatically not a disturbing factor in the case of Psychological visual hallucinations, and so we might expect that external noises would not check the development of Psychological auditory hallucinations.

But the question is not so simple as in the case of visual hallucinations, and a clear and categorical answer cannot be made to it. And this for various reasons.

In the first place it is a much easier matter to distinguish a visual hallucination from a visual illusion than it is to distinguish an auditory hallucination from an auditory illusion.

In the second place, there is an absolute lack of *direct* evidence with regard to the absence or presence of external noise at the moment of the occurrence of auditory hallucinations; and in only a few cases can the acoustic conditions be inferred.

In the third place, even if direct evidence on this point were given by percipients, it would in many cases be open to suspicion. A person may easily be conscious of more than one visual impression simultaneously, but unless a special effort be made to observe accurately, I think our ordinary experience is that though we may have been conscious at a given moment of more than one sound, when we cross-examine our memory afterwards one sound has survived to the exclusion of all others; not necessarily the loudest, but the one which had most interest for us. The spontaneity of auditory hallucinations makes it extremely unlikely that any one at the moment of experiencing them would make that special effort at accurate contemporaneous observation which I imagine is necessary in order to ascertain if more than one sound were audible at a given time.

These considerations lead me to question how much reliance can be placed on Dr. Head's statement, cautiously and somewhat vaguely expressed though it be, that "external noise seems to prevent the appearance of auditory hallucinations."

I fancy that a safer, though far more awkwardly expressed, statement might run somewhat in this fashion: If sounds, claimed to be hallucinatory, occur under conditions when it is known or suspected that external noises were being or could have been simultaneously heard by the percipient, the chances in favour of the sounds having been real sounds misinterpreted are largely increased. Hence sounds claimed as hallucinatory which occur at night or at other quiet times are more likely than sounds occurring in daytime to be accepted as hallucinatory not only by the hearer but by the critic.

I have called Dr. Head's statement somewhat vague, for he speaks of "external noise" without explaining whether any degree, however small, of external noise is sufficient to prevent an auditory hallucination, or whether its intensity matters. Would, for instance, a Visceral Patient, whose nights were passed within earshot of an electric-light generating station, be preserved from auditory hallucinations by the monotonous whirr of the engines?

The Census Committee believed that "a state of repose is favourable to hallucinations." "*We find,*" they write, ". . .

that in 38 per cent. of visual, 34 per cent. of auditory, and 44 per cent. of tactile cases, the percipient was in bed, or (in a very few cases) had been sleeping in his chair or elsewhere.

“Considering what a small part of our lives we generally spend awake in bed, the fact that over $\frac{1}{3}$ of the hallucinations occur under these circumstances is certainly remarkable, and the proportion that occurs immediately after waking—about 12 per cent. of visual hallucinations—is still more striking.”
(171)

If, then, we do not press Dr. Head's words “external noise seems to prevent the appearance of auditory hallucinations” too closely, we may say that much the same conditions favour the development of auditory hallucinations in the case of Visceral Patients as in the case of Psychical Percipients; or rather, perhaps, a state of repose favours not so much the *development* as the *recognition* by percipient or psychologist, patient or physician, of certain sounds as hallucinatory.

If we turn now to the Census Report, we shall find that neither a state of repose nor absence of external noise necessarily prevents the hearing of hallucinatory sounds, or at least of sounds supposed by their hearers to be hallucinatory.

For the purpose of elucidating this particular point I include Psychical cases of articulate hallucinations of hearing; though it must be borne in mind that, strictly speaking, by the very fact of their articulateness they are differentiated from the inarticulate hallucinations of Visceral Patients.

The first case serves incidentally to illustrate the doubt that a percipient himself may feel as to the genuinely hallucinatory character of an experience occurring amid noises indubitably external.

“I was a captain in the staff of the army at the siege of Delhi, in 1857; and, among other duties, often carried orders and messages for the general in command.

“On one occasion I was sent by the general with some message or orders for Sir Charles Reid, who commanded all our advanced posts along the well-known ‘ridge.’

“He was not at his headquarters, but had gone towards the extreme right and most exposed part of the ridge, so, leaving my horse under cover, I proceeded on foot along

the road towards the 'right battery.' Just as I reached a turn of the road, which was specially dangerous owing to its being enfiladed by the enemy's guns in position, I heard my name called out, on the left hand, and, seeing a group of officers standing by the breastwork which lined the front of our position, I went towards them; and, just as I left the road, the spot was torn up by a shower of grape-shot, which, had I been there, must have killed me! As I approached the officers, among whom I expected to find Sir C. Reid, one of them remarked on the narrow escape I had just had: but, on my asking why they had called out to me, I was told to my utter surprise, that no one had done so! I heard the summons, however, which saved my life; and whether I fancied that some other of the many sounds in the air at the time was my somewhat peculiar name, or whether the call to me at that fortunate moment was a 'spirit voice,' as one of my friends at once pronounced it, or was altogether the product of my own imagination: the facts remain that I heard, or thought I heard, an unrecognised voice summon me from the road; that by obeying the summons I escaped death, or at any rate very serious wounding; and that no human being had so called out to me!" (337)

If this was a real hallucination, it would be difficult to imagine stronger evidence of its having been accompanied by external noise.

The Report refers to, but does not quote, a case where a percipient states that she heard a voice saying, "cross the road," just before a runaway horse came round the corner (337). Here an obvious explanation suggests itself: namely, that the noise made by the runaway horse was subconsciously heard by the percipient and gave rise to the hallucination: a phenomenon not to be confused with the *misinterpretation* of an external sound. But, whatever the cause may have been, the hallucination, if such it was, can hardly not have been accompanied by external noise.

As regards non-vocal cases, one case of coincidental sobbing already referred to (*v. X.*, p. 312) illustrates the difficulty of determining the acoustic conditions accompanying a hallucination of hearing. The percipient was "preparing to go to bed": and at least two other inmates of the house were still up,

one of whom came into the percipient's room just after she had heard the sobs. It is conceivable, of course, that at the precise moment when the hallucination occurred a temporary silence may have reigned throughout the house, but it appears more likely that external noise cannot have been wholly absent.

For other instances we must have recourse to cases of local apparitions, of which, says the Report, "one of the most commonly reported features . . . is the frequent occurrence of alarming and unaccountable noises in the house." These noises, the Report states, "are generally, though not invariably, reported to be heard at night."

In a case already referred to (*v. X.*, p. 313) a family are seated at dinner, when apparently all and certainly most of them heard the lifting of the latch of a door leading into the garden, and several of them thereupon saw the door open, and a shadow go quickly upstairs.

When a family, especially one comprising several children—as did this one—is at dinner, it would be almost miraculous if external noise were absent. But though other previous and subsequent experiences in the same house were, undoubtedly, hallucinatory, it does not necessarily follow that the sound of the door-latch was, for it may possibly have been a real sound, which provoked the visual hallucination and the subsequent hallucinations of hearing; though if it were so, the family must have had a strong family susceptibility to suggestion. A similar ambiguity presents itself in another Haunted House case, where one of the percipients writes:

"Once, when we were all working in the room . . . we distinctly heard knocking at the door, and on calling out 'come in' there was no response." (353)

External noise must almost certainly have been going on, but was the knocking hallucinatory, and would it have been given a second thought except for the visual hallucinations which had preceded and which followed it? Still, although when taken by itself such a phenomenon as this knocking has little chance of being accepted as hallucinatory, when other alleged phenomena reported by other percipients in the same case are taken into consideration, there seems to me to be strong grounds for regarding not only the knocking but also the

other mysterious noises which formed a prominent feature of the hauntings as hallucinatory. Thus the percipient quoted above writes:

"I continually heard the most real and awful groans and various sorts of noises, which could not be accounted for in any way. . . ." And again: "The apparition was generally seen in or near Mr. S.'s bedroom and dressing room, where also mysterious noises—whinings, voices and taps—were often heard by several members of the household."

I quote below the strongest evidence to be found in the Census Report for the perception of an auditory hallucination during the occurrence of external noise.

"I went with my mother into his room at about three o'clock in the afternoon, and as we opened the wardrobe door, we heard the most appalling noise. The only thing I can at all compare it to is the letting loose of a quantity of clock machinery, and yet that doesn't describe it, and it was more violent, while it lasted, which was about half a minute: we clung together in terror, and then we looked everywhere for an explanation, but could find none, and never have. No one else in the house heard it, though it was so loud, and we never heard it again." (353-4)

XII. (a) "The feeling-tone that accompanies these auditory hallucinations varies greatly in intensity, but is almost invariably unpleasant. Two patients only described their hallucinations as pleasant."

The above probably holds good in Psychological cases, at least in non-vocal hallucinations. That the feeling-tone should be almost invariably unpleasant stands to reason, for any sound—whether ultimately regarded as hallucinatory or not—of which the cause remains unexplained, is much more likely than not to give rise to an uncomfortable feeling of insecurity or uncanniness, particularly if heard in the dark or at night. Rare instances, however, do occur (*v.*, *e.g.*, *Phantasms of the Living*, vol. ii., 220-3, and 639-41, and *S.P.R. Journal*, vol. ix., pp. 88-90) where non-vocal hallucinatory sounds are said to have produced an agreeable effect: or where it may be inferred that the effect must have been pleasing, although not directly stated to have been so: *v.*, *e.g.*, (162)

a case of an auditory hallucination of "elaborate music being played."

(b) "The intensity of such hallucinations of hearing is very variable. Sometimes they consist of a continuous sound such as a whistle, sometimes of a series of sounds of equal intensity (knocking and tapping). Sometimes the sound begins softly and works up to a bang, or it may even rise and fall in intensity."

Examples of all the above varieties of sounds are to be found among Psychological cases of non-vocal auditory hallucination.

(c) "In all cases these sounds have a curious insistent quality. The patient is unable to listen to anything else unless he be directly spoken to, nor can he distract his attention from the sound as it would have been possible had it not been hallucinatory."

On this point lack of evidence makes it impossible to say whether similar symptoms obtain in the case of Psychological Percipients. In 62 per cent. of Psychological visual hallucinations the percipient was alone, and, though no analysis was made of auditory hallucinations in order to discover the condition of the percipient in respect of solitude, the Report states that 34 per cent. of them occurred when the percipient was in bed, and in a very large proportion of these cases it is probable that the percipient was alone. Few opportunities would therefore present themselves of testing whether a Psychological Percipient is unable to "listen to anything else unless directly spoken to," or whether he can distract his attention from the hallucinatory sound: and rarer still would be the occasions on which such an opportunity would be seized; and even if the experiment were attempted it would remain doubtful whether the termination of the hallucination was brought about by the intrusion of an objective sound, or whether the termination of the one merely coincided with the beginning of the other. The nearest approach to a parallel that I can find in the Census Report occurs in the case of Mr. Mamtchitch, whose experiences have already referred to above. He writes: "Chaque fois, en voyant inopinément, je perds la parole, je sens du froid dos, je pâlis, je m'écrie faiblement, et ma respira-

tion s'arrête (c'est ce que me disent ceux qui par hasard m'ont observé pendant ce moment)." But here the hallucinations, which recurred frequently, were with two exceptions visual only.

XIII. "The patient is usually frightened, and this fear is usually associated with sweating, with 'beating' of the heart, and 'goose-flesh.' One very intelligent patient told me she was much more frightened by the tapping on the wall than if it had been real tapping."

The Psychological Percipient of a non-vocal auditory hallucination is also usually frightened, though not always (*v. e.g.* 341), a good deal no doubt depending on the impressionability of his temperament and on his physical condition at the time. His fright, too, at least in some cases, is associated with some of the usual physical concomitants. But I do not believe that fright or its physical concomitants are typical symptoms of either Psychological or Visceral auditory hallucinations: and they would be equally found to occur in a large proportion of cases where people hear real sounds which they cannot explain or which they suspect of being indicative of the action or presence of some unwelcome person, animal, or thing: *e.g.* of a burglar, a madman, of a rat or cat, or of a fire.

THE MENTAL CHANGES IN GENERAL.

XIV. "These mental changes are recognised by the patients themselves, and in some cases are associated by them with the first appearance or progress of their disease."

The Census Committee, after cutting out a certain number (23) of experiences which occurred during diseases known to be associated with hallucination, felt bound, in view of the numerical comparison to be made of seemingly veridical with purely subjective cases, to retain in their statistical tables 123 cases of hallucination experienced by persons suffering from some form of illness with which hallucination was not at the time known to be associated.

In 21 out of these 123 retained cases *"the percipient was in a state of convalescence after some illness—the nature of*

which is not specified, but which was apparently acute—or recovering from a recent operation, or on the verge of a severe illness.” (160)

Of this last division (with which alone we are here concerned) the Report contains two examples, and in each the percipient regarded his experience as the precursory symptom of an illness. Yet neither hallucination, as will be seen, conforms to the Visceral type, doubtless because neither heralded the approach of a disease of visceral origin.

Professor G. “saw an old woman with red cloak, nursing a child in her arms.” The figure was seen out of doors in bright sunny weather. On another occasion he saw a dog beside him. Each hallucination occurred when the percipient was suffering from slight attacks of insomnia, due to over-work; and he notes that in each case “a severe illness followed.” (103)

Mrs. D. from a child was subject to hallucinations of various kinds, visual and auditory: and she noted that there was a distinct connection between their appearance and trouble of some sort at the nervous centres. Most of her experiences took place during severe attacks of “neuralgia in the right side of the head,” “acute pain in the temple,” or “neuralgia in the hip and knee.” Once, however, when apparently not suffering from any of these attacks of pain, she experienced a recurrent hallucination which she associated with the oncoming of an infectious disease, and which she thus describes:

“At a later period I was nursing a member of my family suffering from an infectious disease, the course of which had already taken a favourable turn, when, on going to the bedroom early one morning, I saw a large half-bred black retriever sitting in an angle of the stairs. I sent a servant down and ascertained there was no dog there, but continued to see it; and at last it became a fear to me to pass the landing from which I saw it, and I avoided going down the stairs. During the visitations of the black dog, it was always visible in the corner of the stairs whenever I looked at the place. It never changed its position; and in the end, one night, feeling very ill, I fainted on the stairs, having sickened with the same disease. I had noted the day

on which the apparition of the dog began; it was between four and five days after, according to the usual calculation, I had begun to sicken with the malady. The duration of this hallucination distinguishes it from others which I have had when seriously ill, and which may have been of the nature of delirium, and which I will not, therefore, recapitulate here." (409)

XV. Recurrence is a marked characteristic of the hallucinations experienced by patients suffering from visceral disease. Dr. Head does not quote statistics, but that such is the case appears clearly, not only from several passages in the lectures, but also from the detailed reports of cases given in the Appendix. Dr. Head does not state whether recurrence is the more marked in auditory or in visual cases.¹

Using the term in the same sense as it is employed in the Census Report I mean by recurrence, not that the patient is subject to successive and miscellaneous hallucinations affecting different senses, but to repeated hallucinations of the same sense, the percepts, if not remaining entirely unchanged, at least manifesting a general resemblance to each other.

Recurrent hallucinations, as will be seen from the appended quotations, are experienced by Psychological Percipients; but so far as I can judge, they are nothing like so common as among Visceral Patients. I think it would be fair to say that whereas recurrence is the rule in Visceral cases it is the exception in Psychological cases. It is further interesting to note, in view of Dr. Head's observations, that the recurrence of hallucinations was found by the Census Committee to be especially marked in cases occurring during ill-health.

That the connection between recurrence and ill-health was less marked in the auditory cases contained in the Census collection may have been due to the exclusion from it of purely non-vocal auditory hallucinations.

¹Dr. Head tells me that it is a difficult matter to state the amount of recurrence except in a very general way. The detailed record of cases contained in the Appendix to Dr. Head's lectures had led me to suppose that in a considerable number of cases a hallucination might recur 10 or 20 times. I gather from a conversation with Dr. Head that this is by no means an over-estimate, and that in many cases the hallucinations could be reckoned by the score, and even in a few cases by the hundred.

"When several hallucinations are experienced by the same percipient they are in some cases scattered throughout his whole life, or a long period of it, and in others, even when numerous, they are confined to a comparatively short period. [References to specimen cases here follow. The two instances given of recurrence confined to a short period of time both differ from the Visceral type]. . . Again, while in most cases the successive hallucinations are apparently quite miscellaneous, in others they show a more or less marked tendency to repeat themselves, the same hallucination occurring again and again."

"We find 71 cases of this kind of recurrence in visual hallucinations. By "recurrence" we do not mean necessarily an exact reproduction, but that the general resemblance is enough to make the percipient regard the successive hallucinations as representing the same person or thing, or, in the case of animals, the same species of animal. Thus in [a case numbered 37·13] the percipient was awakened by clothes falling off her bed, and saw a figure in profile, with a lilac print dress and white apron, standing at the other end of the room. On another occasion she was awakened by feeling her hand clutched, and saw a figure of a woman in a similar costume facing her. Here the general resemblance was enough to make the percipient regard the figures as representing the same person. [Note how the colour (v. III.) in the first experience, and the tactile hallucination (v. XVIII.) preceding the visual in the second, distinguish these cases from the Visceral type.] "Again, [in a case numbered 280·20] the percipient saw the face of his brother in a wide-awake hat look in at the door of his room in the evening. The same night he woke and saw the upper half of his brother standing by his bed, looking at him. [The recognition of the figure, and of its sex, and the hat distinguish this from a Visceral case.] We count both these cases as recurrent, in spite of the slight differences between the impressions on the different occasions. In most of the recurrent cases, the various appearances seem to have resembled one another more closely than in these." (163)

"Auditory and tactile hallucinations appear to be repeated much more frequently in proportion than visual hallucina-

tions . . . but this seems to follow naturally from the smaller variety of form to be found in auditory and tactile cases.

The repetition of hallucinations is—as might be expected—especially marked in cases occurring during ill-health. If the 106 visual cases reported to us in which the percipient was in ill health, 16, or 15 per cent., were recurrent. It should be said that 7 of these are among the 19 cases which seemed so clearly due to ill-health that we have excluded them from the tables; but recurrence is also found in over 10 per cent. of the remainder, whereas, of all the visual cases included in the Census, only 71, or 5.5 per cent. were recurrent.

The connection between recurrence and ill health is less marked in the auditory and tactile cases. Of the 40 auditory and tactile cases reported to us as occurring during ill health, 18, or 45 per cent., were recurrent, while of all the auditory and tactile cases included in the Census, 181, or 36 per cent. were recurrent." (164)

Recurrence is no doubt fairly common in "local apparition" cases. Fortunately the Society has made it a rule to attach no evidential weight to alleged hauntings, unless the phenomena are testified to by more than one percipient. Otherwise it is far from improbable that the experiences of persons suffering from visceral disease would have been accepted as evidence for "local" apparitions.

It is easy to see how the hallucinations of a person attacked by some visceral disease might easily be mistaken for a "local apparition" case. The hallucinations may begin at the onset of the disease, and therefore before, in the great majority of cases, its presence is recognised: and the patient accordingly might quite innocently report himself as being, or even as having been at the time, in ordinary health. Since also the visual hallucinations occur in the dark a patient would experience them in 19 cases out of 20 in his bedroom, which would thus become the "Haunted Room," and the ghost would be properly "localised." The recurrence of the phenomenon would go to prove that it was not an illusion, and might further be held to support the view that it was not purely subjective. With the progress of the disease the form of the hallucinations might change, and if they became auditory we should have the phenomenon of non-vocal noises

so characteristic of cases of "Haunted Houses." Such a possibility is not, I think it will be admitted, very remote. But, as I have already said, the danger has been largely guarded against by the Society's demand for corroborative evidence. Not entirely guarded against, it is true, for it is quite possible that two or more members of the same household, and especially of the same *family*, might be suffering simultaneously, or might suffer successively from some form of visceral disease: and then there might be not only two or more witnesses to the phenomena, but in view of the uniformity of Visceral hallucinations, their description of their experiences might tally to a singular degree. If a second inmate of the same house developed a visceral disease accompanied by hallucinations a year or two after the first patient, we should hear of a "*recrudescence*" of the phenomena. But the case for "haunted houses" does not depend for protection against such an attack as I have suggested solely on corroborative evidence. Let alone the points of differentiation from Visceral hallucinations drawn from "Local Apparition" cases contained in the Census Report, to which I have already directed attention in this review, any one can satisfy himself as to the want of any real resemblance between the hallucinations of Visceral patients and those reported by residents in haunted houses, if he will take the trouble to study carefully half-a-dozen "local apparition" cases picked at random from the *Proceedings* or *Journal*.

XVI. "Sex plays a considerable part in the facility with which [these mental changes] occur. For three times as many women as men had hallucinations during their stay in hospital, although the total number of cases used in this research comprised 102 men and 90 women."

"The number of men who experience sensory hallucinations and remember them is to the number of women who do so in the ratio of nearly 2 to 3" . . .

"Men appear to forget their hallucinations more rapidly than women." (152-3)

The greater liability of women to hallucinations holds good of Psychical Percipients: though the disproportion is smaller.

No addition such as was made by the Census Committee need be made to the number of hallucinations experienced by Dr. Head's male patients by way of allowance for forgetfulness: for under the particular circumstances forgetfulness cannot have played any appreciable part. On the other hand, Dr. Head reduced the number of hallucinations experienced by his female patients on the ground that certain conditions peculiar to their sex favour the appearance of hallucinations. How large this reduction was is not stated: but I should imagine that it amounted to at least one-sixth of the total number.

Whether or no the same cause predisposes women in general to hallucination, and whether or no a similar reduction might consequently have been made in the number of hallucinations reported to the Census Committee by female percipients, it remains true in any case that the excess of hallucinations of female over those of male patients suffering from visceral disease is very much larger than the excess of hallucinations of female over those of male Psychological Percipients.

But this also is clear, that even if very large allowances be made for forgetfulness among men and predisposing causes among women, women, whether suffering from a visceral disease or not, are more subject to hallucinations than men.

XVII. "It is uncommon to find two hallucinations occurring together at the same moment. One patient told me she heard tapping at an upstairs window, and, looking, saw a white face. But in the great majority of instances, if a patient suffers from hallucinations of more than one kind, these hallucinations occur on entirely separate occasions."

Or, translated into the phraseology of the Census Report, the hallucinations of sufferers from visceral disease are only very rarely bisensory.

But the word bisensory is used to cover two similar but not identical phenomena, between which there seems to me to be a not unimportant distinction. Bisensory hallucinations, as I have observed above, are of two kinds, those which are simultaneously and those which are successively bisensory. It is, however, more often than not impossible to draw the line in any one given instance; and the case quoted

in the heading of this section is an excellent illustration of this ambiguity. From the fact of Dr. Head precluding his citation of the case by speaking of "two hallucinations occurring together at the same moment" it might be inferred that the senses of hearing and sight were really affected "together at the same moment," but Dr. Head's account of the incident is not sufficiently definite to establish the real simultaneity of the double hallucination; and we are, I think, justified in asking: Did the auditory really overlap the visual hallucination? or, in other words, did not the woman cease to hear the tapping when she saw the face?

Had the patient been cross-examined even within a few minutes of her experience she could not probably have given a confident answer. This ambiguity attaches, I believe, to the majority of bisensory hallucinations: but there are a few cases where the two senses were beyond question affected simultaneously. (For instances see 192; 195-196; 389-390 385-6; 252; and 295-6.)

But to revert to the one bisensory case all too briefly mentioned by Dr. Head. Was it really bisensory? The white face seen by the patient was no doubt hallucinatory, but the tapping may have been a real sound rightly perceived and localised, or an illusion, *i.e.* a real sound, rightly perceived, and wrongly localised, or wrongly perceived and rightly localised, or both wrongly localised and wrongly perceived. If the tapping was an illusion or a real sound, the case would then fall into line with those cases in the Census Collection where a noise (as the Committee was led to believe) induced a (subsequent) visual hallucination "by creating in the hearer a strong expectation of seeing something corresponding to it or that may account for it." (178)

But, again, was the hearing of the tapping at the window and the seeing of the face a hallucination of the Visceral type at all? There is no reason why visceral disease should exempt a patient from all liability to hallucinations except those characteristic of the disease. And it is quite possible that among the 192 patients under Dr. Head's observation some few may have experienced hallucinations for the form of which their disease was not in any way responsible.

I regret that Dr. Head did not deal in greater detail with

these "uncommon" cases of bisensory hallucination among his patients; for had he done so we should have been in a better position to judge not only whether both affections of the senses were hallucinatory, and how far these bisensory hallucinations conformed with typical hallucinations of Visceral patients affecting one sense only, but also what proportion they bore to hallucinations involving only one sense.

Contenting ourselves, however, with the statement that they were "uncommon," let us see to what degree bisensory hallucinations are common or uncommon among Psychological Percipients. If cases where an auditory non-vocal hallucination forms one part of the compound hallucination are included (and these cases form obviously the best basis for a fair comparison with the Visceral type) in 14 per cent. of the Census cases more than one sense was affected.

If we omit cases where one part of the compound experience consisted of a non-vocal sound, the proportion of bisensory cases falls to 9·5 per cent.

In coincidental cases (*i.e.* coincidental for the most part with death, illness, or crises of some kind) the proportion of bi- and tri-sensory cases rises to 14·5 per cent.; and to 17·5 per cent. if we confine ourselves to visual death coincidences.

On the most unfavourable basis, then, Census cases show an average of 9·5 per cent. of bisensory hallucinations, and we only arrive at this low average by excluding from our calculations the very type of bisensory hallucinations which alone supplies even a superficial resemblance to the bisensory hallucinations of visceral patients. On the most favourable basis the average rises to 17·5 per cent.

While it would be idle to speculate as to what exact proportion Dr. Head meant to indicate by the term "uncommon," I have practically no doubt that he could not have so described the bisensory cases among his patients had they represented any such proportions as 14·5 or 17·5 per cent.

I have gone into this question with some care because of the important part which bisensory hallucinations play in S.P.R. coincidental or veridical cases. Except for their greater "impressiveness" (a feature which, I must admit, does not appear very impressive to me), the only characteristic that distinguishes veridical from purely subjective cases lies in the

marked preponderance of bi- and tri-sensory hallucinations which figure among the veridical cases. It is particularly satisfactory, therefore, to find that between the class of hallucinations which from our point of view are of the greatest importance and the hallucinations of visceral disease lies this broad line of cleavage.

XVIII. CHARACTERISTICS OF S.P.R. HALLUCINATIONS WHICH ARE NOT REPORTED AS OCCURRING IN VISCERAL HALLUCINATIONS.

In the preceding section I have drawn attention to the rarity of bisensory hallucinations among patients suffering from visceral disease, and have, moreover, explained my reasons for doubting whether in these rare cases the two elements of the experience are simultaneous, as they unquestionably are in some S.P.R. cases; and I have even gone so far as to question whether the two elements are both hallucinatory; in other words, whether Visceral hallucinations are ever really bisensory. I now proceed to point out how of certain extremely characteristic features of S.P.R. hallucinations—including some of those very features which have led us to regard the phenomena as “metapsychical”—no trace is to be found in Dr. Head’s account of the hallucinations that accompany visceral disease. And here we shall be treading on ground firmer than in the last section, though not quite so firm as I could wish. For the argument from silence is a dangerous one; and I would not draw from Dr. Head’s silence the positive conclusion that none of these features ever presents itself in the hallucinatory experiences of Visceral Patients.

Let us take first *Veridicality*, i.e., coincidence between a hallucination and an event unknown to the *halluciné*. Dr. Head, who was treating his subject from a medical and not from a Psychological Research point of view, does not report in his lectures any case of real or supposed coincidence. He tells me, however, that, as a matter of fact, some of his patients did claim that their hallucinations were veridical; but he did not examine into these alleged coincidences, as this aspect of the matter did not lie within his province.

If telepathy is, as we suppose, a *vera causa*, there is indeed on the face of it no reason why a person in a morbid physical

condition should not experience a genuinely telepathic hallucination as much as a person in a healthy condition. The reason why a coincidental hallucination occurring to a sick person is less strong as evidence for telepathy than one occurring to a healthy person is to a great extent because hallucinations are known to be more frequent in the former case and therefore afford more scope for chance coincidences with the death of a friend, or some such event.

Dr. Head has, as will be seen on reference to the quotation which heads section VIII., noted that when visual hallucinations were accompanied by the depressed mood his patients were given to regard the apparition as a sign of some coming misfortune, such, *e.g.*, as the death of some member of their family. In his lectures he does not say if the patients ever enquired whether their fears were realised. He has told me, however, that, at least in some cases, such enquiries were made, and resulted occasionally in a coincidence of some sort being claimed.

Now we have seen (see footnote to XV.) that hallucinations are extraordinarily frequent among Visceral Patients; and accordingly some real or fancied coincidences were almost bound to occur.

One of the strangest points about Psychical coincidental cases is that the hallucinations of the percipients which furnish examples of coincidence are, in the great majority of instances, unique or almost unique experiences in their lives. But, it may be objected, the hallucinations were not really unique; it was only the coincidences which were unique, and which thus have been remembered, while the frequent non-coincidental hallucinations have been forgotten. Well, even if large allowance be made for this source of error, there still remains another feature of Psychical veridical cases to explain away, namely, their vividness. A Visceral visual hallucination, consisting as it does of a veiled figure of uncertain sex, speechless, gestureless, wearing no distinctive clothing, armless and legless, beardless, the face misty or even invisible, could not furnish instances of coincidence anything like so circumstantial as do the more vividly externalised figures seen by Psychical Percipients. Coincidence, then of a kind does, no doubt, exist between the hallucinations of Visceral Patients and external events, but not coincidence of

the definite and vivid description which characterises a large number of the veridical cases collected by the S.P.R.

I have spoken of coincidence or veridicality as a characteristic of Psychological hallucinations for the sake of convenience; for, of course, coincidence is a matter of subsequent inference, and does not form a part of the actual experience of the percipients, as do other features of which I am now going to speak.

Of these the most conspicuous by its absence from the reported experiences of Visceral Patients is *Collectivity*. Here again (and the same observation applies to "local" cases), there is no reason why this phenomenon—or a mimicry of it—should not present itself in Visceral cases.

This might happen in one of two ways:

The hallucinations of Visceral Patients resemble one another very closely and show little variety, and occur under certain well-defined conditions: auditory when the surroundings of the patient are quiet, visual in the dark. This being so, is it unlikely that several patients suffering from one of the forms of visceral disease specially favourable to the appearance of hallucinations should occupy the same ward of a hospital; and that two of them should have at or about the same time (it must be remembered that many of these hallucinations are by no means momentary) a similar visual or auditory hallucination? They might not speak of it to each other, but they might each independently mention it to the doctor in charge of their case.

Or, as we have no grounds for assuming that liability to hallucinations of visceral origin renders a patient immune from other forms of hallucination, a possible variation of the manner suggested above in which a parody of true collectivity might be produced suggests itself. One patient might have a typical hallucination arising purely from his morbid physical condition, while a second patient in the same or an adjoining ward might at or about the same time receive a corresponding impression telepathically.

The first supposition has, I should say, a much better chance of being realised than the second. But anyhow it is satisfactory that no trace of either having been realised is to be found in Dr. Head's lectures.

Dr. Head mentions no tendency on the part of his patients to *localise* their hallucinations. Clearly a patient who had seen apparitions in his own house and then soon after entering the hospital saw the same apparition again in a ward would, however much inclined before to regard his apparition as a local haunt, abandon that interpretation of the phenomenon. But the hallucinations experienced by patients before admission were not by any means always repeated after admission. They might have visual and auditory hallucinations at home, and only moods of depression when in hospital; or visual and auditory hallucinations when in hospital and not at home, and so on. And even if hallucinations were experienced both before and after admission, the recurrence of the hallucination in the hospital would not necessarily immediately follow admission: and during the interval one can easily understand how a patient might be led to imagine that his change of habitation had rid him of his ghost. That no such tendency to localise their hallucinations is reported of Visceral Patients is all the more noteworthy inasmuch as the great majority of visual hallucinations must have appeared to a patient in the room in which he slept.

If these patients who had visual hallucinations at home did not really regard their bedrooms as the scene of a local haunt, it may have been because they connected the apparition rather with the *dark* than with the room; or, to put it in another way, they were more familiar with the popular theory that darkness is a necessary condition for seeing a ghost than with the theory that ghosts attach themselves to certain localities.

One would have imagined, too, that the non-recognition of the figures would have helped to lead them to regard their hallucinations as local ghosts. By which I do not, of course, mean that because a ghost is recognised he therefore loses *ipso facto* all claim to be considered as "local," but a recognised ghost could hardly be treated as "local" unless he appeared in an appropriate locality, *e.g.* in a locality connected with his earth-career.

Or, again, there may be some intimate, indefinable and uncommunicable instinct which makes the patient recognise that the causes of the phenomenon lie somehow in himself

and thus prevents him from sharing the conviction of most ghost-seers of witnessing a phenomenon external to, and in no way dependent on, themselves.

We meet with no instances of the *Development of Hallucinations*, and while it is not surprising to find no parallel to those rare and doubtful cases that the Census Committee entitled "*Reciprocal*," it is somewhat strange that Visceral Patients are apparently free from *Tactile* hallucinations: for three other of the senses—sight, smell, and hearing—were affected. Out of 1684 hallucinations of various kinds collected in the Census there were 127 purely tactile, and 56 cases where the sense of touch was affected concomitantly with another sense.

The Census Committee expressed the opinion that to *Expectancy and Suggestion* were due a variety of cases of hallucination, and especially of the development and elaboration of hallucinations: thus, for example, a real sound might start a visual hallucination, a hallucinatory sound might lead up to a visual hallucination, or, the appearance of a phantasmal figure might excite the natural expectation that the apparition had something to say and would accordingly induce an auditory hallucination, and so on.

Any such effects of expectancy or suggestion are markedly absent in Visceral hallucinations. In only one case, already mentioned (*v. XVII.*), do we read of a patient hearing a sound and seeing an apparition; and we have besides Dr. Head's definite statement to the effect that "in the great majority of instances, if a patient suffers from hallucinations of more than one kind, these hallucinations occur on entirely separate occasions."

The same absence of any elaboration or development in the hallucinations of Visceral Patients can be inferred from the uniformity or at least great similarity of the visual apparitions, and particularly from the invariable silence of the hallucinatory figures. In fact a person suffering from visceral disease seems an extraordinarily unsuggestible person. He can repeatedly see a ghostly figure standing by his bedside, and yet have not enough imagination to make the figure speak: and cannot even make it move, except, at most, within a limited area, which is the more remarkable inasmuch as

movement would not involve the bringing of another sense under the spell of the hallucination, but only an extension of the hallucination of the sense already affected. He can hear weird sounds, which others present with him cannot hear, and hear them sometimes night after night, and yet these strange sounds do not provoke a visual hallucination.¹ Even when a woman patient forms so definite an expectation that she remembers to report it to Dr. Head in describing her experience, it produces no effect whatever:

"In one case . . . the patient saw a hand and arm come round the door of the ward that stood open flush with her bed. This arm was extended on to the white counterpane, and she sat up in bed *expecting the body to appear round the edge of the wide-opened door.*" [The italics are mine.]

I take it for granted that the body did not appear, though this is not definitely stated, but is, I think, to be inferred with certainty from Dr. Head's silence.

XIX. 'NEURALGIA' IN CENSUS CASES.

It will be remembered that "reflected visceral pain seems to be the one universal concomitant of" hallucinations "in cases of visceral disease amongst sane persons"; and that "the main factor" in their production "is the presence of reflected visceral pain accompanied by superficial tenderness."

The reflected visceral pain usually took the form of "headache," the superficial tenderness affecting various regions of the scalp.

Now in the Census Collection I have noted one instance where a percipient definitely describes herself as experiencing a hallucination during a bad attack of headache.

"One Sunday I was suffering greatly from headache, to which I was then very subject. Mrs. M— placed me on the sofa, and said she would take charge of the children, in the hope that perfect quiet would do me good. Shortly after, she came to me and touched me on the shoulder, saying, as

¹ A Visceral Patient may, of course, experience a visual hallucination subsequently to his having heard hallucinatory sounds, but with the one exception noted above there seems to be no evidence to suggest that sounds lead up to the appearance of figures.

I thought, 'Take care of the children.' Knowing she was in delicate health, I immediately followed her out of the room, seeing her until I reached the hall, when I supposed she passed through one of the doors leading out of the hall. I then went to look for the children, and to my surprise found the mother reading to them; she asked why I had disturbed myself; my reply was, 'You called me.' She laughed, and said: 'You have been dreaming.' Though I knew I had not slept, still I should have fancied I had done so, if I had not followed her across the room into the hall. Mrs. M—— died in less than a fortnight from that time." (193)

Except that the auditory part of the (tri-sensory) hallucination took place in the absence of disturbing noise, it would be hard even to invent a case displaying wider divergences from the Visceral type.

We may suppose that the percipient was likewise suffering from "headache" during the following experience:

"[I saw] a figure of a man which was perfectly transparent, and which came into the room and sat down on a chair by my side. I was in bed and had been suffering from severe illness, which had affected my head." (119)

Details are lacking, but the transparency of the figure, its movement across the room, and its sitting down do not seem to accord with the appearance or behaviour of a Visceral apparition.

We have already referred (*v. I. f*) to the (coincidental) hallucination of a percipient who was "in very weak health—suffering intensely with neuralgia—having come through a bad confinement," and who describes herself as engrossed with grief for the loss of her baby and with the pain of her neuralgia, and have already seen how her experience differed from the Visceral type.

Two accounts are printed in appendices (407-13) to the Census Report of the hallucinatory experiences, extending over several years, of two ladies, who both connect many, though not all, of their hallucinations with "neuralgia in the head," or "neuralgic headaches" of a severe kind. One of them in addition to "intense neuralgic headaches" had "an attack of bronchitis," during which "she had fre-

quent and varied optical hallucinations." But though we might have expected in both these cases, and especially in the latter one, to find a resemblance to the Visceral type of hallucination, as a matter of fact we find the precise contrary. It may be that "headache" generally,—*i.e.* headache of no matter what origin—if severe enough, is conducive to hallucinations, while headache of visceral origin determines the particular form which the hallucinations of the patients assume.

Of all the cases printed in the Census Report the hallucination which in my opinion shows the closest resemblance, perhaps the only one which shows a really close resemblance at all to a visual hallucination of visceral origin, was experienced by a percipient who at the moment of seeing the apparition was suffering from a "very acute pain in the middle of" her "back." The percipient, it is true, reports herself as in good health at the time, and her experience was unique, and she makes no mention of "headache." But she does speak of "very acute pain in the back," and this expression, vague and unsatisfactory though it be from a medical point of view, puts me in mind of the following sentence in Dr. Head's treatise :

"Headache of the reflected visceral type, particularly *when accompanied by similar pain and tenderness on the trunk*, is liable to be associated with hallucinations."

It is at least curious that this mention of very acute pain in the middle of the back should crop up in the case which seems to me to come nearest to the Visceral type of hallucination.

"[About 14 years ago] *I was awakened in the middle of the night [v. I. i] with very acute pain in the middle of my back; I sat up in bed and saw a draped and shrouded figure [v. I. b] standing near me; the head I could not see [v. I. c], it was shrouded; the arms [but cf. I. a] and the head bent—it did not move [v. I. h] nor speak [v. I. m], but gradually faded [v. I. k]. It was a light night [v. IV.] and there was no drapery about the bed, nor about the room, to account for it.*

"I was in good state of health and in no sort of anxiety—about 25 years old at the time.

"As I could not see the face, I could not recognise the person [v. I. e and VIII.]; but was so fully awake that I thought it might be some one with a message to me, and sat quietly waiting for it to speak; this it did not do.

"I was alone.

"I have not seen anything of the sort at any other time."
(119-20)

Examination of the references which I have intercalated in the percipient's narrative will show how close is the analogy to a typical visual hallucination of visceral origin; and yet (as I have pointed out above, *sub I. b*) the analogy is not complete, though close; and this want of perfect analogy may serve to introduce the few words which I have to say by way of conclusion.

CONCLUSION.

I do not believe that there is a single case of hallucination printed or referred to in the Census Report which completely falls into line with the Visceral type. Some, no doubt, approach it more or less closely, but none absolutely corresponds. And if this be true of the Census cases, it must, broadly speaking, be true of the mass of cases published by the Society. I do not, of course, go so far as to say that the thirty odd volumes of our *Proceedings* and *Journal* do not contain a single example of a Visceral hallucination: but, inasmuch as there exists no difference in character between the hallucinations of the Census Report and those reported in our other volumes, I do maintain that, if cases of the Visceral type have crept in, they are too few and far between to throw any appreciable discredit on the bulk.

This conclusion, if well founded, as I firmly believe it to be, carries with it a splendid tribute to the labours of the Census Committee. They had to do their work in ignorance of the facts which Dr. Head has only recently brought to light; and it was only their vigilant circumspection and their wise mistrust of all mental phenomena occurring, or suspected of occurring, under any morbid conditions that preserved them from a trap into which less critical investigators might easily

have fallen. And if their caution thus saved them from admitting hallucinations due to a morbid condition of the viscera, a strong presumption is created that it equally prevented them from mistaking for hallucinations of the sane and healthy hallucinations due to forms of disease other than visceral. These considerations cannot but increase our confidence in the conclusions which the Committee drew from their material. How important these conclusions were is, I fear, not known to the great majority of such of our members as have joined the Society since the issue of the Census Report: and if this review serve no other good purpose, this purpose, at least, I hope it will serve—namely, to draw attention to that fine piece of work, the *Report on the Census of Hallucinations*, and to the deductions drawn by the Committee from it—deductions forming, I may add, the only scientific generalisation which so far can be said to have received the official sanction of the Council of the Society.

While, then, we have no cause to fear a comparison between hallucinations of visceral origin and those collected by our Society, there is no reason why we should not take a leaf out of Dr. Head's book and in future direct special attention to such points, among others, as the colour and movement of apparitions; and we should also do well to interrogate percipients closely as to the state of their health for some months before and after their hallucinatory experiences.

J. G. PIDDINGTON.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was written, Mr. Podmore has been kind enough to indicate one possible line of attack which I have not met. This attack, which Mr. Podmore must not be understood to endorse himself, may be stated as follows:

The chief *differentiae* between Psychical and Visceral hallucinations are just the very features which a memory allowed free play for its inventiveness during a long interval of time between the date of an experience and the date of record, and influenced by a dominant idea, would produce, *e.g.*, the completeness, the dress, the colour, the free and natural movement, the speech and the clear recognition of the figures.

In other words, the chief *differentiae* are precisely those sensational details which lapse of time would introduce into the narratives.

You have quoted, my critic might say, the Psychological cases on which you have drawn to illustrate the divergences from the Visceral type of hallucinations, without discriminating between those of recent and those of remote date.

I would meet this criticism first on general and then on particular grounds:

First, I would remark that most of the "sensational" features can be paralleled from other sources. Thus colour is a typical feature of the hallucinations of the insane; movement of the hallucinations of inebriates and dipsomaniacs; articulate speech of the hallucinations of insanity and of religious ecstasy. I see no more reason to question the existence of these characteristics in the one case than in the others.

Again, in three points at least, the characteristics of Visceral hallucinations are more "sensational" than those reported by the majority of Psychological Percipients. Thus, Visceral Patients describe the figure as "draped" or "wrapped" in a sheet, quite after the manner of the story-book ghost; whereas most Psychological ghosts are dressed, as was King Arthur in the poet's dream, "like a modern gentleman." The histrionic tendency would rather have represented the phantom, not in commonplace modern dress, but "like a country Ghoste in his white peackled sheete."

Visceral phantoms are nearly always seen in the dark; Psychological phantoms both in daylight and in the dark. Here again a romantic-minded percipient would have inclined to make the ghost appear in the dead of night, or in the gloaming. Besides this, the evidence of Psychological Percipients to the appearance of apparitions in broad daylight seems to be much too strong to be got over by any manner of means.

The white figures seen by Visceral Patients are described as "corpses": a designation used very rarely indeed by Psychological Percipients.

Secondly, I may say that I have now gone through all the cases used in this review, through many cases printed in the Census Report, and also through other cases recorded elsewhere in the *Proceedings*, in the *Journal*, and in *Phantasms of the*

Living, and I can find no warrant for the suggestion that vivid sensational details increase in proportion as the interval between occurrence and record increases. I believe vivid details to be present just as much in cases recorded within a few days, weeks or months of their occurrence, as in cases which have not been recorded until after a lapse of 10, 20, and 30 years or more.

REVIEWS.

Fragments of Prose and Poetry. By FREDERIC W. H. MYERS. Edited by his wife, EVELEEN MYERS. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, New York and Bombay, 1904.)

"This volume contains some fragments of prose and poetry written by my husband during a period of many years, and on divers subjects; as such it cannot but appear to a certain degree heterogeneous and disconnected. And yet the singleness of purpose and steadfastness of endeavour which are shown throughout will, I think, give it a sufficient unity in the eyes of those who have sympathised with the author's aspirations or shared his hopes." These words, the opening of Mrs. Myers's short preface, sufficiently sum up what a reviewer has to say. The disconnectedness of the book is patent; yet the parts all contribute to the whole picture of a life of such well-knit purpose and definite aim as few men can look back upon when their time comes to review their past as Myers has reviewed his.

The brief and confessedly somewhat incomplete "Fragments of Inner Life"—they can hardly be called an autobiography—with which the volume opens form unquestionably the most interesting and important part of it. They are suitably followed by the obituary notices which Myers published from time to time in our *Proceedings*—the longest and most personal being naturally those on Edmund Gurney and Henry Sidgwick. The whole form a series. Myers may almost be said to have written his own obituary notice in the same spirit in which he wrote those of his closest friends—a spirit of conviction not merely that the barrier between the two worlds is permeable and only half real, but also that in some "world-memory" all the inner life of every soul is irrevocably recorded, and is legible to every other individual spirit, at least when free from the trammels of the conscious self. This incentive to truthfulness lends a quite peculiar interest to what he has to say

of his own inner life, as of a man convinced that all his readers would one day be able to judge immediately and unanswerably of the truth of every word here set down.

His "first marked grief," his "first startling joy" strike the key-notes of the two main passions of his life—the agony of "horror of a death without resurrection" aroused when told that a dead mole in the road had no soul to live again; the "awe-struck joy" at the revelation of Virgil in the line *Musa mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso*; these were indeed predictive of much to follow. His worship of Virgil was, he tells us, for a time thrust into the background by Homer, but returned about the age of sixteen, when he gradually learnt and wrote out from memory the whole of the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid*. "I have felt ever since that of all minds known to me it is Virgil's of which I am the most intimate and adoring disciple" . . . "the teaching of Plato and that of Virgil are in the main identical. Other pathways have now led me to something like the creed which they foresaw; but it is still, and more than ever, the support of my life." These sentences give us the clue to the intimate relation of the artistic and ethical sides of Myers's mind of which I have elsewhere spoken.

For a time indeed the purely artistic sense gained, under the stimulus of Pindar and Sappho, the upper hand—"from the age of sixteen to twenty-three there was no influence in my life comparable to *Hellenism* in the fullest sense of the word." He drank in the air of Hellas in full draughts during a journey in 1864, only to find that the passion of past beauty could not satisfy his aspirations. "The classics . . . might aid imaginative impulse and detachment from sordid interests, but they had no check for pride." The Hellenic ideal vanished with "a bitter-sweet passion of regret," and left him cold and lonely. From this passing stage of numb indifference he was recalled to the Christianity of his early years by Mrs. George Butler—that remarkable woman whose influence was strikingly felt by many of the younger intellects of that generation. It was this period which gave the world "St. Paul." The phase is a striking and interesting one—more surprising perhaps in the sixties than it appears to-day. It gave Myers complete satisfaction for a time, so far as his emotional and moral needs were concerned; but from the intellect came a gradual and painful disillusionment, leading to a distressing phase of agnosticism, satisfying nothing, and unmaning even the desire to help his fellow-men. At this time the guiding influences were first those of

George Eliot and later of Henry Sidgwick; in company with Sidgwick he began about 1871 to turn his attention towards "spiritualism" as a possible key to the eternal problem. It was in 1873 that, in the séances, I believe, of a professional medium, he first met phenomena which profoundly impressed him. He barely mentions them here, and, indeed, was always very reticent about those that most struck him, feeling strongly the gap between personal belief and scientific evidence. But it was this period which set him definitely on the quest—first pursued through wearisome professional séances, leading almost always to disappointment and detection; afterwards in the clearer air of the experiments of the newly formed S. P. R.; but invariably carried on with indomitable perseverance and dauntless hope. From this point the development of Myers's thought is open to all men to read—it is all there in his papers in our publications and in *Human Personality*. He sums up his final creed in three statements; firstly, the fact of man's survival of death; secondly, the registration in the universe of every past scene and thought; thirdly, a progressive moral evolution, no longer truncated by physical catastrophes, but moving continuously towards an infinitely distant goal. In this creed he found at last complete satisfaction, though no relaxation of endeavour.

The story is profoundly interesting, as must be the story of a sensitive and vigorous intellect which has thus proved and rejected in turn the chief faiths of his time, to find refuge in a new belief of which he was largely the creator. The record is not of course in any sense complete. In the first place it is not a contemporaneous record—the earlier stages are described as they appeared to a mind largely developed and changed. The few letters which are inserted in the narrative serve only in a very slight measure to fill the gap; and no man was more conscious than Myers of the immense importance of the contemporaneous record. And of course they cover only a portion of the inner life. Not even a Rousseau—much less so impressionable a man as Myers—could publish the whole of the circumstances which moulded his life; and even the poems, which form a large part of the volume, hint at emotions and experiences that find no place in the autobiography. The fine sonnet on p. 136, for instance, is an expression of what was one of the keen disappointments of his later life, that he received no supernormal message from dying friends, however closely bound to him. But one cannot entirely suppress a suspicion that Myers

himself, had he published anything, would have published more—that the book is not so complete and outspoken a revelation as he wished it to be. If that is so, then justice has not been done him. Mrs. Myers half promises the future publication of a collection of her husband's letters, at present too personal in character to see the light. These will doubtless give a fuller picture of him than any but his closest friends can now possess; in the meantime we must be grateful for what we are allowed to know. The lesson of the life should be inspiring even to those who must disagree with Myers's final creed; it is a story of final success after many failures, of peace not bought, as too often, by self-surrender in exchange for the comfort of spiritual guidance and parental dogma, Christian or Buddhist, but wrested by strenuous struggles of will and thought from the riddle of life. Emotion and intellect worked in alliance instead of civil war. To many men the final victory means the death of one or other; with Myers they both had conquered when peace was proclaimed.

WALTER LEAF.

Multiple Personality; An experimental investigation into the Nature of Human Individuality. By BORIS SIDIS, M.A., Ph.D. and SIMON P. GOODHART, Ph.B., M.D. (London: Sidney Appleton, 1905).

About one third of this book is occupied with the description of the remarkable case of Mr. Hanna, a case of loss of memory more complete than has ever before been recorded. The case is of the greatest possible interest to the psychologist and is important also from the point of view of the "psychical researcher." Mr. Hanna, a well-educated, intelligent, and healthy young clergyman fell head foremost to the ground from his carriage and was carried by his brother in an almost lifeless condition to a neighbouring house. He lay some two hours showing no sign of life other than feeble movements of respiration, and then "began to move, opened his eyes, looked around, moved his arm, then sat upright in bed, arose, reached toward one of the physicians and attempted to push him. Thinking the patient in a state of delirium, and fearing an attack, they seized him and attempted to push him back upon the bed. Mr. Hanna resisted vigorously and a struggle ensued." The efforts of four men were needed to overcome the struggles of the patient, who then lay still and looked curiously about him.

It then appeared not only that "he had lost the faculty of speech, . . . but he had also lost all power of recognition of objects, words

and persons. He was in a state of complete mental blindness. He was as a newly born infant opening his eyes for the first time upon the world. . . . The world was to Mr. Hanna but a chaos of sensations, not as yet elaborated and differentiated into a system of distinct percepts and concepts; neither objects, nor space, nor time, in the form as they are presented to the developed adult mind, existed for him. So totally obliterated from memory were the experiences of his past life that even the requirements of the simplest mental processes by which the appreciation of distance, form, size, magnitude is acquired, were effaced from his mind. Movement alone attracted his attention. He did not know the cause and meaning of movement, but a moving object fastened his involuntary attention and seemed to fascinate his gaze. He made as yet no discrimination between his own movements and those of other objects, and was as much interested in the movement of his own limbs as in that of external things. He did not know how to control his voluntary muscles, nor had he any idea of the possibility of such a control. From the more or less involuntary chance movements made by his arms and legs, he learned the possibility of controlling his limbs. . . . He could not co-ordinate the movements of his legs, hence he could not walk. Unable to discriminate between his own activity and that of others, the world was not yet differentiated into the objective and subjective, and he had no idea of ego activity. . . . He did not have the least conception of the flow of time,—seconds, minutes, hours were alike to him. . . . The sensation of hunger, though present in all its intensity, as we afterwards learned, could not be interpreted by him, and he certainly did not know how to appease it. When food was offered him, he did not understand the purpose of it; nor when it was placed within his mouth did he know how to masticate and swallow it. In order to feed him, fluid nourishment had to be placed far back into the pharynx, thus provoking reflex swallowing movements."

These passages contain the more important statements as to the condition of the patient on recovering consciousness. They illustrate the chief defect of the report of this most interesting case, namely, the confounding of the facts observed at the time by those surrounding the patient with the statements of the patient at a later time and with the inferences and theoretical views of the writers of the account, who, unfortunately, did not see the patient until some weeks after the accident. It is much to be regretted that in a case of so much importance to psychology, the state-

ments based upon these three sources were not rigidly separated in the report. Nevertheless it seems probable that they give a fair picture of the mental state of Mr. Hanna when he first regained consciousness after the accident.

The further course of the case is no less interesting. Mr. Hanna began rapidly to learn all that a child learns and to learn it in much the same way that a child learns, the great difference being that he learned with extreme rapidity. He rapidly acquired control of movements and learnt to walk, to grasp objects and to distinguish between those near at hand and those at a distance, although at first he had no visual perception of distance, all seen objects appearing close to his eyes. He displayed a great interest in the speech of others and acquired the use of language rapidly, learning first the names of common objects, later the use of adjectives and still later the use of pronouns and of relational and abstract terms. The most remarkable facts in his relearning of speech were that he could at once repeat a word or sentence heard though without understanding the meaning, and that a word "once heard seemed indelibly impressed upon his mind, and he never again forgot it." This rapidity of learning was displayed not only in regard to capacities previously acquired and lost at the time of the accident, but also in acquiring new capacities: *e.g.* "Having had no familiarity with the banjo before the accident, he acquired the skill of playing it in but a few hours . . . with the facility of an experienced player." No indication of any memory of his former experiences could be discovered until the fifth week after the accident, when Mr. Hanna in response to questions, described dreams of two kinds, some vague, others vivid and clear. These vivid dream images had little meaning for him, yet his description of them enabled his friends to conclude that they were reproductions of sense-impressions of his former life: *e.g.* he described a railroad and beside it a square house upon which were the letters N-E-W-B-O-S-T-O-N-J-U-N-C, which he spelled out without understanding their meaning. The next evidence of returning memory was obtained by reading to the patient a part of a Hebrew passage previously familiar to him. He then repeated the whole passage, without, however, any sense of familiarity with it and without understanding it. Attempts to hypnotise Mr. Hanna were unsuccessful, and after six weeks spent in rapid learning he was removed from his quiet home to New York in order that varied and vivid impressions might stimulate

The first evening was spent in lively company in a large restaurant. Early the following morning he awoke and to the joy of his brother, who shared his room, he displayed a normal capacity of recalling the events of his former life up to the moment of the accident, while all his experiences since that moment seemed to be wiped out from his mind. He did not recognise his physician, his room was completely strange to him, and he was with difficulty brought to admit the lapse of six weeks since the accident, six weeks which for his memory were lacking. He remained awake in this state some three quarters of an hour, then became sleepy, slept for some hours and wakened again as he was on the previous evening, i.e. with the command of that knowledge only which he had acquired since the accident. For several days he persisted in this state in spite of efforts to stimulate him to recognise scenes and objects formerly familiar to him. On the fourth evening he was given a dose of *cannabis indica* which produced some exaltation, followed by sleep. In the morning he awoke in his "primary" state again, remembering only his life before the accident and the events of the preceding short period of recovery. He felt weak and sluggish, nevertheless he showed himself in conversation to have full control of his stores of learning acquired at school and university. After a short time he became drowsy, and in spite of all efforts his eyes closed and he fell into a state of profound lethargy and physical prostration from which he could not be roused. This state (named by the authors the hypnoleptic state) continued for about one minute, when the patient suddenly opened his eyes and was found to be in his "secondary" state. In this state he remained until awaking on the following morning, when he was again in the primary state. And these two states then alternated several times, the primary always passing into the secondary through a brief "hypnoleptic" period, the secondary into the primary through natural sleep. Mr. Hanna was urged in every way to resist the oncoming of the drowsiness that heralded the passage into the secondary state, until one day he, while in his primary state, "fell into a condition of what appeared to be deep abstraction." He complained of a severe headache and refused to speak or allow himself to be moved; after about half-an-hour questions elicited responses of "Yes" and "No," which showed that he knew *directly* of both primary and secondary states. He remained in this dazed state about two hours and then gradually recovered. He stated that while lying on the couch he was conscious of all that had been said and done

in the room, but that he was "engaged in one of the most intense struggles he had ever experienced." The two personalities, that of the primary and that of the secondary state, "arose simultaneously and confronted each other." . . . "It was a struggle for life between two individualities formed in a single mind, each one endeavouring to gain ascendancy and to suppress, to crush the other; and still neither could be suppressed, because each was part and parcel of the other." "I was willing to take either. The struggle was not so much to choose one as to forget the other. I was trying to find which I might most easily forget. It seemed impossible to forget one; both tried to persist in consciousness. It seemed as if each memory was stronger than my will, and still I had to determine which to drive away." "Finally," he says, "I decided to take both lives as mine, because of the fear and anxiety that the struggle would be repeated again and again. . . . I have now retained both memories; I am sure both are mine. They are separate, and I cannot yet fit the two well together. . . . The secondary state is stronger and brighter, but not more stable."

From this time onwards Mr. Hanna retained the power of recalling the experiences of both states and may be said to have recovered completely from the effects of his accident.

This remarkable case differs from all others of similar character hitherto reported in several respects, notably in the completeness of the loss of all acquired facilities and knowledge, and in the eventual recovery by the fusion of the two personalities or memory-continua.

The authors interpret the case as one of complete "psycho-physiological dissociation, the dissociation and disaggregations of systems of central neural elements with their concomitant psychic systems or moments consciousness" The authors claim that this principle fully accounts for the facts, but to me, at least, much remains obscure and hard to explain, perhaps because I fail to seize the leading ideas of the authors and cannot understand what is meant by "moments consciousness," a phrase which plays a great part in all the speculative and explanatory discussions of this book. The reported facts of observation (if we accept them without reserve) seem to justify the authors' statement that although he (Mr. Hanna) was mentally reduced to a state of infancy, his intelligence remained intact. In attempting to understand the condition the most important statements to bear in mind are that "although Mr. Hanna was mentally blind and had lost all know-

ledge formerly possessed, both in relation to the external and internal world; although he was mentally reduced to a state of infancy, strange to say, his intelligence remained intact. His curiosity for acquiring knowledge was keener than ever, and the use made of his acquisitions was truly astonishing. His faculty of judgment, his power of reasoning were as sound and vigorous as ever. The content of knowledge seemed to have been lost, but the form of knowledge remained as active as before the accident and was perhaps even more precise and definite."

We may try to account for this condition in terms of changes in the nervous system, accepting some such view of the nature and evolution of mind as is given by Herbert Spencer, and remembering that the growth of the individual mind is, according to this view, due to two factors,—(1) the spontaneous development of nervous structure representing the accumulated experience of countless ancestors, a development that continues throughout the period of growth; (2) the retention of the effects of individual experience in the form of associations between brain-elements and systems of such elements brought about in the course of conscious reactions to the impressions received from the external world. If with Spencer we assume that in the adult the nervous structures of the former kind determine the forms of perception and inference, of mental activity in general, while the latter determine the content of our ideas and in part of our perceptions, and if we assume, as we may do without improbability, that the latter kind of structure is less stably organised than the former, then we may suppose that the concussion of Mr. Hanna's brain brought about some degree of dissolution of all associations between brain-elements acquired during the course of his individual experience, leaving intact all those inherited by him and representing ancestral experience. In this way we may seek to understand the fact that Mr. Hanna's mind seemed emptied of content while retaining its faculties or forms of activity unimpaired; that as regards mental content he became as a newborn babe, while as regards the forms of activity and his inherited dispositions and aptitudes, his instincts and reflex actions, he suffered no appreciable loss, and remained an adult of well-developed mental powers. But a difficulty meets us when we pursue further this line of explanation. If we could assume that all acquired associations were simply and completely dissolved, we could then explain the great facility with which he acquired and retained powers of movement and impressions and ideas of all kinds, a

facility far exceeding that of a young child, as due to the fact that his brain contained an immense number of fully formed nerve-elements ready to enter into associations, whereas in the brain of the young child these elements are for the most part imperfectly organised, and only gradually become capable of playing their part as members of the systematically organised groups of elements. But the fact that Mr. Hanna eventually recovered his memory of his former life shows that the acquired associations were not destroyed, but suffered only a temporary functional depression; hence the authors assume that the extreme rapidity of the reacquisition of the power of co-ordinated movement, of the use of language, and of ideas in general was due to the fact that associations had not to be formed *de novo*, but only to be restored by use to a condition of functional effectiveness. But the fact that Mr. Hanna acquired with equally astonishing rapidity skill in the playing of musical instruments with which he had before the accident no familiarity shows that in this case the acquisition was really a new acquisition,—not merely a reawakening of old facilities—and renders it at least possible that the same is true of all his acquisitions in the six weeks following the accident. This view seems to be borne out, too, by the fact of the formation after the accident of a completely independent memory-continuum. If the acquisition of facilities and ideas after the accident consisted merely in a restoration of structures previously formed to a condition of efficiency we should expect to have observed a gradual reawakening of the lost memories, a gradually improving recognition of previously familiar persons and objects. But nothing of this sort was observed. The lost memory-continuum was recovered suddenly and completely and the new-formed memory-continuum persisted contemporaneously with it; and the two, being discontinuous, and yet both having that character of warmth and intimacy which belongs to the reproductions of past experiences, seemed to constitute two past selves each claiming continuity with the present self.

If we could accept the view that the two cerebral hemispheres function in large part independently, and that one may be dormant and undeveloped, while the other becomes the store-house of acquisitions, then we might suppose that after the accident the former had been called into activity and had become educated and organised. That this may occur in a very partial degree is proved by certain cases of recovery of speech depending upon organisation of a speech centre in the right hemisphere after

complete destruction of Broca's area in the left hemisphere. But that the one hemisphere may normally be so latent as to afford a satisfactory explanation of this remarkable case is improbable. Perhaps we should rather look to the evidence, to which some authorities attach great importance, indicating that in most of us a large proportion of the cells of the cortex of both hemispheres remain throughout life outside the functioning systems and practically unused.

The case may be interpreted in another than the purely physiological manner. It may be held that in the remarkable separation in this case of the form and the content of mental process we have evidence that, while the content depends upon the systems of associated neural elements built up in the course of individual experience, and is therefore liable to be temporarily or permanently abolished by a physical shock to the brain substance, the forms of mental activity are not dependent upon nervous organisation but purely upon the psychical constitution of the individual, a constitution which being immaterial is not to be destroyed by an injury to the brain. We should then have to regard the difference between a new-born child and Mr. Hanna after the accident as due to the fact that the former has an insufficient mass of fully developed neural elements to permit of the rapid organisation of complex systems conditioning a mental content rapidly growing in volume and complexity and giving scope and occasion for the higher forms of mental activity, while in the brain of the latter such a supply of neural elements was present, only awaiting the incidence of sense-impressions to become organised *de novo* as the material conditions of the new memory-continuum under the guidance of the unimpaired psychical constitution. And in support of this interpretation one might put to those who would adopt the former purely physiological line of explanation, the question: "What then is that something which watched and suffered and strove to decide the issue in that strange contest for predominance between the two memory-continua and which ultimately adopted them both as its own past experience?"

This case of alternating personality is especially interesting from the point of view of psychical research in that its issue in recovery with fusion of the two personalities puts out of court the explanation by the hypothesis of possession or "spirit-control," which has been suggested in regard to some other cases, notably in that of Lurancy *Winnemum* (see *Human Personality*, Vol. I., p. 65 and pp. 360-68), where explanation was generally accepted by the persons who wit-

nessed the phenomena at the time. The evidence adduced for it would indeed seem strong, but for the fact that little, if any, precaution appears to have been taken to guard against the patient's acquiring by normal means knowledge of incidents in the life of the girl whom she was supposed to be personating. The case is nevertheless a remarkable one, and those who regard it as one of "spirit-control" may naturally be inclined to extend the explanation to all instances of alternating personality. So long as no instance of fusion of the two or more personalities was known this remained possible. In this case the explanation is clearly not applicable, and therefore those who adopt it for cases of the *Lurancy Vennum* type must recognise that not all cases can be brought into this class; they must recognise two distinct and very different kinds of alternating personality.

Of great interest to members of the S.P.R. is the statement that Mr. Hanna soon after the accident exhibited powers of clairvoyance, in that "he was able to find objects hidden from him, and was uniformly correct in guessing in which hand a small coin was held," and that "In like manner the straps with which he was bound after the accident he invariably located, in spite of the fact that his family made every effort to conceal them, since their presence agitated him." It is significant of the attitude of men of science towards the work of the S.P.R. that these statements are relegated to a footnote and that the authors do not seem to have considered them worthy of investigation, though accepting them as evidence of the sensitiveness of the secondary personality.

The rest of the book is occupied with theoretical discussions of a somewhat confusing character, illustrated by the citation of other morbid cases, some of which are of great interest. The authors claim that their successful treatment of the case of Mr. Hanna constitutes a verification of their theoretical interpretation. But though they certainly may claim credit for skilful treatment, it must remain doubtful, as so often in medical practice, to what extent the treatment played an essential part in bringing about the recovery.

W. McDougall.





From a Photograph by A. Marshall, Arlington Street, Boston, Mass. 1900.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Society for Psychical Research.

PART LII.

FEBRUARY, 1907.

PROCEEDINGS OF GENERAL MEETINGS.

THE 126th General Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall at 20 Hanover Square, London, W., on Monday, December 11th, 1905, at 8.30 p.m.; PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT in the chair.

A paper "On the Scientific Attitude to Marvels," by SIR OLIVER LODGE, was read by the Hon. Everard Feilding.

The 127th General Meeting was held in the same place on Friday, January 26th, 1906, at 4 p.m.; MRS. SIDGWICK in the chair.

PROFESSOR W. F. BARRETT read a paper on "Some Objects and Methods of Work in Psychical Research."

The 128th General Meeting was held in the same place on Monday, November 12th, 1906, at 4.30 p.m.; the PRESIDENT, THE RIGHT HON. G. W. BALFOUR, in the chair.

The PRESIDENT delivered the Address which is printed below.

I.

RICHARD HODGSON: IN MEMORIAM.

I.

BY MRS. HENRY SIDGWICK.

IN the death of Richard Hodgson, which occurred quite suddenly and unexpectedly on the 20th of December, 1905, the Society for Psychical Research has lost a member who must always occupy a prominent place in its annals. He not only took an important share in its work, but almost from its foundation he determined to give his life to the questions with which it is concerned, regarding this investigation as one of the most important objects to which the human mind and human energy could be devoted, and therefore one to which worldly ambitions should be cheerfully sacrificed.

Richard Hodgson was born at Melbourne in Australia in 1855, was educated in the public schools there, and afterwards entered the Melbourne University where he took the degrees of M.A. and LL.D. His intention had been to devote himself to the Law, but he was diverted from this apparently by the study of philosophy and the interest it inspired, and it was probably with a view to pursuing his philosophical studies that he came to England. He entered the University of Cambridge as a student at St. John's College in 1878, and read for the Moral Sciences Tripos, in which he took honours in 1881. It was characteristic of him that, having thus qualified for a degree, his friends had some difficulty in persuading him to take it, because the ceremony involved kneeling to the Vice-Chancellor, and he did not wish to bend the knee to any man. After completing his Cambridge course he studied for a time at the University of Jena in Germany, and on returning to England

took part in University extension lecturing in the North of England. As a student of the Moral Sciences he was naturally brought into contact at Cambridge with Henry Sidgwick, who besides lecturing made a practice of going over his pupils' work with them individually, and thus saw a good deal of them. The friendship and regard for each other first formed between the two men in the relation of teacher and pupil was a lasting one.

The philosophic writer in whom Mr. Hodgson felt most interest, and with whom he was most disposed to agree at this time, was Herbert Spencer, on whom he both wrote and later lectured at Cambridge. But he was not consciously a follower of Herbert Spencer or of any other philosopher. Indeed he was always a man of great independence of mind, with an almost inconvenient dislike of following others. It was, I suppose, to give relief to this feeling, and as a symbol of his desire to take an independent line, that he adopted while at Cambridge an evening dress suit of brown cloth instead of the ordinary black one. This becoming but eccentric costume he discontinued after some years, realising, doubtless, that it is not worth while expending energy in diverging from custom in unimportant details.

Mr. Hodgson's interest in the objects investigated by our Society had already begun in Australia, and at Cambridge he took an active part in an undergraduate society formed to investigate some of them. This society had but a brief existence, and did not obtain any satisfactory results; but it doubtless helped to prepare him for what was ultimately to be his life's work, and when the Society for Psychological Research was founded in 1882 he became one of its earliest members.¹

How early he took an active part in its work and its councils I am not quite sure, but in 1884, when a keen interest was being taken in England in Madame Blavatsky and her Theosophical Society, Mr. Hodgson was co-opted as a member of the Committee appointed to investigate the marvels alleged to occur in connection with Theosophy. These phenomena were in many respects analogous to those said to occur at spiritualistic séances—*e.g.* the transportation even through

¹ His name appears in the first published list of members.

solid matter of ponderable objects. Mr. Hodgson was sent out by the Committee in November, 1884, to investigate the phenomena in India, where they chiefly occurred. Before he started considerable doubt had been thrown by revelations of confederates and otherwise on the genuineness of Madame Blavatsky's occult powers and on the existence of the Tibetan Mahatmas with whom she professed to work. But this did not detract from the merit of Mr. Hodgson's work, which included, of course, among other things, an investigation into the trustworthiness of the assertions made by the confederates, and which was carried out with much care and acumen, and with a praiseworthy thoroughness patent to all who read his report.¹ The result was that finally he had no doubt whatever that the phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society were part of a huge fraudulent system worked by Madame Blavatsky with the assistance of confederates, and that not a single genuine phenomenon could be found among them all. And this, after receiving Mr. Hodgson's report, was the conclusion also of the Committee, though they expressed it in more guarded language.

During this visit to India Mr. Hodgson greatly developed, if he did not actually acquire, the interest in all kinds of conjuring performances and ingenious tricks and puzzles which became so characteristic of him, and which on many occasions served him well in enabling him to unmask trickery in connection with phenomena alleged to be occult. I have still a number of puzzles which he gave me at this time, and remember the pleasure he took in making me unravel them. In the course, too, of his investigation into the Theosophical phenomena he made himself an expert in handwriting, applying his skill especially in connection with the so-called Koot Hoomi letters, said to have been written and mysteriously conveyed to the recipients by a Mahatma residing in Tibet, but really for the most part written by Madame Blavatsky herself in a disguised hand. Mr. Hodgson was undoubtedly a man of great power of observation and acute inference, which he combined with an unusually genial and enthusiastic nature. I was a good deal associated with him in the work of investigation at this time, and well remember

¹ *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. III., pp. 207-380.

what an inspiring fellow-worker these qualities, together with his vigour and energy and keen interest, made him.

The Blavatsky investigation proved purely destructive, and Mr. Hodgson's powers were often afterwards applied to necessary but destructive work in exposing trickery.¹ But it is not for his destructive work that the Society owes him most gratitude. The next important piece of work he undertook—namely, an experimental investigation in conjunction with Mr. S. J. Davey into the possibilities of mal-observation and lapse of memory in connection with phenomena such as those which occur at séances—though from one point of view destructive is from another constructive, establishing psychological data of great importance for the estimation of evidence in psychical research. This investigation, of which the results are contained in two papers in our *Proceedings*,² is probably Mr. Hodgson's most original work. It is certainly a contribution of lasting value to the work of the Society, and one which cannot be ignored by any one seriously desiring to estimate evidence for phenomena not apparently in accordance with the known laws of nature, and in regard to which there is any possibility of conscious or unconscious deception. It was, however, after he went to America that, through the work he did with Mrs. Piper, Mr. Hodgson first added to the positive evidence for the reality of supernormal phenomena.

In 1887 he was invited to go to the United States of America as secretary to the American Society for Psychical Research, and with reluctance made up his mind to leave England and his friends here for the purpose. He held the office till in 1890 that Society converted itself into a Branch of the English Society, and then retained a similar position as secretary of the Branch. He soon made friends in America, and transferring his affections to that country came to regard it as his home. Only once did he return to England except for brief visits. In 1897 an effort was

¹*E.g.* in the case of the greater part of Eusapia Paladino's work at Cambridge in 1895.

²“The Possibilities of Mal-observation and Lapse of Memory from a Practical Point of View” (Experimental investigation by S. J. Davey, with introduction by R. Hodgson), *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VI., pp. 381-495; and “Mr. Davey's Imitations by Conjuring of Phenomena sometimes attributed to Spirit Agency,” by R. Hodgson, *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 253-310.

made to attach him more completely to the central work of the Society. He resided in England for a year from the autumn of 1897, and served as a member of the Council and Editor of the *Proceedings and Journal*. But the attraction of America and of the work in America was too strong. He returned there in 1898, intending that it should be for a time only; but he could not tear himself away, and when this became evident to him in 1899 he resigned the post of Editor. Meanwhile his constant interchange of views with Mr. Myers resulted in a close approximation on theoretical points between them, probably through modifications and developments on both sides; and after Mr. Myers died leaving his book *Human Personality* only partly in print, it fell to Mr. Hodgson, in co-operation with Miss Johnson, to complete and edit what was unfinished.

When Mr. Hodgson went to America in 1887 he found members of the Society there, especially Professor William James, already interested in the trance phenomena of Mrs. Piper. He immediately began work with her, and was soon so much interested that the investigation became henceforward his most absorbing work, and was only intermitted during short intervals till his death. It was in consequence of his and Professor James's reports that Mrs. Piper was invited to England in 1889, but though the reports of the English sittings were ready for publication first,¹ it will be remembered that Mr. Hodgson's report, published in 1892 (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 1-167), contains records of earlier work. It is, of course, only a small proportion of the Piper evidence which seems to require the hypothesis of communication with the dead; for even when the trance-personality exhibits knowledge which it is difficult to suppose otherwise than supernormally acquired, thought-transference between living persons will generally suffice to account for it. It was therefore natural that Mr. Hodgson should only gradually arrive at the momentous conclusion (expressed in his second report on Mrs. Piper, published in 1898²), that

¹ *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VI., pp. 436-659.

² *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 284-582. Not only Mr. Hodgson's own papers on Mrs. Piper, but those of Professor W. Romaine Newbold (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XIV., pp. 6-49) and of Professor Hyslop (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XVI.) are based on evidence obtained largely with Mr. Hodgson's assistance.

the chief "communicators" through Mrs. Piper were "veritably the personalities that they claim to be, that they have survived the change we call death, and that they have directly communicated with us whom we call living through Mrs. Piper's entranced organism."¹ Whether he would have admitted any modification to this statement in later years I do not know, but there is no doubt that to the end he retained his belief in the broad fact that we have empirical evidence of the survival of the dead and of their power under certain circumstances to communicate with the living, and that he held this belief with a strength of conviction which probably nothing could have shaken. Some of the evidence on which the belief was founded is set forth in the above-mentioned report, but, as must almost always happen in such cases, the evidence that could be published is not the whole of what served to convince Mr. Hodgson and others who knew the deceased persons supposed to be communicating, nor indeed is the whole of it capable of being put down in writing.

It is, of course, of great importance that any conclusions that may be drawn from Mrs. Piper's trance utterances should be supported by investigation into the automatic speaking and writing of other sensitives, and it is to be regretted that Mr. Hodgson did not give some of the time devoted in later years to Mrs. Piper to looking into other cases. We must regret, moreover, that he has left us without bringing into order the mass of still unpublished material he had collected in sittings with Mrs. Piper in these later years—material of which the value is at present unknown. But whatever this material when examined may reveal, and whether it can be made use of publicly or not, it is certain that the labours of Mr. Hodgson have given to the world an important record of developments of trance speaking and writing observed with Mrs. Piper through a long series of years. It is certain, too, that this record includes a considerable amount of evidence for the acquisition of knowledge in some supernormal manner by the trance personality; and, more important still, it undoubtedly contains evidence which cannot be ignored, and which Mr. Hodgson himself regarded as conclusive, for the possibility of communication between the dead and the living.

¹ *Proceedings* Vol. XIII., p. 406.

II.

BY J. G. PIDDINGTON.

*"Hodgson, to cross the bar is a delightful experience."
(R.H. "I shall meet it with roses and daffodils for love and spring-time.")
"That sounds natural."*

(Extract from record of sitting with Mrs. Piper, held on January 28th, 1902.)

RICHARD HODGSON'S life fell roughly into three acts, the scene of each laid in a different continent, with an interlude in a fourth.

The first 23 years of his life were passed in Australia, the next 9 in England, and the last 18 in America. For his own happiness it was probably well that the middle period was the briefest of the three, for it was only in the freer, breezier social climates of his first and last homes, and especially in "the large and charitable air" of America, that the real nature of the man blossomed forth. In the conventional and reserved atmosphere of England he must often have been ill at ease, and was certainly not at his best, and he felt himself, I believe, "cabin'd, cribb'd, confined."

Partly for this reason, and partly by reason of his long absence, some engaging sides of his character were little, if at all, known to us in England. I have recently been going through a mass of his papers, and have been brought into contact with his Boston friends. What I have learnt from these two sources has thrown on Hodgson's character a light new to me, and, as it may be new to others too, I have attempted to set down here the impressions I have gathered.

Mrs. Sidgwick is dealing with Hodgson's work as a psychical researcher. Here I wish to speak only of Richard Hodgson as a man.

Among the names of those who have devoted themselves to the study of psychical phenomena his must remain a prominent one. Interest, therefore, in the purely personal

side of his life is natural enough; but apart from this it is only right that we should learn all we can of the psychology of the psychologist; for, if, confining our attention to the mere record of his investigations, we ignore the personal equation of the investigator, we shall have neglected one of the vital elements of the problem.

What manner of man, then, was Richard Hodgson?

First and foremost he loved life; and he played the game of life whole-heartedly and joyously. He was a healthy animal, with an undegenerate appetite for food and exercise and sport and open air; an appetite which kept its keen edge to the last because he never blunted it by over-indulgence or by unwholesome fare. He died playing a game, and in the circumstance of his death there was nothing inappropriate,—I had almost said that it was characteristic.

Some of you may have pictured him to yourselves as the severe recluse absorbed in his metaphysical studies, careless, if not contemptuous, of all that did not belong to the intellectual or to the spiritual side of life. He was nothing of the sort. He did not

“desire in any way
To vary from the kindly race of men.”

He was the most sociable of beings. In Dr. Johnson's phrase, he was a “clubbable man,” and he was fortunate enough to find at Boston that rare thing, a clubbable club, where he gratified this social instinct to the full. He had rooms in which he slept and breakfasted and worked, but his real home was the Tavern Club: which is not so much a club as a Happy Family. He was one of the club's most constant *habitues*, and, perhaps, its most popular member. If there was any fun going on—and there is no lack of it at the Tavern—Hodgson was sure to be, if not *the* centre, at least *in* the centre of it. I spoke of his popularity, but a more intimate word is needed. To the affection in which he was held by his fellow Taverners more than one of them spoke in my hearing, in few words indeed, as befits us Anglo-Saxons, but in a tone of shy reserve eloquent of sincere emotion.

At the Club he could throw psychical research to the winds with a clear conscience, for by most of his club friends his

devotion to it was looked upon as an amiable weakness, a curious streak of crankiness in an otherwise eminently sane character, and as a fit subject for pleasantries and chaff; chaff which Hodgson took with unruffled good humour. And it was well in every way that he was thus almost daily led to avoid for a few hours all reference, or all but joking reference, to a subject from which regular relaxation is essential if sense of proportion and sanity of judgment are to be retained.

Yet to a congenial audience or to enquirers who had or professed a serious desire to learn Hodgson would expatiate on his own subject with enthusiasm; and a singularly retentive memory enabled him to illustrate it with a wealth of apposite and accurate detail.

Society, in the conventional sense, had no attractions for him; but each summer found him a delighted and a welcome guest among a circle of intimate friends in the Adirondack Mountains or at Bar Harbor. At Putnam's Camp in the Adirondacks especially he could indulge to the full his pleasure in the companionship of children. He loved children—big and little—and they him. With them he became a boy again. He led their games, and the first to tire was never Hodgson. When he died the first thought of more than one parent was not of their own loss, but "What will our children do without him?"

Puzzles of all and every kind, and anything akin thereto—conjuring-tricks, conundrums, catches, riddles, anagrams, acrostics, cryptograms, cyphers—exercised a veritable fascination over him. All of this sort was fish that came to his net.

For poetry he had the same omnivorous appetite, as his bookshelves testified. Though undoubtedly possessed of true taste, he was a very glutton for anything that had the least pretence to rime or metre. He would not only read but buy the output of the feeblest of minor poets, rather, I fancy, than run the risk of missing one inspired thought or phrase that might lie lurking among a ream of rubbish.

Nor was poetry his only intellectual recreation. He had been, if not a profound, at least no superficial student of philosophy. He followed with interest the general progress of science, and astronomy had a particular attraction for him.

Less orthodox—though, as the outside world might think,

more in keeping with his chief pursuit—were a mild sympathy with the anti-vaccinationists and an interest in the Baconian controversy; though the latter, I suspect, was traceable rather to his leaning towards everything partaking of the nature of a puzzle than to any serious doubts about the authorship of Shakespeare's works.

As I worked my way through his papers, evidence for this *penchant* for puzzles cropped up at every turn; and I cannot doubt that it had much to do with determining his career. It must in any case have been one of the chief deciding factors. Another was, I believe, an innate and abiding religious sense.

In early life an earnest and active Nonconformist, he, while still a young man, cut himself adrift from his first religious moorings as soon as he realised that he could no longer conscientiously and unreservedly accept all the tenets of his Church. Later on he became a disciple of Herbert Spencer. But his soul was always athirst for the water brooks, and it must have been with deep satisfaction and relief that he ultimately found in the conclusions which he drew from the investigations of this Society and chiefly from those he had himself conducted in America an intellectual sanction for his aspirations.

Genial and kindly though his nature was, it was not without its roughnesses. In controversy he was apt to deal hard blows in sledge-hammer style, and his own joy in combat blinded him to the fact that his opponent was not necessarily as insensitive to castigation as himself.

Once his mind was made up he became constitutionally unable to appreciate another point of view, and his strong convictions were accompanied by an almost righteous indignation at the perversity of the other fellow. In other words, though full of fun he was lacking in a sense of humour. He was in deadly earnest in whatever he took up. This disposition made him in his later years impatient of compromise or control. He was one of those men who, averse from and unsuited for co-operation, work best alone.

The detective faculty, which served him so well in the solution of puzzles and usually in his psychical work, would occasionally mislead him in the ordinary relations of life into fits of suspiciousness, as comic in their intensity as in

their object. On those on whom his suspicions fell he vented his displeasure in no measured terms; and, however groundless his accusations might be shown to be, it was rarely, if ever, that he would admit himself mistaken. He could pardon, frankly and readily enough, as a rule, though sometimes grudgingly and tardily; but he found it hard to believe that his *flair* had been at fault.

The competitive instinct, too, was unduly developed. He hated being beaten in a game, and he would not admit defeat in an argument. And in each case I think defeat was distasteful for the same reason; namely, that at bottom he was so firmly convinced that his own side was best that when it was worsted, or in danger of being worsted, he felt a sense of injury because the righteous were not inheriting the earth. The promise of this inheritance to the meek must have been to him the hardest of Hard Sayings.

Yet if he played, or wrote, or talked for victory with excessive zeal, I do not believe for one moment that egotism was the cause. *He knew* his side was in the right, and his plain duty was to make that side prevail: a refreshing trait in these indifferent days when we lazily incline to hold that there is so much to be said for any side of a question that it matters little which gains the day.

There was something of a strain of Old Testament vindictiveness in his make-up. He must, so it seems to me, have had his moments when with the Psalmist he might have cried: "Of thy goodness slay mine enemies: and destroy all them that vex my soul." But, mark you, as with the Psalmist so with him, his enemies were always the Lord's enemies too: though, doubtless, he either was unconscious of the coincidence, or, if he did remark it, was not disturbed by it.

Still there was a very tender side to his character, which perhaps came out most fully in his intercourse with those who, raw from some recent bereavement, came for hope or consolation to him, either simply as to one versed in the problem of survival, or, as it were, to the keeper of an authentic door of access to the other world, or even, indeed, as to some Hierophant of the Mysteries of life and death. To such as these he gave lavishly of his time, his counsel and

his sympathy. They came to meet him half way, it is true, but even so he won their confidence with extraordinary completeness. Many of them poured out their hearts to him without restraint; and he, though naturally a man of deep reserve where his innermost emotions were concerned, would, repaying confidence with confidence, reveal to them his own most intimate experiences and convictions, in the hope of thereby lightening the darkness or assuaging the bitterness of their despondency. And he won not only their confidence but their gratitude also, and often their affection.

His failings, such as they were, were the outcome of his intense earnestness. His virtues were those of a noble type of man.

It was a fine life; manly, simple, single of purpose, and—best of all, perhaps—graced by warm and enduring friendships.

III.

BY M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE¹

ON the twentieth of December, 1905, there died in the over-active exercise of his body one whose life was preëminently an exercise of the spirit. Indeed, it was as an explorer of the spiritual realm, an adventurer beyond the bourne from which he believed the return of travellers could be proved and guided, that he was chiefly known to the world at large.

Through the last years of his life he was peculiarly identified with the trance sittings of Mrs. Piper and the communications from the spirit-groups of which he recognized "Phinuit" and "Imperator" as the central figures. Though finally surrendering his own life to the direction of "Imperator," he sought to retain in his work of interpretation for others the attitude of the investigator insisting upon the best of evidence. It was his unflagging desire to accumulate a mass of evidence sufficient to form a reasonable hypothesis regarding the "spirit world."

There is no lack of pathos, from one point of view, in his having dropped this work unfinished. From another there is the satisfaction of his having passed quickly, as he wished to pass, from the present to the future life. More than one of his friends recall the eagerness with which he said only last summer, "I can hardly wait to die." A keen intellectual curiosity regarding what awaited him was his own chief concern about death. Then came that which he had desired; and neither the doubters nor his fellow-believers could wholly

¹ This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Tavern Club, Boston, on May 6th, 1906, and is published here by the kind permission of the author.—EDITOR.

² The passage here omitted is a brief description of the external events of Dr. Hodgson's life, which are given more fully in Mrs. Sidgwick's paper above.—EDITOR.

grudge him the opportunity to carry forward—as he would have said—“on the other side” the work to which he gave his life on earth. With a swift passage from the known to the unknown sphere, the visible life among us came to an end.

To those who knew him in private his utter confidence in the work was one of its highest justifications. To hear him talk of that “other side” as if it were literally a room separated from the house of life only by walls and doors of glass, to see him year in and year out devoting to an idea intellectual and moral powers which might well have won him many of the rewards which men prize most,—this was to realize in a measure the spirit which has animated the idealists of every age, the spirit through which a man saves his life by losing it.

The general and the personal significance of his work were so inextricably twined together that it is hard to discuss it at all without seeming to invade the inmost sanctities. Yet in this company it is no sacrilege to quote from a private letter of 1901 a passage which reveals at once the intense conviction of Richard Hodgson's belief and the pure spiritual faith of which it was the embodiment: “I went through toils and turmoils and perplexities in '97 and '98 about the significance of this whole Emperor régime, but I have seemed to get on a rock after that,—I seem to understand clearly the reasons for incoherence and obscurity, etc., and I think that if for the rest of my life from now I should never see another trance or have another word from Emperor or his group, it would make no difference to my *knowledge* that all is well, that Emperor, etc., are all they claim to be and are indeed messengers that we may call divine. Be of good courage whatever happens, and pray continually, and let peace come into your soul. Why should you be distraught and worried? Everything, absolutely everything,—from a spot of ink to all the stars,—every faintest thought we think of to the contemplation of the highest intelligence in the cosmos, are all in and part of the infinite Goodness. Rest in that Divine Love. All your trials are known better than you know them yourself. Do you think it is an idle word that the hairs of our heads are numbered? Have no dismay. Fear nothing and trust in God.”

His friends and brothers here—for surely friendship and brotherhood were almost indistinguishable in his relations with us—care especially to remember one thing—that this idealist did not detach himself from the most earth-bound of us all. Though so much of his commerce was with the unseen, his feet kept step with ours on solid earth. In the field of mental activities, there was no one better qualified to discuss the freshest topics of physical science, the events and tendencies in the world of affairs, and their deeper significances. There was no one here to whom the pleased discoverer of a new minor poet—since the major phenomenon is so rare—could come with such conviction that his discovery had been anticipated. Indeed it was no unusual thing to have Dick quote you off-hand the new singer's best verses, with all the fervour and understanding which made him the favourite interpreter of certain of our own poets. One cannot forget how he entered into the reading of other men's verses. No matter if there were twenty valentines or prize songs to be read in a single evening, every one of them rang out in his loyal voice as heartily as if Dick himself were the author, bent upon bringing forth every particle of meaning or wit the lines might contain. His intimate association with the more serious muse will be a recurring remembrance to most of us, when Christmas and New Year come round without the card which brought us his poetic greeting, in which an old or a new poet seemed merely the mouthpiece of the sender's own thought.

Nor was this community of interest restricted by any means to the things of the mind. The healthy Anglo-Saxon devotion to every exhibition of physical prowess was conspicuously characteristic of this child of the spirit. The professional ball game, the college boat race and football battle excited his keenest interest; and it was like him to double his enjoyment in these sports by the companionship of one or more of us. The cheery call for volunteers for the 2.20 boat must remain one of the brightest memories of our summer lunch-table, not only for those who used to join the almost daily expeditions to Nantasket, and huddled into their clothes while Dick's head was still a mere speck amongst the ocean steamers and harbour islands, but for all whose paths led

inland or to other shores. In the pool-room, its dominating figure was for the tyro the most patient and encouraging of teachers, for the expert the most formidable of rivals, for the box the most active inciter of tickets. Is it—by the way—a mere coincidence that the parrot, since losing his most devoted friend and champion, has stood in less need of a defender than ever before? In the squash-court Dick was the best and gentlest of antagonists in victory or defeat. From the gallery above it his initial inquiry, "Score?" his rallying shouts—"two-yard-line," "anybody's game"—put spirit into the flagging player, and made him happily conscious of a gallery to which it was no shame to play. Downstairs by the fire-place and at the table above, it was generally Dick who first taught the new member to know himself here by his Christian name, and to feel that gray hairs and youth might after all be contemporaries.

Just because he was the contemporary of all, the man between whom and the rest of us the barriers were the fewest and the lowest, he typified, perhaps more than any individual member of the club, the spirit of the Tavern. The last words that certain of us heard him speak are a memorable illustration of his unique and beautiful place among us. Eight or ten men were gathered in the lower room—once defending an unpopular cause, which the others were hotly denouncing. The debate was growing acrimonious. Down from luncheon came Dick. "Go for the scoundrel," he thundered from the stairs. "Don't give him a chance to speak; down with him! Don't let him be heard!" The genial shout, with its animating love of fair play as well as of peace, drew a laugh and a response. "How can anybody be heard when you're in the room, Dick?" There was another laugh—and the unpleasantness was past. A few moments later Dick left the club. That evening his lifeless body was carried upstairs.

A purity of nature which leaves his friends unable, even should they try, to recall a single taint of coarseness in his word or thought; a sincerity like that of a true-hearted boy; an unselfishness and absence of egotism which made our concerns far more often than his the topics of our personal intercourse; a self-respect which included in its operations a

body as wholesome as the air and sea he loved;—these must surely be remembered in any enumeration of the qualities which made his personality so rare a blending of the spirit and the flesh. Who better than our well-loved friend can remain for us the interpretation and type of this blending? What man of us has lived in the flesh a life so illuminated and controlled by the spirit that the transition from the seen to the unseen could have seemed so short a journey as for him? One whose spirit, like our friend's, was clothed with the whole armour of faith and courage has told what it is for such a man to die: "In the hot-fit of life, a-tiptoe on the highest point of being, he passes at a bound on to the other side. The noise of the mallet and chisel is scarcely quenched, the trumpets are hardly done blowing, when, trailing with him clouds of glory, this happy-starred, full-blooded spirit shoots into the spiritual land."¹

It is much to have left behind one what Richard Hodgson has left to us,—a memory the sweetest, the purest, the best-beloved. When his spirit had gone on its final quest that memory in all its freshness remained to hallow the room in which he shared so many of our delights. There it brought together an unexampled assemblage of the friends of him who had come to us a stranger. For his sake the place which was so truly his home must be, to us who like to call ourselves his family, more than ever unlike all other places. For his sake we shall sing without sorrow,

Meum est propositum in Taberna mori,—

for we shall sing it, remembering what it is both to live and to die here, and rejoicing always in the sense of his continuing fellowship.

¹ R. L. Stevenson, conclusion of *Aes Triplex*.

II.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

Delivered on November 12th, 1906.

BY THE RIGHT HON. GERALD W. BALFOUR.

LOOKING at the list of past Presidents of our Society I use no mere conventional form of speech when I say that I am much more sensible of the honour which the Council have done me in asking me to accept the office than of any pretensions I possess of fitness to hold it. There is hardly one of my distinguished predecessors who has not taken an active and even eminent part in the work of Psychological research. I unfortunately can make no such claim. Although a member of the Society almost from the year of its foundation, I must sadly confess that I have in no way shared in its labours nor so much as contributed a single paper to its *Proceedings*. While others have written and worked, I have only been able to read and ponder the evidence which they have accumulated, and even that only in the intervals of a busy life otherwise employed. In these circumstances if I venture to submit to you some *obiter cogitata* of one who has hitherto been a sleeping partner in the firm, it is to your kind indulgence that I must trust to carry me through the task.

One of our former Presidents has recorded his opinion that the simplest exercise of telepathic influence—the power for instance which some people think they possess of making others turn round and look at them by a mere exertion of will—would, from the purely scientific point of view, if it were really established, be more extraordinary, more mysterious, more worthy to excite intellectual curiosity,

than the annihilation of the planet on which we live by collision with some hitherto unknown body travelling through space. The latter event, he argued, however dramatically extraordinary, would involve no modification or even extension of accepted theories regarding the laws which govern the movements of the celestial bodies. On the other hand the direct action of one mind on another would seem to introduce us to a region ordered according to other laws than those which obtain in any department of experience which received Science has made its own.

In contrast with this statement may be set the emphatic declaration of Professor Flournoy that if telepathy did not exist, it would be necessary to invent it. "Direct action" he tells us "between living beings is a thing so completely in harmony with all we know of nature, that it would be difficult not to assume it *à priori*, even in the absence of any perceptible indication of the fact. How is it conceivable," he goes on to ask, "that the activity of such complex seats of chemical phenomena as the nervous centres should not be accompanied by the emission of various undulations, X, Y, or Z rays, that pass through the skull like the sun through a pane of glass and proceed to act, no matter what the distance, on the corresponding centres inside other skulls? The question is merely one of intensity."

These two expressions of opinion seem at first sight in direct conflict; and no doubt they proceed from very different conceptions of the real nature of telepathy and of its *modus operandi*. On the subject of this difference I shall have more to say in the sequel. In the meantime let me point out that in a limited sense it is possible to reconcile the two views; for we may admit the extraordinary and even epoch-making character of a discovery, and yet when once it has been made, feel that it fits in with metaphysical or scientific presuppositions in a way that ought to have made us anticipate and look out for it beforehand.

It is doubtless in consequence of some such presuppositions that I have never personally felt oppressed by any sense of antecedent improbability in the phenomena of telepathy.

Unlike Professor Flournoy, however, my presuppositions have been metaphysical rather than physical or mechanical; and as in this respect I fancy my case is somewhat exceptional, an attempt to approach the subject from this standpoint may not be altogether without freshness or interest for members of the Society.

Our ordinary conception of the world presented to us in experience represents it as consisting of a multitude of individual existences or things, connected together under conditions of space and time. Enquiry into the ultimate nature of the elements of reality, and into their relations to each other and to the whole of which they are parts, belongs admittedly to the realm of metaphysical speculation. But even the simple and unelaborated description I have just given is saturated with metaphysical ideas. The fact is, we are all of us metaphysicians, even when we are least aware of the fact. Common sense itself is an inveterate metaphysician, and all that the most gifted philosophic genius can aspire to accomplish is the transmutation of the crude ideas of common sense into something more nearly approaching, or perhaps I should rather say less hopelessly remote from, a clear and coherent system.

I need hardly say that I have no intention this afternoon to ask you to engage in any such enterprise. I do not propose either to enter upon a metaphysical discussion or even to lay down dogmatically any ideas of my own on the universe at large. But as, in every general view of the connection of things in a common world, we all practically start with *some* presuppositions, I shall invite you, in the case of certain presuppositions which I will briefly state, to give them temporary admission to your minds in a purely provisional way, and then to consider in what direction they lead us. The ideas for which I ask this favour make no claim to novelty, and are far from being metaphysical paradoxes. On the contrary, they may fairly be said to have behind them a very respectable body of philosophic authority.

Consent then for the moment to assume with me that the world consists of a plurality of individual existences or real things which not only coexist in space and are subject

to changes in time, but also continuously interact with each other so as to form a connected system in which each part at once determines and is determined by the rest, and a change in each is *ipso facto* a change in all the others. Consent further to admit that centres of psychical activity or minds, as well as centres of physical activity constituting the material world, are to be included among these individual existences, which accordingly fall into two kinds, in appearance at least of disparate nature.

It is of course evident that these propositions occupy only a fraction of the metaphysical field, and would have to be taken as subject to modification and qualification in any attempt to fit them into a systematic whole. Even as they stand they will at once suggest to any student of metaphysics a legion of difficult questions, which it is impossible for me to pursue on this occasion. Volumes have been written upon these questions in the past; volumes will no doubt be written on them in the future; and whether mankind will be more successful in reaching a final conclusion than were those irrepressible metaphysicians among Milton's fallen angels, who "found no end in wandering mazes lost," when discussing similar topics, is a matter on which I should not like to express a confident opinion.

If however this uncertainty be objected to my present procedure, I reply with the double plea already advanced. In the first place, thinking beings cannot really rid themselves of metaphysical presuppositions, however much they may deceive themselves into thinking this to be possible. In the second place I do not ask you to accept these particular presuppositions as either true or adequate, but only to adopt them provisionally as working hypotheses. As such it may perhaps be counted in their favour, that on the whole they correspond more closely to common-sense beliefs than do most metaphysical constructions, and further that they may possibly be found, as we advance, to have an unexpectedly suggestive bearing on the phenomena of telepathy with which I am concerned in this Address.

It is to this application of them that I proceed.

A world of reciprocal determination in which each element of reality is conceived as acting upon and being acted upon

by every other, must evidently, if any kind of change is admitted into it, form a system in a continuous state of process. Its condition as a whole at any given moment will be at once effect and cause; effect of its condition as a whole in the moment immediately preceding, and cause of its condition as a whole in the moment immediately following.

This principle of totality in causation must not however be so interpreted as to exclude the possibility of distinguishable chains of causal relation between individual elements or groups of elements in accordance with general laws. This is, in fact, a necessary assumption without which the empirical sciences could not advance a single inch. For the whole work of these sciences is to ascertain from experience the particular laws which govern the relations of different kinds subsisting between real things, and therefore presupposes that such laws exist and are discoverable.

Now we admit that real things fall into two kinds: on the one side psychical existences or minds; on the other side the physical elements which underlie the material world. It may be that we ought not to represent the distinction as absolute. It may be that every element of reality unites in itself a dual aspect, psychical and physical. On this view there would be no mind or soul entirely without physical activity, nor any material element wholly destitute of psychical attributes, and the difference between them would pass into a difference of degree. I wish not to exclude this possibility, nor to regard it as inconsistent with our pre-supposition.

But for my present purpose it is not necessary to soften away the distinction between mind and matter in this fashion. I am content to accept the disparity, only insisting that it is not to be pushed to the point of denying all possibility of interaction between them.

Let me now carry you a step further. In a world such as that which I have asked you to conceive, you cannot legitimately separate existing things from the relations between them. For those relations belong to, even though they may not exhaust, the essence of the things. Therefore to distinguish between kinds of things is to distinguish

between kinds of relations. If the elements of reality fall into two kinds, centres of psychical activity and centres of physical activity, and if every element of reality interacts according to general laws with every other, it would certainly seem that there must be relations of interaction between them of at least three kinds, according as the interaction takes place between physical and physical, between physical and psychical, or between psychical and psychical.

Now interaction between the physical elements of reality is generally admitted, and the laws in accordance with which it takes place form the subject of the various branches of Physical Science.

Interaction between the physical and psychical elements of reality is not so generally accepted, and the difficulty of conceiving any causal relation between matter and mind has been so strongly felt as to lead to theories which either deny the reality of the one or of the other, or else ascribe the undoubted correspondence between body and mind to a perpetual miracle or to a pre-established harmony. According to our view they reciprocally determine each other: but in any case the correspondence itself is admittedly subject to laws; and the ascertainment of these laws belongs to that province of psychology which is known as psycho-physics.

Under the same general head of interaction between psychical and physical existences, a place might have to be found for the phenomena of telæsthesia and telekinesis, should the evidence be such as to establish the reality of those phenomena.

There remains the question of direct interaction between psychical existences. Does such interaction really obtain? Will a science of its laws ever come into being?

These are questions which our presuppositions drive us to ask, and to which they seem to suggest, and even to require, an affirmative answer. But let me once more remind you, I have no desire to dogmatise. Even granting the reasoning be sound, the presuppositions themselves may be erroneous.

If however I have succeeded in inducing you to follow me thus far, you will understand why it is that speaking for myself I am predisposed to accept the reality of telepathic phenomena, and at least to sympathise with Professor Flournoy, if I cannot go quite the length of agreeing with

him, when he says that telepathy would have to be invented even if no experiential evidence in favour of it existed. You will also understand that I have been led to this conclusion by reasons very different from those which have guided the distinguished Professor himself; and indeed that he and I mean by telepathy very different things. I mean by it direct interaction between psychical existences or minds. Professor Flournoy also, in the passage I have already quoted, speaks of "direct action between living beings" as being completely in harmony with all that is known of nature. But action which is conceived as taking place by means of undulations propagated through a physical medium is not "direct" action in the sense in which I use the term. Indeed if it is legitimate to distinguish, as we have agreed to do, between mind and brain, the *modus operandi* of action between mind and mind would be, according to Professor Flournoy's view doubly or trebly indirect. First the mind must act upon the nervous centres, secondly the vibrations set up in the nervous centres must give rise to undulations propagated through some physical medium, next these undulations must stimulate the nerve centres in some other brain, and lastly the stimulus applied to the nerve centres must translate itself into consciousness in the mind attached to that other brain. It is not however necessary to press this point. Even if we cover up all questions concerning the relations of mind and body under the convenient term of "living being," we must still insist that psychical action transmitted by means of physical mechanism is a very different thing from that immediate action between mind and mind which the presuppositions from which we started have brought us to anticipate. Immediate action between mind and mind may have physical action as its invariable concomitant; but this physical action would not, according to the view I have put before you, belong to the special chain of causal relation for which we always look when we are seeking to understand a phenomenon by referring it to general laws. In other words it would be in the nature of a side-effect, much as noise accompanies the discharge of a rifle but is properly not regarded as the cause of the propulsion of the bullet.

Even at the risk of being unnecessarily tedious, I do not like to leave this topic without once more guarding myself against a possible misconception. I am afraid I may have produced in some of you the impression that I am trying to give a metaphysical proof of the truth of telepathy. That is not so. What I have done is to take certain metaphysical presuppositions, which on general grounds seem to me worthy of provisional acceptance, and shew, or attempt to shew, that some direct interaction between psychical existences is involved in the implications which they contain. It is natural to suppose that one form at all events which such interaction may take, will be the communication of thoughts and feelings and impulses and inhibitions from one centre of consciousness to another. When we find that there is a considerable body of evidence drawn from experience that communication of this nature otherwise than through the recognised channels of sense actually occurs, the fact that this evidence harmonises with any preconceived idea we may have formed inevitably and legitimately tells in its favour. But no *à priori* chain of reasoning can take the place of experience in a matter of this kind. It may safely be affirmed that in the complete absence of all evidence from experience that such a phenomenon has ever occurred, we should, in spite of Professor Flournoy, either not think it necessary to invent telepathy, or if we did invent it on grounds of *à priori* probability, we should certainly not consider it worth while to carry our speculations on the subject very far. We cannot hope to rest the *proof* of telepathy on any other ground than that of solid fact. I am prepared to go yet further, and to admit that we must look to experience not only for proof of the truth of telepathic communication between mind and mind, but also for the solution of difficult questions concerning the true nature of the phenomenon such as those on which I have the misfortune not to see eye to eye with Professor Flournoy. He takes one view of the subject; I am disposed to take another; but we should, I think, both of us have to confess that our difference of opinion depends more on the presuppositions with which we start, and less upon observed facts than either of us could desire.

Are we then to conclude that there is no room left for

speculative consideration of the subject and that no useful purpose can be served by it? I think that would be to go beyond the mark, and for two reasons. In the first place our readiness to receive evidence in support of what is strange and unfamiliar will always depend in some degree upon the antecedent probability or improbability which our minds instinctively attach to it: and this again upon the ease or difficulty which the new idea has in fitting in with the rest of our mental furniture. I am quite conscious that speculations of the kind in which I have indulged to-day have had considerable weight in my own case, and it is possible there may be some others like-minded with myself.

There is also another consideration to be taken into account. It is true that the sciences draw their material from experience. But the further each science pushes the limits of enquiry, the more it tends to pass beyond into the region of metaphysics. Even the physical sciences have yielded to this tendency; it is still more marked in psychology; it is practically inevitable in that department of psychology which specially interests this Society and which has been baptised, not very happily perhaps, with the name of Metapsychics.

Let me give you two or three illustrations of this tendency from among many that might be cited. The question of the possibility of action at a distance has long been a stumbling block to physicists. Most physicists deny the possibility altogether, apparently on *à priori* grounds. At all events the denial cannot as yet claim the universal and unequivocal support of experience even as regards the material world. Now the question whether in any particular case or class of cases the action of one body on another can be shewn to be exerted by transmission through a continuous medium would certainly seem to be one for physicists to determine. But the dogma that action at a distance is inconceivable appears to me, I confess, to involve metaphysical considerations even if confined to physical action, and certainly involves metaphysical considerations if universally applied to real existences in general.

I have given you an illustration derived from Physics. If we want one drawn from psychology there is no need to go beyond a topic already touched upon in this address.

You have only to open any work on psychology which is not content with a purely superficial treatment of the subject, to see how difficult and almost impossible psychologists find it to avoid raising the question of the existence and nature of the Soul. They may make a gallant effort to eliminate it, but it pervades and colours all their speculations notwithstanding.

Let me cite yet another instance, taken from that region of enquiry which more especially concerns the Society for Psychological Research. There is probably no subject which more keenly interests a majority of our members than that of the rational grounds for a belief in immortality. But how far can the investigations of the Society throw light on the problem of immortality? Clearly only to a limited extent. It may be possible to obtain evidence from experience sufficient to convince us that a centre of conscious activity carrying on memories of our corporeal existence does in certain cases survive the dissolution of the body. But this is by no means equivalent to proof of the immortality of the Soul; of which indeed it is evident from the nature of the case we can have no experience whatever. Proof of survival after bodily death of a conscious self retaining memories of the living personality may, and in fact must, have an important bearing on the larger question, especially in the way of removing difficulties and objections. But any rational ground of belief in the immortality of the Soul must in the end be speculative and result from the general view we take of the meaning and purpose of the universe as an intelligible system.

Do not suppose that I call attention to the tendency of the sciences to pass over into metaphysics in order to condemn it. On the contrary, I believe it to be both inevitable and right. It seems to be more than probable that Metaphysics and Science are destined in the future to draw nearer and nearer together; that Science will find it more and more necessary to examine its fundamental conceptions in the light of metaphysical considerations, and that Metaphysics on the other hand must be prepared for continual revision of its constructions with reference to the ever accumulating stores of knowledge derived from experi-

ence. Each will in this way suggest problems to the other, and each contribute its help towards their solution.

I have now laid before you my justification for the procedure which I have adopted in this address. Shall I be deemed overbold if in the remainder of the time at my disposal I try to provide you with a practical example of the kind of co-operation between metaphysics and science which I have in my mind?

There are certain problems connected with telepathy, which any one approaching the subject as I have done from the metaphysical side is bound to face. He who proceeds step by step in pursuit of empirical fact is not called upon to go beyond bare affirmation of that which observation has established. But the moment he begins to theorise, especially if he attempts to shew grounds for anticipating that particular phenomena will occur, something more is necessary. He must be prepared to shew not merely that the phenomena do sometimes occur, but also that they occur in every case in which their occurrence was to be anticipated in accordance with the theory. Or if he cannot do this, at least he must be prepared with some explanation which accounts for apparent exceptions to the rule. The fact that communications of impressions, feelings, and impulses do occur between living beings otherwise than through the recognised channels of sense will probably be accepted without demur in this audience; and perhaps I may be permitted on this occasion to take it for granted. From my point of view, however, that is not enough, and I am bound to ask myself the further question: Why is the phenomenon, so far as actual experience goes, a comparatively rare and exceptional one? If it belongs to the very essence of minds that they should interact with each other, and if telepathy is the form we should naturally expect such interaction to take, why is it not more frequent? Why indeed is it not universal?

The answer I am disposed to give to this question would be that taken in the widest sense telepathy probably is universal, and that what is rare and exceptional is only our realisation of it. It is quite true that this cannot be proved. But it is to be noticed that the difficulties in the way of

proof arise from the very same causes which would interfere to prevent our recognising the universal agency of telepathy supposing it to be universal.

The first and most obvious case is that in which the interaction takes place but the psychical effect resulting from it either fails to reach the level of consciousness, or at most amounts to no more than an obscure modification of the total psychical content, and cannot be analysed out as one of the distinguishable and definite components of that content.

The notion of a psychical impression which does not reach the level of consciousness may seem a strange one; but we are driven to it, at all events as a limiting conception, the moment we admit degrees of distinctness and indistinctness in conscious impressions. As regards modifications of the total psychical content which are too vague and general to allow of particular analysis, it must be remembered that when telepathic communication takes place, we are not, according to my view, to conceive it as the passing over of an impression intact from one mind to another. On the contrary, what we are dealing with is an interaction between two elements, both of which enter as essential factors into the result.

Passing next to telepathic impressions which do reach the level of distinct consciousness and are sufficiently definite to be separately distinguishable, it by no means follows that we should be aware of their true origin. Let me mention in particular two classes of such cases, in which telepathic action may be really at work and yet remain entirely unrecognised either by the persons affected or by an observer.

The ordinary interchange of thought between one individual and another is effected by means of signs, which are conveyed through the senses of touch, of hearing, or of sight. It would be extravagant indeed to suppose that in the case of written signs telepathy plays any part in conveying the meaning of the writer to the reader; but are we to assert this also in cases where the communication is by word of mouth, by gesture, or by physical contact? Surely in such cases it is not a wildly improbable conjecture to suppose that the indirect communication by signs may find as it were an ally and auxiliary in the direct simultaneous interaction of mind with mind. I am far from affirming

positively that this is so : but some slight support for it may perhaps be derived from observed facts. I may instance the wonderful sway which a great orator is able to exercise over an audience, far beyond any influence which the same words uttered by less gifted speakers would exert ; the marked preference which even students of dry and difficult subjects display (though I confess I never shared it myself), for oral over written discourse ; the striking facility exhibited by very young children in grasping the meaning of words which they hear for the first time ; the apparently similar results obtained in certain hypnotic cases, when a transition is made from the uttered word of command to purely mental suggestion. In the case of animals again it may be worth while to notice in this connection the surprising intelligence which many dogs show in interpreting the slightest indication given by their masters ; the quickness of the very young offspring of certain animals to understand and obey the different notes of warning or encouragement sounded by the parent ; the apparent simplicity of the signs employed by members of insect communities compared with the complexity of their social life. No doubt it may seem fanciful to trace telepathy in all this : but even so, the point I wish to emphasize remains, namely, that in every case in which communication by means of sounds, gesture, or physical contact takes place the contributory action of telepathy is possible, and yet, even if actual, would probably escape notice and certainly elude proof, because masked and hidden from observation behind the more obvious rôle played by the ordinary machinery of communication.

A second class of cases in which telepathic action may form, or help to form, conscious impressions, and yet altogether fail of recognition, is of greater importance and interest.

Our ordinary sense perceptions carry with them a direct reference to real objects outside of us, and reflection enables us to distinguish between our subjective impressions and the objects which we know by means of these impressions, and which we regard as in some sense giving rise to them. But there are other states of consciousness which carry with them no such external reference, and which we treat as purely subjective states without cognitive significance. Can any of

these states, which we are accustomed to look upon as purely subjective, be really, in part or in whole, the expression of the direct action of other minds upon our own?

If so, the field for undetected telepathic action is evidently very wide indeed. For such subjective states form a large part of the stream of consciousness in both the waking and dreaming life of each of us. Impressions keep streaming through the mind apparently unsummoned by any conscious act of will; yet their telepathic origin, if they had one, might remain forever concealed in the absence of any sign which gave either an immediate assurance of the fact or else a basis from which it might be inferred.

The truth is that for a case of spontaneous, as opposed to experimental, telepathy to be even suspected, the first requisite is that the impression should be of a striking character, an incongruous intrusion into the stream of consciousness, and for that very reason exceptional. Or if this arresting character is absent, its place must be supplied by a precision of coincidence such as is artificially provided in experimental telepathy, and this again is exceptional.

I submit then that the comparative rarity of instances in which telepathy is suspected, let alone proved, does not justify a conclusion as to the rarity of the phenomenon itself. It may be common, nay universal (if we include under the name of telepathy cases in which though a real psychical interaction may take place, its effects are too weak to rise above the threshold of distinct consciousness), and yet it may escape detection. After all gravitation is universal in the material world, yet civilised mankind had lived and thought for many hundred years in blissful unconsciousness of the fact that any connection existed between the fall of an apple to the ground and the majestic motion of the heavenly bodies.

If telepathy be universal there is yet another aspect of it of which account must be taken. So far, both in experimental telepathy and in recorded cases of spontaneous telepathy, the interaction has generally been confined to a single agent and a single percipient. There are a certain number of cases in which a telepathic impression appears to have been received by more than one percipient simultaneously; and there may be a few in which the evidence

points to joint agency. The *rapport* already referred to between great orators and their audiences may possibly be in some degree telepathic. It is also conceivable that the mysteriously rapid diffusion of important news over large areas, of which strange tales come to us from the East and elsewhere, is to be referred to a similar origin; and the same may be true of certain of the phenomena that often accompany religious revivals. On the whole, however, it is safe to say that in the clear and unmistakeable cases of telepathic communication actually known to us, very few, and for the most part only two, individuals have been concerned.

I should like to connect with this observation a further one concerning the character and content of telepathic impressions as exhibited in our evidential cases. These impressions almost always shew a marked character of particularity. They consist of definite sensations, impulses, mental pictures or externalised hallucinations. Even when they can properly be described as ideas, they are usually ideas of a definite and concrete event or series of events; rarely abstract and general ideas. Some exceptions may be found in certain cases of automatic writing, and perhaps also in trance utterances; but these are not sufficient to invalidate the general rule.

Now these two characteristics of the evidential cases of telepathy I put together because I believe there is a real connection between them. All direct evidence of telepathic action is based on some proved correspondence between the contents of different minds which it is not possible either to regard as accidental or to account for by communication through the ordinary channels of the senses. The more minute and detailed the coincidence, the more telling it will be for evidential purposes. In this respect particular and concrete impressions would appear to have an advantage over general and abstract ideas. But is it likely that particular and concrete impressions will arise from the telepathic interaction of a multitude of minds? So far as I am aware, little, if any, light has been thrown upon this question by any experimental results to which we can appeal; but upon broad grounds of probability I should be disposed to answer it in the negative, unless for some reason or another a given

particular impression is *already* present in a considerable proportion of the minds concerned. Accordingly, if telepathic interaction belongs to the essence of all minds, it seems not unreasonable to draw two further conclusions. First, that most, if not all, evidential cases of telepathy are likely to be cases in which a special and exceptional telepathic responsiveness or *rapport* has been established—we do not yet know how, save that a particular direction of attention and will seem to have something to do with it—between a limited number of individual minds; and secondly, that if an all-embracing psychical interaction can anywhere be traced, it is in the region of universals that we must expect to find it.

We often speak of ideas being “in the air”; and the common tendency of thought in particular epochs has been so marked as even to lead to the personification—with more or less of conscious metaphor—of a *Zeitgeist* to account for it. This is of course mere mythology. Whatever of mystery the phenomenon in question may still present, after more obvious explanations have been exhausted, can be more satisfactorily explained by reciprocal telepathic action between many contemporaneous minds. But there is a region of ideas beyond these passing phases of opinion and sentiment. What of the ultimate constitutive notions which lie at the foundation of all knowledge, making a common universe for our common reason? What of the moral ideas which bind mankind together, and cause us to be members one of another? Is it too wild a flight of speculative fancy to imagine that these are in some sort sustained and ever more and more fully realised through the direct intercommunion of all spiritual beings, and that telepathy in its highest aspect is an actively unifying principle leading us upwards and onwards, the manifestation in the world of spirits of the supreme unity of the Divine Mind?

The theme is a tempting one for the metaphysician. But it is difficult breathing at such elevations. Let us be content with less high matters, and direct our course again towards earth.

Under the guidance of the presuppositions from which we agreed to start, we have been brought to the idea of

telepathy as the universal form of interaction between psychical existences, and even, it may be, the fundamental bond of unity and principle of development within the entire spiritual world. Let us now take up the clue once more, and following where it leads the way, try if we cannot discover yet another region in which telepathic agency, though its presence there has hitherto been unsuspected, may none the less be found to play an all-important part.

The region I refer to is that of the human personality itself. In the monumental work which he bequeathed to this Society and to the world Frederic Myers tells us that he regards each man as at once "profoundly unitary and almost infinitely composite, as inheriting from earthly ancestors a multiplex and 'colonial' organism—polyzoic and perhaps polypsychic in an extreme degree; but also as ruling and unifying that organism by a soul or spirit absolutely beyond our present analysis." With due reserve as to ulterior implications, I for one accept this description so far as it represents the real self of each of us as one and indivisible, but nevertheless associated in our organism with other centres of conscious activity.

Evidence has been constantly accumulating within recent years of the *contemporaneous* presence of more than one stream of consciousness in the same human being. No mere *alternations* of personality, however striking, nor any change however great that takes place in the self when it passes from the waking to the hypnotic state, would suffice to prove the simultaneous existence of more than one consciousness in the organism. For these different states could still be conceived as being what in most cases they probably are, namely, successive states of the same consciousness.

This explanation cannot however be used to account for so-called automatic actions requiring the exercise of a reasoning faculty for their performance, yet working themselves out without the knowledge of the waking self while the latter is otherwise engaged: still less can it account for certain extreme cases of disintegrated personality in which two distinct and fully developed selves appear on the stage at the same time. Take for instance the extraordinary case of Miss Beauchamp, under observation for many years by

Dr. Prince of Boston, in which two of the personalities engage in an open conflict of wills, one of them deliberately and repeatedly produces hallucination in the other, and is able to play the part of a sane spectator looking on at the other's delirious dreamings.

It is true that most of these cases could be explained by supposing a duality, not a multiplicity of conscious activities in the single organism: but the principle once admitted, there are many phenomena in abnormal and even in normal psychology which are most easily accounted for assuming an almost indefinite possibility of dissociation among the elements that go to form the normal personality—different groups of ideas and memories “splitting off” as it were from the main current of consciousness and setting up a certain independent existence of their own.

How then, on this hypothesis, are we to conceive the relations of the central individuality to the body as a whole and to the various subordinate activities of consciousness associated with it, in such a way as to do justice at once to the unitary character of the soul and the complexity of the factors which constitute the personality as we know it?

This is the problem which Myers attacks in earlier chapters of his great work. Of the masterly manner in which from many points of view he has performed the task I need not speak.

No unprejudiced person can fail to recognize the marvellous combination of qualities which the writer has brought to his work—the boldness, the industry, the eloquence, the rare felicity of style and fecundity of literary illustration, the power of co-ordination in dealing with masses of detail, the imaginative insight, the burning enthusiasm, the unconquerable faith in the ultimate triumph of the spiritual element. On the other hand I must in all humility confess that I have never yet succeeded in forming a clear idea of what Myers means by the subliminal self, or in what relation he conceives it to stand with the supraliminal self on the one side, and on the other with the indwelling soul, or truly spiritual part of us, which he identifies with the unknown real self and believes to survive the dissolution of its earthly tabernacle.

According to Myers' view there exist in all of us “sub-

merged thoughts and emotions which possess the characteristics which we associate with conscious life"; and as, in addition to these isolated subliminal processes, "there is also a continuous subliminal chain of memory (or more chains than one) involving just that kind of individual and persistent revival of old impressions, and response to new ones, which we commonly call a Self"—I am quoting his own words—he finds it "permissible and convenient to speak of subliminal selves, or more briefly of a Subliminal Self." It is true that he goes on to warn us that he does not by using this term assume that there are two correlative and parallel selves existing always within each of us "but rather means by the subliminal self that part of the self which is commonly subliminal." But this qualification seems to mean no more than that the subliminal stream of intelligence, although concurrent, is not habitually organised up to the point of ranking as a second fully developed *self* side by side with the supra-liminal current of consciousness which common sense regards as our real self. As it seems to be admitted that it can and does become so organised in exceptional cases, the distinction appears to be only one of degree. Anyway the various "quasi-independent trains of thought" are conceived as "co-operating" together; messages can pass from the submerged to the emergent self, and "suggestions" can be impressed by the supra-liminal self on the subliminal.

Now it is just at this point that the question I wish to press comes in. It requires *two* to co-operate, as it requires *two* to quarrel. In what sense are we to understand the co-operation between distinct streams of consciousness, and what is the meaning of these "messages" and "suggestions" that pass between the subliminal and supra-liminal selves?

From the standpoint taken up in this address this question admits I think of an intelligible answer. It is hardly consistent with our presuppositions to assume that there can be thought without a thinker. Psychology as a science may find it convenient to speak of ideas and mnemonic chains and states of consciousness as if these could subsist in the void. For us however this conception must remain an illegitimate abstraction, and we must hold that ideas and states of consciousness are in reality only forms of the

activity of a psychical entity or mind, even though that mind fall far short of the degree of development implied in a self-conscious personality.

If then every distinct stream of consciousness implies a distinct centre of psychical activity or mind, a plurality of distinct streams of consciousness in man implies a plurality of minds associated in the human organism. If interaction between these minds takes place *indirectly* it must be through the medium of the physical elements of the organism. If it takes place *directly* there would appear to be the strongest presumption in favour of regarding it as telepathic, telepathy being the only form of direct action between mind and mind which has any support from experience. It is quite possible however that it may take place in both ways; and if a conjecture for which we left room some little time ago has any foundation in the real order of things—namely that no finite mind is entirely without physical activity, nor any material element wholly destitute of psychical attributes—then it is conceivable that the two ways may shade off into each other.

Would Myers have accepted this answer? Singular as it may appear, I am not aware that in any part of his book he has discussed the nature of the interaction between the supraliminal and subliminal selves. Nevertheless the idea that this interaction may in part at least be telepathic in its character seemed to me so natural that I could not help feeling some surprise that it should not have occurred to an intellect so fertile and ingenious. And in fact, after considerable searching I have come across one passage in which a hint of such a possibility is given. The passage occurs in the first chapter of the second volume, and consists practically of a couple of sentences.

“Wherever there is hallucination,” writes Myers, “whether delusive or veridical, I hold that a message of some sort is forcing its way upwards from one stratum of personality to another,—a message which may be merely dreamlike and incoherent, or which may symbolize a fact otherwise unreachable by the percipient personality. And the mechanism seems much the same whether the message’s path be continued within one individual, or pass between two;

whether A's own submerged self be signalling to his emergent self, or B be telepathically stimulating the hidden fountains of perception in A." Here is a distinct hint of telepathic action between the two selves within one individual. But the hint is not further followed up, and what is stranger still, it seems to be confined to the case of hallucinations produced in the supraliminal self by the action of the subliminal, and not to extend, or be meant to extend, to "suggestion" proceeding from the upper to the lower stratum.

It is perhaps worth noting that Myers often seems inclined to regard telepathy as the peculiar prerogative of the subliminal self. This is of course quite inconsistent with the idea of telepathic action within the organism. It has always appeared to me a curious paradox which the evidence before us fails to support, and I believe nothing will be lost by its definite and explicit rejection.

On the view which I have tentatively outlined, it is possible, I think, to frame a more definite conception of the different factors that unite to form the individual human being, and of the relations between them, than I, at all events, have been able to derive from Myers' account of the supraliminal and subliminal selves.

Every psychical centre associated with the organism would, in accordance with this view, have to be regarded as "subliminal" to every other, though indeed it might be better to drop that term altogether in describing the relation as I conceive it. The Self of which we are each of us conscious is neither the organism as a whole nor any grouping of psychical centres within the organism. It is a single mind or soul whose conscious states at any given moment are the expression of its reaction against its entire environment. What is its environment? In the larger sense (and this must not be forgotten in considering the question of survival after the dissolution of the organism), its environment is nothing less than the whole universe other than itself. In the narrower sense its environment is the physical organism and every psychical centre associated therewith. The presupposition of a plurality of real existences, coupled with the observed facts as to the concurrent activity of distinct streams of consciousness within a single organism

has thus inevitably brought us in sight of the idea first put forward by Leibnitz, that the living creature is a kind of hierarchy of monads arranged in orderly and systematic relations with each other, each reflecting in its own way the states of consciousness of all the rest. Only whereas Leibnitz denied all real interaction between the monads and sought to account for the apparent interaction by his famous doctrine of Pre-established Harmony, we have assumed throughout that the interaction is real, and conjectured that in part at least it might be of essentially the same character as that which, as between distinct living organisms, we call telepathic.

What, then, on the psychical side, would be the purpose served by the organism? It seems not unreasonable to regard it as an important, perhaps even a necessary, factor in the establishment, within a particular group of psychical centres, of a special telepathic *rapport*. In a normal state of the organism the *rapport* would be such as to result in the harmonious co-operation of all the centres under the guidance and control of the one dominant centre which constitutes the real self of each of us. The healthy human being would thus resemble a well-ordered community in which each subordinate member, in silent understanding with his fellow subjects and with the head of the state, duly carries out the appropriate task imposed on him either by the behests of the latter or by the laws on which the well-being of the community itself depends.

Abnormal conditions would imply a disturbance of the telepathic *rapport*, which in extreme cases may apparently go so far as to alter the whole character and interrupt the continuity of memory of the dominant self, or even depose it from its headship of the community and place a rival self in possession.

Complete and final cessation of the special telepathic *rapport* within the organism I take to be the true significance of death.

What is there in all this, you may be inclined to say, but one more unverifiable hypothesis? Well, perhaps. But in the territory which the Society for Psychical Research has set itself to explore, I am afraid we shall often have to content

ourselves with hypotheses that can have no other verification than this; that they offer the framework into which, for the moment at least, the accumulated facts of experience, together with those certitudes of which we seem to have immediate assurance, can be fitted most easily, and with the least violence and stretching, into the semblance of a coherent whole. Verification, like so much else, is in the end seen to be a question of degree: and in this respect no hard and fast line can be drawn between the hypotheses of metaphysics and those of science. Moreover as regards the particular hypothesis now in question, probably the least verifiable part of it is that which is already contained, by implication, in the original metaphysical presuppositions from which we agreed to start concerning the plurality of real existences. If you refuse me absolution for these, it would be vain to hope that you will pardon the temerity of any other speculation in which I may have indulged to-day.

For those indeed who are prepared to concede these presuppositions, and who are also believers in telepathy and in the poly-psychic nature of the human organism, the further step of admitting telepathic interaction between the psychical elements of the organism ought not to seem a long one. It may be difficult and perhaps impossible to *prove* telepathic agency in this case as in many others; but it is equally difficult or impossible to disprove it. If, nevertheless, Myers appears to have turned aside from the idea, it is permissible to conjecture that the cause lay deep down in metaphysical preconceptions of his own. For in spite of his admission of distinct selves or centres of consciousness within the organism, there always seems to float before him the conception of a Soul which should be the real unity of all the rest in a higher sense than that of merely including them ideally while really excluding them after the fashion of the Leibnitzian monad.

I will not attempt to criticise this conception—which perhaps after all I have wrongly ascribed to him—further than to say that I find it hard to reconcile with the attribution of real existence to the subordinate psychical centres; and that if it is legitimate to apply it to relations between the psychical centres within the organism, it is not easy to see

why it should not be equally applicable to psychical existences generally. I cannot help suspecting that the logical tendency of this line of thought if followed out to the end would prove to be in the direction of pantheism rather than of that personal immortality for which Myers himself so strongly craved.

This however is a subject which I must not pursue further. Indeed I have already trespassed too long upon your patience, and must now bring this address to a close. In the course of it I have ventured to suggest three propositions for your consideration. First, that direct telepathic action between mind and mind is a phenomenon which we might reasonably have anticipated on grounds independent of experience. Secondly, that the comparative rarity of observed cases is no proof that the action is not universal and continuous, as the same grounds would lead us to expect. Thirdly, that the human organism is poly-psychic, and that telepathy probably plays an important part in the relations between the controlling self or soul, and the other psychical centres associated with it.

I put forward these suggestions in no dogmatic spirit, but tentatively; yet with some hope that they may not be deemed wholly without interest or value. In the dark and mysterious region with which the researches of our Society are concerned, we must expect to grope our way in many directions before the right one is found. In such circumstances it is possible to be too chary in framing hypotheses as well as too rash, always provided we are resolved that they shall be our servants and not our masters. Even a faulty hypothesis is not necessarily worthless; for experience shows that it is ever out of the fragments of discarded hypotheses that the roadway to truth is ultimately built.

SUPPLEMENT.

I.

MR. PETROVO-SOLOVOVO ON SPIRITISM.

BY WALTER LEAF, Litt.D.

OUR Hon. Secretary for Russia, Mr. M. Petrovo-Solovovo, of St. Petersburg, published last year a translation into Russian of Mr. Podmore's *Modern Spiritualism*; and he has now added to this work a valuable "appendix." In so describing it, however, Mr. Solovovo is too modest. The "appendix" is a solid and original piece of original work, of no less than 237 large and closely printed pages—in fact, an independent book, separately published, and clearly demanding to be treated as such. I propose to give rather a précis than a review of the work, allowing Mr. Solovovo as far as possible to speak for himself, especially in the purely critical part; for criticism of criticism of criticism is not as a rule profitable or entertaining. I will therefore only state that I consider Mr. Solovovo's judgments always temperate and acute, well worthy the attention of all enquirers, but I must not be taken as always agreeing with them.

The work consists of two parts—firstly, a criticism of Mr. Podmore's methods (81 pages); secondly, a historical sketch in six chapters of the spiritist movement in Russia (153 pages). I propose to deal chiefly with the former, as of more immediate interest to English readers.

Mr. Solovovo in his brief preface points out a decided change in his views on many points since he published in 1900 his *Scientific Investigation of Physical Phenomena with Mediums*¹—a change in the direction of scepticism, so that the present work must be taken as a corrective of the former. His position lies midway between the spiritists and the sceptics, and he expects to incur the displeasure of both.

¹ See *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XV., pp. 416-422.

He agrees with Mr. Podmore, generally speaking, in the following views: (1) the worthlessness of the large majority of reports of "physical phenomena" as evidence for a new force; (2) the unsatisfactory conditions under which observations have generally to be made, with special reference to the difficulties of uninterrupted attention; (3) the generally low level of spiritists as scientific observers—their neglect of obvious means of fraud, their credulous confidence in mediums, etc.; (4) the somewhat suspicious character of the "Rochester" phenomena, which started the modern spiritist movement—though it must not be forgotten that many similar phenomena had been recorded long before 1848, apparently with the exception of automatic writing.

Mr. Podmore also shows that the reality of the phenomena in question involves the existence not of one but of several new forces capable of acting on matter, whereby the probability of deception as the sole and sufficient cause of the phenomena is enormously increased; though the *a priori* improbability does not relate to the existence of several forces as much as to their union in a special class of persons. It is curious that Mr. Podmore does not mention one argument which would seem to support his position, namely, the diversity of the conditions demanded for the production of the phenomena. For instance most mediums require darkness. Home, on the other hand, rarely if ever sat in complete darkness, and often in a very satisfactory light. Some mediums (*e.g.* the Davenports) insist on being bound, others (*e.g.* Eusapia) will not permit it. Darkness is not a universal condition even of "materialisation."

But Mr. Podmore's criticism has its weak side, and after this general expression of agreement we must pass to this. For instance, he lays down a principle that in the course of years a witness allows his imagination to colour and exaggerate an episode which at first he regards as insignificant, and cites in support of this a supposed growth in the Wesley correspondence of the vision of a badger, reported to have been seen by Mrs. Wesley in 1717 but not related at first hand by her till 1726. Does Mr. Podmore mean that Mrs. Wesley merely accepted as her own in 1726 a phenomenon which never existed at all? Then what was the foundation of her husband's and daughter's statements in 1717? Questions like this Mr. Podmore does not seem fully to face; he too often leaves us in the dark as to what he thinks to be the real conclusion to be drawn. As a matter of fact lapse of time seems to produce very different effects on different personalities. Mr. Solovovo testifies that

in his own case the effect is not to exaggerate, but greatly to diminish, the impressiveness of supposed "wonders" which he has witnessed; and he considers that this may be as usual as the contrary.

Mr. Podmore seems to be inconsistent also in his treatment of the "supernormal" phenomena of "animal magnetism." He rejects the theory of a "fluid" or "effluence," but cites without criticism experiments by Esdaile and Elliotson, which seem to support the theory. He appears to admit the possibility of clairvoyance at a distance, and through at least one wall; why then is he so sceptical as to clairvoyance when it affects objects at only a short distance, in a closed box or behind the clairvoyant's back? The *a priori* improbability appears much greater in the former case than the latter, and the question is quite independent of another by which Mr. Podmore seems to be guided—the question whether the clairvoyant receives money or no. Generally speaking, Mr. Podmore's idea seems to be that unpaid subjects may show any supernormal faculties; may see events passing 30 miles away, and state facts unknown to any person present. But where a professional medium is concerned, everything up to about 1880 must be put down to trickery. By the later eighties, all is changed; in Mrs. Piper, a paid medium, Mr. Podmore admits all the faculties he denies to her predecessors. It is true that Mrs. Piper is the spoilt child of the S.P.R.; but this hardly bears upon the point. "In saying this I have no wish to defend any professional medium—it is likely enough that Mr. Podmore's scepticism is well founded. But I should like to see more logical consistency."

Dealing with raps, Mr. Podmore (Vol. I., p. 187) says, "if . . . we could find in the whole literature of Spiritualism but one case in which, in the presence of competent observers and under conditions well ascertained and fully described, the raps were actually heard, when there was good cause for believing it impossible for any person present to have made them, we should no doubt do well to suspend our judgment, at any rate as regards that one case." But Mr. Podmore passes by with absolute silence, among other cases which cannot be thus ignored, the classic case of the raps attested by Crookes with Mrs. Marshall—raps received on a specially prepared membrane and producing a movement recorded by a pointer on smoked paper.

Passing over various criticisms in detail of Mr. Podmore's way of dealing with particular cases of physical phenomena, we may note

Mr. Solovovo's opinion that sufficient attention has not been given to Zöllner's experiments, especially to the production of prints and moulds of "materialized" hands and feet. Nor does Mr. Podmore, when dealing with the production of knots in endless bands, mention the most remarkable case,—knots made in two straps cut out of soft leather, with sealed ends, lying under Zöllner's hands, where he distinctly felt a movement at a particular moment. At the same time it must be admitted that the conditions are not such as to force us to regard Zöllner's experiments as convincing. His firm belief in the "fourth dimension," his complete ignorance of conjurors' methods, the proved omissions in his descriptions, and finally the sorry reputation of Slade, must all detract from the value of his evidence. Mr. Aksakoff, whose own experiments with Slade were disenchanting, believed that Zöllner's success was due mainly to himself; that he was either a medium or was gifted with a "catalytic" force which reacted on Slade.

After Davey's experiments, no reliance can be placed on Slade's slate-writing; but there are cases where writing was produced with the process full in view, and these are less easily to be disposed of. Emmette Coleman attests one where a slate on which writing was being produced under the table was gradually brought up by the medium, Mrs. Francis; the pencil continued to write for some moments under the eyes of the company. Coleman's testimony is important, as he is well known for his exposure of various cheating mediums. A somewhat similar instance is recorded by "Harry Alis," a well known French journalist, in Dr. Gibier's *Analyse des Choses*. But, after all, it must be said that Davey's experiments have reduced the evidence for psychography almost to *nil*.

Mr. Solovovo agrees with Mr. Podmore that it is practically on D. D. Home that the "to be or not to be" of spiritualism turns. While giving full weight to Mr. Merrifield's unfavourable evidence (*Journal S.P.R.*, May, 1903), he holds that there are many phenomena of too simple and definite a nature to be explained by conjuring or malobservation—phenomena which can be accounted for on normal lines by no hypothesis short of hallucination. He specifies the appearance of spirit hands, attested by many good witnesses, notably Crookes; and lays especial stress on various cases where these hands actually melted away while firmly grasped by the sitters (which circumstance Mr. Podmore does not mention at all). He remarks that this phenomenon obviously suggests hallucination, and is surprised that Mr. Podmore does not quote it in his chapter on hallucinations. This

explanation, however, is not so easy in view of the actual displacement of solid objects by the spirit hands. Still less will it account for the materialisation of an entire human body as described by Lady Crookes (*Proc. S.P.R.*, Vol. IX., pp. 309-10), and Lord Dunraven (*D. D. Home, His Life and Mission*, p. 291).

Mr. Podmore's attempt to explain the behaviour of small objects by the supposition that they were secretly attached to threads under Home's control is difficult enough even when applied to the simpler cases of objects lying on a sloping table; it is quite hopeless as an explanation of such complicated movements as are described by Crookes in *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. VI., pp. 119-121. In the case of the classical experiment with the beam and balance such a deceit is not capable of absolute disproof, but we must remember that the well-known conjuror, "Professor" Hoffmann, regarded this experiment as particularly convincing (*Journal S.P.R.*, Vol. IV., p. 120). Generally speaking, Mr. Podmore would have been on safer ground had he confined himself to general criticisms such as those of Lehmann in his *History of Superstition and Magic*; as, for instance, that Crookes's earlier reports are too meagre in their descriptions of surroundings; that he evidently did not in 1871 suspect the importance of many details which he omits to mention; and that in some cases he appears to have been misled by the personal influence of "Katie King."

Mr. Podmore has still to leave such phenomena as levitation to his chapter on Hallucinations; though he seems to explain them rather as illusions—mistaken interpretations upon a basis of fact. This is a decided advance on the older theory of an "electro-biological" influence exerted by the medium by which any hallucination could be imposed upon his circle; a theory which cut at the root of all investigation not confirmed by photographic or similar automatic evidence. But Mr. Podmore often leaves us in doubt as to his views in particular cases. In one famous case Lord Adair, Lord Lindsay, and Captain Wynne attested (1) that Home was in a certain room; (2) that he left it; (3) that he returned to it floating through the window. Does Mr. Podmore think that Home never left the room, but imposed a collective hallucination covering the whole phenomenon? Or that he left and returned by the door, and that the flight through the window was a collective illusion? Or has he some alternative explanation? Any such supposition is difficult, and Mr. Podmore should not leave us in such doubt. Passing to the "fire ordeal," Mr. Solovovo proceeds to quote numerous cases from Mrs. Home's *D. D. Home, His Life and Mission*, and *The Gift of*

D. D. Home, where it was not Home himself but his sitters who remained unaffected by the action of the fire — which cases Mr. Podmore apparently makes no mention of.

Mr. Solovovo, after objecting in various points of secondary importance to Mr. Podmore's criticism of the Stainton Moses phenomena, passes on to Mrs. Piper. Here any difference of opinion with Mr. Podmore ceases, and Mr. Solovovo gives his own criticism. He regrets that all observers have not shown the same reserve as Mr. Podmore. Hyslop's "monumental" report on his sittings is of little value; the author's colossal industry is coupled with an equally colossal simplicity and unconscious preconception. Some of the devices by which he interprets "communications" so as to make them veridical are beyond criticism; one can only hold up one's hands in amazement. The strange thing is that Hodgson himself seems to have been so completely hypnotized by Mrs. Piper that he utters no protest against Hyslop's methods.

Following Mrs. Sidgwick (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XV., pp. 16-38), Mr. Solovovo lays stress on the many egregious blunders in the communications as strong evidence against the spiritistic theory. Surnames and dates are consistently avoided. Yet these are what "spirits" should give to prove their identity, not trivial matters, such as that Prof. Hyslop's father used to read the paper sitting in his armchair before the fire, or that he carried a penknife with a yellow handle in his waistcoat pocket, or that he wrote with a goose quill, or wore a skull cap—all mixed up with similar details which did not correspond with reality.

Even some of the most remarkable cases of Mrs. Piper's correctness are such as naturally lead us to nothing beyond mere coincidence. Take, for instance, Prof. Lodge's evidence about "Uncle Jerry." Some of the statements made by Uncle Jerry were (1) that when a boy he and some others fell into the river; (2) that one of his brothers killed a cat; (3) that he had a gun and once got wet through while shooting; (4) that he had a walking stick; (5) that he fought and beat a boy named Rodney, and that the boy's father threatened to thrash him. In confirmation it appeared that a third brother killed a cat (the details given were not confirmed); that Uncle Jerry had a stick, but the description was wrong; that he once fought a boy ("What an exceptional fact!" Mr. Solovovo says), but the boy's name was not ascertained; and that he actually fell into the river. Surely such incidents are too frequent in early life to allow us to attach any weight to them.

We notice that we are rarely told if the medium held the sitter's hand. Of course there is much which cannot be explained by "thought reading" à la Bishop; but valuable indications may have been obtained in this way, for instance, when the medium had to choose between affirmation and negation. It is particularly curious that Hodgson's reports, usually so exact, are in this respect deficient.

Another fundamental difficulty is that too much reliance has to be placed on Mrs. Piper's honesty. While fully admitting that she could not have carried out systematic enquiries as to her sitters, and that the care taken in most cases to preserve their incognito at a first sitting was conclusive for that sitting, we cannot but feel that as soon as the identity of the sitter came out, as it did, for instance, in Hyslop's series at the second sitting, there was such an opening for collection of information as must compel us to take the medium's honesty into consideration. For instance, her announcement on May 4, 1895, of "John Hart's" death in Naples two days before is valueless, unless we rely on her good faith as assurance that she had not read of it on the 3rd, as she might have done, in the Boston papers (*Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 353-7). On the other hand, there are many incidents, notably in the "G.P." series, which cannot be explained as deception—unless at least we assume collusion on the part of others; but these have to be set off against others where under completely similar conditions similar assertions (*e.g.* as to what was being done at the time by persons at a distance) were wholly incorrect.

What, we must ask,¹ would be the position of the S.P.R., or of its leading members, if Mrs. Piper should ever be convicted of fraud, such, for instance, as obtaining previous information regarding a sitter, and producing it as a spirit communication? The rule of the Society has always been in such a case to reject the whole evidence of the fraudulent medium without exception. While such a possibility exists, even in theory, the entire fabric of these trance communications must be regarded as hanging on a thread.

If we follow Mr. Podmore in supposing none the less that Mrs. Piper sometimes displays supernormal powers in trance, we do so primarily on two grounds. The first of these is the character and known ability of the investigators who have been convinced by her—some of them having shown conspicuous ability in detecting

¹ In this and the three following paragraphs it will be understood that Mr. Solovovo is speaking in his own words, somewhat abbreviated.

fraud. And secondly, we must give due weight to the repeated assurances found in the records, that the evidence most convincing to the sitters was too personal for publication. It is regrettable, and it might be thought unjustifiable, that so much evidence of this sort should have been suppressed by sitters favoured with it, but it must be added that a strong impression is produced by such episodes as that between "G.P." and Mr. Howard, related by Hodgson in *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XIII., pp. 321-2.

Our conclusion is that in the mass of data with regard to Mrs. Piper, some must be referred to a "supernormal" power; but that these are drowned in an ocean of insignificant and often silly rubbish; and that the importance of her trance utterances and writings is enormously exaggerated by her ardent followers. Then there is still another objection. In the case of Adèle Maginot Mr. Podmore shows convincingly that her errors in messages purporting to come from the living prevent us from believing that any reliance can be placed on those purporting to come from the dead; we need only a single hypothesis to explain all. But in the precisely analogous case of Mrs. Piper we are called upon to assume several inconsistent hypotheses. At one time she must speak or write under the influence of the "departed"; at another time her utterances will represent the thoughts of her sitter; in the vast majority of cases we have to deal only with the products of her own brain, working under abnormal conditions. What chaos! What complication of the problem is introduced by this supposed multiplicity of causes!

Yet such is our conviction of the hopelessness of *a priori* considerations in a region where experiment must have the last word, that we do not attribute any decisive importance in the negative sense to this last consideration. We will even say that in the literature of spiritism there are to be found facts undoubtedly pointing to the activity of independent intelligences. But this can only be proved by incontrovertible evidence; no approximate proof can convince. Such evidence might be supplied by the communication after death of the contents of a sealed letter written for the purpose during life; but an attempt by the S.P.R. to obtain this has, it is known, completely failed. One such failure proves nothing; but if the experiment should be often repeated and never succeed, it would be difficult to avoid a decision definitely unfavourable to the spiritist claim.

With the latter part of Mr. Solovovo's book, "*Sketches from the History of Spiritism in Russia*," I must deal very briefly.

The first chapter deals with a controversy carried on in the monthly reviews of St. Petersburg and Moscow in 1875 and 1876. It was opened by Professor Wagner, who had been induced by his friend Professor Butleroff, already a spiritualist, to attend some séances with D. D. Home, whose physical phenomena completely convinced him. Then he followed up with equally convincing materialisation séances with Brédif, a French medium, and published his results in the *Vyestnik Evropy* (Messenger of Europe). The article, in virtue of its author's reputation, produced a sensation, and called forth replies in other reviews from persons of more or less authority. Professor Wagner replied with a preliminary account of American spiritualism—Katie King, the Eddys, Olcott, etc.—and a development of his general theory. Professor Butleroff, an eminent chemist, joined in the fray, and gave an account of the experiments, extending over some years, which had made him a spiritualist. The most important of these were carried on in the family of his relative, Mr. A. K. Aksakoff, whose wife acted as medium. The whole story was a remarkable one, as coming from a man of such scientific eminence. With an equally elaborate and unfinished reply from Prof. Shklyarevski the controversy dropped. The arguments brought forward by the disputants need not concern us; but the interest aroused led to the appointment by the Physical Society of the St. Petersburg University, on the proposition of no less a person than Prof. Mendeléeff, of a Committee to enquire into the asserted facts, and report which of the phenomena were to be referred to known natural laws, which to hallucination, which to fraud; and whether there were any which involved unrecognized laws of nature. Mendeléeff himself was a member. The Committee put themselves in communication with Messrs. Butleroff, Wagner and Aksakoff, the latter of whom came to England to find mediums—none were obtainable in Russia. He brought the brothers Petty from Newcastle, but no success was obtained in a series of sittings at the end of 1875, and they made an unfavourable impression. At sittings with Mrs. Marshall ("Clayer") in January 1876 raps were obtained and the table was lifted from the floor; but the Committee had grounds for suspecting fraud, and demanded tests which were refused. Ultimately Messrs. Aksakoff, Wagner and Butleroff withdrew from co-operation, and the Committee decided to close the enquiry, publishing in March 1876 a report entirely

unfavourable to the claims of spiritism. Mendeléeff followed this up with a bulky volume, attacking spiritists in general and Aksakoff in particular. Aksakoff retorted in another book, and we are not surprised to hear from Mr. Solovovo that the controversy became mainly personal, the real issues being lost in a cloud of recrimination. Doubtless the scientific men were prejudiced and hasty in their generalisations from too few experiments, the spiritists were impatient of the necessary tests. That is the usual course of things.

Mr. Solovovo's next chapter contains a full sketch of Mr. Aksakoff's life, which, as members of the S.P.R. know, was ungrudgingly given to spiritist enquiry. We may the less reluctantly pass over this as an obituary notice of Mr. Aksakoff from the same pen appeared in our *Journal*, Vol. XI.

The accounts of Professor Butleroff and Professor Wagner, and of their work on psychical phenomena after 1876 are both well done, but too long for reproduction here. It should be mentioned that some extracts given by Mr. Solovovo from Prof. Wagner's account of his experiments do certainly show that these experiments might have been carried out in a more scientific temper—to put it very mildly.

There follows an account of the Russian Society for Experimental Psychology, founded in 1891, with Prof. Wagner as president. It is interesting to hear that "the Society was from the first confined within very narrow limits by the Medical Council of the Ministry for Home Affairs." The Medical Council narrowed the original constitution of the Society, "closing the meetings to the public, and in a special minute extending this prohibition even to subjects for experiment." The Society began with an enquiry into a case of clairvoyance brought before them by Dr. Khovrin of Tamboff, who stated that one of his hospital patients had shewn power of reading closed letters. The Society sent a letter, drawn by lot from nine, written by different members, so that no one knew the contents. The letter was placed in an envelope, secured against opening by ingenious test provisions. The medium ultimately gave the exact contents of the letter, but the conditions were not absolutely convincing, and the Society only decided that clairvoyance was extremely probable, and that further tests were very desirable. These, however, could not for various reasons be carried out.

In 1893 a series of séances were held with a medium named Nikolaeff. The minutes of the sitting of April 27 tell a story which, as Mr. Solovovo justly says, can hardly be paralleled even by Home's manifestations. The medium was first entirely stripped,

and dressed in a garment provided by the observers, which contained nothing white of any kind. He was put into a chair in a side room behind a portière (both rooms being first thoroughly searched) in front of which the observers sat, armed with opera glasses for better vision. The room was lighted by an electric lamp under a shade; the medium could be well seen, his features and the position of his fingers being visible as soon as the portière was drawn back. Under these circumstances luminous clouds were seen beside him, gradually becoming more definite, to an accompaniment of noisy blows on furniture in all parts of the room. As the blows became weaker the luminosity formed itself into a hand which moved in various directions, passing behind his chair to the wall, on which it made a loud and rapid knocking. The sounds of another invisible hand were heard at the same time in another part of the room. Presently another luminous hand appeared in the air by the hanging lamp.

The medium now asked for a few minutes' interval. When the curtain was again withdrawn, a luminous hand was again seen close to the lamp, striking hard blows upon the glass shade. It suddenly pulled off the silk fringe, and threw it through the opening in the curtain with such force towards Dr. Leshchinsky that he involuntarily ducked. Soon a second luminous hand appeared to the medium's left. Both appeared to proceed from the medium's sides, being separated from his body by a small dark space, his own hands being also visible. They moved to his head and his toes, before him and behind, rapping on his chair and the sofa. The blows on the sofa were heard three rooms off. At times the hands extended further, and rapped on the floor, the walls, the ceiling, and sideboard. Subsequently the right luminous hand reached to a heavy settee and pushed it towards the spectators with a force and speed hardly attainable by an ordinary man. At the same time the left hand went to the medium's chair and moved it forward with the sleeping medium on it. After some deafening clappings of the hands in the air, the séance closed.

The minutes are signed by six doctors, Fischer,¹ Stepanoff,

¹Mr. Solovovo informs us that of these six persons Dr. Eliséeff and Dr. Kraevsky are now dead and that Messrs. Stepanoff and Leshchinsky failed to answer letters of inquiry he sent them, Dr. Korchagin's address being unknown to him. On the other hand, Mr. Solovovo interviewed Dr. Fischer and obtained from him full confirmation. The account of the séance was, we believe, drawn up by Dr. Eliséeff.

Korchagin, Leshchinsky, Kraevsky, and Eliséeff. It is difficult to imagine any fraudulent means of producing such impressive phenomena as described; criticism can hardly attack anything but the good faith or intelligence of the witnesses, some of whom were already convinced spiritualists. Nikolaeff never seems to have had even approximately similar success on any other occasion, and after a year or so of disappointing séances he disappeared from the scene.

Mr. Solovovo remarks that the Society never tried any experiments with Sambor, and failed to take advantage of Eusapia Paladino's visit to St. Petersburg in 1898. In 1900 it was reorganized as the "Russian Society of Normal and Pathological Psychology," and confined itself to purely orthodox research.

Mr. Solovovo's last chapter is devoted to "Sambor and one of his rivals." For an account of Sambor himself reference may be made to *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XV., p. 418. He died in 1902. Mr. Solovovo regards him as still an unsolved problem. He no longer considers the "Zöllner's knots" on closed loops of string or leather as convincing; nor does he lay much stress on the materialisation séances, of which he had no personal experience. He is, however, inclined to see importance in the repeated cases of "passage of matter through matter," exemplified chiefly by the hanging of chair backs over the arms of the medium and a spectator—on one occasion on the arms of two spectators—while hands were being held. He notes, however, that the phenomenon could not be obtained when a string was passed through the sleeves of Sambor and his two neighbours, and the ends held by other members of the circle; so that the importance of the phenomenon depends entirely on the assertion of Sambor's neighbours that they had not let go his hands. A curious case is quoted at length where writing and an "apport" were obtained inside an iron vessel with a carefully riveted lid; but the evidential value of this is discounted by the fact that the vessel was left for some weeks lying in a room to which Sambor might have had access, and that the experiment failed when repeated under better conditions. Mr. Solovovo sums up as follows: "To me personally he was very sympathetic; though rather devoid of intelligence and culture, he produced on me the impression of an essentially good man, not without a touch of cunning. An original trait was his attitude towards spiritualists, at whom he pretty often laughed. It must in fairness be added that he often complained of his sceptical opponents for their excessive suspicion and exigence—perhaps not always without foundation."

Sambor's "rival," one Yan Guzik, a Pole, needs no particular mention, as Mr. Solovovo regards his manifestations as exceedingly suspicious, and he has been repeatedly detected in cheating. His case is instructive rather as shewing what kind of evidence can satisfy spiritists. We can only take leave of Mr. Solovovo's book with hearty thanks to its author for the conscientious and careful collection of material which will be of value in the future, and for the transparent honesty and scientific sagacity of his criticism.

II.

THE CASE OF SALLY BEAUCHAMP.¹

BY W. M'DOUGALL, M.Sc., M.B.

In his book on *The Dissociation of a Personality*, Dr. Morton Prince gives us a clearly written, detailed account of the remarkable case of Miss Beauchamp, of which he has previously published brief and incomplete descriptions.² The case seems to be in many ways the most extraordinary and, from the point of view of the S.P.R., if not also from every point of view, the most important of all the cases of multiple personality that have been carefully studied and described. A summary statement of the principal features of the case must precede any discussion of it, though nothing short of the reading of the whole book can give an adequate impression of its very strange character and of the care and thoroughness with which it has been studied by Dr. Prince. "Miss Beauchamp, the subject of this study, is a person in whom several personalities have become developed; that is to say, she may change her personality from time to time, often from hour to hour, and with each change her character becomes transformed and her memories altered. In addition to the real, original or normal self, the self that was born and which she was intended by nature to be, she may be any one of three different persons. I say three different, because, although making use of the same body, each, nevertheless, has a distinctly different character; a difference manifested by different trains

¹*The Dissociation of a Personality: A Biographical Study in Abnormal Psychology.* By Morton Prince, M.D., Professor of Diseases of the Nervous System in Tufts College Medical School, Physician for Diseases of the Nervous System, Boston City Hospital. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1906.)

²"The Problem of Multiple Personality," a paper read to the International Congress of Psychology at Paris in 1900, and "The Misses Beauchamp," *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. XV. Part 40.

of thought, by different views, beliefs, ideals, and temperament, and by different acquisitions, tastes, habits, experiences, and memories. Each varies in these respects from the other two, and from the original Miss B. Two of these personalities have no knowledge of each other and of the third, excepting such information as may be obtained by inference or second hand, so that in the memory of each of these two there are blanks which correspond to the times when the others are in the flesh. Of a sudden one or other wakes up to find herself, she knows not where, and ignorant of what she has said or done a moment before. Only one of the three has knowledge (*i.e.* apparently immediate knowledge) of the lives of the others, and this one presents such a bizarre character, so far removed from the others in individuality, that the transformation from one of the other personalities to herself is one of the most striking and dramatic features of the case. The personalities come and go in kaleidoscopic succession, many changes often being made in the course of twenty-four hours."

To these three abnormal phases or personalities Dr. Prince gives the names B I., B III. (or Sally), and B IV. in the order of their discovery, B II. being merely B I. in the hypnotic state.

When the patient first came under Dr. Prince's care she was a serious, refined, and reserved college-student showing neurasthenic symptoms, due apparently to the influence of a series of moral shocks and of excessive study upon a constitution congenitally somewhat unstable. This was the personality that became known as B I., and which seems to have been dominant for some years previous to this time, although a history of occasional trance-like states of brief duration suggests that during these years B I. may have occasionally been supplanted by B III. or IV. or some other abnormal phase. Other remedies having failed, treatment by hypnotic suggestion was undertaken. The patient passed easily into a well-marked hypnosis of a not unusual kind, in which she was passive, but could converse intelligently and knew of her waking life, although on waking she remembered nothing of the hypnotic period. Very soon, however, traces of what proved to be a very different personality appeared. This was B III. or Sally, by far the most interesting member of this strange group. At times during hypnosis the patient spoke of the waking Miss B. as "she," and claimed to be a different person, "Because 'she' does not know the same

things that I do." Dr. Prince assures us that, being led to suspect the development of an abnormal personality, he now made every effort to suppress this tendency, but in vain. B III. continued to alternate with B II. in the hypnotic periods, and soon claimed the name Sally Beauchamp. Although B III. seemed to know all about B I. and B II. (*e.g.* could remember their conversation), they knew nothing of her, and were kept in ignorance of her for some time, and eventually only learnt of her indirectly. "One of the most interesting features when the change to B III. took place was the sudden alteration of character, which was almost dramatic. It was amazing to see the sad, anxious, passive B II. suddenly become transformed into a new personality, stuttering abominably, and exhibiting a lively vivacity, boldness, and saucy deviltry, difficult to describe. No longer sad, but gay and reckless, she resented any attempt to control her." B III. soon began to provide indications that she continued to have a conscious existence while B I. was dominant. It has already been said that B III. shewed extensive knowledge of B I.'s life and thoughts, and now sometimes B I. executed certain actions quite involuntarily, *e.g.* threw down the book she was reading, much to her own annoyance, and B III. claimed to have produced these actions, because Dr. Prince had told her that B I. must not read too much. (p. 37.) "It is worth while noting how sharply differentiated were the volitions of the two personalities at this early date. Later, I personally witnessed similar phenomena on numerous occasions." This, in fact, was an early stage of a prolonged struggle for mastery between the two personalities B I. and B III. "From almost the very first her (B III.'s) language implied a concomitant existence for herself, a double mental life for Miss Beauchamp. She always spoke as if she had her own thoughts and perceptions and will *during the time while Miss Beauchamp was in existence.*" B III., *i.e.* Sally, being questioned as to her knowledge of what B I. had read, "her answer implied co-existence and parallelism of thought, for she explained certain lapses of knowledge by asserting that ordinarily, as she herself was not fond of books, she did not pay attention while Miss B. was reading; but that when she did so, which was only when interested, she could understand and remember the text; that she liked different books from those B I. liked, and that she understood some things B I. did not, and *vice versa.*"

It became apparent also that while B I. had good command of the French language and of shorthand, Sally knew neither. (p. 47.) Nevertheless, Sally "claimed, in her own peculiar language, to be always present as a subconsciousness." Dr. Prince, who rejects as grossly fallacious the doctrine that an independent subconsciousness is a normal feature of human personality, or that the hypnotic self usually persists as such a subconsciousness during waking life, was very sceptical of the truth of this claim of Sally's, but was soon compelled by overwhelmingly strong evidence to admit it. B I. began to be troubled by an increasing variety of uncontrollable involuntary impulses. Among other things she told lies, and talked disrespectful nonsense to her friends, much to her own distress. A series of experiments in crystal-gazing seemed to prove, "first, the distinctiveness of the two co-existent conscious selves, as far at least as concerns the separateness of the simultaneous perceptions; and second, the greater completeness of the memories of Sally for a certain class of facts." (p. 85.)

About two months after Sally's appearance as a phase of hypnotic personality and a sub- or co-consciousness, she made a great step towards a fuller control of the organism. Both B II. and Sally in hypnosis had frequently rubbed their eyes, and this Sally declared was due to her efforts to get her eyes open, a thing not hitherto allowed to either hypnotic phase. At last Sally succeeded in rubbing and opening B I.'s eyes, whereupon "B I. disappeared and 'Sally' came, mistress of herself, and, for the first time, able to see." (p. 95.)

From this time on Sally frequently had possession of the whole organism for considerable periods, during which B I. seemed to be entirely unconscious, and she began to play all sorts of tricks for the annoyance of B I. when she should have her turn of conscious life, among other things writing abusive letters to B I., and leaving them to be found and read by her on returning to consciousness. In this way B I. learnt of the existence of Sally, and concluded she was possessed of devils.

When B I. was fatigued and in poor health Sally dominated and excluded her frequently, and the better B I.'s health the more difficult did Sally find it to get the upper hand,—she felt herself "squeezed," as she said, and for periods of some months of exceptionally good health B I. was free from Sally's interventions. But on the whole Sally gained upon B I., and succeeded

in supplanting B I. in the control of the body with increasing frequency. During one period B I. fell into a delirium, and then Sally alternated with her at short intervals, appearing perfectly sane. This was but one instance of the fact that Sally's health and spirits were always much better than B I.'s. Sally, in fact, did not know fatigue and lassitude, so frequent with B I.

This absence of all fatigue in Sally must be connected with the fact that she, *i.e.* the patient, during the periods of Sally's dominance had "a peculiar form of anaesthesia. With her eyes closed she can feel nothing. The tactile, pain, thermic, and muscular senses are involved. You may stroke, prick, or burn any part of her skin, and she does not feel it. You may place a limb in any posture without her being able to recognise the position which has been assumed. But let her open her eyes and look at what you are doing, let her join the visual sense with the tactile or other senses, and the lost sensations at once return. . . . The same is true of auditory perceptions. If Sally hears a sound associated with an object, she can feel the object." "Sensation may also be restored by suggestion. But the restoration is only temporary, lasting for a few hours or for the day." "Sally's anaesthesia extends to the somatic feelings. She is never hungry or thirsty." (p. 149.)

After about a year of this sort of life appeared a third distinct personality, B IV., "who seemed quite as much a real person as did the Miss Beauchamp whom we all knew (*i.e.* B I.)." B IV. knew nothing of recent events in the patient's life, nothing of B I. and of Sally, and did not recognise Dr. Prince or other friends of the patient. She seemed a normally intelligent person suddenly set among scenes and persons hitherto unknown to her. She soon set herself to find out all she could of her environment, concealing her ignorance as far as possible with considerable skill. In character and temperament she was quite unlike both B I. and Sally, being less reserved than B I., and far more combative and determined, and having nothing of Sally's childish and impish delight in fun, in breaches of decorum, and practical jokes. B IV. now alternated frequently with B I. and Sally. Sally's relation to B IV. was curiously different from her relation to B I. Sally was aware not only of all B I.'s actions, but also apparently of all her thoughts and emotions; but as regards B IV., Sally knew only her actions, and nothing directly of her conscious states, but like any other

constant spectator, could infer much of B IV.'s mental processes from her actions and expressions.

As B IV. began to realise her strange relations to B I. and to Sally, she conceived a violent dislike of Sally, which was reciprocated, and for B I. she had contemptuous indifference. Unlike Sally, B IV. shared most of B I.'s accomplishments, *e.g.* a knowledge of the French language. Dr. Prince was soon able to discover that B IV.'s memory was a blank as regards the life of the patient during the six years preceding her appearance, a period initiated by a moral shock. Events antecedent to that incident she remembered in normal fashion. The amnesia was, however, not quite complete. B IV. had momentary dream-like memories of incidents in the life of B I., and by inducing her to fix her mind upon these visions and to describe them Dr. Prince was able to obtain an account of the episodes that seemed to have been the immediate cause of the patient's strange condition, and to arrive at the following conclusions: "Putting together all the facts thus far learned which bear upon the development of B I. and B IV., we are able to make the following historical summary, for which the evidence is conclusive: Miss Beauchamp was distinct as a unity, a single consciousness, up to the summer of 1893. At that time there occurred a psychical catastrophe, which produced a disintegration of consciousness, by which her personality changed and she developed into B I. B I. retained all the memories of her youth, as well as of the accident which led to her development; and also, of course, of her whole life (that is, exclusive of Sally's entrances) during the six years succeeding the accident of 1893, that is, up to June 7, 1899. She also retained a memory of those periodical times when she had been in existence since the latter date. She differs from her original state in certain bodily characteristics known as neurasthenia, and in certain mental characteristics—instability and suggestibility—and, above all, in certain alterations of character. B I. therefore remained the sole personality in existence for six years—to June 7, 1899—when owing to some cause thus far unknown, a hitherto unobserved personality was awakened, which in associations of memory reverted to a past period of life, namely, that which antedated and ended with the aforesaid catastrophe of 1893."

"This personality (B IV.) apparently belonged to that earlier period, and remembered the events of her life up to a certain hour, namely, that just preceding the incident which caused the

psychical shock, at which time her memory ceased. From that eventful moment this new personality had absolutely no memory of anything that occurred during the following six years, ending June 7, 1899. Since this last date she knows and remembers only the events that have happened during those interrupted periods when she herself has been in existence. Since her appearance she has been constantly alternating with B I. and with B III." (p. 224.)

It is to be noted that in this passage Dr. Prince ignores the evidence of Sally's (B III.'s) existence before she made herself known to him, and writes only of B I. and B IV.

The further discovery was shortly made that the appearance of B IV. was due to a communication to B I., which strongly revived the memory of the event of six years ago with all its agitating emotions. Dr. Prince then set himself to find out whether B IV. could properly be regarded as the original Miss B., and for some time was strongly of that opinion, and therefore did all he could to suppress Sally and B I., but without success, although the situation was explained fully to B IV., and her co-operation invited and willingly given. The next important step was the discovery that B IV. hypnotised seemed in all respects identical with B I. hypnotised; either one on being hypnotised remembered all the experiences of both, and spoke of both as "I" and "myself." This hypnotic phase common to B I. and B IV. was henceforth known as B II. B II. had no direct knowledge of, or memory of, Sally's experience. An attempt was made to waken up B II., and make her retain in the waking state the character and complete memory (save for the Sally periods) of B II. The attempt failed repeatedly, for B II. on awaking became B IV. Then began a contest for predominance between B IV. and Sally, B IV. being determined to suppress Sally, and Sally resisting with all her resources. They exchanged quarrelsome notes, and Sally seemed to be able partially to control B IV.'s movements, either forcing "automatic" movement, such as writing, or suppressing her voluntary movements, as when she made her dumb (p. 284); she also produced certain forms of systematised anaesthesia and of hallucination, and seems actually to have hypnotised B IV. by writing her a note suggesting sleep. (p. 320.)

Next it was found that B I. and B IV. seemed to become one in sleep, for both remembered the same dreams; and further,

that Sally seemed to be awake while B I. and B IV. slept, and to be directly aware of their dreams.

Sally was now induced to write her autobiography, and produced a most interesting document, partly written while she herself was in control or possession of the body, partly by way of automatic writing while B IV. was in possession.

Repeated attempts to give permanence to B II., who seemed to be a synthesis of B I. and B IV., were frustrated by the active opposition of both B IV. and Sally,—by B IV. because she disliked and despised the meek character of B I., by Sally because she felt that the success of this operation would mean that she would be suppressed or permanently “squeezed,” as she described her state when incapable of securing control of the body and banishing her rivals.

For two years the patient continued this strange existence without any important new development. Then somehow, in a way which is apparently not understood by Dr. Prince, but is briefly described as an ingenious artifice (p. 436), Sally became aware of B IV.'s thoughts and feelings much as she had always known B I.'s, and now carried on her contest with B IV. at a greater advantage. Being aware of B IV.'s determination to suppress her, Sally countered her efforts by inducing in B IV. terrifying hallucinations, and by a great variety of annoying tricks, going so far as to scratch and bruise severely their common body. (p. 456.) In this way B IV.'s resolution was broken down by Sally and her plans frustrated. But Sally herself was now somewhat discouraged and depressed, and in this mood accepted B IV.'s proposal of a *modus vivendi*. Their plan was to set out on a holiday trip to Europe and to remain there, each agreeing to allow the other control of the body for half the time, and to suppress B I. completely. Their plan was discovered and frustrated by Dr. Prince.

After some more months of troubled existence, a restoration of the normal Miss B. seems to have been effected by wakening B II., the hypnotised state of B I. and B IV. which combined the memories and characteristics of both B I. and B IV. Dr. Prince had often before attempted to bring about this result by wakening B II., but always without success, and the ultimate success seems to have been due to Sally, for it was not achieved until she had confessed that it was she who had prevented the success of the earlier attempts, and had promised not to interfere any longer. It is not made clear that Sally had any new motive for this more

accommodating behaviour, and one is left with the impression that she had grown a little tired of her games. Whatever this new attitude of Sally may have been due to, it seems to have rendered possible the desired result. B II. on being wakened appeared as a normal person, who in character was a fusion of B I. and B IV., and consequently superior to both, who remembered the experiences of both B I. and B IV., as also the patient's life of the period previous to the disintegrating shock, and who seemed to enjoy much better health than either B I. or B IV. This personality Dr. Prince regards as the real Miss Beauchamp. She has suffered a few relapses into B I., B IV., and B III., but has remained continuously unchanged for periods as long as six months. Sally in these periods gives no sign of her existence; to use her own expression, she seems to have gone back whence she came!

Although this brief summary necessarily omits many interesting features of this strange case, enough has been said to shew that it surpasses all previously recorded cases in many respects. So strange and wildly improbable does the story seem, that any one may well hesitate to accept it, and indeed it would be incredible were it not that in recent years similar, though less extreme, cases have been reported by a number of independent observers, whose care, capacity, and good faith are above suspicion. These analogous cases, taken in conjunction with the author's high standing in his profession and with the internal evidence of his strictly scientific attitude, his caution, patience, sincerity, and deep interest in the case, warrant us in accepting the facts as observed and reported by him. Dr. Prince does not give us in this volume a full discussion of the theoretical interpretation of this case, but promises to do so in a later volume, and since his earlier work on *The Nature of Mind and Human Automatism* shews him to be well qualified for the task, this supplementary volume should be one of great interest. In the meantime I am bidden to discuss it, and, summoning all my resolution, proceed to make the attempt.

In face of this strange case, it is necessary to admit fully our complete ignorance of the conditions of psychical individuality. The field is completely open to speculation. Hitherto neither science nor philosophy has been able to establish any certain conclusions.

If for the moment we put aside Sally, the case appears com-

paratively simple, and comparable in almost all important respects to several other well-known cases, namely, the cases of Mr. Hanna, of Ansel Bourne, of Mary Reynolds, of Léonie B., Félicité X., and others. It appears to be a case of disintegration of a personality, or psychical individual, into two alternating personalities, each of which is conscious and controls the body for a period during which the other seems to have a merely potential existence. This view, that alternating personalities are the products of the disintegration of the normal personality, is very generally accepted. Some authors, *e.g.* Prof. Pierre Janet, are content to state the view in terms of psychical process only; they assume that any state of consciousness of a normal person is literally a synthesis of a great number of elementary psychical elements or entities, sensations, images, and feelings, and that in these abnormal states these become synthesised in two (or more) groups or complex systems instead of one. This does not constitute in any sense an explanation of these cases; it is merely a hypothetical description. For any explanatory hypothesis must set out from some definite view or assumption as to the conditions of unity of the consciousness of the normal individual.

In respect to this great problem there are two, and strictly speaking, only two rival views. (1) The one assumes that structural and functional continuity of the elements of the brain is the condition of the unity of consciousness or of the psychical individuality of normal persons. This is the assumption explicitly made by many modern authors, most clearly and explicitly perhaps by Ed. von Hartmann, the philosopher of the Unconscious, and by G. T. Fechner, the father of psycho-physics, and implicitly by many others. All who accept materialism or the epiphenomenalism of Huxley and Tyndall, or the doctrine of psycho-physical parallelism, or the dual-aspect theory of mind and body, including H. Spencer, Bain, Stout, Paulsen, Münsterberg, Wundt, Ebbinghaus, and the majority of psychologists of the present time,—all, in fact, who adopt one or other form of the monistic view of mind and body are logically committed to this assumption.

(2) The other doctrine, radically opposed to the former, is dualistic and maintains that whatever view we may take of matter, even if we regard it as essentially of the same nature as mind, we must assume that each normal human mind or personality results from the functional association of, and interaction between, the body

and a unitary psychic being, the ego or soul, or psyche, and that the latter is the ground of psychical individuality, of the unity of normal individual consciousness. This is not merely a popular view, but has been maintained in recent years by a number of psychologists of the first rank, *e.g.* by Lotze, Ward, Bradley, Stumpf, Külpe and James. Unfortunately most of those who adopt this view have been very reticent as to the nature and the scope of the functions of the psychic being.

Two principal varieties of this view may be distinguished. According to the one, all that we mean by memory or retention of experience and knowledge, is conditioned by the persistence in the nervous system of modifications of its structure, induced during each experience that leaves its mark upon the mind. Our conscious mental life is then, according to this view, the reaction of the psychic being upon the brain processes, according to its own nature and faculties; but the constitution of the nervous system and sense organs, and the processes excited in them, determine the character of the content of consciousness, and provide the occasions for the exercise by the psychic being of its intrinsic powers, powers of feeling, of judgment, of reasoning, of volition. This form of the dualistic doctrine thus separates the forms of mental activity from the content of the mind, the systems of ideas and beliefs acquired through experience, assigning the former to the psychic being, the latter to the nervous system.

According to the other form of the dualistic doctrine, it is the psychic being that retains those impressions in virtue of which each experience plays its part in determining future experience, or, in more popular language, the psychic being is regarded as capable of memory independently of traces left in the nervous system. This view, then, ascribes both form and content of mental process to the psychic being, and regards the nervous system as merely an apparatus, through the mediation of which the things of the physical world are enabled to act upon the psychic being, and through which the psychic being in turn is able to act upon them, -- as a merely receptive and executive mechanism, in fact.

This latter view alone is compatible with any belief in the continued existence of the personality after the death of the body, using personality to mean the mental individual as developed by his intercourse with his physical and social environment. For the developed personality is the product of a long process of growth, of accumulation of habit and

effects of experience of all kinds; and if the retention of these effects is, or is dependent upon, persistent modifications of the structure of the nervous system, this retention can persist only so long as the nervous system is intact. The former variety of the dualistic doctrine is therefore compatible only with a belief in impersonal immortality.

Let us for convenience of discussion denote by the letter *C* this last view of the relation of mind and body, let us denote the other variety of the dualistic view by the letter *B*, and the monistic view by the letter *A*, and further, let us call the kind of psychic being assumed by the doctrine of *B*, the "psyche," and that assumed by doctrine *C*, the soul; for the latter alone corresponds to the conception of the soul generally entertained and usually implied by the word.

Cases of multiple personality derive their great importance from the fact that it seems probable they may throw light upon this great problem, and in this respect the case under review is second to none.

It must be admitted that in so far as cases of multiple personality are capable of being regarded as resulting from division of the normal personality, they lend themselves readily to explanation in terms of the monistic hypothesis, *A*. We may suppose that in such cases the elements of the nervous system, which normally constitute a single functional group, have become divided into two or more such groups, and that the functioning of each group is then accompanied by its own stream of consciousness, a synthesis of the elementary psychical processes accompanying the elementary nervous processes of that group. This is the explanation of these cases most generally accepted. There are cases which seem clearly to involve this kind of functional splitting of the nervous system and a corresponding splitting of the conscious personality. These are the cases of hysterical anaesthesia so well studied by Janet. There seems good reason to suppose that in these cases certain sensori-motor areas of the brain (*e.g.* the area with which an anaesthetic limb is directly connected by afferent and efferent projection fibres), together with more or less of the regions of higher function, become functionally dissociated from the rest of the brain, and that the functioning of such a dissociated group of nervous elements is accompanied by its independent stream of consciousness.

Many of the anaesthesias and paralyses produced by hypnotic suggestion fall readily into the same class.

But it is, I think, very doubtfully legitimate to extend this kind of explanation to all cases of multiple personality and to regard them all as of this one type. It is true that we seem to be able to set all these cases in a series ranging from the simple types of the kind just mentioned to the most complex, such as Miss Beauchamp; and it is this seeming ease with which they may be thus arranged in a series of progressive complexity that gives the extension of this type of explanation to all cases its best claim for acceptance. It is, however, very possible that this appearance is deceptive, and that we really have to deal with cases of two radically different types, of which the simpler alone fall under the above type of explanation, while for the explanation of the others some very different hypothesis must be found.

Still putting aside Sally, the case of Miss Beauchamp may fairly be claimed as a case of multiple personality resulting from division of the normal personality, and it is of the relatively intelligible type in which the resultant personalities are alternately and never simultaneously conscious. There was a sharply cut division of all mental content acquired after a given date between the alternating personalities B I. and B IV., and yet the mental content acquired before that date was common to both of them. Further, they appear to have become eventually recombined or synthesised, so that the two systems of mental content, the two memory-continua, were fused to a single one. That B I. and B IV. were the products of a division of the personality of Miss B. we seem justified in believing. But if we accept this view we are not thereby logically compelled to accept doctrine *A*.

If we assume *B* to be the true doctrine, then we must believe that there was a functional splitting of the patient's nervous system, for the mental content was divided between B I. and B IV., and we may suppose either that Miss B.'s "psyche" was in interaction with the two parts of the nervous system alternately, or that a second "psyche" entered into functional relations with one part, while Miss B.'s "psyche" maintained its relations with the other part. Of these alternatives the latter seems the less improbable. If we are to discuss these strange cases with any hope of profit, we must give rein to speculation, and, as was said above, there are no established facts that set certain limits to hypothesis. Now if we accept doctrine *B*, it must be admitted that we know nothing of the conditions which determine the functional

association of any "psyche" with any nervous system. It may be that, as Mr. H. G. Wells has suggested in one of his weird stories, disembodied souls are crowding thickly about us, each striving to occupy some nervous system and so to become restored to a full life of sense and motion and human fellowship. Or it may be that with each organism is associated an indefinitely large number of psychic beings, each capable, on fitting opportunity, of playing its part as the dominant "psyche" in interaction with the whole nervous system; although, in the case of the normally constituted brain, only one such can play this part, while all the rest remain suppressed and latent, or playing subordinate parts in association with subordinate nervous centres. And we may suppose that, as soon as the brain becomes functionally split, a second "psyche" finds its opportunity and has its faculties, its capacities for sensation, for feeling, emotion, judgment and volition called into play by the influence of that part of the nervous system which has fallen out of touch with the originally dominant "psyche." It may be, *e.g.*, that the personality B IV. resulted from this kind of change, that Miss B.'s original "psyche" was for a period of seven years thrown out of touch with all those nervous dispositions that became newly organised under the influence of "psyche" B IV., but was later brought into functional relation with these, with the consequent exclusion of B IV., or its repression to its original subordinate status and restricted activity. The extremely different characters of B I. and of B IV., and the determined antagonism of B IV. to B I., the strong opposition of her will to every attempt to restore B I. to her normal condition seem to countenance this view.

On the other hand, if we regard, as apparently we must, this case (Sally excluded) and other cases of multiple personality as cases of divided personality, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile this view with doctrine *C*, and the conception of a soul in the full sense of the words as the bearer of both form and content of the mind, as being in itself the full personality independently of any nervous system. This task was, of course, attempted by the late F. W. H. Myers in his work on *Human Personality*, but, as I have argued at length elsewhere,¹ his attempt cannot be regarded as so successful as to compel our acceptance of his doctrine or to

¹ *Mind*, October, 1903, vol. xii.

render unnecessary the search for a more satisfactory explanation, and, as I shall point out below, Myers' doctrine gives us no help when we attempt to solve the perplexing problem of Sally.

When we turn to consider the personality B III., or Sally, our difficulties increase. Dr. Prince in many passages (*e.g.* p. 18, p. 234) confidently assumes that Sally also is the product of the division of the original Miss B., and that the restoration of the normal personality involves the reabsorption or synthesis of Sally with B I. and B IV. No doubt Dr. Prince will seek to justify this view in the promised volume of theoretical discussions, but the confidence with which he puts forward this opinion in the present volume is difficult to understand or to justify. No argument is adduced in favour of it, and no single fact recorded implies (so far as I can see) that Sally arose by a splitting-off from the original personality, or that she became reabsorbed or synthesised with the personalities B I. and B IV. in the process of restoration of Miss B. to her original self. The evidence, in fact, points all the other way. If we may accept unreservedly Dr. Prince's description of Sally, then I think we may say with confidence that Sally was not merely a split-off part of Miss B., and that still less can she be accounted for by the monistic doctrine A and the assumption that the nervous system of Miss B. became dissociated to form three principal functional systems of elements.

That Sally was a personality capable of being fully conscious, capable of ideas, of reasoning, of emotion and of strong volition *simultaneously* with the conscious existence of B I. seems established by Dr. Prince's careful studies, and seems to be fully accepted by Dr. Prince himself. Such a consciousness of a hidden personality existing contemporaneously with that of another personality which is in control of the bodily organs, Dr. Prince calls a sub-consciousness, and this is, I think, the most appropriate usage of this term which has been used so loosely and with so many different meanings by different authors. Sally claimed, and supported with strong evidence the claim, that she had existed as a sub-consciousness (in this sense of the word) from the earliest years of Miss B.'s life; *i.e.* long before the date of the psychic shock which changed Miss B. into B I.; and there seems no good reason to deny the validity of this claim, although, of course, the evidence of Sally's existence as a personality during these early years is less good than that for her continued existence

as a sub-consciousness in the period of Dr. Prince's observation of the case.

Again, there is no evidence to shew that when B I. and B IV. became synthesised to form the apparently normal Miss B. Sally was in any sense or degree included in this synthesis; the evidence rather shews that she was not; the restored personality Miss B. seems to have had no memory of Sally's experiences, as she had of those of both B I. and B IV. (see pp. 272 and 525), and no direct awareness of Sally's existence. Again, Sally cannot be regarded as merely a group of ideas and memories dissociated from the original personality, "some sort of a dissociated group of conscious states," if only because of the fullness of her personality, the very distinctive and strong traits of character and emotional disposition, her developed self-consciousness and strong will, her acute intelligence and comprehensive memory. I would refer the reader to the following passages for statements bearing on the mental capacities of Sally (p. 238): "Sally became for the moment serious and earnest, showing great intelligence and perspicacity in her analysis of the psychological and other facts. She discussed them with intelligence and interest, went over the history of the past year, explained many facts which were obscure, and recalled others which I had overlooked. Reference to my notebook showed that Sally's memory was correct." Notice that these correct memories were not merely evoked by appropriate questioning by Dr. Prince, they were appositely and spontaneously brought forward by Sally in order to bear out the comprehensive scheme or ideal construction which she evolved to account for the peculiarities of the case. On pp. 267, 268, again Sally is revealed as keenly reasoning and reflecting upon the case, and giving Dr. Prince valuable suggestions, often in long and carefully reasoned letters, such as no child and no person not of more than average intellectual power could produce. On p. 278 Sally's description of her early life seems to shew her to have had a separate mental life from the time that Miss B. learnt to walk, with very different emotions and some scorn for the personality controlling the body, to whom she felt herself superior in energy of character. This is further borne out by Sally's autobiography (chap. xxiii.), a very remarkable account of childish experiences, revealing an intelligence and memory which would be exceptional in any autobiographical account by an adult of the years of childhood. In fact, as regards fullness and

accuracy of memory and voluntary and appropriate recollection, Sally seems to have been superior to any normal individual, for her memory comprised not only almost all the waking experiences of the original Miss B. and of B I., and of her own periods of dominance over the body, but also all B I.'s dream life and her own periods of subconscious existence, and, later, B IV.'s experiences also. As regards Sally's volition, many examples of her determined and successful opposition to B I., B IV., and to Dr. Prince might be quoted. (See especially pp. 284 and 285.) She would render B I. or B IV. dumb, or force them while dominant to speak, write, or act in ways quite opposed to their intentions and wishes, and she seemed at times to be capable of shifting the scenes almost at will, causing herself or one or other of her rivals to control the body. It must be noted that these effects exerted by Sally were by no means due to the working of mere blind impulses, but in most cases were apparently truly volitional, the outcome of well-reasoned, self-conscious deliberation in resolute pursuance of a well-conceived purpose. So acute was Sally, and so well informed, so resolute in the pursuit of her ends, that for more than two years she was able to defy and bring to nought the combined efforts of Dr. Prince, B I., and B IV. to suppress her, and, as was said above, the eventual restoration of Miss B. by the reunion of B I. and B IV. seems to have become possible only because Sally, for some unknown reason, ceased to offer active opposition to Dr. Prince's efforts to bring about this change. Beside all this evidence of the fullness of Sally's mental life and of the independence and completeness of her personality, we must put the following facts: (1) That B II. (the hypnotic state of the complete Miss B. comprising B I. and B IV.), while recognising both B I. and B IV. and herself as essentially the same person, repudiated with horror the suggestion that Sally might be identified in any way with herself. (p. 448.) (2) That when B I. and B IV. became synthesised to form the person whom Dr. Prince, seemingly with good reason, regards as the real, original and complete Miss B., Sally continued to exist as a subconsciousness, aware of all Miss B.'s thoughts; and that this restored Miss B. could remember the events of all periods save those in which Sally had controlled the body to the exclusion of the other personalities. (p. 516.) The relation of Sally to the personality regarded by Dr. Prince himself as the complete Miss B. is thus different in every respect from the

relation of B I. and B IV. to Miss B. For neither of these was aware of or could remember Miss B.'s experiences, while she remembers theirs. But we are told of Sally that when, after the restoration of Miss B. she "appeared again as an alternating personality, her language implied a persistent existence as a sub-consciousness like that of her early youth, and as described in the autobiography" (p. 524), *i.e.* she had become aware of and could remember Miss B.'s experiences.

In face of all these facts it is, I think, impossible to agree with Dr. Prince in regarding Sally as a group of states of consciousness dissociated or split off from the normal personality. Dr. Prince's own statements are incompatible with this view, and further, they are inconsistent with one another, as when he tells us that the synthesis of B I. and B IV. restored the complete Miss B., and yet in other passages speaks of the production of Sally by dissociation, and also of "the synthesising of B IV.'s consciousness with that of the subconsciousness (Sally)" without, however, offering us a particle of evidence that either one of these latter processes ever took place.

Dr. Prince seems, in fact, to have set out with the conviction that every case of multiple personality is to be regarded as resulting from dissociation of a normal personality, and to have allowed this prejudice to limit the range of his search for hypotheses, and to blind him to the unmistakable implications of his own descriptions. In short, to assert, as Dr. Prince does, that Sally is a split-off fragment of Miss B. *is to maintain that the part may be greater than the whole.*

If, then, Sally is not merely a fragment of Miss B., the product of mental disintegration, she is not to be explained in terms of the monistic doctrine *A*, for that doctrine can only give account of multiple personalities resulting from disintegration. What, then, is she? Can she be explained in terms of either form, *B* or *C*, of the dualistic doctrine? We may state the alternatives more fully thus: If one of the essential conditions of Sally's conscious life is a psychic being or entity distinct from that of the normal Miss B., must we ascribe both form and content of her mind to this psychic being (doctrine *C*), or can we suppose that the content of her mind (her systems of ideas and memories) is determined by some part of Miss B.'s brain that has become dissociated from the rest and entered into functional relations with this second and superfluous psychic being?

The latter alternative seems hardly tenable, for two reasons chiefly: (1) We can hardly suppose that there could be in Miss B.'s brain sufficient nervous matter to serve as the physical basis for the very full memories of Sally, in addition to those of B I. and B IV., for since Sally can remember so much of Miss B.'s experiences as well as B I.'s and her own, the content of her mind must be regarded as at least as abundant as that of all the other personalities together; the whole content of the mind is as it were duplicated. If, then, the content of Sally's mind has a physical basis in the brain of Miss B., that brain has to serve as the physical basis for at least two minds fully furnished with memories of all sorts. This would seem to imply that of the brain of a normal individual but one-half the nervous substance may be concerned in mental processes, the other half lying dormant; this implication, whether in the form that one hemisphere alone normally functions or in any other form, seems in the last degree improbable. For it is impossible to understand how this great mass of extremely expensive, but superfluous, nervous tissue could have been evolved as a normal feature of the human brain. (2) More important perhaps is the consideration of the peculiar relation of Sally to B I. and to Miss B. Sally seems to have become aware of all B I.'s and Miss B.'s perceptions, ideas, feelings in an immediate fashion. But it was not that these states of consciousness were simply duplicated, forming two similar and parallel streams. Sally was aware of these states of Miss B.'s consciousness as Miss B.'s; she did not regard them as her own, but knew them for Miss B.'s; she did not simply have the same perceptions, ideas, and feelings as Miss B. or B I., but she knew of them in an intimate fashion, and had her own thoughts and feelings and volitions in regard to them. How was this knowledge acquired by, or conveyed to, Sally? There seems no alternative to the view suggested by our President in his recent address to the Society, namely, that the process is telepathic, *i.e.* an immediate influencing of one mind by another, a telepathic communication between Sally and B I. or Miss B.

There are three ways in which the telepathic communication between separate persons may be conceived. (1) It may be a purely physical interaction, an influence exerted by one brain upon another through some physical medium. This is the natural view for those who adopt doctrine A. (2) It may be

a psycho-physical interaction, an influence directly exerted by the brain of one person upon the psychic being of another. This is the view of telepathy which would be naturally taken by those who hold by doctrine *B*. If direct interaction between "psyche" and body of each person is the rule, it must be admitted that we know nothing of the conditions of the alliance of any "psyche" with any body, and therefore nothing which necessitates the assumption commonly made, that this psycho-physical interaction is of an exclusive character. Why should not my brain, under certain unknown favourable conditions, act upon your "psyche," or any other, as well as upon my own? (3) The third view, adopted by the President in his address, is that the telepathic interaction is purely psychical, an immediate action of one soul upon another. This is the view of telepathic action which is most naturally taken by those who hold doctrine *C*.

I submit that the relation of Sally to the other personalities can only be explained by applying the telepathic hypothesis in the third form distinguished above.

Adopting for the moment doctrine *B* and the second form of the telepathic hypothesis, we may suppose that the neural processes of the one brain affect the "psyche" of Sally as well as that of Miss B., each responding according to its own nature. But there are insuperable difficulties in the way of any such attempt to explain Sally and Miss B. as two psychic beings having in common one brain which is the physical basis of the memories of both. If this were the case, all memories should be common to both Sally and Miss B., but this is not so. Miss B. knows nothing of Sally's experiences, and Sally seems to know only those of Miss B. in which she takes an interest, *e.g.* she knows nothing of Miss B.'s highly specialised learning, such as her command of the French language. It would seem, in fact, that the retained traces of Sally's experience, or her memory in the widest sense of the word, is independent of Miss B.'s, and that she becomes aware of Miss B.'s mental processes only through the exertion of an attentive and selective activity. We seem driven therefore to accept the third form of the telepathic hypothesis, which implies immediate interaction between souls in the full sense of the word, psychic beings whose constitutions determine both form and content of the mind in so far as content is not determined by present sensory impressions, but by past experience, souls which are capable of retention independently of the physical basis.

My conclusion is, then, that if we accept Dr. Prince's description of Sally Beauchamp, we can only account for her by adopting that view of the relation of mind and body which I have called in this review the *C* doctrine,—the view that the normal personality consists of body and soul in interaction, the soul being not dependent upon the brain or other physical basis for its memory, but having the faculty of retaining and remembering among its other faculties. I confess that this conclusion, involving the rejection of the physical basis of memory, is inconsistent with a very large mass of evidence which I have hitherto considered as almost, if not quite, proving the dependence of all memory and, therefore, of all developed personality on the persistence of the physical basis, of the physical changes produced in the brain in the course of each moment of experience.¹ This great mass of evidence is not to be lightly set aside in view of any one case, but if a number of cases of the type of Sally Beauchamp, as described by Dr. Prince, were to be described by other equally careful and credible observers, I think the weight of their testimony would be irresistible. This conclusion would give very strong support to the spiritistic explanation of such cases as Mrs. Piper, and would go far to justify the belief in the survival of human personality after the death of the body. It is for this reason that Sally Beauchamp seems to me of so great interest to this Society.

On summing up my discussion of this case, I am compelled to admit the unsatisfactory character of my conclusions, for I have argued that the disintegration of Miss B. into B I. and B IV., and especially the restoration of Miss B. by the synthesis of B I. and B IV. is incompatible with the dualistic doctrine in the second form *C*, which assumes the soul in the full sense of the word; but on the other hand, I have argued that this doctrine alone is adequate to account for Sally. It is, of course, impossible to accept both these opposed doctrines, and one has to recognise three possible flaws in the argument. (1) The premises may be false, *i.e.* the facts of the case may have been incorrectly reported. (2) The argument may have been illogically conducted. (3) The conceptions used may have been hopelessly inadequate to the realities. The third possibility, as in the case

¹I believe that the great weight of this evidence is not appreciated by many members of this Society. It was almost completely ignored by the author of *Human Personality*.

of most philosophical argument, probably represents the actual state of affairs. Recognising this probability, one is bound to look round for any other conception that has been formulated to deal with facts of this order, and Myers' conception of the subliminal self naturally claims consideration.

I will conclude, then, by asking—Does Myers' doctrine of the subliminal self help us to understand this case? I cannot see that it does. Myers' doctrine is, of course, a variety of the *C* doctrine, the doctrine of the soul, not merely in the full sense of the word, but in a greatly extended sense.

I take the essence of this doctrine to be that the soul has a far richer store of faculties, memories, and ideas than it is capable of manifesting in the mental processes of normal waking life, and that the restricted character of these manifestations is due to the imperfections of the nervous system. How can we apply this conception to explain the manifestation through the one body of the two personalities, Miss B. and Sally, each having her full complement of faculties, memories, and ideas? If we ascribe this duality to the soul, we are assuming two souls, and that we can do equally well without making the additional vast assumptions of the doctrine of the "subliminal self." If we ascribe the duality to the body, to a functional division of the nervous system, we ascribe to it an importance and an extent of influence upon the mental life which is compatible only with the monistic doctrine *A*, and not at all with a thoroughgoing dualistic doctrine. For one who holds by the conception of the soul in the full sense in which it is implied by the doctrine of the subliminal self, to suppose that the soul can simultaneously will in two opposed senses, because its instrument, the nervous, is functionally divided, would be as reasonable as to expect a man to be able to walk in two opposite directions at one moment, because he has two legs. I venture to think that the phrase "the subliminal self" may prove detrimental to the efficiency of our Society if we do not sternly resist the tendency to use it as a mere cloak for our ignorance whenever we are confronted by the inexplicable events with which we have to attempt to grapple. This remarkable case is just of that baffling kind which tempts us to soothe our perplexities, "to lay our intellects to rest on a pillow of obscure ideas," by the utterance of that seductive phrase the "subliminal self."

III.

REVIEWS.

Henry Sidgwick: a Memoir. By A. S. and E. M. S. (London: Macmillan & Co., Limited. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1906.)

This book is practically an autobiography: that is, it consists of excerpts from diaries and letters, with just sufficient connective tissue of narrative to bind the parts together. Following this example, I have selected from the book passages of Sidgwick's own writing to illustrate his attitude towards the problems with which Psychical Research is concerned, his connection with the Society, and the stage which he finally reached.

Henry Sidgwick was born on the 31st of May, 1838. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in October, 1855, in his eighteenth year, and, after a brilliant career as an undergraduate, he was elected to a Fellowship and appointed Assistant Tutor four years later, when a little over twenty-one years of age. At Cambridge he remained, as tutor, lecturer or Professor, until his death in 1900.

Brought up as a member of the Church of England, it was some years before Sidgwick definitely seceded from that faith. But the deepest bent of his nature, as he says himself, was "towards the life of thought—thought exercised on the central problems of human life," and the leisure of the years which followed the taking of his degree was largely devoted to philosophical and theological enquiry. He began with a systematic study of the philosophy of J. S. Mill, then at the height of his influence; but soon found it unsatisfying:

"The nature of his philosophy—the attitude it took up towards the fundamental questions as to the nature of man and his relation to God and the universe—was not such as to encourage me to expect from philosophy decisive, positive answers to these questions, and I was by no means then disposed to

acquiesce in negative or agnostic answers. In fact I had not in any way broken with the orthodox Christianity in which I had been brought up, though I had become sceptical with regard to many of its conclusions, and generally with regard to its methods of proof. Thus for several years the time that I devoted to the study of the questions of most serious concern was divided in a fitful and varying way between philosophy and theology, my most vital interest seeming to lie sometimes in the one study, sometimes in the other."

Of his attitude towards Christianity in these early years he writes in a letter to a nephew :

"As regards theology, those with whom I sympathised had no close agreement in conclusions, their views varied from pure positivism to the 'Neochristianity' of the Essayists and Reviewers: and my own opinions were for many years unsettled and widely fluctuating. What was fixed and unalterable and accepted by us all was the necessity and duty of examining the evidence for historical Christianity with strict scientific impartiality; placing ourselves as far as possible outside traditional sentiments and opinions, and endeavouring to weigh the *pros* and *cons* on all theological questions as a duly instructed rational being from another planet—or let us say from China—would naturally weigh them. . . ." ¹ (p. 40).

With a view to acquiring more insight into the historical origins of Christianity Sidgwick devoted his leisure for about three years to the study of Arabic and Hebrew, and made considerable progress in both languages. Ultimately he abandoned these studies as involving too much labour in proportion to any help likely to be derived from them in solving the problems which he had set before him. In 1869 he found himself so far removed from the standpoint of orthodox Christianity that he resolved upon resigning his Fellowship. This of course was before the University Tests Act, at a time when the tenure of a Fellowship carried with it the obligation of accepting the formularies of the Church. This decisive step was the outcome of a long mental struggle, extending over many years. The resignation was not, however, a protest against Church doctrines or an explicit declaration of agnosticism. Writing immediately after the step had been taken to E. W. Benson, he says, "I do not, as at present advised, intend to secede from the Church of England." He adds that he had stated the case to Lightfoot, explaining that

¹ *Life of Archbishop Benson*, Vol. I., pp. 249, 250.

"as far as sympathy and goodwill" went he did not wish to secede, but that he could not accept the dogmatic obligations of the Apostles' Creed; and that Lightfoot had held that subscription to the Creed was not obligatory on lay members of the Church. The resignation was in fact intended as a vindication of his own honesty, and a protest against the prevailing laxness, which allowed men to regard subscription to the dogmas of the Church as a mere formality. He writes shortly after the resignation to a friend:

"Personally, I feel no doubt that I have done right. For long I have had no doubt except what arose from the fact that most of the persons whose opinion I most regard think differently" (p. 200). . . . "I feel very strongly the importance of 'providing things honest in the sight of all men.' It is surely a great good that one's moral position should be one that simple-minded people can understand. I happen to care very little what men in general think of me individually: but I care very much about what they think of human nature. I dread doing anything to support the plausible suspicion that men in general, even those who profess lofty aspirations, are secretly swayed by material interests.

"After all, it is odd to be finding subtle reasons for an act of mere honesty: but I am reduced to that by the refusal of my friends to recognise it as such" (p. 201).

And to another friend at about the same date:

"Just now I am much depressed, with no particle of regret for what I have done, but depressed at the thought of being so different from my friends.

Why should a man desire in any way
To vary from the kindly race of men?

There is nothing in me of prophet or apostle. The great vital, productive, joy-giving qualities that I admire in others I cannot attain to: I can only lay on the altar of humanity as an offering this miserable bit of legal observance" (p. 199).

But he felt constantly the need of doing some practically useful work in the world, and one characteristic effect of his resignation and of the mental struggle which had preceded it was that he gave a large part of his time and energies for many years after this date to furthering the higher education of women—as a positive offering to lay on "the altar of humanity."

But whilst Sidgwick was unable for his own part to find an

assured hope in the acceptance of the Christian faith, he was profoundly impressed with the importance of such a hope for the world at large. Thus he writes in 1881, "In fact, the reason why I keep strict silence now for many years with regard to theology is that, while I cannot myself discover adequate rational basis for the Christian hope of happy immortality, it seems to me that the general loss of such a hope, from the minds of average human beings as now constituted, would be an evil of which I cannot pretend to measure the extent. I am not prepared to say that the dissolution of the existing social order would follow, but I think the danger of such dissolution would be seriously increased, and that the evil would certainly be very great" (p. 357). Again, in 1887 he writes, "Some fifteen years ago, when I was writing my book on Ethics, I was inclined to hold with Kant that we must *postulate* the continued existence of the soul, in order to effect that harmony of Duty with Happiness which seemed to me indispensable to rational moral life. At any rate I thought I might *provisionally* postulate it, while setting out on the serious search for empirical evidence" (p. 467).

But while he thus remained convinced of the importance, alike for morality and for happiness, of the belief in a future life, as years went on Sidgwick found less and less support for the belief in either philosophy or religion. And already, leaving tradition and intuition, he had set himself seriously, as indicated in the passage last quoted, to search for empirical evidence of immortality. There is a passage in a letter written to F. W. H. Myers in 1872 which illustrates his attitude towards the problem:

"I sometimes feel with somewhat of a profound hope and enthusiasm that the function of the English mind, with its uncompromising matter-of-fact-ness, will be to put the final question to the Universe with a solid, passionate determination to be answered which *must* come to something" (p. 259).

Here we have the key to Sidgwick's life-long interest in the problems of psychical research. It was in fact a life-long interest; for whilst an undergraduate he had joined the Ghost Society at Cambridge which Archbishop Benson had helped to found, and of which Dr. Westcott (afterwards Bishop of Durham) had acted as Secretary. Throughout his correspondence from 1859 onwards there are constant references to his interest in ghost stories, and in 1863 we find him owning that he is "pretty well read in Pneumatological Literature." His first introduction to a Spiritualistic seance was in

July, 1860, when he was in his twenty-second year. A few weeks later he writes to his sister:

"I gained nothing from my spirit-rapping but experience in the lower forms of human nature: the woman was a complete humbug. This does not in the least shake my (qualified) belief in spirit-rapping, as I hold that where there is flame there must also be smoke. She accomplished, however, some very remarkable liftings of the table, which I am almost compelled to attribute to a concealed machine, as they must have required more strength than she was possessed of, however great her sleight of hand may have been. Some remarkable dents were afterwards discovered under the foot of the table, which tend to confirm this theory" (p. 55).

In 1864 he was greatly interested in some experiments in automatic writing carried on by his friend Cowell, of which a full description is given in the article by Myers on "Automatic Writing" in *Proceedings*, Vol. III., pp. 25-27. In the course of these experiments, raps were also heard by himself and Cowell which always remained a puzzle to him. He refers to them in letters to Mr. H. G. Dakyns as follows: (March, 1864) "Spiritualism progresses but slowly: I am not quite in the same phase, as I (fancy I) have actually heard the raps (produced by C.), so that your 'dreaming awake' theory will require a further development. However I have no kind of evidence to come before a jury. So keep it still dark till I blaze forth" (p. 104).

Later, on April 5th, 1864, he writes again to the same correspondent: "As to Spiritualism, do not speak yet; I have not progressed, but am in painful doubt. Still, I have some personal experience and much testimony, and I find it hard to believe that I shall not discover some unknown laws, psychological or other; but I do not yet wish even to expound, except *vis à voce* when interrogated. The raps were perceived by the sensoria of myself and Cowell, sitting at a small table, certainly not in consequence of any physical force exercised by us on the table. You will ticket it as a case of the 'idée fixe'" (p. 106).

Though pressure of other work prevented a continuous and systematic investigation into Spiritualism, Sidgwick's interest in the subject persisted. Thus in 1867 he writes: "I certainly thought I should have got further towards explaining Spiritualism, one way or the other; however, it gives life an additional interest having a problem of such magnitude still to solve" (p. 171). Again in 1873 he writes to F. W. H. Myers: "As for Spirit-Rapping, I am

exactly in the same mind towards it as towards Religion. I believe there is something in it: don't know what: have tried hard to discover, and find that I always paralyse the phenomena; my taste is strongly affected by the obvious humbug mixed with it, which, at the same time, my reason does not overestimate. 'John King' is an old friend, but as he always came in the dark and talked at random, our friendship refrigerated. Still I shall be glad to accompany you on any favourable opportunity" (pp. 284-85).

A few months later, in the spring of 1874, Myers proposed a co-operative and more systematic investigation of the subject. Sidgwick agreed to join, and Mr. A. J. Balfour and Lord Rayleigh were also amongst those who took part in the enquiry. But Edmund Gurney, it is interesting to note, could in the first instance promise nothing more than his warmest sympathies.¹ This more systematic investigation, however, proved in Sidgwick's opinion as unfruitful as those which had preceded it; though Myers took a somewhat more favourable view of the results. At the end of 1875 we find Sidgwick writing to Myers:

"I confess I do not quite like what you tell me of Mrs. Fay (a medium). Why does she keep changing her ground? . . . It becomes less and less possible to narrate her behaviour to me in such a way as to make it seem unsuspecting to outsiders. So I feel that I must for the present drop both her and Mrs. Jencken out of my 'case for Spiritualism,' and am vexed at being thrown back in this way.

"What induces me—not to abandon but—to restrict my spiritualistic investigations is not their disagreeableness (they have never been other than disagreeable as far as paid mediums are concerned), but their persistent and singular frustration. However, I find my interest in the subject is still too intense to allow me to suspend operations just yet, so I mean to have some more seances with Herne in December, and will join with you in the negotiations with Newcastle" (p. 294).

In the following year he went several times to the notorious slate-writing medium, Dr. Slade, and writes: "as far as my own experience goes, I should unhesitatingly pronounce against him."

The most important investigations in which Sidgwick took part during this period are described in Mrs. Sidgwick's paper on "Results

¹ He did in fact, however, as I learn from Mrs. Sidgwick, join the circle almost from the beginning, his original reluctance having no doubt been overcome by F. W. H. Myers.

of a Personal Investigation into the 'Physical Phenomena' of Spiritualism" in *Proceedings S.P.R.*, Vol. IV., pp. 45-74, and his general views on the subject may be gathered from his discussion with Mr. Massey which follows that paper in the same volume.

For the next four or five years Sidgwick's investigations into Spiritualism appear to have been intermitted. The next reference to the subject is in September, 1881, when he writes to J. A. Symonds that "my interest in Spiritualism has been revived."

This revival of interest was mainly due to the successful experiments in thought-transference carried on by Professor Barrett. In January of the following year, 1882, a conference was held in London, at Professor Barrett's invitation, to consider the question of forming a Society for the systematic investigation of Spiritualism and kindred subjects. The Conference met in the rooms of the British National Association of Spiritualists, at 38 Great Russell Street, and most of those present were members of that body. Sidgwick himself did not attend: but Myers and Gurney were both present, and I can well remember the impression produced by their speeches, and by the intimation made by Myers that if the new Society was constituted on a sufficiently broad basis, Sidgwick would probably consent to act as president. A few weeks later the Society was formally constituted under his presidency.

For the next few years Sidgwick devoted a large part of his energies to psychical research. It was not that he found much interest of a sensational kind in the work; indeed he confesses "the great inferiority of real ghost stories to sham ones . . . whether for entertainment or for edification." Another time we find him remarking: "Politics [i.e. the Science of Politics] an agreeable change from Psychics." Nor was he conscious of being specially fitted for the work of investigation. He probably lacked some of the physical qualifications necessary for experimental work. And his wide sympathies were still too narrow to enable him adequately to realise the mental and moral processes of physical mediums, clairvoyants, and irresponsible narrators of ghost stories. But he gave generously, especially in the early years, both of time and money to the investigation. In the first three or four years of the Society's existence we accumulated an enormous mass of evidence—some thousands of cases—of ghost stories, apparitions, dreams, prophetic visions, and the like. The aim of the Society, it will be recalled, the conception which marked out its investigation from all previous investigations of the subject, was that it should be

collective—that the task of appraising the evidence should depend upon no single judgment. For a committee of five or six persons to read through in manuscript and pass judgment on each of these thousands of cases would have been an almost impossible task. Sidgwick, in this difficulty, came forward and defrayed the cost of having the entire collection—which mounted up week by week to almost incredible totals—printed on separate slips, with wide margins for comments and the insertion of additional evidence. In this way it was possible for each member of the Literary Committee to form his or her independent judgment on a case before discussing it in full conclave. In all the committee's deliberations Sidgwick took a leading part. He also took a considerable share of the necessary work of personally interviewing our informants in all parts of the kingdom; and with the assistance of Mrs. Sidgwick edited the *Proceedings* and *Journal* from 1888 to 1897. In most other branches of the investigation he took an active part. He was on the Committee appointed to investigate phenomena connected with the Theosophical Society, whose report was published in *Proceedings*, Vol. III. He joined in many of the earlier experiments in thought-transference. In particular, in conjunction with Mrs. Sidgwick and Mr. G. A. Smith, he conducted an important series of experiments in thought-transference at Brighton in 1889, which were carried on further by Mrs. Sidgwick in 1890 and 1891. It was Sidgwick again who was largely responsible for initiating one of the most important tasks undertaken by the Society—the Census of Hallucinations. This was taken up by the first International Congress of Experimental Psychology (held at Paris in 1889), and entrusted to his direction. The whole work was carried out under his guidance, and with his active co-operation at every stage, both in Committee and in the more tedious work, carried on outside the Committee, of preparing and classifying the results; and a report of it was presented to the second Congress, which met in London under his presidency in 1892. He attended several séances with Eusapia Paladino at Professor Richet's house in the Ile Roubaud in 1894, and took a leading part in the sittings held at Cambridge in 1895, which resulted in her exposure.

He had a number of sittings with Mrs. Piper during her visit to England in 1889-90, and always retained the keenest interest in her trance phenomena, especially after Hodgson's report of the later sittings, including the "G.P." series, in *Proceedings*, Vol. XIII. In short, there was no part of the Society's work which did not claim

his attention and sympathy, and in the more important lines of research he took an active share. The following extract from a Journal written in 1884 defines his general attitude to the subject at that time:

"There has been nothing to write about except my work . . . and Psychical Research, which I feel *ought* to be my work more than it is. One effect of growing older is that I cannot really give my mind to more than one thing at once; and though I think Psychical Research profoundly important to mankind, whereas sound views on the evolution of political ideas are a luxury easily dispensed with, I am ashamed to find how much more interested I am in the latter than in the former. The reason is that I feel as if I had the kind of mind adapted for seeing things—relations—for myself in the history of Thought: when I read what other people say, I seem to see that they have not got it quite right; and then, after an effort, what seems to be the truth comes to me. This is as near the sense of original production as I ever get, and only intellectual work that gives me this experience really takes hold on me. Now in Psychical Research the only faculty that I seem able to exercise is the judicial; I feel equal to classifying and to some extent weighing the evidence—so far as it depends on general conclusions—but I do not feel the least gift for making a legitimate hypothesis as to the causes of the phenomena, and I am too unobservant and unimaginative about physical events generally to be at all good at evaluating particular bits of evidence. For to tell whether a 'psychical' experiment or narrative is good or not evidentially requires one to imagine with adequate accuracy and exhaustiveness the various possibilities of 'natural' causation of the phenomenon, and judge the degree of improbability of each" (pp. 387-88).

Again, in the previous year, on the occasion of a vacancy in the Professorship of Moral Philosophy at Cambridge, he had written: "I have decided to stand for the Professorship . . . I do not quite see who else is to have it, and I find that the Psychical Researchers think it better for the cause—at least this is Myers's view. Also it is not yet clear that Psychical Research can occupy a great deal of one's time; it depends on our finding 'subjects'" (p. 368).

Again, in 1892, when the Society was firmly established, and no longer in such urgent need of his help, he is prepared, if Mrs. Sidgwick's engagements as Principal of Newnham College should

prevent her from devoting much time to psychical research, to give up his own plans:

"If it turns out that she must sacrifice some of this work, I shall have to take her place; but my intellect will be an inferior substitute for this work, and I shall give up with reluctance the plans of literary work for which I am better fitted. Still, if it must be so, I shall give them up without hesitation, just as I should give them up to fight for my country if it was invaded (by the way, though, I believe I am too old for that)" (pp. 522-23).

But if Sidgwick was not in all respects an ideal investigator, there was probably no one but himself who could have brought the Society so triumphantly through its many difficulties in those early years. That the term "psychical research" is not even now a bye-word and a reproach is due mainly to Sidgwick's character, his unquestioned sincerity, and his practical wisdom. And there is one other quality which belongs so much to the essence of Sidgwick's nature that in writing about him one is liable to forget that any description of it is needed. I mean his extraordinary power of holding his judgment in suspense. Most men when confronted with an unresolved problem will plunge to one or another premature solution, or lose their interest in the question. Sidgwick could maintain his balance on the top of the fence indefinitely, and resist the temptation to jump down to *terra firma*, until it was clear to him on which side lay the truth. As Prof. Maitland said about him in the *Independent Review* (June, 1906), if he had not been what he was, "he might, as others often do, have forgotten the exact point where proof ended and only hope remained." And yet he never lost or allowed others to lose interest in the problem. With this power of holding his judgment in suspense there was joined a remarkable fairness and sympathetic tolerance of all opinions differing from his own. Other men as able and as sincere as Sidgwick might yet have failed to do what Sidgwick did in guiding the Society. For in those early days our ranks included many Spiritualists and mystics of all kinds. Most men of his academic culture and intellectual standing would have been tempted to pursue a policy which would have alienated many of the members and would certainly have narrowed the basis of the Society and impaired its usefulness. We should have lost much if we had missed the cordial co-operation at the outset of our Spiritualist friends. But it was no easy matter to hold the balance even. The first Council included some members who were not wise, as the

Universities count wisdom. Sidgwick suffered them, if not always gladly, at any rate with admirable patience and fairness. At one of the early meetings at Willis's Rooms there arose a discussion as to the colour of the aura which, according to certain mystics, radiates as a visible effluence from the human body. Some of the disputants maintained that a properly constituted soul would display a blue radiance; to others it was patent that pink was the colour of the perfect soul, and that the popular phrase which assigned blue to spirits of an undesirable character was justified by the facts. Sidgwick sat quietly in the Presidential chair during the discussion. To him, as to most of us, the whole thing must have seemed nonsense, and pernicious nonsense, since the debate was no doubt seriously damaging to the reputation of the infant Society. But his sense of fairness, I think, would not allow him to closure a discussion of this kind on matters of which he had no personal experience. Nor was he ever moved to impatience or anger by anything except unfair dealing and disloyalty. One such occasion I can recall. In the early days of the Society it was the custom that every paper to be read at a meeting should first be submitted to the Council or a Committee of the Council. A paper prepared by one of our early members, who has long since left us, was so submitted. For sufficient reasons the Committee unanimously decided that certain passages ought to be omitted; the reasons for this decision were fully explained to the author of the paper, and he was courteously requested to take the necessary steps. At the meeting, nevertheless, he read the whole paper, including the offending passages. It was not the affront to himself, nor even the damage done to the Society's nascent reputation for common sense, but the disloyalty of the act which moved Sidgwick on this occasion to righteous anger.

Under Sidgwick's guidance the Society as we know happily lived through the perils of infancy. But to him personally the results of the investigation were no doubt somewhat disappointing. In his later years, indeed, though he retained to the last a keen interest in the work of the Society, its doings do not figure largely in the correspondence here quoted. No fresh evidence of value had been obtained for the physical phenomena of Spiritualism. In 1894, indeed, the accounts which F. W. H. Myers and Sir Oliver Lodge sent of the experiments with Eusapia in the Ile Roubaud inspired fresh hope of definite conclusions being attained. And when Sidgwick witnessed the phenomena for himself, he was at the time

"almost convinced of their genuineness." But this almost conviction yielded in the following summer to the proof of practised and systematic fraud: and he came, I understand, finally to the conclusion that further research in this direction would be likely to remain unprofitable. But we gather that he attained more or less conviction of the reality of thought-transference. Thus on March 30, 1887, he writes:

"We had interesting experiments yesterday evening in Thought-transference with Miss Ralph; not *quite* enough success to impress the public decisively, but the conditions unexceptionable, and the results such as leave no doubt in my mind that I witnessed the real phenomenon. It certainly is a great fact; I feel a transient glow of scientific enthusiasm, and find life worth living merely to prosecute this discovery. If only I could form the least conception of the *modus transferendi*! and if only we could find some percipient whose time we could control a little more" (p. 473).

Again on 3rd Jan., 1886, he writes:

"Came up to London yesterday to meeting of S.P.R. It has now 600 members and associates, and I shall now let it run alone without any more nursing. I think it has done good work, as I do not doubt that Thought-transference is genuine, and hope it will soon be established beyond cavil; but I see no prospect of making way in the far more interesting investigation of Spiritualism.¹ I fear our experience shows that evidence available for scientific purposes is not likely to be forthcoming; still, having put our hands to plough this bog, it would be feeble to look back so soon" (pp. 435-6).

There are passages in the correspondence quoted in this book which might lead one to suppose that in his later years Sidgwick lost almost if not altogether the hope which had encouraged him at the beginning of the Society's work—the hope of obtaining empirical evidence of a future life. In March, 1887, he writes:

"But at present the recognised failure of my efforts to obtain evidence of immortality affects me not as a Man but as a Moralist. 'Ethics,' says J. A. S., 'can take care of themselves.' I think I agree with what is meant, but should word it differently. I should say 'morality can take [care] of itself,' or rather the principle of life in human society can take care of morality. But how? Perhaps always by producing an illusory belief in immortality in

¹"Spiritualism" in this passage no doubt refers, not to the physical phenomena alone, but to the whole evidence for the existence of spirits.

the average man, who must live content with Common Sense.
Perhaps he will always

Fix perfect homes in the unsubstantial sky,
And say what is not will be by and by.

At any rate, somehow or other, morality will get on; I do not feel particularly anxious about that. But my special business is not to maintain morality *somehow*, but to establish it logically as a reasoned system; and I have declared and published that this cannot be done, if we are limited to merely mundane sanctions, owing to the inevitable divergence, in this imperfect world, between the individual's Duty and his Happiness. I said in 1874 that without some datum beyond experience 'the Cosmos of Duty is reduced to a Chaos.' Am I to recant this conviction and answer my own arguments—which no one of my numerous antagonists has yet even tried to answer? Or am I to use my position—and draw my salary—for teaching that Morality is a chaos, from the point of view of Practical Reason; adding cheerfully that, as man is not after all a rational being, there is no real fear that morality won't be kept up somehow" (p. 472).

Again, after reading carefully through T. H. Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics*, he writes that he finds himself "unable to resist the conviction that my intellect could not put it together into a coherent whole—in fact, that it would not do—and yet that probably it was better that young men should be believers in it than in anything I can teach them. This is a conviction adapted to make a Professor cynical" (p. 380).

But these passages were probably written in moods of depression, and do not, I am given to understand, fairly represent his final attitude towards the question of survival after death. Both of the passages just quoted, indeed, were written before the publication of the Piper documents—by far the most important evidence as yet brought forward for the belief. And that evidence produced a strong impression upon his mind, and did much to revive his hopes that empirical proof of a future existence might ultimately be obtained. In fact he remained to the last of opinion that however dubious the result of the quest, it was our duty to pursue it.

His later views on the great problems of religious belief may be gathered from the two following passages, the first written in 1891, the second in 1898, two years before his death.

“My attitude towards Christianity is briefly this. (1) I think Optimism in some form is an indispensable creed—not for every one, but for progressive humanity as a whole. (2) I think Optimism in a Theistic form—I mean the belief that there is a sympathetic soul of the Universe that intends the welfare of each particular human being and is guiding all the events of his life for his good—is, for the great majority of human beings, not only the most attractive form of optimism, but the most easily acceptable, being not more unproven than any other form of optimism, and certainly more satisfying to the deepest human needs. (3) I think that no form of Optimism has an adequate rational basis; therefore, if Theism is to be maintained—and I am inclined to predict the needs of the human heart will maintain it—it must be, for Europeans, by virtue of the support that it still obtains from the traditional belief in historical Christianity.

“Well, I myself have taken service with Reason, and I have no intention of deserting. At the same time I do not think that loyalty to my standard requires me to feign a satisfaction in the service which I do not really feel” (p. 508).

“It seems to me, then, that if we are led to accept Theism as being, more than any other view of the Universe, consistent with, and calculated to impart a clear consistency to, the whole body of what we commonly agree to take for knowledge—including knowledge of right and wrong—we accept it on grounds analogous to those on which important scientific conclusions have been accepted; and that, even though we are unable to add the increase of certitude derivable from verified predictions, we may still attain a sufficient strength of reasoned conviction to justify us in calling our conclusions a ‘working philosophy’” (p. 559).

So far I have followed the authors of the *Life*, and have allowed Henry Sidgwick to tell his own story. Nor is it perhaps necessary to add anything. The whole character of the man stands revealed in these extracts from his own writings. With perhaps one exception. It is not easy to infer from Sidgwick's own utterances the existence of qualities which he, almost paradoxically, possessed in a high degree: his administrative capacity, his sound judgment in affairs, his practical wisdom. These qualities were proved, of course, not only in the guidance of the Society for Psychical Research, but *omnium consensu* on a more conspicuous scale in his work at the University and at Newnham College. I should wish,

nevertheless, to add a few words on my own account on some aspects of his character. I was one of those—and they were, I believe, many,—who received from Sidgwick advice and help in literary work. It was given without stint. One of my earliest essays—an article written for one of the monthly reviews in answer to an attack on the evidence published in *Phantasms of the Living*—was in its first draft a sufficiently crude affair. Sidgwick corrected it—I was going to write as a master might correct a schoolboy's theme—but that would be to give an altogether false account of his method and attitude. He did not correct as a master, he offered suggestions and advice as a fellow student. And the recipient of his advice was conscious not of the humiliation of one who has his faults pointed out to him, but only of the illumination which comes from an insight recognised as deeper and truer than his own. At a later date Sidgwick read through before publication the whole of my first two books on psychical research. He found time also in the year before his death to read much of the typescript of the first volume of my *Modern Spiritualism*. It would be difficult to overestimate what I gained from his criticism. There lie before me as I write several pages of notes and suggestions, written in his exquisitely clear handwriting, on the book last mentioned. Rarely indeed did I venture to disregard his suggestions—not because they were his, but because they carried with them conviction. It was by no means only in the handling of the evidence that his advice was of value. I found that it was no less helpful in the literary treatment of the subject. For no doubt in literature, as in science or philosophy, it is the single eye which is needed. Sidgwick, I should suppose, did not consciously aim at literary effect. But he achieved it, and taught others to achieve it, by virtue of seeing things truly. He would point out where the loose-fitting conventional phrase misrepresented the facts, or where a piece of slovenly thinking marred the argument: and in correcting these faults one found with surprise that one had improved the manner of the writing no less than the matter.

And this naturally leads to another point. No one who knew Sidgwick only from his most important philosophical works could form any fair idea of the man. Ordinary reviewers were apt to find his writing heavy and dull. He himself, referring to the reception of one of his books, expressed the hope that he might yet write literature before he died. But he wrote under a deep sense of responsibility. Perhaps for good literature there is needed

a certain indirectness of treatment, a certain play of personality which he would have felt to be out of place in dealing with the ultimate problems of philosophy. Certainly the literary grace and the humour which are lacking in his more serious works abounded in his letters and in some of his earlier essays. His treatment of Matthew Arnold in the essay on "The Prophet of Culture" is not more admirable for the justice of the criticism than for the genial satire employed. His presidential addresses to our Society in the early days are wonderfully effective. And the letters included in this volume fascinate equally by their wide sympathies as by the grace of their style and by their abounding humour.

And what is true of his letters was, of course, equally true of his conversation. His talk was always alive with sympathy and with humour. Humour is a perishable flower, very difficult to transplant from its native soil. But one illustration may be quoted from the book before us. Sidgwick had read a paper on Green's philosophy before an Oxford Society. The burden of his criticism, in Mr. Schiller's words, was "that there existed a fundamental incoherence in Green's thinking. When he had finished, the disciples of Green got up one after the other—and admitted it! Only they thought that it might be cured by going on from Green in various directions to Hegel, to natural science, etc. Finally a prominent Hegelian made the inevitable suggestion that such fundamental incoherence merely indicated that the region of the ultimate difficulties of thought had been reached, and inferred that both sides of the contradiction should be sustained. This gave Sidgwick his opportunity. After replying to the other criticisms, he went on to say that 'as for the remarks of the last speaker, he had never been able to make out from the school to which he evidently belonged how they managed to distinguish the contradictions which they took to be evidence of error from those which they regarded as intimations of higher truth.'"

But there was one special quality, which all who met Sidgwick must have recognised in him, which gave him, indeed, a unique position in his generation. The most appropriate name for this quality—a name soiled of recent years by much ignoble use—is, I suppose, humility. This humility was no doubt native to him. But it must have been fostered and developed by the circumstances of his life. To most men who set out on the search for truth there comes, no doubt, a time when they are content to find rest in some half-way house. To Sidgwick no halting place was possible,

short of the goal; and the goal he never reached. A man who is able to accept such an experience—to acknowledge defeat and still to pursue—must certainly have learnt humility. And this quality is shewn in his whole attitude towards psychical research. Most men of Sidgwick's intellectual standing "sniffed"—as Sidgwick says of T. H. Green—at the very idea of looking for instruction in ghost stories and table-turning. But to Sidgwick nothing was common or unclean. And just as no fact was to him too insignificant to be worthy of study, so no person was so foolish but that something might be learned from him. Thus he writes to Mrs. Sidgwick—"I am sorry you are plagued with the correspondence with . . . ; at the same time I cannot help thinking that you may derive instruction from this, and from the criticisms in *Light*, if you can get yourself into the state of mind of taking a large amount of misunderstanding and misrepresentation as inevitable, and merely endeavour to extract the grains of useful suggestion. At least, I myself have always learnt from criticism when I could get into this state of mind about it" (p. 395).

And none of us who ever talked with Sidgwick or sat with him in Council can have failed to be struck by the attention—an attention amounting almost to deference—with which he would listen to the opinions of the youngest and least considerable of those present. There are many testimonies in the book to this quality of Sidgwick's mind. Thus a former pupil, Miss Gardner, writes of his teaching, "he treated our remarks as respectfully as if they had been made by some eminent critic. One felt that, however wide the difference between one's own mind and his might be, he regarded each one of us as, in a sense, a fellow-seeker after truth and clearness; and the feeling brought stimulus and hope" (p. 312). And Leslie Stephen testifies to the same effect:

"He was not only perfectly frank but glad to gain enlightenment even from comparatively commonplace minds. Johnson commended a talker who would fairly put his mind to yours. That marks one of Sidgwick's merits. He would take up any topic; made no pretension to superiority, and was as willing to admit ignorance or error as he was always fertile in new lights" (p. 315).

Sidgwick aptly expresses his own position thus:

"I do not think I was made to be a teacher of age and dignity: I like talking to young men, but I like talking to them as an equal . . ." (p. 488).

And if he gained profit by this singular openness of mind, we

who were honoured by his attention gained more. It was impossible for the most diffident to feel otherwise than at ease in his presence. But it was not an ease which conduced to sloth. His conversation acted as a moral and intellectual stimulant. His sincerity evoked a like sincerity in those with whom he conversed. One would have felt ashamed in Sidgwick's presence to express any opinion that was slovenly or superficial, or to advocate a course inspired by any ignoble motive.

The end of his life was of a piece with all the rest. Indeed, the mere suggestion that it could have been otherwise would seem an impertinence to his memory. Early in May, 1900, he learnt that he was suffering from internal cancer, and that an immediate operation was necessary. For the rest of the month he went about his work, feeling that after the operation there might be no further opportunity for work. He put his papers in order as far as the time permitted, prepared an address on the philosophy of T. H. Green for the Oxford Philosophical Society, attended a meeting of the Newnham Council, and fulfilled other engagements. For a fortnight or so he had kept the news from all his friends. But as the time for the operation approached he found it necessary to speak. He wrote to F. W. H. Myers on the 24th May to tell him, adding: "Life is very strange now, very terrible, but I try to meet it like a man, my beloved wife aiding me. I hold on—or try to hold on—to duty and love, and through love to touch the larger hope. I wish now I had told you before, as this may be farewell. Your friendship has had a great place in my life, and as I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death I feel your affection. Pray for me" (p. 587).

He took leave of his friends in Cambridge, and came up to London on the day before the operation, which took place on the 31st. During the weeks of convalescence he saw and talked with many friends. He sent me a message asking me to visit him, and I gladly went. At that time he knew, I think, that he had at most a year or two to live, and the end actually came before the summer was over. But he seemed unchanged in his outlook on life, with his interest in all things as fresh as ever. I remember his telling me about some novels which he had just read, being at that time, I suppose, too weak to undertake more serious reading, and asking me if I could recommend him any more. He talked about the affairs of the S.P.R. and other matters with the same bright and sympathetic interest which he had always shewn. At my second visit he

had just returned from a drive to Regent's Park, where he had rather overtaxed his strength in attempting to walk. But though obviously tired he would not send me away, but asked me to come in, and conversed for a few minutes with his habitual cheerfulness and humour. I never saw him again, and the end came a few weeks later, on the 28th August.

Mr. Haldane, in his recent address to the University of Edinburgh, has described what should be the function of a University in the national life: that the best minds should there receive their training for the highest service to the state. I do not know where there could be found a finer example than that exhibited by Henry Sidgwick of the "dedicated life" which Mr. Haldane describes—a life dedicated, however, not to the state, but to humanity—a life wholly given to the strenuous search for Truth, and finding in that search its sole and sufficient reward. Nearly all lives—our own or others—as we look back on them must seem desultory and incomplete. But Henry Sidgwick's had a unity and completeness beyond that of most men. I do not mean that it was complete if measured by the results, for of the results we are scarcely yet able to judge. But if we consider not the achievement but the purpose, we shall find that Sidgwick's life presented more than others a symmetrical whole. Its symmetry was marred by no infirmity of endeavour, by no self-seeking, by no petty personal aims. His years were continuously spent from youth upwards in the one high impersonal quest. In looking back on such a life we can see "age approve of youth, and death complete the same."

One of his friends writes that on May 27th, a few days before the operation, Sidgwick recited some stanzas from Swinburne's "Super Flumina Babylonis." I well remember some years ago to have heard him recite the same lines, lines which may appropriately furnish his own epitaph:

"Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown
The Just Fate gives;
Whoso takes the world's life on him, and his own lays down,
He, dying so, lives."

FRANK PODMORE

Borderland of Psychical Research. By JAMES H. HYSLOP, Ph.D., LL.D., etc.; (H. B. Turner & Co. Boston, Mass., U.S.A. 1906).

Enigmas of Psychical Research. By JAMES H. HYSLOP; (H. B. Turner & Co.; 1906).

Science and a Future Life. By JAMES H. HYSLOP; (H. B. Turner & Co.; 1905).

Although these three books were published in precisely the reverse order of that here given, I shall here review the books in the present order, for the reason that that is the order in which they should have been published,—if we were to look at the question from the psychical researcher's, and not the publisher's, point of view. The three, taken together, form a very handy reference library on all things 'psychic' for the average person who has neither the time nor the patience to wade through the complete Reports in the Society's *Proceedings*. I shall first of all give a rapid résumé of the contents of each volume;—the detailed discussions and cases are doubtless known to members of the S.P.R., since it is from the *Proceedings* and *Journals* of the Society that most of the facts are drawn.

Dr. Hyslop begins the *Borderland* with chapters on "Sense Perception," "Interpreting and Associating Functions of the Mind," "Memory and Dissociation and Obliviscence"—all of which are much needed (in this country, at least, where so much pseudo-scientific research is carried on), in order to give the public a good general view of the way the mind works in health, and to present clearly the position and the theories of the scientific world in relation to these questions. It is fair to state that the vast majority of persons have 'no objection' to the theory of a future life, simply because they do not realize the arguments against it which are urged by the scientific world, nor the strength of the materialistic position; and it is a good thing that these objections should be made clear to the public mind. When this has been done, the position and the importance of the phenomena dealt with by psychical research will be better understood.

Next follow two most interesting chapters on "Illusions" and "Hallucinations"—giving a clear idea of the theories held to-day with regard to the nature and initiation of these mental states, and much more discussion which we cannot stop to consider. The next chapter, "Pseudo-Spiritistic Phenomena," is very fine indeed, and

brings us into the field of psychic phenomena proper. It is mostly destructive in character, however, as the title might lead us to suppose, and deals with the fraud connected with the subject (especially with the Physical Phenomena) containing, among other things, a very detailed and excellent discussion of the Slade-Zöllner investigation. Besides the objections urged by Mrs. Sidgwick, in her discussion of the evidence in this case (*Proceedings*, Vol. IV.), Dr. Hyslop points out *eleven* sources of error, or defects in the evidence,—every one of which is highly important. The discussion of slate-writing phenomena, ballot-tests, etc., is also interesting, and the whole chapter is well worth reading by any one interested in these problems; and certainly should be read by all those who are too ready to credit the physical phenomena as genuine.

The next chapter, "Subconscious Action and Secondary Personality," summarizes—after some interesting preliminary discussion—the Morton Prince 'Sally Beauchamp' Case; Janet's 'Léonie' Case; the Ansel Bourne Case; Flournoy's 'Mlle. Smith' Case; a Case of his own, closely resembling the last mentioned, and others. The material is mostly familiar to readers of the *Proceedings*, but should prove most useful to the average reader, in helping to make clear to his mind this perplexing question of double and multiplex personality. The man-in-the-street is inclined to regard every intelligence foreign to the normal consciousness as a "spirit"; and it is a useful piece of work to make clear the fact that this need not be the explanation of it.

A chapter on "Mind and Body" follows—this being divided into two portions; first, a discussion of the theories of the inter-relations of mind and body from the philosophic standpoint; and, secondly, a discussion of the influence of the mind upon the body,—as instanced in various cures, the cases of "miraculous healing," etc. This brings us naturally to the next chapter, "Hypnotism and Therapeutics," the contents of which need not be discussed at any length here. Following this is perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book,—that on "Reincarnation." Professor Hyslop evidently does not think much of the theory from any point of view—contending that it is not the most rational theory, from a purely philosophical point of view, and that it has no real evidence in its favour. The cases of "Memory of past lives"—so often referred to by believers in this theory—Dr. Hyslop considers to be due to illusions and hallucinations of memory, or to the eruption into consciousness of forgotten dreams or subconsciously noted impressions, or to

impressions noted before the age of four, when the personality is in process of formation, and when no consecutive mental record of the life is kept, only isolated incidents remembered. Dr. Hyslop urges that scenes and incidents noted or remembered in any of these states—at any such times—would have a tendency to emerge into consciousness as new impressions, since they were not previously associated with the normal waking personality; and yet such an impression, owing to the fact that it had actually been experienced before, would have a tendency to be associated with some past event in the mental life, because of its feeling of ‘familiarity.’ As it does not belong to the *conscious* life of the individual, it may be relegated by him to some past ‘incarnation.’

“Reservations and Morals” is the title of the last chapter, and its title sufficiently explains its contents.

The second book, “Enigmas of Psychical Research,” I must summarize even more briefly than the first book, for the reason that the contents are doubtless more familiar to the reader of the Society’s *Proceedings* than those of the other work. It contains chapters on “Crystal Gazing,” “Telepathy,” “Dreams,” “Apparitions,” “Clairvoyance,” “Premonitions,” “Mediumistic Phenomena,” and “The Residues of Science”—all of which titles sufficiently indicate the character of the contents in each case. There is a chapter on “Ancient Oracles,” which is highly interesting,—as is the final chapter, “Retrospect and Vaticination.” Dr. Hyslop has an ingenious theory to account for premonitions, which is all the more welcome because of the scarcity of hypotheses put forward to explain them. In the chapter on “Mediumistic Phenomena,” Dr. Hyslop has devoted several pages to his ‘Smead Case’—which bids fair to parallel Mrs. Piper’s, if sufficient means can be raised to carry on the investigation as systematically as has been done in the latter case.

The third volume, “Science and a Future Life,” deals almost entirely with the ‘Piper Case,’ and is by far the most interesting of the three. One can see that the writer’s *heart* is in this volume—while purely intellectual belief and interest prompted the others. The first chapter, “Origin of Psychic Research,” traces back the investigations into these fields in a most interesting manner; while the second chapter, “General Problems and Results,” summarizes the work of the S.P.R. to date. Then comes the chapter on “The Problem of a Future Life,” and this places before the reader the *real problems* at issue in a terse and excellent manner. What the

"real problems" are made clear, as well as the methods that should be adopted in order to reach any sound conclusions. Here, again, there is much misunderstanding in the public mind, which hopelessly mixes up physical phenomena, predictions, and what-not, with the real question at issue—the persistence of, and possibility of communication with, an individual consciousness, after the death of the physical body. All other arguments are purely subsidiary to this one: can consciousness continue to function in the absence of the nerve-tissue, with which it is invariably bound up in this life? Obviously the only way to prove that it *can* do so, is to prove that it actually *does* so, and that is a question of scientific fact, a question of *evidence*. "Philosophy," says our author, "is useless and worthless" in settling this question of a future life. The whole question is one of evidence—of proof, of fact. That is the attitude in which to approach this problem; and the Piper case is so important because it has supplied us (apparently) with these facts.

The rest of the book, accordingly, is written around this case—the following chapters being the "History of the Piper Case," "Incidents from the English Report," "Dr. Hodgson's First Report," "Dr. Hodgson's Second Report," "Personal Experiments and Results," "The Telepathic Hypothesis," "The Spiritistic Hypothesis," and "Difficulties and Objections"—all being practically a summary of the Reports mentioned, and the arguments contained therein. In the final chapter, "Ethical Meaning and Results," Dr. Hyslop has emphasized most strongly the importance of the phenomena, because of the tremendous consequences that are involved in their proof or their disproof; for it may almost be said that on the Piper Case hinges a materialistic or a spiritualistic outlook upon the universe.

Dr. Hyslop devotes a whole chapter to a consideration of the "Conditions affecting the 'Communicators'"—this being virtually an extension and further defence of the arguments brought forward in his *Report*. The spiritistic theory is presented in so fascinating a manner that it seems almost impossible to resist accepting it as at least a "working hypothesis."

One or two quotations will show the fairness and impartiality of the book. Speaking of the objection to the spiritistic theory based upon the triviality of the facts obtained through the medium, the author says: "If the facts make the spiritistic theory the only rational supposition possible to explain them, it has to be accepted whether desirable or not. Our business as scientists is not with the

desirability of a next life, but with the *fact* of it. We have to accept the life to come, if it be a fact, without any ability to escape it, and its degenerated nature would not affect the evidence for the fact of it. Its being a madhouse or an asylum for idiots would not weaken the evidence for its existence. We should have to bear with it stoically, and perhaps, if our moral lives were what they ought to be, that degenerate condition, if it be the natural consequence of action when living, might not follow. In any case, however, the desirability or undesirability of a future existence has nothing to do with the scientific question whether it is a fact" (pp. 299-300).

And again on p. 364 we read :

"If a future life is a fact we cannot disprove it by laughing at phenomena that we do not like. Our æsthetics have no more to do with the fact than they have with the eclipse of the sun or with the existence of disease. Emotional contempt of the facts is no more legitimate than the condemned emotional interest in a future life, and if it be a fact, we shall not escape it by cultivating indifference to its truth."

It is to be hoped that the publication of these three books will hasten the day when psychical research will become, not only a 'respectable' study, but an actual and vital science.

HEREWARD CARRINGTON.

The Subconscious. BY JOSEPH JASTROW, Professor of Psychology in the University of Wisconsin. (London, Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd.; Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906.)

Professor Jastrow's book offers a comprehensive and sober-minded survey of the manifestations of the subconscious, alike in normal and in abnormal conditions, and a cautious attempt to explain them in accordance with the general principles of biological evolution.

There is little new material in the book. There are indeed a few cases of dreams and of reverie and abstraction in normal life, from the author's own experience, or that of his pupils. But all the more striking illustrations are taken from published sources—our own *Proceedings*, the works of William James, Flournoy, Morton Prince, Boris Sidis, Janet, and others. One irritating defect in the presentation of the illustrative cases is that references are rarely given to the original publication.

Material, for instance, which originally appeared in our *Proceedings* is laid under contribution, but I can find but one solitary reference to the source. It can hardly be supposed that Professor Jastrow is willing to borrow from us, but afraid to imperil his reputation for scientific orthodoxy by acknowledging the debt. The omission is, I prefer to think, to be attributed to his general indifference to detail of this kind. His citations are commonly introduced by some such phrase as "Mr. Galton has recorded," or "Sir William Ramsay's experience"—and we look in vain for the footnote which should tell us where the original is to be found. Akin to this omission of references is another defect. There is nowhere any clear summary of the argument: the so-called "Table of Contents" is but a list of the titles of the chapters. This makes the argument unnecessarily difficult to follow; and throws upon the reader, or reviewer, much labour which should, I venture to think, have been undertaken by the author.

But these defects apart, the book is a valuable one, as containing a sober statement of the rationalist position. An essential part of the thesis is that personality—the conscious self—is to be regarded less as a growth than as an achievement, something won by labour and retained only by constant vigilance; and as liable, during any intermission of that vigilance, to continual encroachments from lower phases of consciousness:

"Personality has been set forth not as an inevitable datum, but as an achievement,—truly a normal issue furthered by the ordinary vicissitudes of life, yet one whose establishment may involve struggle and compromise, relinquishment, and concentrated as well as sustained purpose. The manner by which such an issue arises, and the essential contribution thereto of the lower registers of consciousness, indicate that failure in this respect must proceed from a comprehensive disordering of all the constituent phases of the mind's progressions." (pp. 518-9.)

Normally, the part of the subconscious is mainly to act as an auxiliary—to enrich and supplement, not to guide or supplant. But Professor Jastrow is by no means inclined to depreciate the importance of the function assigned to the subconscious:

"The comment (by Mr. Leland), that the 'man who built a Romanesque cathedral worked by the suggestion of minds which went before him,' may be extended to all notable forms of human endeavour. Styles, schools, creeds, philosophies come and go;

and the allegiances which they command flourish by the traditions that they embody, that give sympathy of aim as well as concordance of expression to the brotherhood of disciples.'

"In all these cultural sequences of human destiny the great momentum of subconsciously absorbed and subconsciously transmitted traditions vivifies the onward movement, and leaves its indelible impress upon the history and upon the quality of the race. It does so by compensating the advances that result from the penetration born of reasoned concepts, the practical mastery that is the reward of an expert rationality, with the intuitive insight, that, though subject to waywardness and lame in defence, is keen-witted for the true, devoted with strenuous conviction to the right, delicately sensitive to the beautiful. Without the cumulative inheritance of tradition, as also without the bold flights of imagination, reason would proceed at a snail's pace; for all art requires alike, critical acumen and skilled, deeply ingrained proficiency. The scientific spirit—the most finished expression of conscious activity—finds its saving balance in the impressible imagination,—the richest quarry of the subconscious. In all character, as in all achievement, there are talents more efficient than those consciously exercised, powers deeper than those we wittingly command, that enable us to do better than we know how. This recognition has ever been present in the conception of genius, picturing its incomprehensibility as an unquestioning response to an inspiration, as a surrender to the natural forces that seethe within, though reinforced by experience; as in its labours indifferent to means, oblivious to the why and wherefore, but firmly possessed with the imperative importance of its message, and leaving lowlier tasks to lesser minds that are constrained with painful deliberation to marshal in simple order the limited resources at their command. In this appraisal of the constituents of character, of the service of ideals in shaping culture, as of the quality of talents that further mental achievement, do the traditional wisdom of the ages and the analyses of psychology find common issue." (pp. 158-9.)

The latter part of the book is devoted to showing the analogies between the extremest forms of dissociated and impaired consciousness, and the deviations from full consciousness found in perfectly normal persons. Thus, the man who hunts for the spectacles which are actually fixed on his forehead, or cuts into the leg of mutton and then, in view of the gaping wound,

believes that he has dined, shows a momentary anaesthesia comparable to that of the poor hysterical patient, who loses her legs in bed. In both cases the sum of conscious attention is not enough to go round:

“For the pronounced hysterical temperament, wide or well-maintained alertness of mind is difficult; two activities, though of slight import, can no longer be maintained at once; to give attention to a small area of experience involves the momentary loss of the rest. The spread of the search-light of attention is much reduced, while also its power of illumination is enfeebled. The mental blinders—though peculiarly selective in what they admit and exclude—are worn more and more continuously; the contracted habit of consciousness is formed. Systematic gaps in perception and in the control of the expressive agencies of the intellect are at first tolerated, then resignedly or stolidly accepted. The patient forgets to include her arm within her conscious concern; and it remains neglected, possibly in a permanently contracted attitude.” (p. 316.)

Here again is an explanation on rationalist principles of the feats of arithmetic performed by calculating boys:

“Arithmetical prodigies, along with painters, poets, and writers, are apt to project a situation in a brilliant visual image, as remarkable for the scope and complexity of details as for its accuracy and ready command. They see as on imaginary blackboards, or like the fleeting exposure of a picture thrown upon the screen, the partial resultant of their complex calculations. With closed eyes and a strained inner vision, they build up their constructions with large inclusive spans of procedure, so suppressedly reasoned that results seem to follow upon premises by some prompted insight, and equations yield their solutions as in a flash. By extensive and intimately familiarized material held ever ready for service; by passionate and incessant devotion to figures; by ceaseless rumination over primes and squares and roots and products; by facile devising of short-cut procedures that bring result close to premise, there is acquired a great mass of ‘understudied’ material, mental tables of predigested results, in the manipulation of which formulated procedures come to play a decreasing part. The planning and the sectional construction are, in the main, consciously directed and consummated, and are supported at every stage by the minor operations facilitated to the point of mechanical automatism, and filling in the niches of

the construction as fast as they arise. Moreover, effort accompanies the task, and in some fair proportion to its unfamiliarity and intrinsic difficulty; in brief, the result, however notable, maintains an intelligible relation to the normal type of antecedents, and may thus be included within the instances of exalted facilitation dependent alike upon temperament and cultivation." (pp. 468-9.)

These quotations will serve to illustrate the scope of the book. The qualities especially distinguishing the work are sobriety of judgment and clearness of analysis. The style is picturesque and often forcible and illuminating. But as a whole it suffers from a Teutonic habit of thought; the sentences are often like portmanteaus packed too full. Take these two as illustrations. The author desires to put the question whether the dreams that we remember adequately represent our dream life as a whole, and this is how he phrases it:

"Is the position warranted that accepts the testimony of memory, controlled by the usual experimental precautions (in this instance, the recognition of the many dreams that occur, but are forgotten), as worthy of the same regard as attaches to the careful introspective account of any of our mental procedures?" (pp. 176-7.) Or again, take this sentence:

"From an experimental approach, it has been determined that if one persists in judging the comparative brightness of two tints long after these have been so equalized that the eye has lost all difference between them, the judgments thus accumulated without confidence and seemingly by guesswork prove that the judging mechanism, in spite of its low introspective rating, reports in slight favor of the actually brighter tint. Its preferences in this distrusted region remain consistently placed; and the balance in favor of the really brighter stimulus decreases as the actual difference in tint itself grows less." (p. 417.)

It seems to me an unfair tax upon a reader's patience to present him with conundrums of this kind.

It should be added that the name of F. W. H. Myers does not appear in the Index of the book, though a few pages of the final chapter are devoted to a criticism, mainly on the ground of its inconsistency with the progress of evolution, of the theory of the subconscious of which Myers was the most eminent exponent. In the following passage in the preface Professor Jastrow defines his general attitude:

“ Only a few, and in the main slight, general surveys of the field have been published. The one notable exception is the work of the late Mr. Frederic W. H. Myers (*Human Personality*, 2 vols., 1903). In respect to that, I record with pleasure my appreciation of the ability and devotion of the author, as well as of the skill of his presentations; and I record with regret, that in spite of a common interest in the same ranges of phenomena, and a fair measure of agreement in the interpretation of the more objective and verifiable data, I yet find my point of view so little in accord with his, that I have been able to profit but slightly by his discerning labors.”

FRANK PODMORE.

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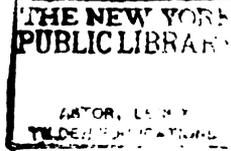
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