



THE ZOIST.

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1. *The Cerebral Development of the murderer Benjamin Ellison.*
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GALL made his grand discoveries by observing individuals with intellectual or moral points of character so remarkable for strength or deficiency that no one could entertain a doubt upon it, and by comparing the development of the brain as indicated by the development of the head. Sometimes the head, sometimes the character, first arrested his attention: but then there could be no more doubt upon the character than upon the head. By "their fruits" did he "know them,"—what manner of ability or inability, and what points of moral character, were really theirs.

The majority of the medical world, and nearly all the teachers, are as ignorant of true cerebral physiology as of mesmerism, and equally prejudiced against it, speaking of both as a native of New Holland would of geology,—no more appreciating the facts of either science than the poor uncivilized creature does those of the various geological formations which are always before his eyes, and talking in a manner that proves them with all their professional self-sufficiency to be as far below full knowledge, eye, and true civilization, as the savage is below the amount which they possess. And remarkably ignorant of cerebral physiology is that portion of it who set up for the profitable occupation of taking care of the insane,—for which every one fancies himself qualified, and almost every well-informed medical man is, as far as I have witnessed, just as well qualified as the majority of those who have the reputation of being great insanity doctors. If the

assumed or presumed superiority of knowledge or skill in individual doctors in reference to any particular disease is generally sheer nonsense, it is unquestionably so in general with respect to insanity. The only difference between insanity doctors and other doctors is, that they are also boarding-house keepers, differing in this from common boarding-house keepers that they board people out of their senses, while common boarding-house keepers receive and keep people not out of their senses.

This prevalent gross ignorance makes it important to set before medical no less than other men, the cerebral development of every person who becomes an object of general attention for undoubted points of ability or character; though the functions of the organs which may be confirmed have been as long established in the conviction of cerebral physiologists as the function of the eyes or ear. And here let me quote a passage from the 373rd and 374th pages of my *Human Physiology*.

"Although any phrenologist may always without fear assert positively of the head from constant positive exhibition of mind, and always fearlessly assert negatively of the mind from negative exhibitions of the head; he would not assert respecting the mind from positive exhibitions of the head, nor respecting the head from negative exhibitions of the mind." Because "constant strength of certain parts of the mind is accompanied by strong development of certain parts of the brain and consequently of the skull; and deficient development of certain parts of the brain, and consequently of the skull, accompanied by deficient strength of certain parts of the mind." "Inquirers, however, must not always expect the reverse,—to find strength of development always attended by strength of certain parts of the mind; nor deficiency of the manifestation of certain parts of the mind always attended by deficient development of the head. Because the development of the head may arise from other causes than brain, or the quality of the brain may not be healthy; and, on the other hand, deficiency of the manifestations of a certain part of the mind may arise from mere want of excitement or from disease." "Yet in the far greater number of instances, the development of the head agrees with the mind."

The unfortunate wretch whom I am about to consider was so remarkable for strength of certain points of character that Gall's doctrine required certain parts of his head to be very large,—and they were very large: and the deficiency of certain parts of his brain was so great that Gall's doctrine required that certain parts of his character should be deficient,—and they were deficient.

All the particulars of character but one I have derived from the *West Briton Advertiser* and the *Cornwall Gazette*; the drawings and the statement of development have been

most kindly sent me by a gentleman upon whom I can rely and who assures me that they are perfectly accurate. I shall always feel very grateful, as I do on the present occasion, for well authenticated facts in either cerebral physiology or mesmerism.

Benjamin Ellison and Mrs. Seaman had lived together about two years in an outskirt of Penzance called Rosevean Road. They passed as relations, but they had been living together as man and wife. She was the widow of W. Seaman, of Swansea, gentleman, entitled to a pension of £30 a year, and had some other small property. He described himself "as of Leeds, gentleman;" had received a good education and been respectably connected with the manufacturing interest of Yorkshire; and had left his wife and children six years ago on account of disagreements in pecuniary matters, and not been heard of by his friends for some years till his committal. He was sixty-one years of age. He had some shares in the Bradford Bank, on which £1,500 had been paid. He had executed a settlement and will in her favour, and she in his favour. They lived together, without a servant, in a retired and secluded manner. The house in which they lived formed one of a row, and the neighbours on each side were, one a man of the name of Hill, and another named Trenwith. The house consisted of a front-room, a back-room, a place behind, and rooms overhead, with a courtlage behind, which was connected with the houses on the right and left. The last time the unfortunate woman was seen alive was on the morning of Monday, the 7th of July last, about eight o'clock, when she was seen by a witness to be dressed in the same clothes in which she was afterwards found dead. On that day, according to the admission of Ellison, she was still alive at the hour of twelve, but after eight o'clock in the morning no one except himself saw her until she was found a corpse. On the ensuing morning, that of the 8th of July, about nine o'clock, he himself gave an alarm to Mary Hill, the neighbour who lived in the adjoining house. Upon Mrs. Hill going in, she found Mrs. Seaman lying on the floor of the front-room, dead. On the wall at the side and end of the room, to the height of three or four feet, were large patches of blood, the appearance being that of a person having staggered against the wall in falling and left there the marks of blood from a wound. It appeared also that the person had staggered against another wall at no great distance, and left there a mark of blood in falling. The floor was covered in several places with blood. The body had been evidently removed from the place where it fell in the act of death, because it was found in that part of the room where the blood was not, and there were particular circumstances about it. The body had been evidently laid out, and the clothes tucked around it. A piece of black cloth or gauze was laid over the face, and it was extended on its back, like a body stretched out after death. It appeared to the surgeon, that the body had been laid in its then position after the rigidity which follows death had taken place. The arms and hands

were raised, and at the same time contracted, so that it would seem the body had not been laid out shortly after death, when the limbs would assume any shape, but after rigidity had taken place, when it would be impossible to stretch the arms out of their previous position. In the opinion of the surgeon, the body, when he saw it on the morning of the 8th, had been dead many hours. The only appearance of violence to the house itself was at a small window which looked into the kitchen from the courtlage. This window was 13 inches by 20, large enough certainly for any one to get in, but other circumstances lead to infer that the murder was not committed by any one who got in at that window from without. It did not appear that the murder had been committed by any one whose object was plunder. No one appeared to have gone up stairs, and in the room down stairs there was no property worth taking. Whatever property they seemed to have was in a desk and box up stairs, which contained some little valuables in silver; but this desk was not opened nor these little articles taken away, and there was no trace of any one having gone up stairs; for it would appear utterly impossible for any one, who did that deed of death, to ascend without leaving some traces of the blood with which the apartment below was covered. The party who committed that deed was contented with the deed itself, and did not commit it for the purpose of carrying out any object of plunder. The surgeon was distinctly of opinion that death must have been inflicted upon Monday, the 7th of July. Upon each side of the house where Ellison and the deceased lived, were the houses of neighbours immediately adjoining. The partitions separating the houses were thin, and noises were easily heard from one house to the other. But no noises of any sort or kind were heard in the night or morning of Tuesday, the 8th of July. On Monday morning, the 7th, about eight o'clock, the woman was seen alive. This was a remarkable day in the town of Peuzance; it was a day in which there was a procession through the town, the first stone being laid of a new pier, and also of a market-place. There was a procession, with music, and guns firing. The proceedings took place between the hours of ten and somewhere about half-past twelve, and during that period, except where the procession passed, almost all the houses in the town were deserted by their inhabitants. People were flocking in vast multitudes to see what was going on, and among others the inhabitants of Rosevean-road shut up their houses and went down to the beach and market-place, where these rejoicings were celebrated. The neighbours living on each side of Ellison had left their houses entirely deserted, so that whatever might have taken place in his house there was no one in the adjoining houses to hear it. Mrs. Richards, at the hour of twelve, when the guns were firing, had occasion to pass Ellison's house, and heard screams and groans coming from the house at that time. Now it was not till after that hour he was seen out of his house. The first seen of him that day was when he called, between one and two, at the house of a person of the name of James Richards, a mason, living in Rosevean-road. He proposed to go

with Richards that afternoon to see the sights upon the beach, and said he had no one to go with him, as Mrs. Seaman was engaged in packing up. Ellison had before stated that Mrs. Seaman was about to leave Penzance and go to London. He left Richards's house, and shortly after called at the house of a Mr. Glasson, where he enquired whether there was a meeting in the evening of the Temperance Society. He was a person belonging to that society, and abstaining altogether from fermented liquors. At that time he was observed by Miss Glasson to be very much coloured, and in a state of singular excitement, which drew her attention. He next went to the house of a person named Wolff, and there also he attracted attention by his peculiarly fevered and excited appearance. He again called at James Richards's at five o'clock, and enquired for Richards, who was not come home. After five o'clock, the next that was seen of him was at half-past seven, within a few yards of his own house, and going in the direction of that house. He was also seen at half-past eight by a person named Honora Robinson. She was standing near her father's gate, and he had some conversation with her about some flowers. She observed him afterwards go to the front door of his own house, and as far as she could judge, seemed to try the lock of the front door; he did not appear to go in, but turned again. Mrs. Seaman was at that time dead; her death had taken place somewhere in the morning between twelve and one o'clock. After being seen at half-past eight by Honora Robinson, at nine o'clock he was again at Richards's house. Richards was not yet home, upon which Ellison asked if they would let him wait for him, and walked into the parlour. This was within two minutes' walk of his own door, but he preferred remaining in Richards's parlour till the family went to bed. Mrs. Richards then said, "My husband is not come, and we are going to bed;" and then, of course, he withdrew. The next seen of him was at the hour of half-past ten, by a person named Elizabeth Bramble, coming, as it appeared, from the direction of his own house. He had at that time a bundle of considerable size under his arm; and she observed him go in the direction of Causeway Head, which would lead down to the beach. It appears that he saw the woman, and crossed over to the other side of the street, and shifted his bundle from one arm to the other. He went away in that direction, and half an hour after that period he went to a place called the Temperance Hotel, kept by a person named Thomas. He asked for some refreshment, and had some tea and something to eat, after which he asked if he could have a bed, alleging as a reason that it was getting late, and he did not like to go home at that hour. They said he could have a bed; but before he went up stairs he enquired whether a man of the name of Eddy, a lodger in the house, was at home? He was answered that he was, upon which he said that he desired to see him. They went together into the smoking-room of the hotel; but before he went in, Ellison said to Eddy that he had something he wished to communicate to him. When they got into the smoking-room, Eddy naturally asked what it was? He did not answer. He hesitated, and as he sat down he leant his arms and

hands upon the table, stooped his head almost to his knees, and upon the man pressing him again as to whether he had anything particular to say to him, he abruptly said, "How do you like Liverpool and Birkenhead?" where it appears Eddy had previously been. Eddy was struck with his singular manner, and could not account for it. After a time he rose, but Ellison still sat, his manner anxious and considerably agitated; indeed he made no communication at all, except that he was going to sleep in the hotel. He went to bed, and nothing more was seen of him that night. On the ensuing morning, about six o'clock, he came down to the son of Mr. Thomas, who kept the hotel, and asked him to clean his boots. The lad observed that they were remarkably wet, apparently as though they had been washed; but there was much dirt on the night before. He left the Temperance Hotel, and the next place to which he went was to the house of a man named Matthews, who kept a hair-dresser's shop, and he went there for the purpose of having his hair and whiskers cut, and to be shaved. In the hands of Mrs. Seaman was found hair: in her right hand a considerable quantity of hair, and in the left a single hair, which, as compared with that in the right hand, was white or grey. The hair in her right hand was of a brown colour, but a single white hair was found in the left. When Ellison went to Matthews, he desired to have his hair and whiskers cut, and when Matthews proceeded to cut it, he found that the hair had already and recently in parts of it been cut, evidently by the hand of a person wholly unaccustomed to the business of hair-dressing. There were one or two patches on the head where the hair had been cut close, and evidently jagged by the hand that did it; and it became necessary for the hair-dresser to cut it very close to get below the jagged parts. He also had his whiskers cut, and there was a difference between the colour of the hair and whiskers, the whiskers being turned white or grey in parts of them. When in custody, on the circumstance of the hair being found and its apparent correspondence being called to his attention, he said to the policeman, 'it is true you are correct with regard to the resemblance in point of colour of the hair, but then you see my hair is much shorter than that found in the hands of the deceased.' He omitted to state to the policeman that he had, on that very morning, had his hair cut by the hair-dresser. Having left the hair-dresser's shop, he next went to the house of Richards, who being a mason, and working on the quay, came home to his breakfast a little past eight o'clock. Shortly after he got home, perhaps about ten minutes past eight, Ellison entered also, and told him he had slept out that night on account of his bed being packed up, and he was now returning home. He then left, as he stated, with that intention. Richards had to return to his work at half-past eight, and he did not leave his premises till nearly that time, as the quay was not far distant. There was, therefore, between the time Ellison left and the time that Richards left his premises, full a quarter of an hour. But it was not before nine o'clock that Ellison gave information that Mrs. Seaman was dead. About the hour of nine, he went to the house of Mary

Hill. He went by the back-door through his courtlage to Mrs. Hill's courtlage, his object being to go to her back-door. The door was a-jar. They were neighbours, and one would have expected that a man who had just discovered the body of the woman with whom he was living, weltering in its blood, would not stand upon much ceremony when going to a neighbour and calling for her aid under such distressing circumstances. But he knocked at the door, which was a-jar; and asked her to step into his house with him, as he wanted to speak to her. She came out and went with him, and as they were crossing the yard, he said for the first time to her, 'I slept out last night, and some one has got in and killed poor Mrs. Seaman.' Mrs. Hill went in and found the body in the manner described. Upon the table there were ten-things evidently set out for breakfast or tea. The kettle was upon the coals, where a fire had been lighted, but had been extinguished, and the whole was apparently set out for partaking of some meal immediately. Mrs. Seaman, when discovered, was in her day clothes. Up stairs nothing had been touched, and the bed, which was the only one in the house, and used by Ellison and Mrs. Seaman, was perfectly untouched; it had not been slept in the previous night, or if it had, it had been re-made. A woman's night clothes lay on the pillow, and a man's cap hung over the rail of the bed. The first thing that struck Mrs. Hill was how any one could have got into the house, and she said to Ellison, 'but how has any one got in?' He then drew her attention to the window that looked into the courtlage, and said, 'Oh they have got in at the window, they have broken a pane of glass;' and the broken glass undoubtedly was on the inside, leading to the inference that it had been broken from the outside. There was this singular circumstance,—the window was not large, only thirteen inches by twenty, and the sash of the window opened at the middle; therefore it was only the upper part where a man might get in. There was room undoubtedly, but the particular position of the window made it a matter of some difficulty. The very lowest part was four feet from the ground on the outside, the wall was white-washed, plastered, and clean, and immediately under the window, where any one getting in must have alighted, was a white deal table. Outside, the courtlage was soft muddy ground, the path leading to it being mere earth. The night between Monday and Tuesday was very wet, and the ground would therefore have been all muddy outside the window. One would have expected that a person who had broken the window to get in, having to clamber up four feet of a wall, would have left on the white wall some indications of the dirt on his feet, or the breaking of the wall in climbing up and down. But not the slightest trace of any such mark was discovered, and the table did not show any symptom of any one having alighted on it with dirty feet, nor were there in the room any marks of dirty feet. At the back door also the latch had been withdrawn from the inside, and there was no violence exhibited on that door. Now in the next room to the front room, where the body lay, was found an axe, which Ellison was in the habit of using for the purpose of cutting wood. The surgeon

found on the back of the head of the deceased two large wounds, one of which had fractured the skull, apparently inflicted by some blunt heavy instrument; and upon this axe were found marks of blood and a bloody handle. Upon the body of the deceased were found, in addition to these two wounds, blows upon the nose, bruises and abrasions of the skin upon one hand, a cut on the other hand, and bruises upon the breast. Ellison having shewn the deceased to Mrs. Hill, left her, asking her to keep charge of the house while he went to the police. He went out avowedly for that purpose, but instead of that went back to Mrs. Richards's, and saw there the mother of Mr. Richards, the mason. She says he asked her to go to his house, as Mrs. Seaman wanted to speak to her, when in fact he had just left her dead body. He next went to the Temperance Hotel, saw Mr. Thomas, and said he wanted to say something to him. He said some one had broken in during the night and murdered Mrs. Seaman, and then observed that Mrs. Seaman's property died with her, and that, as Thomas was aware, he had considerable expectations from her, and this would materially interfere with his interests. He stated to Mr. Thomas that the parties who had done this act had got in by the window or door, for both the window and back door were broken. But, it is clear that only the window was broken, and not the back door. At the same time it is possible that a man might speak of the door being broken when it was only open. Having made these communications, he asked Mr. Thomas to accompany him to a magistrate, and they went, in the first instance, to a gentleman of the name of Carne, a magistrate of Penzance, and from thence proceeded to the mayor's. Ellison made a statement of parties having broken into the house in the night, and murdered Mrs. Seaman; and shortly afterwards he made another statement, 'that the person who had broken in had stolen a quantity of wearing apparel and a watch.' On the night before, Ellison was seen going in the direction of the beach with a considerable bundle under his arm. When he got to the Temperance Hotel, within half an hour after, he had no bundle with him, but must have got rid of it, and what it contained. On the ensuing Tuesday morning, at an early hour, in a sort of cess or dung-pit, near the beach, and within a few hundred yards of the Temperance Hotel, a man named Jaspar, (a poor man, who sometimes went about picking up rags, or anything he could find) was in pursuit of this his constant occupation, and in passing this cess-pit he found a quantity of clothes. There was a frock-coat, part of a pair of trousers, a waistcoat, a shirt, a pair of drawers, and a pair of stockings. The coat was much torn, a button had been torn off, and out of another of the buttons the mould or hard part had also been torn, leaving the covering on the coat. The coat was similar in make and colour to the one usually worn by Ellison; and, in the room where the body was found, there was found also a button which corresponded with the other buttons of the coat, and there was found also the mould of a button which fitted in the covering on the coat. The things found by Jaspar were in a very dirty state, having been taken out of this cess-pit, and he washed

them all in water, with the exception of a part of the drawers. With regard to the waistcoat and shirt, Mrs. Jaspar took out pieces from them, thinking they might be useful in mending her husband's clothes, and the buttons on the remaining part of the shirt she kept were similar to a button found in the room where the murder was committed. The stockings were like the stockings which Ellison was in the habit of wearing, and upon detached pieces of the drawers were marks of blood. Very recently before the murder, Ellison had gone into the house of Mr. Keegon, a grocer, to tie up his drawer strings, which were loose. He pulled up the legs of his trousers, and upon those drawers Mr. Keegon observed a patch in front. Now the drawers found in the cess-pit had just such a patch as that Keegon had seen. When the premises were searched the ensuing day, there were found no articles of dirty linen or anything of the sort; nor was there found a single towel, all the towels seen the day before upon a line in the yard were gone from the place. Ellison had also stated that a watch had been taken from the premises; but the watch he had a few days before he gave to James Richards, and asked him to take care of it. When Ellison went to the mayor, the policeman, Martin, came in, and brought the news of the murder of Mrs. Seaman, upon which Ellison at once said 'I am Ellison, with whom she lived.' Martin said 'you must come to the coroner's inquest, for you were the last person that saw her alive;' whereupon Ellison said he had seen her the day before at twelve o'clock, and he knew it was twelve o'clock, because he heard the guns firing. Now the guns did fire about that time. Upon the body of the deceased, besides the blows upon the head which caused her death, were found certain other indications of a recent struggle and violence. The abrasions of the skin, the cut of the hands, the discoloration of the breast and the blow upon the nose, evidently showed that some struggle and conflict had taken place between the parties. Now there was found upon Ellison also certain indications of some recent conflict. There was a scratch upon his face, visible to all persons who saw him on the Monday and Tuesday, and upon one hand a mark of teeth upon the thumb, apparently of teeth above and below; while upon the fingers and back of the other hand were strong marks of bruises. There is every reason to believe that these bruises had been of recent occurrence, because they grew worse, and more marked and distinct two or three days after, as it is known bruises will that have been recently inflicted. He wore artificial teeth, and such teeth were found in the ashes of the grate blackened and discoloured, evidently having been flung amongst those ashes. After going before the mayor, Ellison stated to Martin, the policeman, 'Mrs. Seaman's property is about £36 a year, and £100 in the funds; her property dies with her; she was about to be married well, and I said to her, will you take care of me? She was about to be married to a gentleman of great, indeed considerable wealth, and my expectations were very great; I, with Captain Edward Thomas, was about to have worked a mine; I was to have gone to London to manage about the matter; she wished to have it done here, but I did not like that, as it is a hut we live in.' "

During the trial he calmly took notes of the evidence and ate heartily of sandwiches.

The gentleman to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of the case, was present at the trial from eight in the morning till ten at night, and writes to me that,

"When the jury were head to head consulting together in the jury-box, (for they did not leave the court,) the prisoner instead of being, as other mortals would be, in a palpitating state of suspense, deliberately took out a card and pencil from his pocket, and, having desired a person near him to place the candle in a more convenient position for him to see, began to make notes. The jury were about ten minutes consulting, and, when the foreman returned the verdict, 'Guilty of Murder,' the prisoner evinced no emotion, but merely turned towards the judge and asked permission to be heard, which was granted. While the man was taking notes, he once held the card out at arm's length near the flame of the candle, the light of which was shining right in his face. The slightest movement of the hand or alteration in the countenance could be seen; but his hand never trembled, and his countenance was much more composed than the countenance of many who were present."

The jury, after deliberating ten minutes, found him guilty of murder. He then made a speech, declaring that the material part of the evidence was "palpably false." Bramble had not uttered "a single syllable of truth;" Jasper had sworn what was "totally false;" Keegon's evidence he could not conceive that "any one could possibly believe;" Elizabeth Richards was "totally wrong;" the doctor had deposed to the body having been dead twelve hours, when he was clearly proved to have been absent twenty-four: "these witnesses were false, but several others were false from beginning to end; some others were totally mistaken." During the whole address he "scarcely faltered, and referred with the utmost coolness to his memorandum."

While sentence of death was passed, he "looked solemn, but was firm, and shortly afterwards conversed with those near him with all his former coolness, and walked out of the dock unsupported;" and he continued equally firm, buoyed up, the papers say, with the hope of a reprieve. But then on the following Wednesday, when he was informed there was no hope, "he took it very coolly, and with the most astonishing firmness," which did not abate till he was killed.

On the night after his conviction, he ate, drank, and slept without the slightest visible change in appearance or demeanour. He had buoyed himself up with the hope that he should obtain a reprieve. He drew up a very lengthy and clever memorial, recapitulating the evidence adduced at his trial, and commenting thereon as he proceeded; admitting himself to have been guilty of manslaughter, and endeavouring to prove that at the time he was labouring under a fit of insanity. There was a point blank refusal of his application. From the moment of his conviction up to the hour which terminated

his existence, he maintained the same coolness and firmness; and on Monday morning he had not wasted a single ounce, as compared with the day he first entered the prison.

Ellison had addressed a letter to his solicitors, Messrs. Millett and Borlase, of Penzance, and, in compliance with his request, Mr. Millett proceeded to Bodmin, and on Tuesday, the 5th of August, had an interview with him, and he then clung to the hope of receiving a commutation of his sentence. Mr. Millett introduced the subject of a public confession of his guilt. There was a Bible within reach, and the convict said that he had already confessed to *God*, and challenged Mr. Millett to point out a line in the sacred volume wherein was contained anything like a command for his confessing to *man*. Before Mr. Millett retired from the cell, Ellison thanked him for his attention and kindness, and expressed a desire to see him again shortly and that he should be with him at the time of his execution.

The chaplain, the Rev. N. Kendal, was most unremitting in his attention to his spiritual welfare; for some days he exhibited no visible sign of contrition; but for the last three or four days of his life he appeared perfectly penitent.

Throughout the time of his imprisonment, he ate and drank with his usual appetite; and on Saturday, he applied for more food than the usual allowance, with which he was supplied.

On Sunday forenoon he attended divine service in the chapel attached to the prison, when all the other prisoners attended. The text was, "For we shall all stand before the judgment-seat of Christ." *He paid marked attention and was very devout.* While the officers connected with the prison were so much affected by the solemnity of the service as to cause their hands to tremble while they held their books, Ellison maintained that firmness and extraordinary nerve which had characterized his conduct throughout; and, having taken his spectacles from his pocket, he fixed them in their proper position—held his book without the slightest tremulous motion, and joined in the responses with *great fervour* and apparent earnestness. At the conclusion, Ellison partook of the Holy Sacrament, and evidenced *much resignation*.

Early on Monday morning, Mr. Millett visited Ellison in the condemned cell, and even then he hoped that his solicitor was in possession of a reprieve; but he was informed to the contrary in suitable terms, which did not appear to have the least effect upon his feelings. Before Mr. Millett bid him farewell, Ellison said *he felt assured that his sins were forgiven, and that he should be saved through the blood of Christ and by the grace of God.* He also thanked Mr. Millett for not having deserted him during his last moments; *expressed a hope that he should meet him in heaven, and said he would pray for him.* His coolness and self-possession were extraordinary, although he manifested a little excitement, and rubbed his hands in a similar manner to that described by William Eddy, when he had the conversation with him at Capt. Thomas's Temperance Hotel on the night of the day on which the murder was com-

mitted. Mr. Millett thought he looked very well, indeed much better than he did when before the coroner's inquisition; and this appears to have been the fact from the statement of a gentleman officially connected with the prison, who said that he had not failed from the day of his condemnation. Before Mr. Millett left, Ellison gave him several documents relative to the disposition of the trifling property he has left, written in a bold and with a steady hand; and subsequently sent him, through the chaplain, the following statement:—

“Rev. Mr. Loxdale, Penzance.

“Pray tell him that *that Redeemer whom he preaches, is precious to his unworthy creature, Benjamin Ellison.* With thanks for the faithful ministration of His word and ordinances: and may God bless and prosper his soul and his ministry. Amen.—*I know that my Redeemer liveth.* Praise God, O my soul. Amen. Amen.”

Shortly before the executioner proceeded to his cell for the purpose of pinioning him, the governor visited him, and said that he was come to see him for the last time, and asked him if he wished to say anything? Ellison replied at first in the negative—but upon consideration, he said yes, he did—and enquired, in the most cool manner, and with astonishing apparent indifference, what clothes he should be buried in! The governor told him in those which he wore when executed. Ellison then looked down over his coat and said that he thought the one he then wore was too good, and begged to be supplied with an inferior coat, which request was complied with, and he changed coats only a few minutes before he was hanged.

Precisely at twelve o'clock, the under sheriff demanded the body of Ellison for execution, in the usual terms. On the executioner entering the cell to perform the necessary duties that devolved upon him, Ellison said, ‘My man, you must do your duty.’ Ellison was then pinioned, to undergo which he stood firm as a rock—exhibited little signs of emotion, and gave the old man no trouble; nay, he said to him that he feared his hands were too loose, and requested that they might be tied firmer. He also told the executioner how he should the most readily unbuckle his stock and unbutton his shirt. Before quitting the cell, Ellison shook hands with the chaplain, and thanked him for his kind attention; he also thanked the governor and all the other officers who had visited him in the discharge of their duties.

The solemn procession was then formed—the chaplain preceding and reading audibly a portion of the funeral service, commencing with ‘I am the resurrection and the life,’ &c. The other prisoners, inmates of the goal, were drawn up in two lines, between which the procession slowly passed. Ellison required no assistance—he walked to the press-room, adjoining the scaffold, with a firm, unfaltering step, and seemed to feel less his awful situation than any of the persons whose duty obliged them to follow. On his way from the cell, he did not turn his eyes either to the right or to the left, but was engaged in *fervent prayer*. On reaching the ladder leading to the press-room and the scaffold, he ascended with the same firmness as he had before exhibited—still *engaged in devotion*. Before he left the press-room,

he delivered one of the most beautiful extemporary prayers that those present ever heard, and with great earnestness and sincerity. He prayed that his enemies might be forgiven—that the individuals who had from curiosity assembled to witness the execution, might take warning by his untimely end, and concluded with the words—“O Almighty God, thou who gavest me my life, and whose right it is to take away. Amen.” He then requested the executioner to be very particular in adjusting the rope, and, with a firmness that astonished every person who witnessed it, he walked out upon the scaffold.

Precisely as the clock finished striking the hour of twelve, Ellison came forth. He wore a suit of shabby black cloth, boots loosely put on, without a hat, and his shirt-collar turned out over his waistcoat, and his neck a little exposed. He walked out with a firm—a marvellously, incredibly, firm step—but his countenance had undergone a change—he was pale—not a particle of colour in his cheek or lip could we discover, and our duty brought us within a few yards of the unfortunate man. He did not even glance at the immense crowd before him—his eyes were apparently closed, but he opened them once or twice. While the executioner was adjusting the rope, the chaplain was near, although not in sight, repeating the usual prayers, which were audible to those not far distant, in the most solemn manner, and *Ellison prayed most fervently—most earnestly.* There was then a most awful stillness—a quiet that compelled us, involuntarily, to look around, expecting to ascertain some other than the real cause. Ellison stood erect—firm—inconceivably so; and, while the executioner was adjusting the rope, he bent his head to allow its being effected with greater facility, but this must have been done as it were mechanically; for *he continued to pray with great fervency,* and his hands, which were pinioned, *were raised in the attitude of devotion as far as the rope would permit.* The rope having been properly adjusted, a white cape was placed upon his head and pulled over his chin—*he still standing erect—firm as a statue, and unsupported—continued engaged in prayer;* his lips were seen to move through the cap—the drop fell—the females uttered a faint cry—and almost without a struggle Benjamin Ellison ceased to exist.

There was only one thing he appeared to fear or to shrink from, and that was the gaze of the public. In speaking of a public execution, he said, ‘I have no desire but to resign my life into the hands of God, who made me, but I should prefer the execution taking place within the walls of the gaol. I have no desire to see any one, nor to be seen.’ When he found that this request could not be complied with, he entreated that a screen might be placed in front of the scaffold, in order that he might be concealed from the gaze of the assembled thousands; but the request could not be complied with.

“Before his execution he made a statement to the governor and to the chaplain, with a view to relieve the minds of the jury, by whose verdict he was to be executed, and for the satisfaction of the public, more than from any desire he felt to relate the circumstances

of the tragedy. We insert it as we received it from the authorities of the gaol :—

"The confession of Benjamin Ellison, under sentence of death in Bodmin gaol, made to the governor and chaplain of that prison August 10th, 1845.

"He (B. Ellison) declares that the late Mrs. Ruth Seaman died by his hands in a struggle, but he denies having committed wilful murder, and states that manslaughter is the extent of his crime."

His statement as to the origin of the quarrel with Mrs. Seaman has differed; he having told the governor that it arose about the axe, and the chaplain, that it arose about some clothing; but he has made no statement of the particulars in either case.

We have it from authority that the prisoner made a private confession immediately before his execution, which went seriously to implicate another person; but at present making the particulars known might frustrate the ends of justice.

The *Firmness* of this man exceeded even that of Hocker. His *Self-esteem* must have been very great for him to have ventured on a long cool speech in court, accusing every witness of falsehood; it was again manifested in his declaration, though on the verge of the grave, to Mr. Millett, his solicitor, that he had confessed to God, and his challenging that gentleman to point out a line in the Bible before them where we are commanded to confess to man. *Self-esteem* and *Love of Approbation* were strongly manifested at the "condemned sermon," in his coolly putting on his spectacles, holding his prayer-book up, and joining, like Hocker, in the responses with great fervour; in his volunteering a promise to pray for Mr. Millett, (it being promised us that the prayers of the *righteous* shall be heard,) together with his assurance that he should meet that gentleman in heaven, as his own sins were forgiven; in his refusing to the last to confess that he murdered the woman, or, if he did on the morning of his execution, making a private confession: and in his wish to be executed within the prison-walls, and, on finding this impossible, to have a screen placed before him. His *want of all principle* was evident to the last, since within a few minutes of his execution he denied the murder; and, if he made a private confession, he acted as Hocker did before, attempted to implicate another person. When all this is considered, as well as the fact of his not once losing his appetite, but actually applying two days before his execution for more than the usual allowance, and eating it too; of not having altered in his look or wasted an ounce up to the hour of his death, nay, of his looking better on the day of his execution than before the coroner's inquest; of his replying to the governor's

enquiry a *few minutes* before his execution whether he wished to say anything more, "No;" but, upon consideration, asking "in the most cool manner what clothes he should be buried in," and then, looking down his coat, saying it was too good, and begging to have a worse, and positively changing it for a worse; of his saying a prayer when walking to the scaffold, not silently, but aloud, and, though apparently extempore and so beautiful that those present had never in all their lives heard so beautiful a one and therefore no doubt carefully prepared for the occasion; and of his calmly begging the executioner to be very particular in adjusting the rope; I cannot but be persuaded that he died like Hocker, a thorough hypocrite as well as rogue and murderer. The conduct of both Hocker and Ellison was perfect in its line; precisely what they knew would take; and, in the midst of all the other facts of these two poor wretches, worth nothing. Such signs of devotion as continual poring over religious books, praying in the sight or hearing of others, and the frequent uttering of established phrases, such as,—"saved through the blood of Christ,"—"our precious Redeemer,"—"I know that my Redeemer liveth,"—"praise God, oh my soul," &c. &c., are of themselves no more signs of a correct moral state in the condemned, than they, with strict church-going, sabbath-keeping, and serious scrupulousness about endless innocent and indifferent things and artificial sins created partly by the bigot and partly by the hypocrite, are of integrity and true virtue in people at large. Indeed the most unprincipled hypocrites have so generally, in my experience, been the most particular in their outward observances and opinions, that I invariably either pass these over in people as no more indicating the inner man than the color of the waistcoat; or regard them, except in very young, weak, or uninformed individuals, as good reasons for being upon my guard. And if a criminal is sincere, how little is the value of the good feelings excited by the *forcing* process of ministers of religion, and who work not only upon his moral feelings but his opinions on matters on which a rational being can come to a conclusion only by laborious examination of historical evidence and by critical and philosophical enquiry, making these latter entirely a matter of feeling, with which they have no connection. True repentance is not an emotion, brought on and lasting between the period of condemnation and execution, but a thorough permanent change of feeling, such as must require a long time for its establishment and for proofs of its solidity. To be so earnest for a wretch's conversion, and kill him off hand in a few days—"to launch him

into eternity—into the presence of his Maker," is as great an inconsistency as cruelty: for the longest life would not be too long for his repentance.

If Ellison had really felt contrition, he would have given more substantial proofs than praying hard before others and writing pious letters, which cost no effort. He would have made reparation to all the witnesses so shamefully accused of falsehood by him—he would have confessed every one of his enormous lies; yet he does not appear to have done more than confess that Bramble's testimony was substantially correct, though when first in his cell after his trial he persisted that Bramble's evidence was utterly false. He told the governor that he and his victim quarrelled about the axe; the chaplain, that they quarrelled about some clothes:—both palpable falsehoods. Had he been penitent, he would have been unable to sleep well; but would have been disturbed, and have frequently been awake and, as he was a Christian, engaged in prayer in the night. But no; "even after his condemnation he betrayed no anxiety of mind—*no restlessness in his sleep.*" It turned out that he had no property, and the will found in his house, bequeathing property to Mrs. Seaman, was a piece of deceit.

Unfortunately no cast was taken of his head. At Newgate permission has always been given me to have a cast taken of those who have been executed,* but no interest that I could make, and I made much, could procure me permission to have a cast of Tawell. If knowledge were properly spread, a cast of every remarkable criminal would be made and preserved in a scientific collection. The drawings, as far as they represent the organization, prove his head to have harmonized with his character. The largest organs, towering at the back part of the summit, are evidently those of *Firmness*,—they are *enormously large*: those of *Self-esteem*, just behind and below it, and of the disposition to violence—*Destructiveness*, just above the ears, *very large*. While, on the other hand, the whole moral surface—the crown of the head is *most wretched*, sloping down precipitately on each side from the summit: when it does so, the high moral feelings are deficient. The organs of *circumspection*, situated high up on each side where the sides and back of the head unite, are also *small*, and certainly, though sly enough, he was, like Hocker, sadly deficient in circumspection.

His character was determined by certain very large organs and his very small moral compartment.

* I did not apply for a cast of Crouch, so unjustifiably executed. (*Zoist*, No. IV., p. 449.)

The gentleman who observed him with the eye of a phrenologist during the whole of his trial reports to me that the organs of Firmness, the Disposition to Violence—Destructiveness, Love of Property, Cunning, and Self-esteem, were very large: of Conscientiousness, very small. The organs of Veneration, Courage, and the perceptive and reasoning faculties, large: those of Wit, Ideality and Cautiousness, small. Perhaps the former, as far as exhibited by this drawing, may be considered of good average size: those of Wit and Ideality, small.

The physiognomy is decidedly that of a conceited, self-willed, deceitful, treacherous, malicious, selfish, and mean person.

I cannot close this communication without recording in it the salutary effect of killing Ellison upon the country around.

"From *Sunday afternoon* until within an hour of the execution people were arriving at Bodmin from almost every quarter within 60 miles,—Helston, Penzance, Paul, and places near the land's end, and every vehicle that could be mustered seemed to have been in requisition to witness the death-struggles of a fellow-creature. Before and after the execution the main street of Bodmin was filled by one dense mass of human beings. *Twenty-five thousand* persons witnessed the execution."

"We were sorry to observe that perhaps one-half or more of the spectators were *females*."

"The majority of the vast multitude remained for the purpose of an afternoon's carousal or holiday pleasure. The public-houses were filled from the basement to the upper story, and in the streets, which were rendered almost impassible for hours, coarse jests and ribaldry were frequently heard proceeding from the crowd. Considerable numbers of standings were erected, with various juvenile amusements, and the town presented the appearance of a gay fair day."

Let it not be said that the *lowest* only enjoy seeing a man killed. Juniper Hedgehog thinks that public strangling

"Brings down the pride of the upper classes," truly stating that "many of the *nobs* enjoy it quite as much as the lower orders, only that they give one or two guineas—according to the beauty of the murder, for comfortable sitting-room."*

* See an exquisite Hedgehog Letter against Mr. Monckton Milnes's wish for a law to kill condemned criminals privately, by Douglas Jerrold, in his *Shilling Magazine* for last August. "What! Make a law for private hanging! With one bit of parchment destroy what I'll be bold enough to call one of the chief amusements of the people? Sir James Graham knows better than this: for he generally contrives to have an execution on Easter and Whit Monday, just by the way of an early whet to the appetites of the holiday-makers. First the Old Bailey and then Greenwich; Mr. Calcraft, the hangman—and then the fire-eater and the clown. Your bill, sir—do forgive my boldness—was very rash, and not at all just. They've taken away bear-baiting, and duck-hunting, and dog-fighting, from what they call the lower orders; and now you'd deprive 'em of their last and dearest

Let it not be said that nobles only like the sight of killing and torture. We have the following account of a recent *royal* treat.

A few weeks ago the *Queen of Spain* and her mother and suite were recreated by seeing a long rope hung across the sea between two ships, and in the middle a *live* goose, whose neck was to be wrung off by men who jumped up for this purpose from boats which passed under the rope. When a man succeeded in *wringing off the goose's neck, down he went into the water*, and the boat returned to pick him up.

privilege—you'd, with one dash of the pen, rob 'em of their own public gallows! And you call yourself a friend of the people, Mr. Milnes—a stickler for their ancient sports and pastimes?"

"I have said your bill was unjust, shamefully unjust, unless you can prove to me that there was a clause in it to what they call indemnify the housekeepers in the Old Bailey for their loss of vested interests, seeing that they make no end of money by letting their windows at a popular hanging. Why a Hocker's worth any money to 'em."

"But it really is shocking to see how a mere Member of Parliament will set himself up against a Clergyman of Newgate! Didn't the Rev. Mr. Davis preach that the whole use and beauty of hanging was to be found in making it public? According to him, if it was possible to hang a man where all England might see him strangled, why all England would certainly be the better for it. I've no doubt that the cause of so much crime is in the smallness of the Old Bailey, that will only accommodate such a few!"

"If to see a hanging is no warning to the beholder, do you think that to hear or read of a hanging would do all the good of an example? Does what men see, or what they hear, stir 'em the most? But let us suppose that a man is to be hanged inside of Newgate. Why the penny-a-liners that get their sops-in-the-pan out of the condemned cell,—why they would write all sorts of pretty things, all kinds of interesting stories about the last minutes of the criminal, and so the curiosity of the town would be more agog than ever. The picture newspapers that publish the murderers' portraits—those family papers for the instruction and amusement of the younger branches, would give half-a-dozen pictures where they now give one. The secrecy of the thing would give a flavour to the whole matter.

"And now, suppose that a rich man was to be privately hanged: a banker we'll say, or, saving your presence, even a member of Parliament. Well, we know how unbelieving is man. There's thousands of people who would never sleep quietly in their beds, for the thought that the said banker or member was never hanged at all;—but was smuggled out alive in a coffin, and shipped abroad. Every year or so, there'd be a letter in the newspapers from somebody who had seen the banker, somewhere in the Backwoods, where he had married one of the Chactaws, and got a family of ten children. No, Mr. Milnes, private hanging won't do, the people ain't to be cheated out of their pleasure after that fashion.

"Besides, Mr. Milnes, all hanging's a bungle. The gallows is condemned, marked to come down; timber by timber it's loosening, and it's no use trying to keep it together with small corking-pins. No, Mr. Milnes, it will better become you, be more like your kind, good-natured-self, to give a pull at the planks; to bring the whole machine to the ground, to make it a thing of the past, like the bonfires that burnt witches,—and for the hangmen thrown out of work, why small retiring allowances have been given to worse public servants."

See equally admirable remarks in the number for September, p. 197, &c. Private killing makes one think of assassination, and, leading to many feelings, would be intolerable.

This sport being over, the ladies went to a bull-fight. The Queen sat in the middle, the *Queen-mother* on her right, and her young sister the *Infanta* on her left. The correspondent of our newspaper could hardly look at the horses, the bull gored them so frightfully, but still they were obliged to go on. One bull was so quiet that the people called for dogs; but, though they were well tossed, the bull was not roused till they planted fiery darts in his neck, which burst with a loud explosion and made the animal jump and rear. The poor horses must have suffered dreadfully, being goaded on with their entrails trailing on the ground. The men concerned in the sport were crushed several times under their horses.

The next morning the royal ladies went to church, and "prayed on their knees," then left their seats, and repaired to the altar, where they were blessed by the bishop. The Queen then wished to go to another bull-fight, but her face happened to be swelled, and her mother thought it unadvisable, and so she did not see "three bulls kill eleven horses, one killing four, and goring them dreadfully."

Let it not be urged that Spain is a benighted country; the queen a Roman catholic, the blessing bishop a Roman catholic, and the people Roman catholics. Read the past-times provided still more lately for the young queen of England, the mother of a lapful of sweet babies, by a protestant court in kind-hearted, educated, sentimental, and most musical* Germany; a court celebrated for fostering Luther and taking an important share in the reformation of the land from the errors of Popery.

"This space was strongly enclosed by means of stout canvass and nets, stretched upon poles some six or eight feet high. These defences formed three sides of a square; the fourth was open to the forest, but guarded by a living fence of chasseurs and drivers, the former in semi-military array, with cocked hats and feathers, short swords by their sides, and white staves in their hands. In the centre of the railed-in space there was constructed a species of circular silvan bower or arbour, the pillars wreathed with moss and heather, and decorated with stag-horns—the building might have passed for a temple to St. Hubert; but the worthy saint would never have patronized the proceedings of the day. Her Majesty, the reigning Duchess, and the Queen of the Belgians, took up their places within it. King Leopold, Prince Albert, Duke Ferdinand of Cobourg, and the Prince of Leiningen remained in a sort of outer colonnade which ran round it. In a group at a little distance, both parties attended by nume-

* Music may tame the savage breast, while it is listened to, and coöperate with a good nature and good training to make men good. But it neither necessarily expands the intellect nor leads to virtue. Musical people are just as gross, unprincipled, and unfeeling as the man who has no music in his soul; neither better nor worse than equal numbers selected at random from the unmusical. The cerebral physiologist knows that the love of music depends solely on a very small portion of the brain, which may be defective while the moral and high intellectual organs are large, or be large while these are small.

rous chasseurs, stood the other sportsmen, including the reigning Duke, and most of the gentlemen of the *suite*."

"Overlooking the deer-slayers rose a steep ascent, overgrown with brushwood, on which were stationed some hundreds of peasantry—men and women—eager spectators of the beasts killed and the killers of the beasts.

"From among them, then, you looked down on the fatal table-land, hemmed in by a white line of net and canvass, on the circular bower in the midst, and the dark group of sportsmen at some little distance. Presently you observed one, then two, then a whole herd of deer running wildly about within the deadly square. Sometimes the line of chasseurs and beaters retired within the forest, and presently you heard their shouts, as they returned driving fresh victims before them. *Round and round, hither and thither, leaping frantically through the underwood, rushed the wretched animals.* Every now and then the crack of a rifle rang sharply, and a flying deer rolled struggling amid the bushes, or the blood came over its flanks, and the graceful bound was converted into an agonized limp. Again, the herd, maddened by the firing and the shouts and hoarse horns of the drivers, rushed close by the pavilion, or the other station; a rattling fusillade crackled forth, one or two noble stags leaped high into the air and fell down dead; others struggled madly amid the fern and heath, rolling on their flanks, then bounding up only to reel and stagger, and sink in *furiously convulsions*. Again and again all this took place. Hardly a shot was fired until the muzzle of the rifle was within some ten or fifteen paces, at the very farthest, of the wretched creatures to be butchered. *They swept backwards and forwards in the maddest terror; there was no escape, no chance, from corner to corner, from side to side, and still the unpitiable fences surrounded them, and still the unpitiable rifles fired, and down went the quarry before the speeding lead.* Once, and once only, a noble stag broke through the rank of chasseurs, and escaped. That was the best sight of the day. A joyous shout burst, all heartfelt, from the group round me; an honest good cheer, as the hard-pressed beast suddenly charged the line of hunters. *Staves, cudgels, all such weapons were directed against it.* For a moment the beast swerved, then recovered; there was a hush, a noble bound; the brave huntsmen quailed before the excited creature, their line was for an instant broken, and in the next the gallant deer was safe in the depths of the woods. Not such was the fate of another. In a momentary pause of the firing it trotted up to *within ten yards of the pavilion, stopped, and looked wistfully towards its inmates; a rifle cracked, and the creature sunk motionless on the earth: the aim had been a sure one.*

"Nothing could be more pitiful than the appearance, every now and then, of the wounded deer dragging themselves amid the bushes. *All round the pavillion this could be seen, the creatures sometimes writhing on their bellies and struggling in vain to stand upon their broken limbs; at others plunging round and round, evidently dizzy and sick, and then sinking amid the brushwood, disappearing from the eye, but the rustling and waving of the bushes telling plainly of*

the last agonies endured amongst them. Occasionally the chasseurs, with long knives, cut the throats of the struggling animals, and now and then a stag laid hold of by a group of beaters would kick wildly out, scattering its captors, and die after the effort. Grim deer hounds were ready in the leash to be loosed upon any maimed animal which might by chance escape to languish in the woods. Nine-tenths of the number driven in from the woods were coolly massacred, shot down without an atom of display either of skill, courage, I do not fear to add, humanity. A military band struck up merry tunes as the work of destruction went on. The deer were literally slaughtered to the notes of the Polka; and from the pavilion, placed so as to command the best view of all that went on, the ladies, seated in easy chairs, listened to the merry sound which harmonized so ill with the doleful sight.

"The shooting over, the attendants conveyed the slaughtered deer upon a species of litters from all parts of the field towards the pavilion. They were laid in a row before it; I counted their number, 48 fat deer, of whom 25 were stags; a couple of roedeer were also shot.

"The ladies passed along the line of dead on the way to their carriages. It was a wretched sight. The poor creatures arranged side by side—their dull, dim, dead eyes looking as ghastly as the wounds from which the clotted blood came oozing in black drops down the yet warm carcass. I had as lief see a knacker's yard.

"The firing lasted about two hours."

The next day, like the Spanish royal party, "the Queen, accompanied by Prince Albert and the reigning Duke and Duchess, attended divine service in the Augustine church, the principal one in Gotha. The rites are conducted as at Cobourg, after the Lutheran manner.

"The church was crowded, and a vast throng remained outside, to witness the arrival and departure of the royal and ducal party."*

* To make the matter worse, the Germans never thought of the intellectual beings who are the true glory of their nation. "Within a walk of Gotha stands Weimar, the abode of Schiller, of Goethe, of Herder, and of Wieland." There too lie the three first; Schiller and Goethe reposing in a royal tomb on each side of their patron, Duke Charles Augustus, who must have felt what true greatness was to honour them and himself thus. In a truly civilized state of society, the first anxiety at Gotha would have been to conduct our queen to these heart-stirring abodes and graves which no Englishman can travel near and not feel it a misfortune if anything prevents him from visiting.

In boasting of civilization, let us not forget that the nation which regards itself and is regarded by many as at the head of civilization, views military glory as the highest distinction, and bitterly envies all merit in men of every other nation, and that, when one of its colonels three months ago suffocated with lighted faggots nearly 1,000 poor Arabs—men, women, children, and infants at the breast, shut up in a cave—their cries being dreadful, till at length nothing was heard but the crackling of faggots,—the hellish atrocity was defended publicly at Paris in the highest quarters by renowned persons; and at the same time musty holy relics, said by the Archbishop of Paris to have been hidden ever since the first revolution, were exhibited at three different times in *Notre Dame*, by his orders, for the devotion and improvement of the Parisians.

All the Christian world is still teeming with selfishness, hypocrisy, pride, miserable ambition, cruelty, and meanness. During the eighteen hundred years since Christ published his pure and plain morality, Christians have been massacring each other and the poor heathens, on some pretext or other, to the amount of myriads of myriads, praising God with pomp and ceremony for all the bloodiest slaughters. For eighteen hundred years also have countless myriads professed to be his sincere followers,—originally nick-named Christians, and now pitying or hating those who do not bear the name,—believing in a future state of eternal rewards and eternal punishment, in ancient historical and supernatural statements and mystical doctrines and interpretations as absolutely necessary to be believed in order for us to be good or fit to be associated with or to escape eternal torment; each solemnly shaking his head at the mention of another whose supernatural notions are not the same as his own. Surely the plan requires some change. Matters could not be worse if men were also to study their race and themselves, as a portion of nature; were to do with their race as they do with the rest of nature, inanimate, vegetable, and animal,—study it and its laws as a branch of natural knowledge, and see that it is a mass of organized matter, with numerous parts, all possessed, through their composition and organization, of certain powers, and inevitably obeying fixed laws in its formation, and in all its operations after it is formed, and therefore to be treated scientifically,—by natural and not supernatural measures. Let men know that they are but living brains, with various accessories. Let them understand the true physiology of the brain. Let them learn that what leads to health and to the real, permanent, dignified happiness of themselves and their fellow creatures, is virtue; and they will, seeing the reason, as in the case of all other natural knowledge, for virtue, love to practise it, and love those and those only who do practise it,—never trouble themselves about the speculative and mystical opinions of others,—care nothing for the accidental and generally undeserved distinctions of birth, rank, titles, ceremony and wealth, which are now hungered and thirsted after,—be thankful if their own cerebral organization is good, but take no merit to themselves, as they did not make themselves,—be humiliated, and feel the necessity of the greatest efforts, if their eyes and hands prove to them that it is bad,—prize those whose organization they perceive is good, and sincerely pity those whose organization is bad, though in their pity not feeling themselves called upon to associate with bad organizations and run the chance of suffering from them, any more than with any from whom they have already suffered.

The newspapers conclude the account of Ellison's execution by informing us that

"A most lamentable exhibition of superstition took place. The people crowded around the executioner (a benevolent-looking farmer, 72 years old, with flowing silver locks) to purchase short pieces of the rope for 1s. each piece, for the cure of king's evil, rheumatism, and other diseases. We could scarcely believe that we lived in the nineteenth century, when witnessing such infatuation."

Was this more lamentable superstition and infatuation than the belief of thousands of the religious world, and of many evangelical preachers, even in the Church of England, that the natural phenomena of mesmerism effected by movements of the hands before a person's face, as naturally as the sparks of an electrical machine by turning the cylinder round, are supernatural effects brought about by supernatural creatures called evil spirits? Clergymen thus grossly ignorant are allowed by their bishops to officiate in the churches and teach the people.

II. On the Organ of Conscientiousness. By Mr. R. R. NOEL.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

SIR,—The following examination of the feeling of Conscientiousness was sent two years ago to the editor of the *Phrenological Journal*, but refused admittance on the ground that other papers of a similar character had been returned to their authors. As I still believe the views of the Edinburgh phrenologists on a special faculty of Conscientiousness to be erroneous, and the organic data on which they are said to be based unsatisfactory; and as I think it wrong to shut the door to further investigations of the supposed functions of several of the so-called fundamental faculties of the brain, I have ventured to send you my MSS. in the hope that you may find them worthy of a place in your admirable journal.

I remain, Sir,

Yours most obediently,

Rosavitz, Bohemia.

R. R. NOEL.

" 'As the man is, so is his God,' says a true proverb, and we add, so is his conscience too."—*Ideler*.

Entirely agreeing, as I do, with the doctrine of materialism as advocated by the editors of *The Zoist*, it is necessary for me to state, that I have used the terms mind, mental,

psychological, &c., in the following pages merely to express the aggregate of cerebral nervous phenomena. Although in the present age these terms are still generally supposed, especially when used in the abstract, to denote something purely spiritual, yet they are by most men, whatever their views of the essence of the mind or soul may be, employed *de facto* to designate the higher manifestations of animal life, and thus they can bear a material interpretation. On another point, too, it is necessary for me to make a few preliminary remarks, before I enter on the subject I have more particularly in view; namely, the examination of those feelings of conscientiousness which are implanted in the human organization. It may be said, that it is absurd in a cerebral physiologist to attempt to decide upon the existence of any inborn fundamental faculties and their primitive organs of the brain, by any other method than by appealing to the organic facts; and that any mere examination of the various propensities, feelings, thoughts, &c., of human beings as displayed in life, will not suffice to teach us what are these original powers. Into this question it is not my purpose to enter *at full* at present; I shall confine myself therefore to a few observations.

Although I am far from being an unconditioned approver of the methods followed by the metaphysical and psychological schools, which are generally too artificial and speculative and too little based on a many-sided observation of anthropological facts, yet as the science of physiology consists in the comparison of vital manifestations with the development and other conditions of organic parts, a knowledge of these manifestations must exist previously to or accompany the observation of the latter. The method which Gall pursued in teaching his discoveries was evidently correct. In giving the natural history of each faculty, his object was to prove that mankind in general, as well as brutes, possess certain inborn faculties or powers, the activity of which are displayed with more or less energy under every possible variety of combination with other faculties, as likewise under every variety of external circumstances, so as to stamp them with an original specific character. Had he not acted thus, he could only have asserted that in particular cases his observations established coincidences between the development of certain parts of the head and the manifestations of certain propensities and modes of conduct, and he would have been far from able to prove that the functions of the brain can be reduced into an aggregate of powers, each possessing a primitive fundamental character, which must form part of an harmonious whole.

Now, it cannot be denied, that actual experience of the manifestations of the mind, if correct and extensive enough, must give the key to the whole of the human propensities, &c.; and as a unity and harmony must be found to exist in every system of nature, if it can be shewn that some of the so-called primitive functions of the brain, when closely examined, analysed and compared with other functions, which had been previously established, and perhaps on better grounds, disclose a want of precision, an inconsistency (and even repetitions) in the mode of explaining the phenomena of the human mind, we may be satisfied that we have not only not arrived at the right interpretation of nature, but that the empirical facts themselves, from which we have drawn our inferences, cannot have been sufficiently numerous or carefully enough examined.

I have been led to this opinion owing to doubts which have gradually arisen in my own mind, as to the correctness of the views of the generality of phrenologists, on some of those faculties which they consider to be of a primitive character. I have not been able to find the facts of organization on which they are said to be based, invariable and sufficiently strong and conclusive to warrant the adoption of these views, and have therefore felt myself justified in trying to analyse and reflect upon my experience of human nature, as well as of my own inward consciousness, to see whether they would stand this test.

With regard to the fundamental principles of cerebral physiology, the grand divisions of the brain into the so-called animal, moral and intellectual regions, the facts are so thoroughly established by most extensive experience, and are so in harmony with all the known laws of physiology, that none but the ignorant or prejudiced can refuse to acknowledge their truth. I state therefore distinctly, that my doubts have reference only to a few of the subdivisions of these regions—to some of those organs which, as it seems to me, upon insufficient grounds, are considered to be fundamental and primitive. And if these so-called primitive faculties, when examined in the manner alluded to, can be found reducible into complex mental states, or operations, displaying the functions of other more fully established organs, and the influence of different inward and outward conditions, surely the cause of truth will be aided.

That many of the emotions which agitate the body, and become motives to the actions of mankind, however much of unity they may appear to display, are nevertheless of a complex character, arising from the combined and simulta-

neous actions of various cerebral parts, there can be no doubt. If we are to look for distinct organs, wherever we observe any variety of emotion, the number of these organs must be immeasurably greater than has yet been supposed, whilst the rules laid down by phrenologists for estimating complex mental states, or the "combinations in activity of organs," and the influence of various bodily and external conditions, can have little or no foundation in truth. To these doctrines, however, my own experience has led me to attach great importance, since, by attending to them, we find an easy solution of the innumerable varieties and shades of difference in character and disposition which we daily see around us, whilst we are thus led to study each individual as a *whole*—to bestow minute attention on the action of each primitive faculty, on the influence of the various bodily conditions, as the hereditary constitution, the so-called temperaments, the state of health, &c., and those of the outward world. The intellectual powers derive a high gratification from the process of analytical and synthetical reasoning, which this manner of examining the mental phenomena enables us to pursue; it being, however, understood that all reflection must be based on an extensive observation of empirical facts. Surely these intellectual operations are not to be undervalued? These faculties which give to man his reasoning power, have their peculiar laws and their relationship to the external world, as well as the mere perceptive faculties; and however striking and numerous those observations may be, on which the principles of phrenology are based, we shall never succeed in satisfying the higher class of minds, and free ourselves from the reproach of mere empirism, so long as positive *inconsistencies* can be detected in our so-called system. Mankind will ever take delight in analyzing and reasoning upon the mental operations. All psychological writers do not display mere vague and abstract speculations only, and if this class of thinkers have not sufficiently attended to anthropological and physiological facts, their works nevertheless contain much, I must believe, which the cerebral physiologist may study with advantage.

That I am capable of thoroughly analyzing and expounding the phrenological doctrines of the various functions of the brain, so as to offer a perfect theory, I am not presumptuous enough for a moment to imagine. Probably there are many organs yet to be discovered, so that any attempt at forming a system must be, to say the least, premature. It is in the spirit of inquiry only, and the wish to correct what I believe to be erroneous views that I venture to state my objections,

and offer a few remarks on some of the generally accepted organs. If it should be found, however, by competent judges, that my experience is insufficient, my views erroneous, or my reasoning defective, it will give me pleasure to have my errors pointed out.

The phrenological faculties, of the so called affective class, of which I have found most reason to doubt, are Concentrativeness, Conscientiousness, Hope, and Imitation. As it is of the highest importance for ethical science and moral education, that the theory of Conscientiousness should be clear and satisfactory, I have chosen this faculty as the first respecting which I have attempted to put my views in an *English* garb, that they may be submitted to the opinion of your readers.

Before I enter, however, into the subject I have in view, I must venture to deprecate a kind of *a priori* reasoning which some phrenologists seem occasionally disposed to fall into when arguing with such of their brethren as entertain opinions on any faculty, different from their own, viz., the *argumentum ad hominem*, the easy assertion, "You have not the organ and faculty in question, sufficiently developed yourself to enable you to appreciate its specific emotion—its influence on human conduct, &c." My opinion is, that those persons whose intellects are large enough to give them the capacity to understand the higher truths of any science, cannot fail, if it is their earnest wish, to observe and comprehend such psychological facts as the conduct of mankind in general exhibits. Even their own deficiencies in certain feelings or intellectual capacities, when they on the whole are gifted with a brain of average size and health, coupled with the facts before them,—that other persons manifest strong propensities which they themselves under any circumstances scarcely feel, or display talents without an effort, which no labour can develop in their own minds,—must form striking proofs that such propensities and talents must have their origin in special powers of the mind, or rather in organic conditions, which in themselves are wanting, or which exist only in a very slight degree. With regard to the faculty in question, if it depend—as has been asserted to me by a celebrated phrenologist—on a large development of the supposed organ to be able to understand the emotions to which it is said to give rise, then surely we must expect that the great founder of cerebral physiology himself would not have denied its claim to rank as a primitive independent power and have left its discovery to Spurzheim. A mere glance at the heads of Gall and Spurzheim will suffice to show how much more prominent the part marked No. 16 is in the former than in the

latter. But this is not the only fact of this nature which has come under my observation. In the following remarks I shall try at least to be as objective—to use a German term—as possible. I state, however, once for all, my inward conviction, that whatever the elements or sources of the sense and the feelings of Conscientiousness may be, these are undoubtedly deeply implanted in human nature.

On another point, also, it is as well, perhaps, to say a few words. By many it may be considered that the following remarks are far too diffuse,—that I have entered into some superfluous explanations in treating of the sense of Conscientiousness, and repeated views already expressed by different writers of high talent and which are well known to all phrenologists. For the sake, however, of guarding against misapprehension, and because it seems to me that Spurzheim and his disciples have strangely disregarded many of the complex operations of the brain, the influence of an harmonious development of the cerebral parts, and of education in its full sense, teaching that Conscientiousness depended on one particular faculty, it has seemed to me advisable to act as I have done.

I do not, however, offer the following views as a complete and full examination of all that is connected with the sense of Justice. I have attended principally to such kinds of feeling and conduct as are usually displayed in society, and which are generally attributed by phrenologists to the influence of the organ in question. My observations will be principally confined to the following heads:—

1st. The more ordinary or ruder ideas of Justice and Injustice, as displayed in society in general, and reflected more or less in all laws and institutions.

2nd. The moral appreciation of Justice or rather of Equity. The emotions of conscientiousness and approval or disapproval of human conduct in general, with reference to the duties man is said to owe to God and to his fellows.

3rd. Individual or subjective Conscience, the approval or disapproval of our *own* feelings and actions, the various feelings of duty, obligation, incumbency, &c.

4th. Uprightness and firmness of conduct, strength of character, moral will, the power of acting according to the individual views of right and wrong.

Although the highest moral sense of justice, of right and wrong, of duty in the abstract, whether it be with reference to our own conduct or to that of others, must necessarily spring from the same sources; still we see in actual life, that there is a vast difference in the common opinion of justice, in the approval or condemnation of certain actions, accordingly

as people themselves are parties concerned, or calm spectators only of the conduct of others. By attending to this difference, I think we shall find it less difficult to solve the problem whether there be a separate and specific organ and faculty of Conscientiousness or not.

Before I attempt, therefore, to examine this higher moral appreciation of right and wrong, it will be well to glance at the simpler and more ordinary views of justice, as displayed in the opinions of the mass of mankind, and reflected in the laws of the most civilized countries.

Is it not clear, that our first notions of justice and injustice, are principally the result of experience? Through the natural activity of our various faculties, we become acquainted with their value to us. We instinctively love our existence, our bodily well-being, our comforts, our property, the good opinions of others, the objects of our attachment and esteem, &c. In short, all our animal and moral wants, our domestic and social relationships, are dear to us; and in seeking their gratification, we desire to have liberty of action, and to be protected from the aggressions and injuries of others. Each faculty, however, in making us acquainted with our *own* wants and desires, promotes our knowledge of human nature in general. We find that we cannot check our neighbour's freedom of action, any more than we will allow our own to be checked; and thus, to a certain extent, we arrive at a sense of justice. Still each propensity in excess of development, is apt to seek too much indulgence, and to sin against the rights of others. As population and civilization have advanced, written laws have been found necessary for the protection of society and the punishment of individual aggressors. It is clear, however, that no laws can be universally respected which exclusively aim at the protection of certain classes only. Nevertheless, laws vary in different countries according to the cerebral development, and the degree of enlightenment of the more influential classes at the period of their framing, and according to geographical climatic influences, &c.; and to this day, even in the most civilized countries, they are not free from the reproach of undue regard to the interests of the wealthy and privileged classes. In all laws the ruder feelings of human nature have been more or less reflected; the justice which they display has been generally founded on short-sighted views of expediency; therefore retaliation, punishment and example, have been the objects principally aimed at. The sword has been the true emblem of punishment and revenge, whilst the scales have figured more in mockery than as emblematical of even-handed justice. Thus the proverb, "sum-

num jus, summa injuria est," and the distinction which most men draw between justice and equity.

It is still clearer, that many of the primitive notions of right and wrong, are obtained through experience of the natural impulses of our inborn propensities, when we attend to the earliest habits of children, and the common measures adopted to promote their moral education. Most children, in their instinctive attempt to gratify their desires, are naturally disposed to infringe the rights of others. There is a wide difference in their early comprehension of the meum and the tuum. They soon learn the meaning of property, but still are at first more attentive to protect their own, than to respect that of others. They resist or resent too, any real or apparent aggression, with all the instinctive energy of Acquisitiveness, Combativeness, Destructiveness, and Self-esteem. Now, how do we correct these faults? Do we not go practically to work? We teach them the necessity of doing to others as they would they should be done by, and point out to them how others have the power to retaliate. We teach them the pleasure of giving, and of being kind and considerate to those around. We arouse their Veneration, their admiration for the noble and good. We teach them too, to fear the condemnation of their elders. We appeal to their ambition, to their feelings of self-respect, and tell them to be ashamed of doing that which they themselves will one day clearly see, and which every good man will consider, to be wrong. We thus stimulate the *various* motives to virtuous conduct. Experience thus takes root in the mind, and its influence grows up with the growth of the individual. There is, however, a vast difference in the effect such lessons make, how often soever, and how judiciously they may be repeated, accordingly as children are individually organized. There are negative and positive aids to the development of a true sense of justice, or of right or wrong; and in examining these, we shall arrive at the elements of that higher moral Conscientiousness which, as it seems to me, phrenologists have wrongly attributed to a special organ of the brain. A being is negatively disposed to be just, the less the selfish propensities are developed, whilst he is positively inclined to *feel* justly, the more perfect the development of Benevolence and Veneration in proportion to the mere animal desires. Such a being, if possessed of an average understanding, receives the good seed instinctively into his mind; and if that combination of faculties likewise be added, which tend, as I shall presently show, to give self-respect and self-command, he not only *feels* the beauty of justice and truth abstractedly, but is

also disposed to *act* as his intellectual judgment and pure moral emotions dictate. It is unnecessary to dwell long upon the fact, that the grand positive aid to virtue, the main element of natural goodness, of the feelings of justice, whenever the happiness or suffering of others are implied, results from Benevolence. It is this faculty which puts in its voice against cruelty or oppression, whether we ourselves or others are inclined to aggress; which prompts us to pity the injured, to console and redress their wrongs; and which arouses our combativeness and destructiveness to defend the weak. It is at the same time that faculty which militates against revenge, which leads us to be merciful, and which tempers the rigour of those laws which society has founded for the protection of life, property, and those other objects, which the activity of the inborn faculties cause to be so dear to all. Gall considered this organ as producing the moral sense, and he was correct in the main, for that pure element of Conscientiousness which is comprised under the term equity, must be claimed as belonging to its functions.

The second grand element of the moral sense, as acknowledged by all phrenologists, is Veneration. It is this faculty which gives the feelings of reverence and respect for God and his laws, and promotes our reliance on their wisdom and beauty; it inspires us with admiration for truth and virtue, and for all that is elevated and noble. These two faculties are, therefore, clearly sufficient to account for the pure moral emotions; and deducting for the opposing influence of strong animal and egotistical desires, they will be found to form our principal motives to virtuous conduct.

On the other hand, those in whom the animal propensities, unfortunately, are in a state of excessive development, (the low wide heads), are always more or less inclined to act without regard to truth, or the rights of others; and if the reasoning faculties are likewise deficient, such persons are even incapable of understanding the beauty of justice in the abstract.

By attending to these differences of organization, it becomes clear, why those who have the moral faculties relatively large, are most inclined to feel real sympathy with the oppressed, and with all sufferers; and why those in whom the inferior faculties predominate, only do so, when no self-sacrifice is demanded, and then only in proportion to their estimation of any particular case of injustice, through that instinctive mental process of placing themselves in the situation of those who are the victims of the selfishness of others. These inferior organizations, with their little reasoning power,

and that little biased by their animal propensities, are apt to approve entirely of the ordinary conduct of the mass of mankind, which more highly gifted natures detect to be far from the standard of morality and justice.

These differences of organization, explain further why those with low wide heads, when themselves not sufferers from the vices of others, are naturally inclined to admire criminal conduct, and to sympathize with evil doers. Such characters are excited by the daring, the energy, the violence, the sensuality of criminals; they admire, and are inclined to emulate such bad examples, and injustice is a word which they only then use, when society prevents the indulgence of their own selfish desires.

But we can see yet more distinctly whether there be a special faculty for the highest moral sense or sense of justice, when we attend to the different impressions which different crimes and offences make upon individual minds, to the daily judgments and condemnations of the actions of others, which we hear expressed in society at large. How differently are not offences against the person, against property, against religion, against females, or children judged of? How different are not the views of justice displayed? How strikingly influenced by sex, age, and education? Many will approve of the conduct of a rich creditor, if he cast an unfortunate debtor into prison, as law and justice are on his side, whilst others cannot contemplate such an act without moral disapprobation and pain. I need not dwell on this subject, for it is well known that conduct which will outrage the feelings of one man will be thought leniently of by another. Individual organization, mental culture, and peculiar circumstances causing to be exhibited in this respect every variety and modification of feeling and judgment.

I need likewise but to allude to the fact, that most men are bad judges in their own causes; the strength of the passions, biasing and obscuring the reasoning powers, and leading to the use of sophistry. Many a man, who, when smarting under a real or fancied wrong, has yielded, though most reluctantly, to the sound advice of a friend, has lived to express his thanks with tears of joy for having been preserved from some act of meanness or injustice. And not only in our causes, but in those of our relations and friends, is our judgment frequently wrong. The strength of our attachments, the law of the first impressions biasing our views, absorbing our feelings, and turning the latter into particular channels, easily explain this fact; especially when we consider too, the excitable nature of our feelings, and that very few men are

possessed of sufficient sobriety of judgment and power of reflection in general, to enable them to perceive and appreciate even their usual motives.

But apart from the temporary excitement of certain feelings, which, it may be said, would prevent the activity of a faculty of Conscientiousness, as well as the exercise of the judgment,—let us look to the conduct of even the higher class of minds—of those who love equity and are thoroughly capable of appreciating justice in the abstract, and see whether their vision is always equally powerful and clear—their Conscientiousness equally tender and nicely poised in respect to the whole of their own conduct as to that of others. It is seldom that some little foible, some weak point, in fact some one organ in excess, does not disturb the clearness of their view as regards themselves, and cause them to overlook or judge very leniently of some one dereliction of duty. One man, whose character on the whole is virtuous and upright, may be *too* proud and apt to wound the feelings of others; a second has too much ambition, or is too susceptible of the opinion of the world: a third is austere and condemns the innocent amusements of his neighbours; a fourth may be too indulgent to his friends; a fifth to his children; a sixth attends rather too much to the care of his property, and is not entirely conscientious in its use; a seventh indulges in the gratification of the palate to the detriment of his health, &c.

These peculiarities of conduct, which even the best men in some degree display, seem to me to assist in showing that there are always certain modifications and shades of difference in individual conscientiousness,—that this is partly a negative, as well as a positive quality, and that it is impossible to define clearly any full and perfect sense of right and wrong, any controller of our conduct, as the function of one and the same separate fundamental faculty. It is easy, however, to account for any peculiar shade of weakness in minds, that are on the whole alive to the sense of justice, by admitting that, however nearly balanced the various faculties may be, still some one is in excess of development or of activity. We see, therefore, that knowledge of the value of human actions and reflection in general, and, particularly, that self-knowledge and strict examination of our own conduct, must always be required to produce perfect conscientiousness in all things.

The influence of knowledge and reflection on the progress of our moral character must be duly taken into account. Our intellectual faculties enable us to treasure up the experience of actual life, as well as to search out and apply the truths of science. Indeed, in one point of view, it may be said, that if phrenology has established a separate

faculty of Causality, this very faculty in discovering truth, in perceiving the connections of phenomena, and in tracing out the causes and the results of human actions, must itself derive a gratification, analogous to that which a faculty of colour derives in perceiving the beauty and harmony of colours, or of form in perceiving those of forms: but without attaching importance to this view, it is well known what influence experience and reflection have upon our conduct, how greatly they modify the activity of our passions and direct them to higher objects. That which to-day appears to us of value, to-morrow we may despise. The being with circumscribed intellect, and very large Love of Approbation, may remain a coxcomb all his days; but he who has an equal development of the same organ, joined to a really capacious understanding, however much he may have indulged in foppery in his youth, will certainly choose higher objects for his ambition in later days.

Still, whilst according all due weight to the results of intellectual activity, I by no means underrate the influence of the affective faculties on the intellect itself. Such is the intimate connection of all the cerebral parts, their mutual influence, their action and reaction on one another, that, I repeat, it is greatly owing to the activity of Benevolence and Veneration, and probably of some other faculties, as those called Wonder and Ideality, that we are prompted to seek out moral truths, and to appreciate them when discovered.

But it will be replied to what I have already advanced to shew the complex nature of the sense of Justice, &c., that distinct from the common views of Right and Wrong—from the moral emotions of Benevolence and Veneration,—which are liable to excess of action, and to lead to abuses—and distinct, too, from the intellectual judgment, that man is gifted with other peculiar emotions, with feelings of personal obligation, of duty and incumbency; that these are yet to be satisfactorily accounted for, which can only be done by acknowledging the existence of a peculiar faculty of Conscientiousness, *per se*, the organ of which, indeed, has been established by the observation of Spurzheim, and Combe and their disciples.

With regard to the evidence of organization, I have already stated, that my own experience leads me to consider it by no means conclusive; I therefore continue to examine this question from the psychological point of view.

There is certainly a vast difference between the moral feelings and the moral actions of mankind. With too many, alas! the wish is good, but the will is weak; the selfish desires are nearly in all heads the largest, and the temptations to immediate indulgence too numerous and seducing.

There are but few men who act up to their own standard

of virtue. It is not necessary to do more than again allude to the drawbacks to virtuous conduct, arising from the influence of strong animal desires; nor need I dwell upon the fact that a large proportion of mankind, when not actually exposed to the temptations of the world, or engaged in the conflicts of society, and especially in such moments when circumstances are favourable to the stimulus of their moral emotions, are fully capable of estimating virtue and goodness in general.

The discrepancies between feeling and conduct, arising from the causes alluded to, are well known, at least to all phrenologists. How are we then to account for the feelings of personal obligation, incumbency and duty, and that in particular which gives the power of self-control, and that moral will which is shown in strength of character? In examining this question it will be necessary to go somewhat into detail, and to speak of incumbency, obligation, duty, &c., in general. It must be allowed that these terms have a very relative meaning, and that when we analyse mental phenomena distinctly, each affective faculty is found to give rise to particular feelings of incumbency, &c., according as actions are concerned, which stand in relation to its peculiar function; thus Benevolence, largely developed, enjoins us to do good to others, that we may avoid its reproaches if we act otherwise. But this will be clearly seen, if we direct our attention to what is usually termed conscience, remorse, &c. Experience and analogy show here again, that each affective faculty contributes in producing a kind of conscience; causes us to feel regret and pain, and in extreme cases even remorse, whenever we have acted in a manner opposed to its peculiar emotions or desires. Can the different kinds of self-reproaches, and our various feelings of incumbency, responsibility, &c., be accounted for satisfactorily in any other way? Indeed in like manner as we feel pleasure and satisfaction whenever we have fulfilled any task, or done any thing which we consider useful and necessary, so whenever we see we have acted wrong, that is, not attended to the voice of certain strong feelings and our intellectual appreciations of what is right and necessary, although with reference only to our mere personal and worldly interests and desires, we produce disharmony in our minds, inward conflicts, dissatisfaction and pain. Thus the man who is rolling in wealth may be a prey to remorse if, in an unguarded moment, he has involved himself in some great and unusual expense or pecuniary loss, &c. This was Gall's doctrine, and I must believe it to be correct. Even when through temporary indolence, ignorance, or inattention, we have merely neglected to gratify any strong faculty, we are often subject

to great pain and regrets. The miser who has missed an opportunity to screw a higher rate of interest out of some half-bankrupt debtor; the merchant or tradesman who has neglected to drive a profitable bargain; the sensualist who has not taken sufficient advantage of favourable circumstances to pluck the blossom of chastity from the bosom of innocence; all these and others, in whom some one or more faculties are strongly pronounced, are frequently more or less the victims of long continuing feelings of regret. We do not call such pains the qualms of conscience, because we use the term conscience to designate deeper and more complex states,—the pain our moral and other faculties experience when we neglect or outrage our sentiments of duty to God or man. The former mental states, to which I have alluded, are nevertheless plainly analogous to the latter.

And can it be denied that even these cases where the feelings of pain and regret are of a higher or moral nature invariably show a specific character, accordingly as this or that faculty is more largely developed and has been particularly wounded? An individual with large Veneration and Caution will suffer deeply if he have sinned against his religious belief,—against the doctrines and usages of *his* church; whilst he will look with indifference on many sensual, unkind, or niggardly actions of his life. With others it may be just the reverse. He in whom Benevolence is the most prominent organ, if, when under excitement, he has been unkind or unjust in word or deed towards a neighbour, will know no peace until he has made atonement or besought forgiveness. Of all the feelings of regret and remorse, few are more intense than those which arise when a person whose love of approbation is excessively developed has, through his own foolish or unguarded conduct, drawn upon himself the ridicule and contempt of the world. The feeling of shame in such cases often leads to fearful results. There is, however, a feeling of higher shame, the fear of disgrace in the eyes of God and of loss of his favour, the dread of future punishment,—the result of Veneration, Wonder, Self-Esteem, Love of Approbation, depressed or wounded, while Caution is over excited: for this latter faculty certainly plays a prominent part in qualms of conscience. Such cases, as is well known, especially when an individual has been exposed to the thunders of a church he has been educated to respect and obey, frequently end in deep-rooted despair and insanity. I have often inquired into cases of so-called qualms of conscience, and must confess I have always been able to detect in them, as the primary and principal causes, the special colouring of some one or more of

the moral or egotistical faculties, smarting under real or imaginary wounds, whilst I have not been able to discover that a specific and pure sense of justice and duty, *per se*, as the function of a distinct faculty, was in the least involved. Indeed if qualms of conscience, after acting wrong, are supposed to result from a **LARGE** development of an organ of Conscientiousness,—barring cases in which it may be said to have become diseased from some mere internal cause—can it not be argued, without going too far, that if it be the *especial* function of this organ to produce pure emotions of justice, and to regulate the conduct, it should have prevented *those* actions which have led to its remorseful state?

In analysing Conscience, we must likewise attend to the remarkable influence of knowledge and experience in awakening the susceptibility of the various faculties to feel regret and pain, and even remorse. We frequently see persons of a good average organization pursuing a certain course of life, either directly mischievous to themselves or contrary to their moral duties, without any misgivings or self dissatisfaction. They live in ignorance of the folly or impropriety of their conduct; but no sooner do they become aware that it is wrong, than their peace of mind, to a certain extent, is disturbed. Habit may still lead such persons, if of weak character, to continue their vicious courses; but self-reproaches, regrets, and remorse, more or less, especially if they are of a reflective disposition, will be sure to be the result. In all such cases of change of conduct, however, the peculiar agency of some one or more of the animal, moral, and egotistical faculties, as well as the influence of knowledge and intellectual culture—the appreciation of cause and effect—may clearly be observed, and found quite sufficient for their explanation, apart from any function of a faculty of Conscientiousness *per se*. Besides, how can we suppose, in such cases, that a fundamental faculty of Conscientiousness has been lying dormant, until aroused by the understanding; it being said to be the *especial function* of this faculty to *produce emotions* of justice, to *prompt* the intellect to discover *what is right and wrong*, to *control* the undue action of the other faculties, &c. Every other affective faculty will—with the exception of short periods of fatigue, or of inaction from absence of outward stimuli—that is, of the objects to which it stands in relation, display its peculiar function in some way or other, and exercise an influence on the general character, whatever the degree or kind of knowledge may be. But, although the activity of a faculty of Conscientiousness, if there be such, must depend less on the presence of outward stimuli than most of the other

faculties, since its functions are said to stand in relation to our inward mental states, we, nevertheless, frequently see cases of remarkable alteration of conduct for the better in persons who previously had shewn no endeavours to live according to the rule of right, nor manifested misgivings as to various errors which it should have been the office of a special faculty of Conscientiousness—the moral monitor—to have checked, until *experience* and *reflection* had opened their eyes. It may be said, in regard to the cases just alluded to, in which the mind becomes suddenly awakened to a sense of having acted wrong, and pain and regret are experienced, that these tell equally in favour of some other faculty—if an organ of Conscientiousness be not acknowledged—having lain dormant until it suddenly comes into activity, and produces a change of conduct. There is this difference, however, that even if we do not attach importance to an *intellectual will*,—which to some extent we cannot deny,—still, during a period of error, we are not obliged to suppose the perfect inactivity or uselessness of a *specific* faculty of Conscientiousness—the *prompter to act right*,—nor do we find the specific character of the other different faculties changed, along with these changes in sentiment and conduct. The *manner* of their activity and the objects only to which they are directed, become changed. For instance, a person with large Benevolence and Attachment may injure the health or character of another through over-kindness, not being aware of his error; but if he at length see that he has been acting wrong, he may feel regret and pain, and alter his conduct; the feelings of kindness, &c., remaining specifically the same, the manner in which they are actively employed only being changed. Our love of life may lead to over-pampering the body; but we gain experience, regret the former loss of health, and discard those habits which we have found to be injurious.

But to return to the examination of the feelings of obligation, duty, &c. Besides those different kinds, and the higher feelings of duty to God and man already alluded to, common opinion seems to admit a third duty, viz., our duty towards ourselves; and it is clear that, apart from the animal propensities for self-preservation, there is a higher egotistical power in the mind, a feeling of self-love, of self-respect, which to a certain extent controls our other impulses, and without which even our higher ones might lead to weaknesses of conduct, incompatible with our true dignity of character and lasting happiness. Now, does not this power result from the organ of Self-esteem, which, according to Mr. Combe, “by communicating this feeling of self-respect, *frequently and effectually aids the*

moral sentiments in resisting temptation to vice?" Experience indeed shows us daily, that when the intellect is once enlightened, and the feeling of self-respect thus enlisted in the cause of virtue, it becomes a main source of our moral strength. How rapid is the progress of vice and folly, when self-respect and the good opinion of the world are lost. It is this faculty, therefore, which promotes the feelings of duty and incumbency, as regards the preservation of our self-respect, our consistency and honour, and which, when allied in activity to a fine harmonious development of the moral organs, including wonder and ideality, which evidently promotes elevation of sentiment,—the whole strengthened by firmness and enlightened by intellect, makes up the full sum of our feelings of moral incumbency and duty in general. It seems to me, therefore, both inconsistent and superfluous to attribute to a faculty of Conscientiousness, what has been already included in the functions of Self-esteem.

I proceed to make a few additional remarks, to see, however, whether there can be a particular fundamental faculty, whose office it is to be "the regulator of all the others;" and if so, which faculty this is. To a certain extent, as already shown, in speaking of obligation and incumbency, each faculty must be said to exercise a control over the others; for even the animal propensities may have a beneficial influence over our conduct, and modify the undue activity of the higher ones. Thus if Benevolence would give all to the poor, the instinct of property prompts us to preserve some for self; or, if we should be inclined to be too ungarded in our communications to strangers, Caution and Secretiveness put in their voices and prompt to prudence and reserve. It would be easy to multiply cases in point, but this is unnecessary. Still if we examine mental phenomena with attention, there certainly does seem to be, in addition to those enumerated, another power over our inward desires and our actions, distinct from the influences which the various faculties exercise over one another; and independent too, of the influence of general health and quality of the brain—for these certainly have much to do with what is often called character and consistency of conduct, especially in one-sided natures,—viz., the tenacity or continued activity of certain propensities resulting from a healthy and firm quality of the substance of the brain and nervous system. Some persons, more than others, are gifted with a peculiar power, designated character, or strength of purpose, or will, in the sense of determination and perseverance. But is not this taught to belong to the function of firmness, which when joined to a low animal organization,

adds fearful determination in the career of vice ; but which, when allied to the feeling of self-respect, to a fine harmonious development of the moral and intellectual faculties, seems perfectly sufficient to make up the sum of moral will, and give strength of purpose in pursuing the good? I confess when I consider all that is taught of the functions of a faculty of Firmness—and when added to those of a faculty of Self-esteem—I am no better able to see how there can likewise consistently be a special faculty of Conscientiousness, to exercise control over the others, than I am able to detect any one specific sense of justice *per se*, independent of the different faculties and conditions which I have already enumerated. Indeed, as regards a faculty of Conscientiousness acting as the regulator of all the others, Mr. Combe contradicts himself if he entertains this idea ; for he informs us that Mrs. H. who had this latter organ remarkably developed, but Firmness small, “was unsteady of purpose, and it was necessary for her to have a friend, whose advice she instantly asked and followed, in order to preserve herself from yielding to every internal impulse or outward solicitation.”* Thus teaching, that Firmness is the organ which mainly gives the inward power of self-control.

To make it still more apparent, however, that we cannot clearly define any separate and distinct influence over the mind, resulting from a special faculty of Conscientiousness, I now offer a few remarks on the so-styled, upright, straightforward, frank, plain spoken, punctual character. Mr. Combe, in a correspondence which I have had with him on a faculty of Conscientiousness, attached great weight to these manifestations, as resulting from a fine development of this organ. I do not speak of uprightness in the sense of honesty only, for that is partly a negative, as well as a positive virtue, and has of course been included in the examination of right and wrong. I allude here more especially to those characters, who show a peculiar independent frankness in the expression of their opinions, and in their actions in general. Now, does not experience show, that these persons are never really just and considerate towards others, however largely the supposed organ of Conscientiousness may be developed, unless benevolence be likewise prominent? In fact, your very plain spoken people are apt to express their opinion of others at all times without reserve ; they are, therefore, often rude and selfish, and are continually wounding the feelings of others—and this generally without producing any moral good, or their even

* See “*The Constitution of Man.*”

having such in view. Indeed, phrenologists teach that admonitions and reproofs, unless greatly tempered by affection and benevolence, and judiciously applied, are more apt to wound self-love, and to call forth resentment, than to strengthen the moral faculties of those to whom they are addressed. Your very frank characters can, I believe, lay little claim to a real sense of justice or conscientiousness. Let us take the plain-speaking and downright manners of the Americans, and will any one attribute these to the activity of their sense of Conscientiousness? Even that candour and straightforwardness, which has a really conscientious colouring, to judge from my own experience is partly a negative virtue, and the result of a fortunate combination of several organs, Acquisitiveness, Secretiveness, Caution, Love of Approbation being less developed than the moral organs, and Self-esteem and Firmness. I need hardly remark, that much of the impunctuality and falsehood we meet with in society must be traced to deficiency of the last-named organs, and of reflection, and often of Caution, joined to an over anxiety to please. The unhappy want of strength to say No, which involves so many persons in idle promises, prevarication, and falsehood, I have seen too often to arise solely from a combination of very large Love of Approbation and Secretiveness, with full Benevolence—whilst Self-esteem, Firmness, and Caution, were much less developed, to find it psychologically correct to account for this disposition by the absence of an organ of Conscientiousness.

With regard to punctuality, I have found that Self-esteem and Firmness—of course under the influence of Benevolence, whenever the good of others as well as our own is aimed at—are the faculties on which it principally depends. In confirmation of this view, I can point to the pleasure very punctual people generally take in lauding their own virtue in this respect, to the pedantry and to the disposition to torment others in little matters which they so frequently display. In what I have just said, I allude, of course, to that punctuality which is the result of an inborn disposition; for much might be said to account for punctuality from the effects of early training and habits of business. The merchant, the tradesman, the commercial traveller, and the soldier, show very different conduct as regards punctuality, to what those do who have been brought up in habits of luxury and whose education has been of a desultory nature.

In further confirmation of my views that Self-esteem will be usually found prominently developed in the heads of the more usual class of candid and plain-spoken characters—for of course, I make a distinction between that candour often

met with in early youth, and in those who have had little experience of the world, especially when Benevolence is largely and Secretiveness and Caution are but moderately developed. I can call attention to the fact, that the Germans are remarkable for not being plain-spoken, and for their general want of candour, as concerns their opinions of others.* Yet in the German heads, to judge by my own many years experience, that part designated the organ of Conscientiousness is certainly relatively larger than in the English heads. The German head, however, shows moderate Self-esteem, with very large Love of Approbation, Secretiveness, and Caution.

I confess that I am at a loss to know what peculiar emotions, or influences on the conduct, distinct from such as result from the functions of Self-esteem and Firmness, a large development of the whole hinder sincipital region of the head, including the part called the organ of Conscientiousness, produces. Whenever the organs of Benevolence and Veneration are found at the same time to be only small, I have not been fortunate enough to meet with such a development of the part of the brain marked No. 16 as Mr. Combe has shown in the drawing of Mrs. H. I have never met with this part large, without at the same time, Firmness, and generally Self-esteem, being large too. Therefore, however well developed it may appear, (estimated according to Combe's directions), I have never been able to discover or hear of anything like real Conscientiousness on such occasions, excepting as regards mere straightforwardness and determination of purpose—qualities which belong to the function of firmness—unless the whole of the sincipital regions, particularly the *front* part, was likewise well developed. A real sense of justice, or a tender conscience connected with a *love* of rectitude, I have certainly never been able to detect, except in the latter case. In fact, have phrenologists been able to produce evidence of a faculty of Conscientiousness analagous to that which is brought forward to establish the organs of Benevolence and Veneration? If Benevolence be a really prominent organ in any head, however largely developed its greatest antagonists, Acquisitiveness and Destructiveness may be, still we are certain to find, that, besides a disposition to selfishness and violence or to irritability, its peculiar language of kindness to some liv-

* Scheibler, in his "*Hand-book of Psychology*," makes the following remark: "The principal condition to the formation of character, is the acquisition of the capacity to say No to ourselves—courage is likewise necessary to speak out candidly and truthfully, according to the individual disposition. In this courage the Germans are particularly deficient."—"The German can with pleasure be anything and everything, himself only he is not," says Jean Paul.

ing creature will be occasionally, nay frequently, displayed. Now apart from the indefinite and relative meaning usually attached to the term Conscientiousness when compared with that which the word Benevolence, for instance, implies, can any evidence of a like kind be produced, that a nice sense of justice, that feelings of a high moral responsibility, are displayed, when the organ, No. 16, is large, and at the same time Benevolence and Veneration small?

That positive and negative evidence—that evidence which may be brought forward in favour of most of the phrenological organs, *whatever their combinations with others may be*, seems to me entirely wanting for a special faculty of Conscientiousness; for my own part, I am forced to ask what is the function of this part of the brain? Does it belong to Firmness, or is it a separate faculty? These are questions, I believe, phrenologists have yet to answer.

I can further appeal to experience, and ask what is the natural language of the generality of your plain-spoken, straightforward characters? Is it not of Self-esteem and Firmness, tempered more or less by the urbanity of Benevolence? Frequently, however, we see the pure independent language of Self-esteem alone, indifferent to the feelings of others. But while on this topic, I venture to enquire of phrenologists, what the peculiar natural language of a faculty of Conscientiousness is supposed to be? Can we distinguish in really truthful, honest, conscientious characters, any other physiognomical and pathogromical expression, than such as results from the activity of Benevolence, Veneration, Firmness, and the reflective faculties? What peculiar expression, apart from that just alluded to, is it supposed the countenance of a Christ may have displayed?

In addition to what I have already advanced to show that the emotions of Conscientiousness, and the sense of justice, &c., cannot be clearly and consistently defined as the function of *one* fundamental faculty only, distinct from the moral emotions—from the intellectual appreciations of truth, and from “any extrinsic motives,” I can only further remark, that it seems difficult to me to form a clear and encouraging view of the highest moral power in man, and of his capacity to progress in virtue, if these depend for the most part, as at least results from the doctrines of Spurzheim and his disciples, on the full development and the healthy action of *one* organ alone. We see that each faculty *per se*, even benevolence, may be too largely developed, or too much stimulated from external or internal causes, and lead to morbid results. But if the highest attributes of humanity—the grand aim of an enlightened and complete system of education—the deve-

lopment of wisdom, and of the full sense and appreciation of duty and justice, depended after all on the size and healthy condition of *one* organ only, every excess in the endeavours to exercise and increase its function would be attended with some danger of over-excitement and disease. The excess of activity, the abuse of every one of the other affective faculties, can be understood; the fundamental character which each displays in a healthy state, remaining the same whilst there are other faculties to exercise, in various ways, control. But let us seriously imagine the excess of activity of a faculty of Conscientiousness *per se*, and what becomes of these most important special functions which are attributed to it? Let there be but one grain of sand too much thrown into the scales, the balance is over, and justice is at an end. But it will be said, the enlightened intellect weighs and decides whether the scales are duly balanced. Still it is taught how much the feelings influence the judgment—that the emotions of conscientiousness and justice, the sense of right and wrong, the moral control of the undue action of every other faculty, depend upon the healthy action of this *one* in question, and also that *its* over-excited and morbid state produces conscientious monomanias and qualms of conscience. We see, therefore, if these doctrines were correct, how vastly more important the full development and healthy state of this one faculty must be than that of any one of the others. But is it possible, however, that the feelings of remorse, the qualms of conscience, so clearly displaying as these do, the language of different faculties, the influences of the age, country, and society we live in, of our individual education, result from one fundamental faculty, and this the same which leads to the highest and most exalted views of justice? The truly conscientious mind, however it may regret any aberration from the path of virtue, will at the same time desire to atone practically for its errors, and not think that duty enjoins the giving way to gloomy self-reproaches, and brooding over its sinfulness, to the detriment of health and the power of usefulness.

I may further venture to ask, can the justice of Christ, and that of a Brutus, have emanated from a large development of one and the same organ, however variously combined with others? If so, how vast the difference in the manifestation of its function! The one all charity and mercy, but pre-eminently just; the other intent only to hold the sword with iron hand, and see the letter of the law fulfilled. As true health depends upon the harmonious vigorous action of all the bodily organs, so must justice, the true and full sense of

right and wrong, of duty, incumbency, &c., surely be the result of the harmonious development and healthy action of all the organs of the brain, and of enlightened education, and the cultivation of the understanding. What has the exclusive exercise of any one particular feeling—what have any one-sided doctrines, even religious creeds, done to promote sound views of justice? We see the ruins of temples throughout the earth, and the houses of God still standing on high, pointing out the activity of a special faculty of veneration. We have hospitals, and other benevolent institutions in numbers, showing the activity of a special faculty of Benevolence. But where are the social institutions proving the existence of a special faculty of Conscientiousness? Can that justice which man has shown to man—which the records of history, or the laws and customs of our own age display, be traced to other sources than to a spirit of benevolence, of religion, and to a sense of utility, to a philosophy of necessity? Indeed, there is no other sure and efficient mode of teaching mankind to be just to one another, than to prove the advantages which will result therefrom. Did mankind think of being just to criminals, and to the insane, until experience had pointed out the necessity? Are not scientific investigations leading us daily more and more to the appreciation of truth and justice? Do they not teach us the laws and conditions of health, the means of promoting the "*mens sana in corpore sano*?" Do they not instruct us, too, in the laws and conditions of material wealth—and more than this, in those which must regulate its application to social happiness? And are not the results of all grand discoveries found to be in harmony with the progress of happiness, justice, and virtue? Indeed, it may be said, that goodness, virtue, truth, wisdom, utility, and justice, are but synonymous terms. "*Sola utilia quæ recta.*"

I have now attempted, though but imperfectly I fear, to show the origin of the ordinary sense of justice, of right and wrong, as displayed in the conduct of mankind one to another; to show, too, that each faculty contributes its quota in producing this sense, as likewise in exercising to a certain extent, control over the others. I have also, attempted to point out the various causes which prevent and modify the true sense of justice, and militate against virtue in conduct. I have glanced too, at the feelings of self-respect, and at that faculty of firmness which contributes in producing what is called character, and in giving weight to the motives arising from those feelings which are in more immediate relationship with the outward world, and to the desires of the intellect. But above all,

treasuring up experience, reflecting on the connections of things, on causes and effects, showing the necessity of virtue, truth, and justice, and influencing all our propensities and desires, we have the intellectual powers themselves, and reason, the highest gift that man possesses. If these views be correct, there can be little danger that any efforts to cultivate the highest attribute of humanity, the real many-sided sense of justice should fail of producing good results, or lead to conscientious monomania. A sense of justice springing from the complex sources mentioned, will indeed, for a long time to come, be too often found under the mark, but it can never be beyond it.

III. *Allusions to Mesmerism in the Classics.*

(Concluded from our last.)

The story of Io's madness has carried us far, and merits a few words for itself.

That this was in origin an astronomical mythus appears to be now very generally agreed. Io, it was noticed of old (Eustath. Suidas and Hesychius), was the Argive name of the of the moon, the horned phases of which have, in so many countries (India, China, Egypt), apparently independently, suggested the cow as its symbol. On this explanation the many-eyed Argus represents the starry host, the guards and watchers of the erratic and versiform luminary. (Euripides, *Phœniss.* v. 1122; Macrob. *Saturn.* i. 19.) The boast of the Arcadians that their race was older than the moon, has been ingeniously and probably explained as referring to the later introduction of the worship into Peloponnesus.

But some historical elements have become combined with the natural allegory, and the resemblance between Io and Isis intimate relations between Argos and Egypt; the chief circumstances, however, on which the resemblance depends appear to have been of secondary origin. One mythus, probably the original, confined Io's history to Argos or Eubœa (Suidas); and while the Egyptian Isis is the curing power, Io of Argus is the cured. This renders it probable that the story of the cure of the transformed Io was borrowed from another Argive legend of later date, and not improbably in its leading circumstances historical.

The daughters of King Prœtus, with other Argive women, maddened by the anger of Dionusos or Here (Apollod. ii. 2), believed themselves transformed into cows, and ranged over the country, imitating their lowings.

"Prœtides impleverunt falsis mugitibus agros."—Virg. *Eclag.* vi. 8.

Such a mania, it must be understood, is not fictitious; it belongs to the class of which the most notorious type is known to medicine as *Lycanthropy*,—the sufferers by which imagine themselves to be wolves, frequent their haunts, and imitate their cries. To this disorder the madness of *Nebuchadnezzar* is usually referred. An amusing instance of it is quoted by *Bertrand, Du Sommeil*, p. 423, of a convent of nuns at Paris, who, by a strange contagion, mewed like cats, and were only cured by means resembling those that stayed the suicidal mania of the woman of *Miletus*.

The mania of the daughters of *Prætus* (accompanied also by some cutaneous disorder) was cured, it is said, by *Melampus*, by means that are variously represented, drugs or purifications. The following are recognizable as employments of mesmeric influence. (*Apollod. ii. 2.*) "He took the most powerful of the youth (*δυνατώτατους των νεανίων*), and with loud cries, and a certain chorusing of inspired character (*ινδρου χορίας*), chased them from the mountains to *Sicyon*, and brought them to their senses." The "vigour of the youth" is here evidently noticed as the chief cause of the energy and efficacy of the mystic chorus. The production of mesmeric influence by such means* occurs in accounts of the mysteries of *Samothrace*, in which extraordinary effects were produced on the novice by the initiated dancing round him (*Dio Chrysostom*), and in the Homeric hymn to *Apollo*, where the chorus of *Delians* is thus spoken of—v. 156.

πρὸςδε, τοδὲ μέγα θαῦμα, οὐ κλεος οὐποτόλειςαι,
κούραι Δηλιάδες, Ἐκατηβίλειας θέραπναι
αἷτ' ἐπεὶ ἀρ' πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπολλων' ὑμνήσωσιν,
αὐτὶς δ' ἂν Λητῷ τε καὶ Ἀρτεμὶν ἰοχαιρᾶν
μῆσαιμεναι, ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν,
ὕμνοι αἰδοῦσιν, διελγούσι δὲ φυλ' ἀνδρῶπων.
παντῶν δ' ἀνδρῶπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβά' λιαστῶν
μιμνισθ' ἴσασιν φάιν' οὐδ' αὖτ' οὐκ ἑκάστος
ῥδιγγεσθ'.

"A vast wonder, moreover, of which the fame shall never perish; the *Delian virgins*, ministers of the far darting god, who celebrating *Apollo*, *Latona* and *Artemis*, making mention of the men and women of old, sing a hymn, and charm (or sooth) the tribes of men. They can imitate the voices and accents of all men, and each would say that he himself was speaking; so their beautiful song is adapted."

The effect of mesmerism in facilitating the mimicry of language, the articulation of new and difficult sounds, is known to all readers of mesmeric literature.

Melampus, the mesmerist, is son of *Idomenca* (the seer),

and progenitor of Polyidus (the manifold seer), to whom legend ascribes cures of the same character as those assigned to Æsculapius. Another Melampod is Theoclymenus of the Odyssey—whose presage of the approaching fate of the suitors corresponds remarkably with the mesmeric phenomena of second-sight. In the midst of their riot he declares—

“ O race devote to death, with Stygian shade
Each destined peer impending fates invade :
With tears your wan distorted cheeks are drowned,
With sanguine drops the walls are rubied round.
Thick swarms the spacious hall with howling ghosts,” &c.
Od. xx.

The legends of Melampus, and his descendant Polyidus, are replete with stories of the wonderful medical power and instincts of serpents ; creatures that we have seen play so important a part in the establishments of Æsculapius. The operations of serpent-charmers of modern times apparently depend on mesmeric influence—the effect of which on many parts of the brute creation is well known, and are paralleled in antiquity, not only by the legends which float in the twilight of history, but in the testimonies of writers so numerous, and so corroborated by present experience in the general character of their details, as to command acceptance as matter of fact.

“ The Ophiogeneis of Parion in the Propontis,” says Strabo, xiii., “ claimed a certain relationship to serpents, and pretended to descent from a hero who was transformed into one. (A parallel mythus to that of the Æsclepiadæ, descendants of the serpent physician of Epidaurus.) They say that their males cure the bites of vipers, by *constantly touching* (συνεχως επαπτομενους), like the charmers (επωδαι), first transferring to themselves the *livor* (πλιμμα), and the inflammation and pain.”

There are perhaps few families in the rural districts of which at least one member has not been a witness, and probably a subject, of the operations of the wart-charmer, whose process of repeatedly touching or stroking without intermission, is precisely that which is described by Strabo, and of which the so frequently beneficial effect is as clearly mesmeric.

The indirect allusion of the passage is important, as showing that the *επωδαι* of antiquity, or charmers, in fact employed the mesmeric process, although their influence was

* The dancing and bowling dervishes of Constantinople are believed to cure diseases by laying on of hands, for which purpose children are brought to them. This information is due to a rambling friar who has no more esteem for the mesmerism of the English than that of the Turks.

ascribed to the mystic verses or formulas from which they derived their title. Alexander of Tralles, already referred to as a mesmerist, gives some of these charms, that curiously correspond with those of witches in the middle ages, in connection with whose misfortunes so many mesmeric phenomena appear. (Compare Mackay's *Popular Delusions*, and article *Alexan. Trall. in Mytho. Dicty.*)

"Pliny xxviii. 3, mentions Ophiogeneis, of Cyprus, also a family of which Exagon, a member, ambassador at Rome, was thrown by the consuls (*experimenti causâ*, says the Naturalist, but if at all it must be supposed by his own invitation) into a cask full of venomous serpents, who only licked him. The family had a strong odour in spring, and their sweat, as well as saliva, had a curative power. Persons were cured by being sprinkled with the water in which their hands had been washed; their very presence was beneficial."

The same writer, vii. 2, quotes the account of the Ophiogeneis of Parion, given by Crates of Pergamus, as "a race of men who relieved the wound of a serpent by a touch, and by laying on the hand drew the poison out of the body." (*Contactu levare solitos et manu impositâ venena extrahere corpori.*) Varro spoke of a few of them as still remaining whose saliva cured the bites of serpents. Strabo found the race not extinct, he conjectures that they may have been descended from the Psylli of Africa, who are also mentioned by Pausanias ix. 28, in this connexion, as well as by Pliny and Ælian.

"In the bodies of the Psylli of Africa, says Pliny vii. 2, is a natural virus fatal to serpents, the very smell of it sending them to sleep. A similar race was that of the Marsi in Italy, said to be sprung from Circe the enchantress."

These accounts and references to the Psylli are farther illustrated by Ælian. He states, "that members of the race cured those who were bitten by the *cerastes*, by giving them to drink water that they had held in their mouths, or in which their hands had been rinsed. The cure was immediate and complete." *Hist. An. l. Lib. xvii. 28.* He gives a more detailed account of their mode of proceeding,—

"If the Psyllus found the anguish of the wound still tolerable he relieved it by his saliva, and prevented worse consequences. If he found the sufferer in extreme torment he gave him water to drink that he had held in his mouth, and in cases where the virus had gained still greater power, he lay down naked by the naked patient, and delivered him from his danger, by communicating to him, by gentle friction, the sympathetic vigour of his own body." (*τοῦ χρωτός οἱ τοῦ ἰδίου προσανατρίψας τὴν ἰσχὺν τὴν συμφοῦν.*)

He quotes some verses of Nicander, of Colophon, to the same effect,—

"The Psylli cure men of venomous bites, not by the assistance of roots, but by the contact of their own bodies."

Ἀνδρασις ἡμῶν τῶν τοῦ αἵματος ἀχθόμενοις,
Οὐ ριζαῖς ἐρδοντες, τὸν δ' αὖτο συγχροα γυνῶν.

Mention occurs of other families or tribes of extraordinary power that we must call mesmeric, though in these cases exerted, as the power probably may be, maliciously. Pliny vii. 2, speaks of "a race of Pharnaces, in Æthiopia, whose perspiration affects even covered bodies;" of fascinating families in Africa, "whose presence was fatal to cattle, trees, infants," similar among the Triballi and Illyrians, "who even killed those that they looked at long, especially when with angry eyes.* Women of the same kind, called Bithyæ, in Scythia, the race of Thibii, in Pontus, and many others. They could not be drowned even when encumbered with clothes." A curious parallel to the modern plan of testing witches by *swimming* them.

These forms of fascination belong to the belief in the in-

* It is said of Alexander Severus that the fire of his eyes was excessive and oppressive if regarded too long; and in this circumstance is added a notice, as if of a phenomenon in some way related to it, that his prophetic mental presentiments were very frequent. "*Nimius ardor oculorum et diutius intuentibus gravis, et divinationis mentis frequentissima.*"—*Ælius Lamp. in Alex. Sev.*

Augustus was also remarkable for the power of his eyes, which were clear and bright, and (like Dr. Parr) he was willing to have it thought that they were indued with a certain divine power, and was pleased when any appeared to avoid his glance, as if dazzled by the sun. "*Oculos habuit claros et nitidos quibus etiam existimari volebat inesse quiddam divini vigoris: gaudebatque siquis sibi acrius contuenti, quasi ad fulgorem solis, vultum submitteret.*"—*Sueton. August. 79.*

It may be noted here that Suetonius in the next paragraph, speaking of another idiosyncrasy of the emperor, calls the index finger, the healthful or salutary. "*Dextræ quoque manus digitum salutarem,*" &c., &c.

So the fourth or ring-finger is *digitus medicus*.

Compare Montaigne's chapter on the Force of Imagination. He quotes Ovid de Rem. Am. 615.

"*Dum spectant oculi læsos læduntur et ipsi,
Multaque corporibus transitione nocent.*"

"Eyes are injured by regarding diseased eyes, and many disorders pass from one body to another."

"On voit dernièrement chez moy un chat questant un oiseau au hault d'un arbre, et s'estant fichez la veue ferme l'un contre l'autre quelque espace de temps, l'oyseau s'estre laissé cheoir comme mort entre les pattes du chat. Ceulx qui aiment la volerie ont ouy faire le conte du faulconnier, qui, arrestant obstinément sa veue contre un milan en l'air, gageoit de la seule force de sa veue, le ramener contrebas, et le faisoit a ce qu'on dict: car les histories que j'emprunte je les renvoye sur la conscience," &c. &c.

His apology in this instance is perhaps less wanted than in another where he omits it; tortoises and ostriches, he says, hatch their eggs by simply looking at them, "*signe qu'ils y ont quelque vertu ejaculatrice.*" This belief is not unallied to that of half the birds-nesting population of the country, that very shy birds desert their nests if their eggs are looked at,—certainly if they are touched.

fluence of the evil-eye, so widely diffused in ancient as well as modern times. Plutarch has a chapter on the subject in his *Symposiasts* which is worth reading. The guests laugh at the whole matter as absurdity and delusion, but Metrius Florus, the host, declares "that facts strangely bear out common opinion, though the circumstance that the cause is latent, very unfairly discredits the fact, inasmuch as the causes are equally unknown of numberless other facts that no one thinks to call in question," and so he proceeds to argue the possibility of fascination in really very creditable style, considering the condition of contemporary physiology.

Curiously concurrent with these instances are the anecdotes of the mixed moral and bodily influence of Socrates. The interlocutor in one dialogue of Plato (I cannot at the moment recover the reference), presenting the pitiable spectacle of a philosopher dumb-founded, complains that in the presence of Socrates he is *numbed* as by a torpedo, and that the influence that Socrates exerted in that way was enough to lay him open to a charge of fascination or witchcraft.

In the *Theages* is an amusing relation by Aristides (reported by Socrates) of the unfortunate effects on his intellect of temporary withdrawal from the society of the philosopher. After relating an accident of much the same kind to a friend, he proceeds.

"*Aristides.* But I too am myself in a most ridiculous position, O Socrates.

"*Socrates.* How so?

"*Aristides.* Why, before my expedition I was capable of discoursing with whomsoever, and never appeared inferior to any in conversation, so that I sought eagerly the society of the most brilliant. Now, on the contrary, I avoid any one whom I perceive to be a person of education,—my shame is such at my own deficiency.

"*Socrates.* Did the faculty quit you suddenly, or by degrees?

"*Aristides.* By degrees.

"*Socrates.* And when you possessed it, did you come by it in learning anything from me, or in any other way?

"*Aristides.* I will tell you, Socrates, what is strange enough, but true. I never learnt any thing at all directly from you, as you yourself well know; but I improved whenever I was with you, though only in the same house, and not in the same room; and when in the same room I fancied still more if I looked at you as you were speaking than if I looked another way; but I made by far the greatest progress when I sat near to you and touched you; now, however, I am entirely divested of the faculty."

The mesmeric traits in this passage are still more identified by being closely associated with references to the cele-

brated prevoyance of Socrates, among other instances to his presentiment of the destruction of the Sicilian armament.

In the treatise of Plutarch on the genius of Socrates is a story of a certain Timarchus who consulted the oracle of Trophonius on the subject of the genius of Socrates; it illustrates the familiarity of the ancients with clairvoyance, and attempts, amusingly enough, an explanation of its phenomena at least as successful as many more modern.

"Souls are seen by the visionary, like stars hovering over a chasm, some sinking into it, some rising upwards. These are the geniuses of man. Souls becoming united to bodies tend to become irrational by the conjunction. But all are not mingled in the same manner; some are entirely sunk in the body, and corrupted by the disorders and passions of life, others partially emerge and leave the purest part without, touching on the top of the head as floating on the surface; and thus the soul, as far as it is not irrationally subjected to the passions of the body, remains suspended over his head, as though above one, immersed in an abyss. That therefore which is sunk in the body is called the soul ($\psiυχη$). And that which is exempt from decay is popularly called *mind* ($νους$), and supposed to be within onesself, as reflected spectra within the mirror. But like those, it is understood by the intelligent to be in fact external, and is called by them the genius ($δαίμων$). The souls, well disciplined and submissive from the origin and rise of their proper genius, constitute the divining class ($το μαρτυρον$.) Such was the soul of Hermodorus of Clazomenæ, of which it is related that it quitted his body entirely for days and nights, wandered far and wide and then returned again, after having been a present witness of things said and done at a great distance.

"But this is incorrect, for the soul of Hermodorus did not go out of his body, but yielding and relaxing the rein to the genius, gave it scope and range, so that it reported within much that it saw and heard without."

This Hermodorus is evidently, from coincidence of terms, the same as the Hermotimus of whose clairvoyance mention is found in Pliny, vii. 52, Lucian, *Eucom. Musææ*, and Tertull. *de Animâ*. Compare also *Æthalides* in Apollonius.

The same was told of Aristæas of Proconnesus and Epimenides.

The oracle of Trophonius was in full operation in the time of Pausanias, who himself consulted it, and has left us some details of his observation and experience that appear to indicate that persons consulting it were thrown, by whatever means, into a state of mesmeric somnambulism.

"The inquirer was restricted for several days previous to peculiar diet and sundry purifications, and omens were taken from the entrails of the numerous victims he had to sacrifice, and however

favourable these might be, if the last and most important was unfavourable, the god was held to reject the application. Among many other ceremonies he was led to the two fountains of Oblivion and Memory, from the first of which he drank that he might forget all his previous ideas, and from the latter that he might retain recollection of what he should see in his consultation. Descending by a ladder into the cave he lay down on the ground, placed his feet in a small orifice, and following them with his knees, immediately found his whole body carried inwards, as if by the vortex of a mighty rushing river; his return, and feet foremost, was by the same orifice. He came forth in a state of great disturbance (*κατοχον τῷ διματι*) and unconscious of himself and those round him, and in this state was immediately placed on the chair of Memory by the priests who then obtained from him, by inquiries, all that he had seen or heard. He was then delivered to his friends, and after a time both came to his usual senses and found himself cheerful. (*υστ' αρον μεντοι τα τε αλλα ουδεν τι φρονησει μειον η προτερον και γελωσ επαεισιν οι.* Paus. ix.)

By whatever mechanical or other contrivances assisted, the chief effect in these instances was probably due to a gaseous exhalation of the same kind as that to which we are told by such numerous authorities the prophetic excitement of the Delphic priestess was due. Of the mesmeric character of this condition in the best age of the oracle, when it was the great religious centre of the Dorians, the acknowledged predominant tribe in Greece, and when it was superior to corruption, there can be little doubt. And what difficulties are not obliterated at once from our conception of Greek civilization by the recognition of the possibility that its declarations were in numerous cases examples of genuine prevoyance. What an *amende honorable* is not due from all ranks of modern philosophers to the wisdom of the ancients, to Socrates, Xenophon and Plato, for having sneered at, ridiculed or pitied, their unaccountable superstition or simple deference for Delphi.

It is unnecessary to collate all the mesmeric phenomena of Delphi that have been repeatedly cited by others; I will only mention the story told by Pausanias (ix. p. 576) "of the barbarian sent by Mardonius to consult the oracle (Mardonius, according to Herodotus, employed Greek soothsayers at Platæa), and to his inquiry in his own language received an answer, not in Greek, but also in barbaric tongue."

These instances suggest the question whether experiments may not be advantageously directed to test the efficacy of the gases in inducing mesmeric coma or somnambulism, or influencing it when produced. (The effects of nitrous oxide, or laughing gas, are very analogous to mesmerism.) The presumption in favour of their influence in this way is strongly supported by some statements of Strabo, xiv.

"Between Tralles and Nyssa is a village of the Nysæans, in which is a Plontonion, with grove and fane of Plontôn and Korè, and a Charonian cave of very wonderful nature. For they say that the sick who resort to these gods for cure go thither and live in the village, near the cave, with those of the priests who are skilled, who sleep on their account (the vicarious *incubatio* familiar to us in Egypt and Greece), and prescribe modes of treatment from their dreams. Frequently also they take them into the cave and place them there to remain in quietness and without food for several days as if in a state of hybernation."

The nature of the cave is apparent from what follows,—

"Every year at a festival a bull was taken to the cave, and being sent in after a few steps fell dead." *μικρον προσελθων πιπτει και εκπνους γινεται.*

There was another Plontonion of the same kind at Hieropolis in Phrygia, into which the emasculated priests of Rhea ventured unhurt, though when Strabo sent in a sparrow it fell dead. Dion Cassius, Pliny, Apuleius, and Ammianus Marcellinus vouch the same fact.

The mesmeric phenomena of vast increase of muscular power and of insensibility to external injury appear manifested under apparently similar circumstances. Pausanias (x. p. 672) mentions "a sacred cave at Hyle in Thessaly, issuing from which the priests performed extraordinary leaps, tore up trees by the roots, and passed with the burden along the narrowest ridges, and threw themselves from high precipices without suffering injury."

Compare with this the insensibility of the *convulsionnaires* to blows (Bertand, 386), that demolished a wall, of which notice will be found in a work or rather book of Popular Delusions, the professed crudity of which might be pardoned for the sake of its amusingness, were not crudity on the part of those who take upon themselves to apply and circulate the epithets dupe and imposter, disgraceful and a crime.

The French Commissioners appointed in 1660 to examine the possedeès of L'Auxonne, declared that many of them threw themselves unbruised against pavements and walls with a force that should have produced wounds or even fractures.

Mesmeric traces abound indeed in Asia Minor. Tacitus Ann. ii. 54, mentions particulars of the oracle of Colophon that strongly recall the thought-reading of somnambulists and the power of mesmerised water.

"Priests out of certain families, usually from Miletus, having heard merely the number and names of those consulting, retired into a grove, drank water of a secret fountain (*haustâ fontis arcani*

aquâ), and ignorant in most cases of letters and verse, gave metrical answers on the subject each of the applicants had in his mind." Compare Eusebius *Præp. Evang.* v. 16.

So at Delphi, there was a fountain to which was ascribed the power of rendering the priestesses prophetic. Paus. x.

Lycia and Caria, to the antiquities of which so much attention has been recently attached by the discoveries and acquisitions of Mr. Fellows, particularly abounded in modes of divination by water, variously applied. In many instances the presumption is clear that mesmerism was concerned, though imperfect accounts leave the mode of its application obscure. In one instance those who sought an oracle looked into the sacred well, and were said to see there the event they were curious about. (The proverb, that truth was in a well, may have had no more likely origin.) In other cases a mirror was let down into the water by a fine thread, just so far that the water rose to its rim, and therein was seen the fatal or favourable termination of the illness—the class of questions on which alone this oracle, which Pausanias calls *infallible* (αψευδής) was consulted.

Numerous experiments seem to shew that the mesmeric influence is capable of reflection from polished surfaces, and some acquaintance with this fact, or others resulting from the same general law, may probably have led to the general employment of mirrors in all the various forms of divination and magic, from the engraved mirrors of the Etruscans, so well known to antiquarians, to the mirrors of the middle ages, such as that in which Lord Surrey was said to have beheld a vision of the fair Geraldine, and to the globule of ink in the palm of the Egyptain boy at the present day.

In connection with specular magic I find the following ancient instances of which the mesmeric character is most decided and obvious.

Didius Julianus, "the fortunate purchaser" of the Roman empire, when it was put up to auction by the prætorian guards, on his brief reign hastening to an end with every step of Severus and his Pannonian legions in full march upon Rome, in his apprehension and distress, resorted to the arts of magic.

"He employed the method of the mirror or speculum," says Spartian, "in which boys are said to look, having their eyes bound and incantations performed on their heads. In this instance the boy is said to have seen both the arrival of Severus and the departure of Julianus."

"Quæ ad speculum dicunt fieri in quo pueri præligatis oculis, incantato vertice, respicere dicuntur tuncque puer vidisse dicitur et adventum Severi et Juliani decessionem."

Spartian has evidently a mind to mark his own scepticism, in the careful repetition of *dicunt, dicuntur, dicitur*.

Milman observes in a note to Gibbon, vol. i., cap. 5, that this seems to have been a practice somewhat similar to that of which our recent Egyptian travellers relate such extraordinary circumstances. This is true, but a German annotator would have thought it as necessary to refer at the same time to the correspondence of the anecdote with the procedure of mesmerism and the phenomena of clairvoyance. Invited, much less directly, the illustrious Bockh, in notes to Pindar, Pyth. iii., mentions the magnetic cure as a fact well known in antiquity, "*Magneticam curam probè veteribus notam,*" and F. G. Walcker, notes to Philostratus, p. 659, refers, without qualification or apology, to traces in the biography of Sophocles, that he cultivated and manifested mesmerism; "*Insomniorum magneticorum facultas Sophocli inessasse, ipse eis utique studuisse videtur.*"

Septimius Severus, immeasurably the superior of his rival Julianus in all other respects, was at least his equal in the occult arts, for which his native country, Africa, was notorious or renowned. Their prevalence and character is illustrated in the Apology of the African Appuleius*, a defence like that of Othello, against the charge of getting a wife by magic.

"The charge," he says, "was got up according to the popular notion of the process of magic: a boy was said to have been enchanted in private, with verse, altar, and lamp,—then when he was enchanted, in the presence of a few accomplices, he fell down, and afterwards was roused, unconscious of himself. This was all that was alleged; but to make the tale complete there should have been added, that the same boy predicted many things by foreknowledge, for that we are told is the reward of the whole.

"And this prodigy about boys," he proceeds, "is confirmed not only by vulgar opinion, but by the authority of learned men. I recollect to have read in the works of the philosopher Varro, a man of the exactest learning and erudition, numerous instances of the kind, and among others, that the people of Tralles had recourse to inquiry by magic as to the event of the Mithridatic war; and a boy, regarding in water the image of Mercury, sang, in a hundred and sixty verses, the events that were about to take place. Also, that when Fabius had lost 500 denarii he went to consult Nigidius, and that boys, excited by verse, indicated the place in which a purse was buried with part of them, and how the rest were distributed; one of them was in the possession of M. Cato, the philosopher, which it appeared he had from one of his attendants.

"These and other such anecdotes I read indeed in many authors, but I am suspended in my opinion whether I should admit or deny

* A little earlier than S. Severus.

their possibility; though I admit to Plato that between the gods and men, some intermediate spiritual powers are interposed in nature and space, who govern all divinations and magical wonders; and again, I consider this with myself, that it is possible that the human mind, especially when young and unsophisticated, whether by the diverting influence of verses, or by the soothing of perfumes, may be thrown into a deep sleep, and brought into a state of oblivion of the present, and the memory of the body being gradually withdrawn, be reduced and return to its own nature,—the immortal, that is, and divine; and thus, as in a certain sleepy dose (*veluti quodam sopore*), presage the future course of things."

"Igitur ad præscriptum opinionis et famæ confinxere, puerum quempiam carmine cantatum, remotis arbitris, secreto loco, arula et lacerna; et paucis consociis testibus, ubi incantatus sit, corruisse: postea nescientem sui, excitatum. Nec ultra isti quidem progredi mendacio ausi. Sed fabula ut impleretur, addendum etiam illud fuit, puerum eundem multa præsignio prædixisse: quippe hoc emolumentum canticis accipimus, Præsignium et Divinationem. Nec modo vulgi opinione, verum etiam doctorum virorum auctoritate, hoc miraculum de pueris confirmatur. Memini, me apud Varronem philosophum, virum accuratissime doctum atque eruditum cum alia hujusmodi, tum hoc etiam legere: Trallibus de eventu Mithridatici belli magica percontatione consulentibus, puerum in aqua simulacrum Mercurii contemplantem, quæ futura erant centum sexaginta versibus cecinisse. Itemque Fabium, cum quingentos denarios perdidisset, ad Nigidium consultum venisse: ab eo pueros carmine instinctos indicasse, ubi locorum defossæ esset crumena cum parte eorum: ceteri ut forent distributi: unum etiam denarium ex eo numero habere M. Catonem philosophum: quem se a pedissequo in stipe Apollinis accepisse Cato confessus est.

"Hæc et alia apud plerosque de Magicis pueris lego equidem: sed dubius sententiæ sum, dicamne fieri posse, an negem. Quamquam Platoni credam inter Deos atque homines, natura et loco medias quasdam divorum potestates intersitas, easque divinationes cunctas et Magorum miracula gubernare: quin et illud mecum reputo, posse animum humanum, præsertim puerilem et simplicem, seu carminum avocamento, sive odorum delenimento, soporari, et ad oblivionem præsentium externari: et paulisper remota corporis memoria, redigi ac redire ad naturam suam, quæ est immortalis et divina: atque ita, veluti quodam sopore, futura rerum præsignire."

He afterwards adverts to a charge against him of employing magic in relation to some epileptic patients that had been brought to him by a physician for his advice, and that he had promised to cure. He concludes that his accusers must be prepared to affirm that it was a characteristic of the practitioners of magic that they cured diseases, or give up their charge as false and calumnious.

"Igitur quum ad inspiciendum mulier ægra, curationis gratia ad

me perducta sit, atque hoc, et medici confessione qui adduxit, ad meam ratiocinationem recte factum esse, conveniat: aut constituent, magi et malefici hominis esse, morbis mederi: aut si hoc non dicere audent, fateantur se in puero et muliere caducas vanas et prorsus caducas calumnias intendisse."

That we have here a description of mesmeric phenomena, and proof to very extensive familiarity with them can hardly be doubted, whatever may be thought of the methods by which they were produced, and the attempted explanations of them. The magical apparatus of mirror, verses, odours, &c., were probably in great part, in different circumstances, that only served to cover the real inducing causes from observation.

L. L. D.

IV. *Cure of Ulcers of the Leg with Local Mesmerism.*

By Dr. ELLIOTSON.

MR. EDWARDS, aged 73, resident at No. 52, Conduit Street, and 241, Maida Vale, the father of the lady whose sleep and cure were effected with mesmerism after ten grains of muriate of morphine every six hours had failed to make her sleep or do her good (*Zoist* No. II., p. 191), applied to me last March, on account of *an ulcer of the size of half-a-crown, above the outer ankle and three smaller ones in his right leg, which was inflamed all around and nearly to the knee.*

This state was ascribed to taking cold in his damp garden and grounds, and had come on slowly—the inflammation first and then the ulcers, at the end of last autumn, and had now existed *five months*; fluctuating, but getting worse in spite of very proper treatment—leeches, warm and cold applications, purgatives, mercurials, low diet and rest. On account of the inflammation I also ordered leeches, which first and last were applied a dozen times; the application of cold water, which soothed very much more than warm fomentations; gave him an abundance of cathartics; gently mercurialized him; allowed no flesh food, not even broth,—he was already an abstainer from wine, malt liquor and spirits; and ordered the leg to be kept up. Various applications were made to the ulcers, and nitrate of silver among the rest.

After he had been under my care six weeks, improving no more than he had done under Mr. Haviland of Maida Hill, with whose approbation I saw him, I was absolutely at a loss, and in my annoyance proposed a trial of local mesmerism, hardly venturing to hope it would answer better than my pre-

vious measures. The daughter promised me to make longitudinal passes over the sores and inflammation for half an hour night and morning : and she fulfilled her promise.

In *two days*, the three small ulcers began to close and the large ulcer looked better—the edges somewhat drawn towards each other; so that she said, “this will do,” convinced that she had now the proper remedy. The chronic inflammation rapidly disappeared; the pain, burning and itching, which had tormented him for half a year, subsided; the large ulcer began to heal; and *in a month from the day when mesmerism was begun, there was neither ulcer nor inflammation, and his leg has continued as sound as the other to this day, Sept. 20th* : all medicines and applications having been omitted, that the mesmerism might be fairly judged of.

She experienced no sensation in her hand from mesmerising her father.

I cannot refrain from mentioning that Mr. Edwards was a tried friend of Mr. Wakley, who long ago was made fully acquainted with the cure of the elder daughter and introduced him to me about eighteen years ago. Mr. Wakley was never in my house but twice in his life, on neither occasion sitting down, nor remaining five minutes. The first time was to request my professional services for Mr. Edwards, who then laboured under paralysis: the second time was after an interval of nine years, to request I would go down to the House of Commons and give evidence on the poor law. I never tasted food or drink under the same roof with him in my life. I seize the present opportunity of mentioning this, because lately *The Medical Times* most untruly called me a chum of Mr. Wakley's, and Mr. Edwards assured me that Mr. Wakley had told him I was at all his parties, though I never either visited him or met him in society, or ever heard of his being in society. He thought proper to report my clinical lectures for his own interest, and thereby increased the sale of his *Lancet* considerably. Not having yet got on in my profession like my contemporaries who were physicians, and finding my lectures ill reported, I feared I should suffer, and therefore offered gratuitously to correct the proofs of them myself; and I did for a few years. This occasioned me to call sometimes at the printer's, and sometimes at Mr. Wakley's house, where his subeditor was to be found; and thus I had a speaking acquaintance with him: but my taste did not and could not allow of any farther acquaintance with the man.

V. *Cure of a Contracted Finger, with local Mesmerism.*

By Dr. ELLIOTSON.

MISS JANE CRITCHLEY, of 22, Great Pulteney Street, Golden Square, the younger sister of the lady whose cure of hiccup with mesmerism and wonderful mesmeric phenomena are recorded in Vol. II., p. 42, and who then resided in Beak Street, Regent Street, had a little round lump (a solid ganglion) on the tendon (leader) of the middle finger, exactly at the spot where the finger and palm join. Touching it or bending the finger occasioned a pricking pain and made her feel sick. As it increased to the size of a large pea, Mr. Johnston, the family medical attendant, whose liberality I acknowledged in my account of the case of hiccup and who has ever since been consistent and liberal, cut it out. The wound healed, but the *finger then contracted*, and bent down towards the palm, so that it could neither be extended nor bent upon the palm, but *remained midway,—each joint being half bent : a second lump began to form at the seat of the first, and a third at the next joint. The whole hand grew weak, so that she dropped whatever she attempted to hold.* Lotions were applied; but, as they did no good, she came to me on the 26th of last February. I advised it to be first soaked in warm water for half an hour, and then mesmerised by passes without contact, inside the finger and along the palm, for half an hour, night and morning. The hand had always been cold after the operation; but a fortnight after she consulted me, it acquired its natural warmth; in a month the lump, with of course the tenderness, was much lessened, and the finger so much less contracted, that, though the water was used twice a day, the mesmerism was had recourse to but every other night: and *at the end of another month the lump and tenderness were gone, the finger was straight, and the hand had acquired its original strength.*

When taken out of the water the hand always felt weak,—but as the mesmerisation, which was immediately begun, proceeded it invariably grew warmer and warmer till it acquired a burning heat at the end of the half hour, such a heat that she “could hardly bear it;” and at the same time it grew heavier and heavier to her feelings, so that she was in the habit of laughing and telling her sister, who was the mesmeriser, and on whose lap the hand rested during the process, that it would stick to her lap. When the process was finished, the sense of weight went off and the hand felt strong. The acquired strength did not go off before the next mesmerisation; and each mesmerisation augmented the strength.

The sister felt nothing herself the first few times that she mesmerised the hand. But she then began to experience a burning of her whole hand, and a tingling of her fingers, with swelling of the veins, which lasted some little time after each operation.

VI. Instances of the Power of the mere Will over others.

By Mr. H. S. THOMSON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOEIST.

SIR,—I have repeatedly said that will as I would, I have never been able to produce any effect by mere will: and could never see any reason to think that when I used manipulations or other visible means, their efficiency was at all different whether I at the same time excited my will to the utmost or thought of other matters so as not to be aware that I willed at all. But I fancy I have not a strong will. Neither my organs of Firmness nor of Self-esteem are greatly developed; nor those called by some, whether accurately or not, the organs of Concentrativeness. But I never thought of denying the influence of the will because I had not witnessed its power. In July, 1843, (*Zoeist*, No. III., p. 240,) at a meeting of the Phrenological Association, I said, "I myself have never produced any mesmeric effect by the will. But so many persons have related experiments to me which appear satisfactory that I must admit its influence." Mr. H. S. Thomson, to whom the cause of mesmerism lies under such deep obligation, and who has practised greatly with his will, has kindly complied with my request for information, and put the following account at my disposal.

I remain, &c.

J. ELLIOTSON.

Fairfield, near York,

August, 1845.

My dear Elliotson,—I fear you will think that I have been a long time in sending you a sketch of those cases of volition you were interested in. I merely relate to you a few facts, as I have met with them, and shall only observe that I have found several patients in the course of my mesmeric experiments, whom I could affect as strongly by will as by passes; and I have met with instances where I have relieved pain by the mere exercise of the will and without the knowledge of the patient; and have observed that those patients who are the most sensitive, (i.e. who can be most readily attracted to, and repelled from, the mesmeriser, by passes,) are those over whom the exercise of the will seems to have generally the most powerful effect. I have had one or two patients who had been long under mesmeric treatment, and whom I could invariably put to sleep by concentrating my thoughts upon them, even when they had no intimation whatever of my intention. I think I mentioned to you the first case that I met with, and which accidentally convinced me

of the influence which sometimes the thoughts of the mesmeriser have upon his patient, (an influence which I imagine is not altogether confined to mesmerism, or the mesmerised,) but is more generally felt than suspected. It is about two years ago, that one day I had been endeavouring to mesmerise a lady for a neuralgic pain; but finding I had not produced the usual beneficial effect, but on the contrary, some unexpected nervous twitchings, and an increase of pain, I left off the operation, and sat down on the opposite side of the room to that on which my patient was, and unconsciously fixed my eyes on a picture on that side of the room on which my patient was sitting. I observed in a short time that she turned her head slowly round, and apparently fixed her eyes on the same object. I was struck with this, and without moving my head turned my eyes towards a table, at some distance from the picture, on which some books were lying. I found that her attention was shortly directed to the same object. I wondered whether the patient would be induced to go to the table, and books, if I kept my thoughts rivetted upon them; I did so, and in a few minutes she got up, walked to the table, and turned the books over as if in search of one, but did not select one. I then suspected that my thoughts, to some extent, were participated in, and without looking at my patient, I willed her to go to a table in the centre of the room, and take a book from it; she did so, and returned and sat down with it. I closed my eyes, and willed her to speak to me, (not a word had been previously spoken by either of us for ten minutes;) I had been reclining on a sofa with a book in my hand, as if engaged in reading. She almost immediately put her book down, and seemed desirous of entering into conversation with me. I made no observation to her at the time about what she had done, but observed afterwards similar results, from my will, on this patient. The experiments were not always successful, as a trifle, such as an observation made by any other person, or anything which attracted the attention, seemed to counteract them, and also at times I found that I had not the same influence. I was much struck with these phenomena, and determined to watch my other patients more closely, and also to try some experiments on others whom I had not mesmerised.

One of the most curious and interesting cases that I have met with in a mesmeric state, is that of a gentleman, a friend and patient of mine, and whom I have been fortunate enough greatly to relieve, if not entirely to cure, of a most distressing complaint. He has seldom been in a very deep mesmeric

sleep, and when he awakes, is almost always conscious of everything that has been said and done. I had observed that he was particularly sensitive; and that by passes made at a considerable distance, I could attract or repel him, or move his legs and arms, in any direction I pleased,—this I can succeed in doing when he is awake; he has the power of resistance, but says that it is very disagreeable to him to exert it. I had mesmerised him one evening when he was just recovering from a severe attack of his complaint; and when he was asleep, his wife, who was in the room, observed, that she had been sceptical, and had not believed that any benefit could be derived from mesmerism; and especially that parts of the science, or art, which some contend for, appeared to her so perfectly absurd and incredible,—such as clairvoyance, prevision, and the power of volition,—that surely I myself did not believe in these, however great my faith in it as a sanative power. I said, “Suspend your judgment for a short time, and observe your husband.” I had seen that he was more than usually sensitive; his hands twitching, and following mine every pass that I made. I made a sign that I would make him frown (he was smiling very complacently at the time),—he did so. I continued, until his wife seemed alarmed at the angry and distressed feeling which appeared to agitate him. I willed him to laugh, in a few moments he was seized with a fit of laughter, rubbing his hands, and appearing as if some circumstance had greatly amused him; on asking him what he was laughing at, he answered, “Nothing particular; I only feel in a laughing humor.” I then made him lift in succession his arms and his legs, get up from his seat, and attempt to sing a song; and when I was going away, I asked him *mentally* if he would come out and take a ride with me; he arose from his chair, buttoned up his coat, and said, “Come along then, I am ready.” I shall not readily forget the expression of wonder and astonishment depicted on his wife’s countenance, but I have never heard her utter a doubt as to the power of the will since. The gentleman has since this been mesmerised by other persons, and has been told the experiments that I had tried on him, and I think these circumstances have in some measure been detrimental to the clearness of the later experiments which I have tried upon him. Yet even now, I feel persuaded, I can produce phenomena in him sufficient to convince all but those who *will not believe*. I have several times relieved him of spasms, and taken pain away, by merely directing my whole attention to the part affected, and without making passes over it, or pointing at

it, or touching it, and this when in a mesmeric sleep and ignorant of my intention. He has generally remarked, "I do not know what you are doing, but my chest feels warm, and you are taking away the pain."

The few experiments that I tried on some of *your* patients were satisfactory, and I have no doubt that Dr. Engledue would tell you how successful we were, and how much interested with some we tried, one day when he was with me. The first of your patients that I experimented on was "Mary Ann." I forget the day of the month, but it was in May last, that I called upon you and found your patients as usual enjoying their mesmeric nap. I thought that I would try if I could affect any of them by will. I retired into the adjoining room, leaving the door open, but sitting so that if your patient, "M. A.," even had her eyes been open, she could not have seen me. I commenced willing her to come into the room where I was. In a few minutes I heard her mention my name, and shortly afterwards I saw her arm advancing beyond the open door, and in action, as if beckoning some one to come to her. She at length got up and came into the room where I was, and said, "Why did you call me?" I said, "I did not call you; did you hear any one else call you?" She said, "No; I did not hear you call me, but yet I know you did so; you said, come here M. A., come here." I produced this effect, and some others, two or three times, on this patient, but did not continue my experiments, as it appeared to distress and make her uncomfortable and hysterical afterwards. A few days after this Dr. Engledue and I tried some experiments on "Ellen." You know how averse she was to any stranger touching her, when in a mesmeric state, and that unless persons had mesmerised her, she did not appear to recognize them when they spoke to her. Dr. Engledue said he was curious to see if I could produce any effect on her by will. I sat down on a sofa in an adjoining room, in a situation where I could see her if I wished. I commenced willing her to come into the same room; in a very short time she seemed restless and uncomfortable, frowning and compressing her lips. She rose two or three times from a reclining posture, and appeared wishful to get up. I tried for ten minutes or more without producing any other effect. Dr. Engledue then asked her what she was thinking about, and what made her so restless; after some hesitation she said, "I want to go into the other room to Mr. Thomson, but do not like to do so; he is a stranger, and would think it so odd and rude," (or something to that effect;) finding I could not influence her, so as to make her come to me, I

asked Dr. Engledue to awaken her, and allow me to mesmerise her, which he did. I then wished her good-bye, retired into the adjoining room, and commenced willing her to come to me; she almost immediately sat up, and smiled, and in a few minutes began whispering, with some eagerness, "May I come; do you wish me to come into that room?" She then got up and walked towards me; when she had advanced half way across the room, I willed her back again; she frowned and turned round directly. I then willed her to go to Dr. Engledue, then *from* him. I took hold of her hands, and willed her to go from me at the same time, when she drew her hands forcibly from mine, &c. &c. So rapidly did she answer to my will at last, that her actions and my thoughts seemed nearly simultaneous.

The case of Dr. Ashburner's patient at Baillière's I may as well mention, and as I dare say you may see Mr. Atkinson shortly, it would perhaps be as well to ascertain whether his recollection or notes correspond with my own. I have never had the pleasure of either seeing or communicating with Mr. Atkinson since we experimented together. I find from my note book that I have unfortunately omitted to mark the date of the following occurrences, but as you were present at the meeting or private exhibition of "*Alexis*," given by Lord Adair at Baillière's in Regent Street last July twelvemonth, you can probably supply my defect in this respect.

Mr. Atkinson and I had been speaking on the subject of volition; we both agreed that we were convinced a powerful effect could be produced on mesmeric patients by will only, and that it was possible also to suggest ideas and feelings to others without their being in a mesmeric state; and we thought that we were justified in concluding that this sympathetic feeling was general, and its influence more frequently felt than people had any idea of. We determined to try an experiment on some person in the room: the party was large, and amongst the persons it consisted of was a patient of Dr. Ashburner's, who had been cured of a serious affection of the heart by mesmerism. We thought that we were as likely to succeed with her as with any one else in the room, and it was agreed that Mr. Atkinson should tell me what he wished me to suggest to the young person. Mr. Atkinson and I had retired into the back drawing-room, which communicated with the front by folding doors; we left all the other persons present intently occupied in listening to the revelations of "*Alexis*." Mr. Atkinson then requested me to try whether I could influence the girl by will, so as to make her come into the back drawing-room, and look out of the window; I made

the attempt, and very soon the girl left the party in the other room, and came and looked out of the window. Mr. Atkinson told me to will her back again; I did so—she returned in about a minute. We repeated the experiment, and again succeeded, and made her sit down in a chair by the window. We left her sitting, and went into the other room. Mr. Atkinson then requested me to will her to come to me, stand a short time near me, walk round me, and go back again, and sit in the chair by the window. I did so, and the experiment was perfectly successful in every particular.

Dr. Ashburner, who had observed we were trying some experiments on his patient, was informed by Mr. Atkinson exactly of what had occurred. Dr. Ashburner asked me if, after "Alexis's" *séance* was over, I would try whether I could put his patient to sleep by will only, and when in another room. I consented to make the experiment. Dr. Ashburner informed several of the parties present of my intention, and when the exhibition of "Alexis" was closed, the party retired into the back drawing-room, where the girl was still sitting. I remained in the front-room; in seven minutes the girl was in a mesmeric sleep. I then excited several faculties by will only, and concluded by making her give me a note or packet, which I had observed she had been somewhat anxious to conceal.

All these experiments were tried on patients who were in a mesmeric state, or who were highly sensitive from having been mesmerised; but I have tried experiments on others who had never been mesmerised, and who were not aware at all, at the time, of my intention, and the results have often been very curious and interesting; though I have frequently at other times been unable to discover that I produced the slightest effect.

I will describe a few of the experiments I tried a short time since on a lady. In a conversation with a party,—believers, and interested in mesmerism,—I had been relating some of my own experiments and those of others on volition, and also expressed an opinion that we were perpetually influencing others with whom we associate by our thoughts and feelings, without the slightest intention or knowledge on our parts that we are so doing. They seemed rather incredulous on these points, but at the same time expressed a wish to see an experiment tried. The party consisted of three gentlemen, myself, and a lady: the lady a daughter of one of the gentlemen present. The lady leaving the room shortly afterwards, it was agreed that I should try whether I could suggest anything to her by will, and that as soon as she returned and

was seated, I was to will her to get up from her seat, to go twice to a table in the centre of the room, and the last time take a bunch of keys from the table and sit down with them. All this she did. Another day I tried several experiments on this lady, and succeeded completely. She brought me two books, walked in particular directions, and at last guessed that I had a twig of a plant in my hand, and described it in the manner I wished,—as a stick with some leaves on it. This I willed at the request and suggestion of another person. I have generally found that it was necessary, in trying these experiments, to keep your attention fixed on the subject you wished to suggest to another, without wavering; and that the person should be totally unconscious of your intention.

I could give you many other instances of cases of volition, with some very extraordinary effects produced by it at considerable distances, but have thought it better to confine my relation to those cases only which seem beyond the pale of mere coincidence, and in which it would appear that imagination in all probability could have contributed nothing whatever to the success of the experiments.

Yours ever, most truly,

HENRY S. THOMPSON.

VII. *Cases of Amaurosis, Ophthalmia, severe Rheumatism, Catarrh, and Pain of Head and Giddiness from a fall, cured with Mesmerism.* By Mr. H. S. THOMPSON. Communicated by Dr. ELLIOTSON.

Fairfield, near York,

Sept. 4th, 1845.

MY DEAR ELLIOTSON,—I send you a few cases that have been relieved by mesmerism. If you think them worth noticing, you may send them for insertion in *The Zoist*.

Ever truly yours,

HENRY S. THOMPSON.

I have had several cases of diseased eyes, within the last six months, some of which have derived much benefit from mesmerism.

Ann Hutch, a girl of about fourteen years of age, applied to me for a certificate to the York Eye Institution. The sight of one eye had been defective for some time, and she suffered much from pain in her head. Suddenly the sight of the other eye became so deranged, that she could not distinguish any object distinctly, and could but just find her way about with-

out assistance. After trying the remedies recommended for a short time, and finding her small amount of sight still continue to decrease, I determined to try mesmerism. The disease was *amaurosis*; the vision of the right eye was quite obliterated, and with the other she could but faintly distinguish the outline of objects. The first time I tried mesmerism, she could see to read small print with the best eye, and could distinguish between light and darkness with the other. This effect lasted but a few hours. I have continued to mesmerise this patient every day when at home. The improvement has been slow, but steady. One eye is perfectly restored; the other nearly so—with it she can distinguish any large object, and different colours, and can see to read very large print. She is now not subject to relapse when the mesmerism is not continued, and all pain and uncomfortable sensation in the head is removed. She was very severely burnt about the sides several years ago, and complained of continued pain of the injured parts; this has been also entirely removed.

Anna Hodgson, aged twenty, came to me July 22nd;—her eyes were diseased from a very early age, after the measles, and the sight was gradually growing worse. She had not been able to see to read for six years. The pupils of the eyes seemed to have very little power of contracting or dilating. The *humors of the eyes were discoloured*, and there was great *opacity of the cornea*, particularly of the right eye. I have mesmerised her constantly, from the time she first came to me. Her sight is much improved, she can see to read and work readily. The eyes look bright, and the cornea of both nearly clear. The chief defect now in her eyes would appear to arise from the state of the iris, which causes it to dilate and contract irregularly. This, I should fear, is a defect which cannot be remedied, and one that I could not observe at first, from the insensibility of the eyes; her sight, however, is wonderfully improved.

Within the last three months, I have had three cases of *inflammation of the eyes*; one, a very severe case, where the sight was much affected. They were all relieved by once mesmerising. In two of the cases, on the following day, you could not see a trace of inflammation left; and in the other, though the eyes were slightly congested, yet all sense of pain, weakness, and uncomfortableness were gone.

On Monday, the 1st of September, 1845, a poor woman was sent to me by my father, in order that I might try whether mesmerism would be serviceable to her. This was a case of severe *rheumatism*, and her pain seemed very great.

She had been afflicted about a twelvemonth, and had been obliged to leave her situation in consequence. She had been under different medical treatment, which appeared to have little or no effect upon her, the pain being removed from one place only to attack another with redoubled violence. She told me she did not know what it was to have a good night, and the agony at times was scarcely endurable. The pain, when I saw her, was most violent in the shoulder and elbow of the left arm. I made a few passes over the arm and shoulder--the arm became perfectly rigid, and the pain was removed. I began to mesmerise her; she soon closed her eyes, and broke out into a profuse perspiration; she awoke perfectly relieved, not even any stiffness remaining in her arms and shoulders. When I saw her the following day, she had had no return of pain, and had had an excellent night. I hear she still continues well.

August 10th. A young lady had a sudden attack of *cold, attended with pain in the chest, and loss of voice*. All these symptoms were entirely removed by once mesmerising, and she has continued perfectly well since.

August 12th. Relieved a gentleman, (a friend of mine), of a *similar attack* as speedily.

On Friday, the 29th, I was out riding with a large party, amongst whom was a young lady whose horse ran away and threw her with considerable violence against some railings. She was much stunned and bruised. She was so giddy and faint that she was obliged to be conveyed home in a carriage. On reaching home, she complained of *violent pain in the head, and giddiness*, and was *so stiff* from the bruises and contusions that she walked with difficulty into the house. I offered my services--she went into a mesmeric sleep very quickly, and I continued mesmerising her until she said that all pain had ceased. She awoke apparently no worse for her accident. A few hours afterwards, the pain in the head returned. I repeated the mesmerism, she again awoke quite well, and has had no return of headache since; nor has she suffered from the stiffness or soreness of the bruises and contusions, some of which were severe. My wife received a note from the young lady three days after the accident, expressing her thanks, and saying, "pray tell Mr. Thompson that I may say with the Irishman, 'I am no worse for my fall, but quite the contrary.'"

VIII. *Cure of severe Affection of the Nervous System, and extreme Debility, with Mesmerism.* By Mr. W. CASE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

Fareham, Hants, 7th Sept., 1845.

SIR,—I shall be obliged by your inserting the inclosed statement of a case in which the most simple mesmeric phenomena have been followed by the most marked and happy results. I believe it more than doubtful if any other mode of treatment would have been followed by success; and certain am I that no other mode with which I am acquainted could have been followed by the speedy and marked beneficial results which attended the steady employment of mesmerism. But for the kind advice and encouragement afforded by Dr. Elliotson, I doubt whether the steady and persevering employment of mesmerism could ever have been obtained, and sure I am that the patient is most grateful to the Doctor for his efforts on her behalf,—a feeling too which is sincerely shared by

Your obedient servant,
WM. CASE.

Mrs. L., the wife of a naval officer, residing at Fareham, aged 25 years, naturally of a highly nervous and excitable temperament, had been suffering much mental anxiety for a considerable period.

After more than usual excitement she was, on the 18th of April, 1845, attacked with very severe pain in the head, especially the forehead; and this was accompanied with fever, a rapid pulsæ, white tongue, intolerance of light and noise, loss of appetite, considerable thirst, hot skin, sleeplessness, and derangement of the secretions generally. Mrs. L. was at this time a nurse, but the function soon ceased. She was placed on low diet, febrifuge medicine administered, and attention paid to the state of the secretions, her room darkened, and every care taken to prevent noise, while cold evaporating lotion was constantly applied to the head, some of the hair having been removed.

Under a scrupulous adherence to this plan the fever gradually subsided, the pain in the head became less, and at the end of a week she was thought to be convalescent, but was reduced to a state of extreme weakness, having been far from strong previously to this attack. After the lapse of a few days her appetite was good, and her strength somewhat greater, which induced her, imprudently, to set her ever active

brain to work ; the result of which was, on the 8th of May, a return of the severe pain in the head, and febrile symptoms. On the 9th this pain was much worse, in fact agonizing, with the former intolerance of light and noise increased, and loss of appetite. The application of cold to the head, &c., gave very temporary relief throughout the day, and only under the influence of an anodyne at night was any sleep obtained. About 12 o'clock on this night she suddenly awoke complaining of having had a horrid dream, of the belief in the reality of which she was unable to divest herself. From this time, until about 4 o'clock a.m. on the 10th, there was constant delirium without fever, and at length she sank into a sleep.

During this delirium I had mesmerised her a considerable time, and almost hoped that a somewhat soothing effect was produced. After she had slept about half an hour, she was suddenly seized with a violent general convulsion, which left her in a state of insensibility. On her recovering from this state, she still complained of headache, in the forehead more especially, extending down the right side of the face, and fastening on the second molar tooth in the upper jaw on that side.

She was now reduced to a state of great danger, from the extreme debility on the one hand, and the very great excitability of the brain and the rest of the nervous system on the other.

In the course of this day she was seen twice by Dr. Elliotson, and herself asked the Doctor if he would mesmerise her—to which request he most cheerfully acceded. He advised the continued application of cold to the head, attention to the digestive organs, and mesmerism to be continued for half an hour twice daily. This course was steadily pursued with, during the first week, a soothing effect and relief to the pain : in the second week these effects were much increased, even before mesmeric sleep was induced. *From the very commencement of mesmerism she slept better, and after its persevering use for ten days she used to fall asleep after my visits, awake to eat, and sleep again.* She had now a good healthy appetite, and in fact *her whole existence was passed between eating and sleeping*, repairing the strength of the frame by the ready digestion of all the food taken (which consisted of plain nutriment only), and affording to her previously over-taxed and ever excitable brain the repose required to restore its healthy functions.

During this time the bowels took on a perfectly healthy action, and only once or twice did a little grey powder appear

indicated by the state of the secretions; and this, with two or three teaspoonfuls of castor oil, was the whole of the medicine taken during the course of treatment after the commencement of mesmerism.

On the 12th May the pain in the head was much relieved, that in the face and tooth better; and on this day *I began to experience a pain in the right side of my face, more particularly in the same molar tooth as that in which Mrs. L. complained of pain.* This pain, for several days, increased while I was engaged in mesmerising her, and during this period the pain was gradually leaving her. The pain I felt was so severe that it appeared to me that it would be pleasure to sit down to have the tooth extracted. The severe pain continued with me for some days after she had lost all pain, but by degrees it went off.

On the 28th May, after 20 minutes mesmerism, she passed into mesmeric sleep-waking, evincing attraction to the mesmeriser, and repulsion of all others, replying to my questions as to whether she was asleep, comfortable, &c. From this time I put her to sleep each day in a shorter period, her appetite continuing good, and her strength increasing. On being put to sleep in the morning, she slept from half an hour to two hours; and at night, from that time until six, seven, or eight the next morning.

On the 3rd of June, from some cause, she was attacked by pain in the right shoulder blade, extending down the right side of the spine. When mesmerising, I at first placed my open hand on the seat of pain, when she immediately experienced "a glow" in the part, and relief to the pain. The relief not continuing, I altered my plan, and, previously to making passes before the face for the purpose of putting her to sleep, I made passes over the seat of pain for five or ten minutes, which always gave relief. *Very soon after beginning this plan, pain seized my right shoulder, in the same spot as my patient felt it.* It was not constant (neither had my patient's pain been so), but always came on as soon as I began to mesmerise. It lasted some days after she had lost all pain, and then gradually disappeared.

In her mesmeric sleep she has been most intolerant of sounds, hearing painfully any slight sound, and even a whisper causing an immediate contraction of the brow.

After she went into the mesmeric sleep, and became intolerant of contact with any but her mesmeriser, she very curiously every night on her mother coming into her room where she slept, turned towards her, in whatever direction she might be lying, with outstretched arms, which she put around her

neck, and kissed her. If her mother did not at once go to her, she appeared much distressed, but she would suffer the approach of no one else. Of all this she was on awaking quite ignorant.

I mesmerised my patient with continued progress until the 18th June. At that time, as I was leaving home for a few days, her husband undertook the duty, and has done so until now (7th July); and I am happy to say that she now has better health than she has had for some few years. She yet wants some strength, though it daily increases: but in all other respects her health is *perfect*.

P.S.—I should state that on communicating to Dr. Elliotson the fact of the transference of the pain from the patient's face to my own (her mesmeriser), he advised the having made "very slow passes with contact from the seat of pain along the jaw outwards, downwards, and inwards to the point of the chin, at least twice a day:" but from my constant occupation, this was never done. He states, "You would presently lose it (the pain) in all probability. The good Samaritan who mesmerises you is not likely to take it himself, but will merely scatter it to the winds."

IX. Cases of Neuralgia and of Epilepsy cured with Mesmerism.

By Dr. BUXTON.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

SIR,—Should you consider any of the following cases worthy of record, I shall feel obliged by their insertion in your valuable periodical.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN BUXTON, M.D., M.R.C.S., &c.

Brownlow-street, Bedford-row,

23rd August, 1845.

Odontalgia.

Mrs. H., æt. 21, residing in Upper Seymour Street, Euston Square.

10th Nov. 1844. Has been suffering for four or five days from very severe tooth-ache, attended with much swelling of the right side of the face, arising from having taken cold in a carious tooth (the right superior canine) when coming up to town. From the intensity of the pain, her nights have been quite sleepless. I mesmerised her at half-past three in the

afternoon, by passes for a quarter of an hour, and she dozed another quarter of an hour, but awoke from the severity of the pain, which, however, was quite subdued by blowing on the cheek. I then directed her to apply a linseed meal poultice to the cheek.

11th, 3½ p.m. Has passed a comfortable night, but the pain returned about an hour ago. On examining the inside of the mouth I found an abscess pointing just above the root of the carious tooth, and by pricking it, let out a quantity of pus. Then I mesmerised her for twenty minutes, and notwithstanding her utmost efforts to keep awake, she again dropped off to sleep for about ten minutes. As the pain still continued when she awoke, I blew on her cheek for about ten minutes, and again quite removed the pain, which did not return. She continued applying the poultice for a day or two, till the swelling had subsided.

Nervous pain in the forehead and chest.

Dinah Hearn, of No 3, Foster's-buildings, Whitecross-street, a stout healthy-looking child, five years of age, was brought to me by her mother on the 4th January, this year. She had always enjoyed excellent health till she had the measles twelve months previously, but had since been subject to pain over the right eye, and at the superior portion of the right side of the chest, recurring several times a-day. She also moaned and tossed about a good deal in her sleep, and woke each morning crying with the headache, and appearing unrefreshed.

I could not detect any other symptoms of disorder in the child; the bowels were regular, the appetite good, and pulse natural. She had had jalap and other aperients occasionally, but with only very temporary benefit. I mesmerised her by passes at 10 a.m., but without producing any perceptible effect. She had her headache and pain in the chest when I began, and still complained of them when I desisted, but upon my blowing for one or two minutes upon the painful parts she was quite relieved.

On the 6th she had been much freer than usual from the pain in her head and chest, and had slept much better, without tossing or moaning, nor did she wake crying, as had lately been her invariable habit. Mesmerised her again without any apparent effect, as also on the 7th and 8th. On the 9th and 10th she yawned once or twice. Being perfectly well, she gave up attending, and has continued till now (14th June) quite free from her complaints.

Epilepsy.

William Tonks, æt. 14, short, of Nag's Head-yard, Marlborough-mews, Oxford-street.

11th Nov., 1844. About the beginning of last June he fell from a waggon on his head, and a fortnight after had an epileptic fit, which lasted five minutes, and was followed by half an hour's sleep, or stupor. The next morning he had another, and a third about the beginning of October.

Since his accident he has been subject to headache, chiefly over the eyes; has not been able to read for more than five minutes without seeing the letters double and dazzling, and the eyes have been constantly winking. I mesmerised him by the passes at 6 p.m., for about a quarter of an hour, and he became drowsy and stupid, and I then roused him by blowing on the eyes and forehead. By this means the headache, from which he was then suffering, was removed.

The mesmerism was repeated for about 25 minutes on the 12th, 15th, 21st, and 28th. He had two slight fits on the 24th, and one on the 25th. I also mesmerised him on the 9th, 13th, 18th, and 27th December, and on the 3rd January of this year, but could not render him insensible. As he did not return, and I was anxious to know how he was, I went to see him on the 3rd February, and found him quite cured of all his ailments. He continued well on the 13th of June.

I consider this boy to have been cured by mesmerism, because I was always able, after mesmerising him, to relieve him of headache, or other pain, by blowing on the part, or applying my hand; and because up to the time that I first saw him, his headache and winking of the eyes had been gradually increasing, and he had become dull and listless, but since this treatment was pursued, he improved.

I need scarcely add that no other medical means whatever were employed in any of these cases. A regular diet and mode of life were enjoined.

Epilepsy.

Edward —, æt. 3, a florid, healthy-looking child, had been subject to fits for about two months previous to my first mesmerising him on the 8th May, 1844.

From what the child said both previously and subsequently to his temporary loss of speech, it appears that one evening, shortly before the fits were noticed, he was very much frightened by a dog springing upon him in the dark, and that this was the exciting cause of his disease; at least I have been unable to ascertain any other. He had had *tinea capitis* for two or three months when the fits came on, but it was

subsiding under the use of ung. cetacei externally, and the usual accompanying treatment. When about a year old, he had a severe attack of pneumonia, but for the last year had been in excellent health.

The fits were at first exceedingly slight, occurring perhaps once in the middle of the day, while at play, when he would suddenly become quite quiet, stare for half a minute, and then resume his amusement. Gradually they augmented in severity and number, and in about three weeks began to take place only at night. He now became a good deal convulsed in them, would have seven or eight in one night, and was rather listless in the day time. I was requested to see him, and although there was no other symptom of disordered health except the fits, ordered him some powders of calomel and scammony twice a week, thinking that if the fits depended on any obstruction in the digestive organs, they might remove the cause, or otherwise act beneficially by determining the blood from the head to the abdominal viscera. At the end of a week or ten days, finding my little patient becoming worse, I applied a blister to the nape of the neck, and very strictly regulated his diet, desiring that he should have no meat, pastry, nor any article of food difficult of digestion, and take rather less nourishment than usual. I gave him at the same time minute doses of belladonna, but notwithstanding, the disease continued to increase, and looking upon the case as otherwise quite hopeless, requested his mother to take Dr. Elliotson's opinion. We saw him on the 7th of May, and he said that mesmerism would cure the child, and that he thought every practicable plan had been tried. To shew me how to mesmerise him, he put him into an easy chair, and placing one hand on the top of his head, made the usual passes with the other for about ten minutes. The little patient yawned once or twice, and Dr. E. recommended that he should be mesmerised in this manner half an hour daily. On the 8th, therefore, I followed these directions at noon. Drowsiness and yawning ensued, and at the end of the time I roused him by blowing on the eyes, face, and forehead, and by transverse passes. The fits came on the succeeding night much as usual with him at this time. Twenty minutes or half an hour after falling asleep, he generally had one, which might last from three to ten minutes, and the attacks recurred about every half hour in the night till his ordinary time for getting up.

9th May. Mesmerised for half an hour by the passes at noon, and he went into a deep sleep for an hour and a half. On my then endeavouring to wake him by blowing on the eyes,

forehead, and vertex, and making transverse passes, a severe fit came on. He had three more fits before 5 o'clock, sleeping between them. After the last we kept him awake, and he took nourishment, and then went out for a little exercise.

The next night and till noon the following day he had fits every half hour, more or less severe. During the attacks, and in the intervals, I had repeatedly endeavoured to mesmerise him, but without any apparent effect. In the afternoon I again sent him to sleep, but the fits quickly reappeared, and continued at more distant intervals through the night.

On the 11th, 12th, and 13th, he was much the same, but on the 14th when mesmerised, he went into a deep sleep for 35 minutes, and woke of himself. On the next night he slept quite quietly for 12 hours, and was less restless on the following day.

At this time, and for the week previous, he had lost all command over the legs and arms, being unable to walk, feed himself, or speak; had much difficulty in holding his head erect, but his appetite was generally good.

15th, 3½ p.m. Put to sleep in seven minutes, and slept quietly, but not deeply, till about a quarter to five, when he awoke, but seemed very drowsy. I therefore mesmerised him again a little, and at a quarter-past five he had a pretty strong fit, though not of long duration. Soon afterwards he awoke, very cross. The following night was similar to the preceding, the 14th. He had fits during the mesmerism on the 16th to the 24th, and on an average 16 or 18 each night.

As he had had no attack on the night of the 14th, after having been free from them in the mesmeric state, I thought it would now be well to wake him from this condition before he should have a fit; therefore on the 25th, having allowed him to sleep ten minutes, I awoke him as usual. On the subsequent night, the fits were much fewer in number, and not so strong. On the 26th he was not mesmerised, and passed a night similar to the last. On the 27th I mesmerised him, and woke him in twelve minutes, and on the next night he had only one short and mild attack at eight in the morning.

28th. He can walk and use his hands a little, and support his head properly. Was in the mesmeric state a quarter of an hour to-day; and he slept the next night as is usual with him when in health, viz., restlessly, and tossing about much. On waking the following morning he was somewhat convulsed.

From this time he was mesmerised every other day for

about a month. He soon became able to walk alone again, and feed himself, and in the fourth week began to try to articulate; at the end of the time had nearly recovered his former health and power of speech, and afterwards continued well.

19th Nov. Dr. Elliotson had cautioned his mother to allow the mesmerism to be performed occasionally after he had become perfectly well to all appearance; but as she had to leave town, this was neglected, and when she returned, it seemed unnecessary to recur to it. For the last month, however, she has observed the little boy to be very restless day and night, he often changes colour, and now and then shivers, even while at play; she therefore requested me to mesmerise him, but it required 25 minutes to induce sleep. Fearing a return of the attacks, I awoke him in five minutes. Once or twice afterwards I tried for half an hour at a time, but could not succeed.

6th Dec. He has not appeared well for two or three days, and in the middle of last night was very restless. Just then a dog barked loudly near the window, and his mother saw him in a slight fit. I mesmerised him at three in the afternoon, and he went to sleep in five minutes for half an hour, when he awoke of himself.

7th. Mesmerised by his mother, who was suffering from pain in the chest and dyspnoea; but he was fretful the whole evening afterwards, and complained much of pain in the chest. The sleep also was very light, so that he would awake and answer if called or spoken to.

May, 1845. About a month ago he had three or four slight fits in the middle of the day, but only amounting to fixing the eyes. His mother thought they were owing to a change of residence. He is growing fast, and looks pale, but is otherwise quite well.

The mesmeric sleep in this case differed in only one particular from the natural sleep, as far as I could ascertain, viz., in its depth. When fairly in the mesmeric state, it required five or ten minutes blowing hard on his face, transverse passes, &c., to wake him, but a slight noise is quite sufficient to rouse him from the natural sleep. I could not induce any other mesmeric phenomena, as stiffening, clairvoyance, or answering, though I repeatedly tried.

I think that further remarks are unnecessary, as such will readily present themselves to any who will take the trouble of reading these cases with common attention. I noticed no other phenomena than those recorded, nor have I intentionally omitted any important facts.

X. *Cure of severe Affection of the Stomach with Mesmerism.*
By Mr. BALDOCK.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

7, Terrace, Chatham Yard,
7th August, 1845.

I HAVE to record another effectual cure through the instrumentality of mesmerism. On Friday, the 29th of May, 1845, I was requested by Mrs. Hughes, the wife of Captain Hughes, of the 80th Regiment, to mesmerise one of their domestics, named Ann Falton. She was 26 years of age; the wife of a non-commissioned officer of the Royal Artillery, and had had no family. She was formerly stout and in robust health, but for many months had been falling away, until she had become *almost a skeleton*. She had had *severe and constant pains in the pit of her stomach*, and most acute pain in the lower part of the region of her heart. For some weeks previous to my seeing her (at her master's quarters in Chatham Barracks), she could *not retain any food on her stomach*, throwing it up soon after she had eaten it, and with such severe pain that she was almost constantly moaning. Her eyes were sunk in her head, and she looked a doomed woman.

On the 29th May, I made passes over her for nearly an hour, and she went into the half-sleep. I devoted an hour to her on the 30th, and she passed into the deep sleep. I also mesmerised her an hour per day on the 31st of May, and 1st, 2nd and 3rd of June, by which time her pains had nearly left her, and her appetite was improving. On the 3rd, I found that she responded very promptly to my touch over several of the cerebral organs. On the 4th, 5th and 6th of June, I mesmerised her an hour each day, and she was wonderfully improved in health and spirits.

On Monday, the 9th of June, I found her very full of pain, having been absent in London two days. I had much difficulty in getting her into the mesmeric sleep, and for some time after her eyes were closed she groaned and was in much pain: but after she had been in the mesmeric sleep for an hour, she was awakened quite free from pain.

Tuesday, 10th June. When mesmerised, she responded beautifully to my touch over several of the cerebral organs. When Veneration and Ideality were excited in combination, she said she saw a most beautiful place, full of angels; that they were all making obeisance to a figure of light seated on a transparent brilliant throne: and the tears ran down her

cheeks most copiously; and her countenance assumed almost a seraphic appearance, being lighted up with devotional joy. When I excited Tune in conjunction with the two previously named, she said, "Do you not hear the music of harps, trumpets and lyres, and such beautiful singing?" And then she chanted a most holy chant. But when I took my finger away from Tune, she said, "They have done, they do not sing or play nice." But upon my replacing my finger on Tune again, she said, "Listen, there is the singing and music again." I asked her why she shed tears, and she said, that among the angels she saw three of her sisters, (long since dead), that they smiled upon her, but that she could not touch them or speak to them, as she was not good enough yet to go to the place where they were. When Philoprogenitiveness was excited, she said she loved children, that nothing should tempt her to beat them; that she would coax them to make them good. I excited Combativeness in combination, and then she said, "I would beat them well. I would *just* thrash them;" and when Destructiveness was added, she said she would smother them. But when Philoprogenitiveness was again excited by itself, she said, "Never beat children, you spoil them if you do." When Wit was excited, she laughed joyously, and said, "They are telling such funny stories;" and when I added Tune, she said, "Can you hear their funny songs?" I said no, and she sung most humourously, "Billy Barlow," and a parody on the "King of the Cannibal Island." When Imitation was excited, she echoed every word that fell from me. Gibberish, and imitation of cattle and of birds, she did to perfection. As fast as I changed, she followed me with exactness. When Colour was excited, she said she was in a beautiful garden, full of lovely flowers; there were white lilies, white roses, white statues, ladies dressed in white, and most beautiful flowers of all colours, I said, "If you had a nosegay of them, would you give part of them to me and part to your mistress?" "No," said she, "I would not part with one of them, I will keep them in my own room." But upon my touching over Benevolence also, she said, "I will give all of them away." But on my removing my finger from Benevolence, she said, "I will keep them all to myself." When Self-esteem was excited, she said, "I am a very grand lady, a marchioness." She said that she had a large establishment of servants—was most ridiculously affected in her manners, and said she had given directions to her butler not to admit her mistress or myself. When the organ of Order was excited she arranged her hair. In fact her head resembled a piano: you had but to touch

over any organ, and the response was as prompt as if you had touched a note of the piano. I mesmerised her daily until Monday, the 16th June, and again on the 19th, 22nd, 26th, and 30th June, on the 3rd July, 7th, 8th, 9th, and the 11th July. And it is with sincere pleasure that I record the fact, that she is now quite free from pain, has a good appetite, and that her face presents the appearance of sound health. She and her husband expressed much gratitude for the cure wrought in her with mesmerism alone.

Her case has excited much interest here, as her sickly appearance and her previous ill health was known to very many. Her cure, and the great improvement in her appearance, have made many at Chatham converts to mesmerism. Several persons saw her mesmerised, and upon different occasions witnessed the excitement of the cerebral organs—among whom I would enumerate Sir Thomas Wiltshire, Colonel-Commandant here; Captain and Mrs. Hughes, 80th regiment; Captain Burslem, 13th; Captain Smiley, 99th; Major and Mrs. Campbell; Mr. Powell, of New Bond-street, &c., &c., all of whom will corroborate the foregoing statement. I should add, that Ann Falton has an excellent private character, and neither she nor her husband had any previous knowledge of mesmerism or phrenology. She still continues in robust health.

I am yours, truly,
THOMAS BALDOCK.

XI. *Case of a Contracted Foot with severe Pain, cured with Mesmerism.* By Dr. ELLIOTSON.

"Practitioners who adopt the thousand follies of Hahnemann, Priemanns, and ANIMAL MAGNETISM, do so to obtain a living, not having the talent or patience to obtain the public confidence by the legitimate manner; consequently they cannot be considered a loss to medical science." &c. On the Remedial Influence of Oxygen, &c. By J. Evans Riadore, M.D., F.R.S., Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. London, 1843. page 8.

"Pretenders there are to refined originality, and disseminators with electric speed and brilliancy, of spurious medical philosophy; such, for instance, as the modern practitioners of hydro-pathy, homoeopathy, and MESMERISM; that inculcate practice by commission in the former and omission in the latter, who may be said to be—

'Our nation's terror, and her bloody scourge.'"—*Ibid.*, p. 7.

"Thus we may hope, &c., to recover those strayed patients who have unwittingly confided in the injurious modern systems, of which it may be said, that they were converted in *selfishness*, and have been brought forth in *murder*."—*Ibid.*, p. 13.

THESE quotations have not been made from a person of the least note, or whose name can be familiar to my readers; but still they shew the feeling of the profession, as the writer is struggling hard for notoriety and support in the heart of the fashionable part of London, and writing books on taking subjects, as he thinks, in a taking manner. With his remarks

on homœopathy and hydropathy, I have no business; but his vituperation of them and mesmerism as "*bloody scourges*," is rather simple. The omissions of mesmerists are the omissions of debilitating, tormenting, and disgusting measures, which have proved ineffectual, as the astounding cures recorded in *The Zoist* demonstrate. How far I had "neither talent nor patience to get on in a legitimate manner, and so endeavoured to obtain a living" by mesmerism, Mr. J. Evans Riadore knows full well. The talk of *impiety* was stale, even in Mr. Hocker the murderer.

"Enormous labours, the expenditure of incalculable energies," he says, at p. 8, "have elevated these sciences (medicine and surgery) to that high degree of development which they have obtained, and to the exalted ground they now occupy." Why, if this were true, we should not have multitudes dying weekly throughout the kingdom under the most popular physicians and surgeons and general practitioners and in the best hospitals; nor meet with multitudes who have sought at great expense in vain a cure for their sufferings, "straying" and "unwittingly confiding" to a succession of the three orders, who long treated them "in the legitimate manner."

Miss Eleanor Collins, of Newark, was brought to me by her father and aunt on the 20th of last March, with her *left foot strongly contracted—the point drawn downwards and inwards, the heel upwards, so that the instep was convex and tense, and any attempt which I made to force the foot a hair's-breadth forwards and upwards, or sidewise, was not merely fruitless, but gave severe pain*. She of course could not put it to the ground, and was under the necessity of being carried or hopping about with a stick. She suffered also *severe pain in the foot and up the outside of the extremity*—certain portions of the spinal chord concerned with sensation being thus affected, as well as of those concerned with motion. Her general health was not good: she was *weak*, and her *appetite was impaired*, and she *slept ill*. She had rather dark hair, eyes, and complexion; was short, but well, even strongly, formed; and was fully developed; her head was of excellent size and proportions, and her countenance expressive of great penetration, goodness, and decision of character. Her general appearance reminded me of the elder Okey, who with her sister was cured with mesmerism and is alive and well; but whose treatment is a foul blot upon Mr. Wakley and the multitude of medical men who ignorantly and cruelly took him for their leader.

Mr. Collins furnished me with the following history:—

"My daughter, when about twelve years of age, was at school at Grantham, and in coming home on a visit was seized, without any assignable cause, on the road with *hiccough*. This encreased to such a degree that she was unable to return to school. Dr. Chawner, an eminent physician at Newark, attended her. She was bled and blistered, and took the medicines proper in her case. At times the hiccough was so severe as to prevent her sitting on a chair without being held; her hair was thrown in disorder about her face, and her sufferings were, at times, exceedingly distressing both to herself and her friends.

"By the care and attention of her physician the paroxysms were diminished in number and intensity, but she still remained liable to a recurrence of them, and had them, more or less frequently, till she was about fourteen years old. At this period she experienced a difficulty in walking, and very shortly afterwards *lost all power in using her lower limbs*. She was, indeed, in a pitiable condition,—unable to bear the slightest noise, and incapable of attending in the least to her studies. This part of her affliction lasted for about a year, during which her *eye-sight so far failed her* as to render her incapable of reading music at the distance it is placed at the instrument, and she could read only large print; and for several weeks she was *totally blind*. Her *hearing also was affected*, and at one time we seriously apprehended that the *power of swallowing would be destroyed*.

"In the month of June, 1840, I took her, with much difficulty and no little anxiety, to Burlington Quay; and, having myself previously constructed an easy carriage, I drew her for some hours every day upon that beautiful pier. Her health was much improved by a residence of more than three months on the coast, and she returned home able to walk, but the hiccough occasionally returned.

"A few months after her return from Burlington Quay, she complained one morning of her *neck being stiff on the left side*, which at first was supposed to proceed from cold, and she was treated for it till the next day, when it was discovered by Dr. Chawner to proceed from the same cause as the hiccough; and, although the doctor was unremitting in his attention to her, the spasm continued to encrease till *the cheek was brought into actual contact with the shoulder, and the muscles were so rigid that it was utterly impossible to insert even a card between the parts*. The contraction drew her so much aside that *her spine began to be curved*. Everything, I believe, that the *materia medica* could supply in her case was employed, and she was galvanized for some time without

effect. We almost began to despair of relief as her neck had been drawn aside for six months.

"In December, 1841, I took her to London, with a written statement of her case, to consult Sir Benjamin Brodie, who fully approved of everything that had been done for her. He gave no hope of her speedy recovery, but said that she might get better in time.

"A newspaper, sent by an unknown friend, contained a report of a lecture on mesmerism by Mr. Braid, surgeon, of Manchester, in which was an account of a female having been cured of a violent contraction of the right hand by mesmerism. In the paper there was also a letter from Mr. Herbert Mayo, of London, in favour of this new agent. I immediately determined to take my daughter, then sixteen years of age, to Manchester; and I placed her under Mr. Braid's care. That gentleman first saw her in the evening of the 24th March, 1842, Dr. Chawner and myself only being present.

"Mr. Braid, having very quietly asked her a few commonplace questions, desired her to look steadily upon a silver lancet-case which he held about twelve inches above her head, but so that both eyes could gaze upon the object. In a few minutes her eyes closed in sleep. He extended her limbs and made them rigid. After her remaining thus for about two minutes, he gently placed her head upright, apparently with as much ease as a mother would change the position of the head of her infant, and awoke her suddenly. Her head, to our utter astonishment and delight, remaining straight. Immediately on awaking she appeared much excited, and began to weep. No doubt this proceeded from surprise and joy at finding her head so suddenly restored to its proper position. She was led into an adjoining parlour to the friend's at whose house we were residing, and after remaining for an hour or two on the sofa, all the time appearing very feeble, she was taken to bed.

"In the morning she came down to breakfast, perfectly straight, and was very cheerful. After breakfast Mr. Braid called, and again mesmerised, or, as he terms it, hypnotized her, and shortly afterwards I perceived that her head had a *slight nervous motion similar to a person affected with a shaking palsy*. Whilst in the mesmeric state he asked her a few questions, to which she replied in a low tone of voice.

"On the following morning he hypnotized her again, and the *nervous motion of the head soon after much increased*.

"We remained in Manchester the next day (Sunday), and on Monday we returned to Newark.

"We had not been at home quite a week when her mother

came to tell me that her head had been *again drawn aside* during the night, but that Dr. Chawner had hypnotized her, and with much ease had placed her head straight, and also that the nervous motion had entirely ceased. The latter has not since returned.

"In June of the same year I took her to Burlington Quay, with a view of benefitting her general health. Being myself obliged to leave after having been there for two or three weeks, I learned, with deep regret, that her head was again drawn aside. Notwithstanding this information, it was deemed prudent to allow her to remain by the sea-side for a fortnight longer, which completed the period for which she originally went. Dr. Chawner waited for her arrival at Newark, hypnotized her as soon as she reached home, put her head straight in a few minutes, and in an hour afterwards she walked into the town.

"It has been said that change of air was the cause of her recovery; but in this case she had been well for three months, and after a residence on the coast for a month, the spasm of the muscles on the *left side* of the neck, the side invariably affected, again occurred.

"On *several occasions*, probably six or eight, her head was drawn aside, and put straight, with perfect ease, by her mother, after Mr. Braid's method.

"In 1843 she went to reside with her brother at Lincoln, and enjoyed for some time very good health. In October, 1844, when coming down the "Steep Hill" in that city, she caught her left foot against a stone, and shortly afterwards a second time struck it against a projecting object.

"On reaching her brother's house she complained of the *pain in her foot*, which was fomented as for a sprain. This afforded no relief. On the contrary it was, in a few days, so painful, but without swelling, that she could not use it, and in December she returned to Newark.

"I soon felt convinced that the contraction of the foot was owing to the same cause as the previous spasm in her neck, and if she had struck her foot against a stone this was the effect of the spasm.

"The morning before she left Lincoln her mother hypnotized her with the hope that it might be as beneficial as it had previously been; she succeeded in producing sleep, but without the desired effect. When she was awakened by her mother, she had violent pain in her head and eyes, and felt very restless and weak, nor did those uncomfortable sensations leave her for more than an hour. She had not been similarly

affected before. Dr. Chawner wished her to be hypnotized again by her mother, but, for the first time, sleep could not be induced. In December Dr. C. attempted two or three times to hypnotize her, but did not succeed, though each trial lasted about half an hour; and each caused pain of the head and eyes. When in January her neck again became stiff, and, as was always the case when her head was drawn down, she suffered extreme pain along the whole of her left side and arm, the doctor once more hypnotized her, and with ease put her head straight, but could not in the least move her foot. After she had remained asleep for two or three hours, he awoke her, and desired that hypnotism should not be tried again for some time, as it had made her so much weaker, and had brought on great pain in her head and eyes. It was accordingly discontinued till the beginning of March, when a lady, Mrs. Ware, endeavoured three times one day to mesmerise her, for half an hour each time, and once the next morning, without success; but her mother produced sleep by Mr. Braid's method (the only one we were then acquainted with). The following morning they each tried again without any effect whatever, excepting the weakness and head-ache she had before experienced; but Dr. Chawner succeeded in putting her to sleep, though without any beneficial result upon the ankle. This I think was the last time she was *hypnotized*.

"Some time after her return from Manchester I received a letter from the Lady Mary Bentinck, stating she had heard that my daughter had had a relapse, and in the kindest manner, for which I can never feel sufficiently grateful, offered to give me a letter of introduction to Dr. Elliotson. As my daughter's health was then much improved, I could only thank her ladyship for her condescension and kindness; but in March last, her foot having then been violently contracted for six months, I applied to her ladyship, who, without any delay, most handsomely furnished me with a letter, and Dr. Elliotson saw my daughter for the first time on Thursday the 20th March. She was then, as she had been for *half a year*, unable to place her foot to the ground, and I had to carry her from one part of the house to another.

"She was very much out of health in many respects, and had been for some months. Her appetite was very indifferent, and she seldom closed her eyes for sleep before four or five o'clock in the morning, as the pain in her ankle increased to a high degree about seven in the evening and did not diminish till five in the morning; though from the first day

she was seized with the affection she constantly had pain in the foot, it was the most severe during the above-mentioned hours."

She was placed in an easy chair, and I made very slow passes with one hand from opposite her forehead to opposite her chest, occasionally pointing my fingers without movement before her eyes instead, looking at her intently, and she looking as much as possible at me, for five and thirty minutes: but no effect of any sort was produced. I then held one of those very short broad bottles, in which smelling salts are frequently sold, above her, which she looked upwards at, precisely as she had always done when treated in Mr. Braid's way, for fifteen minutes: still no effect came. The patient and her friends said that all was done precisely as Mr. Braid did, but, to make myself sure that the method was exactly followed, I next requested the father to hold the bottle over her for some minutes: all was in vain.

21st. From my daily experience of mesmerism for the nine last years, I felt a strong presumption that it would cure the present case, and bring forth beautiful phenomena. The absence of all effect from my passes and pointing upon a patient subject to a succession of such symptoms, I ascribed to her agitation at being with me for the first time; and had no doubt that the composure of a little acquaintance would enable her susceptibility to prove itself. As may be supposed, I resolved upon the old-established modes of mesmerising, and not upon the coarse method practised by Mr. Braid.

When I had made slow downward passes before her face for a short time, she looked drowsy, her eyelids drooped, her head grew unsteady, and in *twelve* minutes from the first she went into a deep mesmeric *sleep-waking*. Some go into it very slowly, so that for days and weeks, nay, months, the sleep seems only common sleep. But she went into it completely at once. She was *cataleptic*,—every part remaining in the position in which I successively placed it; and presently her arms, head, and trunk, became *rigid*, remaining in a fixed position, or, if forced from it, returning to it again.* The rigidity of those portions afterwards characterized her mesmeric state as long as I treated her; but the catalepsy never recurred except once about a week afterwards, and then lasted a few minutes only. The rigidity shewed itself as soon as I moved an arm, her head or trunk, from its position, and kept it still for two or three seconds. When a part was

* See my remarks upon the improper use of the term *catalepsy* by persons ignorant of medicine, Vol. II., p. 67.

thus rigid, she had no direct power over it—could not alter its position by merely willing this: but indirectly she could alter its position,—if she felt an emotion, to obey which the movement of a rigid part was required, she could move it. For instance, when her arm and hand were rigid, if I touched her hand, she instantly moved both and then closed her fingers to seize and grasp my hand; if I touched her head, she instantly moved her head away, and raised her arm to push my hand from her head; and if any one else touched her any where, she moved away the part touched and repelled with her hands. For she manifested *attachment* in the mesmeric state to me her mesmeriser, and *repulsion* of others: and her attachment to her mesmeriser was not so great as her aversion to have the organs of her brain touched over. As soon as ever her emotion was past, the parts were rigid again, though necessarily in a new position.* Breathing upon them at once produced relaxation.

Her eyes were too firmly closed for her to open them, and closed again instantly if I found them open; and this was the case to the very last day. She could not sit upright in the chair; but her activity increased daily, till she sat up well, and at length walked about. In the same way she spoke when addressed, but in a whisper and briefly: from day to day, however, her voice became louder and she spoke more freely; till at last she would chatter away like the liveliest girl awake. She was not in a dream, as some sleep-wakers are,† she knew where she was, who I was, and the time; though on subsequent occasions she occasionally fell into a dream for a longer or shorter time, and on exciting certain cerebral feelings strongly by mesmerising the appropriate organ we could throw her into a dreamy delusion.

I readily awoke her by rubbing my thumbs on her eyebrows outwards and blowing in her face.

On the third day (22nd) it was also *twelve* minutes before she went off.

On the fourth and fifth days only *six*.

For nine days she went off in *three*.

She then, from some accidental circumstance, had a great increase of pain, not only of the foot but of all the left side, even up to her head; and I was *seven* minutes upon the 3rd of April, and, as the pain had still increased, I was *nine* upon the 4th, in producing the mesmeric state.

* See my remarks, Vol. II., p. 61.

† See the case of Miss Rosina Barber, who was always, and whenever I mesmerise her is still, in a dream, Vol. II., p. 219.

The day following (April 5), however, as the pain had subsided, she went off in *three* minutes as before, and also on the 6th and 7th.

But on the 8th in *four* minutes; and on the 9th in not fewer than *eight* minutes, being ill and in pain—nam in *menstruis erat*.

On the 10th in *four* minutes; on the 11th in *five*, and she awoke for the first time spontaneously, at the end of two hours, from pain in the foot and leg. Not merely was the cause of general illness still in operation, but the pain had become aggravated, in all probability, on account of it, as is so commonly the case with all diseases in females; so that on the 11th, she again was not off in fewer than *eight* minutes; and for several days the time was about *four*; and then it was *three* again. Soon *two*; then *one*. Then three or four *passes* were sufficient; at length one, if slow, or even an earnest look for an instant without a pass, sent her at once into perfect sleep-waking. There was always, as usual with patients, a little more time required if she was at all poorly, or in pain, or unhappy. These circumstances not unfrequently cause great delay or even impossibility to produce full or even any sleep.

For the first few days I awoke her at the end of half an hour, this being the utmost time I could spare for her. But, happily, after some days she brought herself to be contented asleep without my presence, and I therefore allowed her to remain in the mesmeric state with other mesmeric patients, who always allowed me to leave them in their sleep-waking, in a room beyond my library while I received my general patients. Thus she was in the mesmeric state, like her companions, daily from ten till one or two o'clock, when I went out on my round. At length, whenever it was convenient for her aunt, who always accompanied her, to remain, she continued in my house asleep till four or five o'clock, by which time the sleep had usually expended itself. She has continued asleep till I returned to dinner at seven; and sometimes when I called in for a few minutes about four or five I have awakened her.

If her extremity pained her, or she was poorly, or annoyed, she awoke the sooner; and I have known her sleep to be so short that her aunt has knocked at my door two or three times during a morning for me to send her to sleep again. Sometimes I have not been aware of any cause for the shortness of her sleep. A sudden fright would wake her, as for instance when another patient one day near her fell down in a fit.

When I had mesmerised her *two days*, the foot was rather less pained, and, though still equally bent down, was less twisted to one side.

In twelve days from the first (April 1), she could just stir it

voluntarily in bed, and the pain was much less; and, though in a few days more there was an accidental increase of it, her general health was better; her improved looks struck every body; and the pain rapidly decreased.

On the 6th she had lost all pain, while the foot was at rest, and could stir it a little more.

On the 7th of April she had a return of her old severe pain, and I found it extended from the back of the head just behind the left ear, from two points before and behind the mastoid process, in two lines down the left side of the neck;—that arising before the mastoid running to the shoulder, that arising beyond the mastoid running to the scapula, left arm, body, and left side of the left leg and foot to near the toes.

The explanation of this aggravation will be found at p. 347: and she habitually suffered thus just before the occurrence. When painful or other disorders of females are aggravated by this circumstance, it is in some just before, in some during, and in some just after it, and in some at two or all these three stages. The pain was the same she had felt in her foot, and she compared it to the sensation from a hot string; her foot was now drawn more again out of its proper place, and her head was rather bent to the left side. This pain I understood was felt in the neck when her head was formerly twisted. I entirely removed it for the time by slow, firm, downward passes of my fingers with contact over her clothes,—over her stockings only as regarded the foot and lower half of her leg, and sleeves as regarded her arm, but over all her clothes as regarded the body and three-fourths of her left lower extremity; so that she woke perfectly free from it. This pain continued to return from time to time from a variety of accidental circumstances; and I always removed it by the local downward passes.

I removed it or head-ache much more quickly by making these passes in her mesmeric than in her ordinary state; though if she had either when awakened I could always remove it by them.

On April the 11th, I tried her foot for the first time since the first day, and found it quite flexible in her mesmeric state and after waking. Still she could not put it to the ground on account of the pain which the attempt occasioned in the heel bone, behind the small bone of the leg, in the tendon of Achilles, and on the outside of the back of the foot; but the local passes invariably removed this.

On the 19th she had another accession of pain in the whole side.

To whatever part I made the passes, so far only did I

remove the pain. If I made them from the neck to the hip, the pain ceased above the hip, but continued all below it: if I made them to the knee, they ceased above the knee, but continued below it: if I made them behind the ankle, she still had pain up the leg and on the back of the foot; and if I prolonged them on the back of the foot, the pain remained in the hollow under the ankle.

This is a circumstance familiar to mesmerisers, but, like the production and removal of rigidity exactly at the parts where mesmeric measures are employed, a stumbling-block and foolishness to medical men who choose to despise mesmerism. The less substance intervened between her and my fingers the sooner was the relief. In rubbing her foot, therefore, I at length prevailed upon her to allow her shoe to be taken off with great benefit, and I relieved the lower part of her leg and her foot sooner than those parts which were covered with the numerous articles of female dress. In producing rigidity, in relaxing rigid parts, in removing the ordinary degree of sensibility of a part no less than in removing pain, the less substance that intervenes between the patient and the mesmeriser's hand the greater is the influence. It is the same if the three last effects are attempted by slowly breathing upon a part.

Though my power in removing her pain was so great, and I thus every day quickly remove various pains, and in one young lady soon remove pains absolutely terrific, to which the least cold renders her subject at a certain period, and for which there was no help till I rendered her susceptible of mesmerism, I never have experienced any sensation in my hands or elsewhere upon benefitting her. Some persons do, always they say or occasionally; and some hearing this fancy they do. But this is unnecessary, and those who experience a sensation are not in the least more able to relieve pain than others. The thing merely shews a peculiar susceptibility of morbid influence in the mesmeriser in addition to the common power of lessening sensation: and it is quite analogous to the occasional occurrence in the mesmeriser of the very pain or other affection of the patient and at the same part, such as was so remarkably instanced in Mr. Case, whose interesting cure of a patient will be sent for your present number. Mr. H. S. Thompson, of Fairfield House, near York, has relieved large numbers of persons of severe pain by local mesmerisation, and yet never felt any sort of sensation: and very many successful mesmerisers tell me the same. In Vol. II., p. 239, I related the striking cure of severe inflammation of the eyes on two occasions by passes made before them; and

the operator made a communication to *The Zoist* in the next number, p. 379, that I had omitted to mention the striking circumstance that he felt pain and heat of his hand in proportion as the patient felt less pain and heat. This, like every fact, is worthy of record, but was forgotten by me in the all-important fact of the cure. However, this year the same patient had an equally violent inflammation of the eye, and the disease was removed as quickly as, or even more quickly than, last year by another operator, who felt nothing in his own hands from the process. An unfortunate circumstance reproduced the inflammation, and by its continuance hindered or maintained the disease in such violence that mesmerism failed to subdue it, and indeed soon could not be employed.

Long passes with contact removed her pain much better than breathing, pointing the fingers, or laying the hand upon the parts. It was the same with her headache, to which when I first saw her she was very subject. Passes with the fingers in contact, drawn from the middle of the forehead to each temple and down each side to the chin, never failed soon to remove it.

Sometimes I was too occupied to attend to her in her mesmeric state and make local passes when she was in pain; but the mesmeric state of itself almost always caused the mitigation or removal of the pain after the state was over. I continually notice this circumstance in cases of pain—that though no local measures are employed, and the suffering is not diminished in the mesmeric state, nay, either is increased or the ability to restrain expression of it lessened, amendment, perhaps even cessation, of suffering gradually ensues after the state is over: no doubt from the general improvement of the system, so commonly felt for a longer or shorter time on coming out of the mesmeric state.

She was free from pain after leaving me, and so far improved that on her return home from me she walked round the table well, resting her hand upon it, and did the same in the evening, though with a little pain. But the exertion was too much; brought on the pain again in the night, and this lasted the next day, so as to wake her up frequently from her mesmeric state.

Patients little think beforehand of the mischief they do themselves by too early trials of their intellectual, muscular and digesting capabilities in their joy at finding themselves improving.

26th.—Her foot is now quite flexible in all directions: but still too sensitive for walking without pain.

27th.—She had always been carried into the house, and through my sitting to the further room, for the first three weeks, while Dr. Engledue and myself were sitting at breakfast; and then from her increased strength had enabled her to hop through it; but to-day we were delighted to see her enter, and walk, though slowly, through the room with the help of only a stick, and resting really very much upon her left foot.

29th.—No pain; tenderness less, so that she walks better; but tried herself again so much after leaving me in walking about her sitting room, that she had a good deal of pain again upon the 30th.

It soon subsided for good, and she was able in a week to walk about the room without her stick; and on the 16th of May walked slowly without it from Cramer's music shop, at the Regent Street corner of Conduit Street, to my house, and was soon quite well. But I requested her father to allow her to stay in London till Midsummer—that by mesmerising her daily till that time I might consolidate her cure.

I will now give the continuation of her father's letter, which was interrupted at p. 345.

"On the 21st June I went to London, and was indeed most highly delighted to see her quite well in every respect. She informed me, as did her aunt who had been with her during the time she had been in town, that she had not taken a particle of medicine, neither had anything whatever been applied to her foot. Mesmerism, applied gratuitously, and with undeviating and unremitting kindness and gentleness, by Dr. Elliotson, had been the only means employed to effect her remarkable cure, and make a large family happy.

"On the 25th June we returned home by railway to Nottingham, and agreeably to the advice I received from Dr. Engledue, who was on a visit at Dr. Elliotson's during all her stay in London, I mesmerised her a few minutes before the train started. I had only to make one pass to send her to sleep, and she remained in that state, performing the journey in the most placid and quiet manner, occasionally speaking to me and answering any questions I put to her, till she awoke spontaneously in the town of Newark. Although I had to remove her, at Nottingham, for some distance in an omnibus over rough stones to the coach in which we afterwards travelled for twenty miles, she did not awake, and then it was spontaneously, till we actually got into the town.

"During her mesmeric sleep she heard only my voice except when I took hold of her hand, and then she could hear her aunt who sat opposite to her in the carriage, when she spoke to her, and any other sound; but the moment I took my hand away, and was silent, she ceased to hear any noise whatever, not even the shrill and piercing whistle of the locomotive engines.

"On reaching her home she was not in the least degree fatigued; but, although it was evening when we arrived, walked out to see some of her friends.

"She is now, I am happy to say, quite well, and walks with perfect ease.

"JAMES COLLINS.

"Newark, July 26th, 1845."

I have just heard from my patient herself, that she is in *better health than she had been for years*, and can walk with her foot four or five miles. She adds that both she and her sister have been very successful in removing pains of the head and face, sore throat, and two cases of erysipelas by local mesmerism alone.

Her aunt writes me word (September 17th) that her nerves are now so much stronger that she drove to Nottingham in a gig,—a thing she had not dared to do before since she was thrown out of a phaeton eight years ago.

She is mesmerised occasionally by her father at my request, in order to confirm her renewed health, and writes to Dr. Engledue, at Southsea, that

"She is informed she still enjoys her mesmeric sleep, and diverts herself *in it* by practising her music, walking in the garden, and most by talking of what transpired in the little room at Dr. Elliotson's, which latter afforded her as much pleasure in her ordinary state, although her knowledge of it is very limited."

This was of course written in her ordinary state, in which she knows *nothing* of her sleeping state: but occasionally in my little room with the other patients and her aunt she woke spontaneously, and remained awake a short time before Dr. Engledue or myself went to her and sent her to sleep again.

Per multos annos, medicamenta ad alvum ducendam quaque nocte sumpserat: nec tamen sæpius quam bis in hebdomade reddita est alvus. Nunc autem semel vel etiam bis quotidie sponte descendit. Menstrua bis in mense proveniant atque ea, et uteri et faciei dolor acerbissimus semper comitatus est et præcessit: quinque menses dolor nunc abest, nec justo frequentiora sunt.

This case was one of those which medical men call cases of spinal irritation, and, like the person who has furnished me with a motto, write about and treat in ignorance of its grand remedy. Not that the spine or back bone is affected, but the nervous chord within it, known by the improper name of spinal marrow, though it is as different from marrow as from paste.* The treatment customary is most unsatisfactory and generally most distressing: cupping and leeching till the strength is much reduced; burning moxas and caustics, blisters, setons, issues, croton oil, and ointments and plasters of tartar emetic, &c.; with a deluge of drugs; accu-

* Gall, *Anatomie et Physiologie*, &c., 4to., vol. i., p. 49.

sations of fancy or even imposition, and exhortations or commands to the sufferer to cure the disease herself by violent efforts, notwithstanding the agony and exhaustion they may occasion. Mesmerism cures most of such cases in the easy manner it did the present: and yet medical men scorn to employ it, and the medical journals, to their utter disgrace, scorn to quote the cures from *The Zoist* to enlighten the ignorant members of the medical profession. What is worse, when a splendid cure has been effected by mesmerism, those who had fruitlessly attended the patient vociferate that the spine never was affected, though they had always called the case spinal irritation and employed the most tormenting measures as if the spine was affected, and that the patient would have got well without mesmerism, and might have cured herself by exertion, and had in fact little the matter with her. Why therefore did they take so many fees for prescriptions, or pour the whole contents of shops so many times into the poor sufferer's stomach, and put her to pain? *The Zoist* contains remarkable mesmeric cures of this family of disorders.*

Had Miss Collins been mesmerised when twelve years of age and occasionally afterwards, not only would the hiccup have been cured as readily as Miss Critchley was cured in 1838 (Vol. II., p. 42), but all her various subsequent sufferings for seven years prevented, without bleeding, blistering, galvanizing, and "everything that the *materia medica* could supply," and all the various future attacks prevented. If Sir Benjamin Brodie had not scorned mesmerism, he would not in 1841, through wilful ignorance, have allowed the poor child to return to Newark, attempting nothing for her relief, and saying she would not recover soon, but possibly would in time; when he might have cured her most easily and at once, without an instrument or prescription, by that mesmerism which he still pretends to despise and still refuses to see, although I had then been exhibiting it for three years to many hundreds at my own house, within a few yards of his, and have there exhibited it to many hundreds in the subsequent four years.

Had she been treated with mesmeric science, the numerous relapses after her head had been first set straight would never have occurred, nor would her foot have ever been contracted, or those derangements of the health mentioned at p. 341, 344, 352, tormented her till the present spring. The hiccup, the blindness, the pain and twisting of the head and

* Vol. I., p. 300, 466; Vol. II., p. 82: (a most disgraceful anonymous letter from a medical man of Chelmsford upon Miss Raymond's case appeared in the Chelmsford paper), p. 124.

the foot, were not local affections, to be treated with the mechanical views of a surgeon who cuts out a wen and has done with the case, till by chance another wen comes which also he cuts out: but arose from a general condition of the system, shewing itself here and there at different times, as shoots rise out of the earth at various spots if roots lie under the surface. Established mesmerism should have been practised and been continued regularly for some time after her apparent cure; and employed occasionally for a year or two. Any little falling off in the appetite or strength is thus at once remedied; and it is an inestimable advantage to have the mesmeric susceptibility kept up, not only for the purpose of thus obviating indisposition, but for the advantage of having operations, even tooth-drawing, performed without pain, of enjoying sleep in fevers, inflammations, or other accidental diseases, and indeed of finding a ready remedy for many diseases. Through this perseverance with mesmerism, not one of my own similar cases has suffered a relapse. Hannah Hunter (Vol. I., p. 300) and Maria Pearsey (p. 427) remained ever afterwards perfectly free from their complaints, and died at length of consumption. Master Salmon (p. 314), Mrs. Brett (p. 329), Elizabeth Kell (p. 334), Miss Cohen (p. 335), Miss Melhuish (p. 429), Mary Grimes (p. 453), Miss Spong (p. 457), Miss Critchley, now Mrs. Hall (Vol. II., p. 42), Miss Barber (p. 194), Miss Abbott, now Mrs. Brooks (Vol. III., p. 39), have had no sort of relapse to this day. Except what are in this number, I have recorded no kind of cases mesmerised by myself besides four cases of St. Vitus's dance; (Vol. I., p. 195, Vol. III., p. 281), and not one of these has suffered a relapse since I published them: nor recorded any case mesmerised under my direction, except two of St. Vitus's dance and three of insanity, and in none of these have I heard of a relapse.

The mode of mesmerising, too, before I saw her, not only failed, but caused, as it so frequently does, much inconvenience. We saw at p. 343-4, that it produced pain in the head and eyes, restlessness, and debility. Many persons who have tried it, have found it produce even convulsions: and it often makes the eyes smart, and is distressing. The account given by Miss Collins in her mesmeric sleep induced by her father, is—

"I never wished to be hypnotized except when my head was bent, but I always liked to be mesmerised."

"After having been hypnotized for ten or twelve times, I found it very unpleasant. Previously I cared but little about it. I did not, however, at any time very well like it. I was never half so

happy when hypnotized, as when mesmerised; and I was latterly always like a lump of lead, and very uncomfortable."

"The difference of feeling is extraordinary. When mesmerised, I feel cheerful and lively, both in mind and body. When Dr. Elliotson first mesmerised me, I remarked to myself the very great difference there was in the feeling, but did not name it."

"Hypnotism is not so pleasant as mesmerism; still it is mesmerism, modified, however, in effect."

"I always like Dr. Elliotson's plan; for if I have head-ache, it invariably removes it, and never produces it, nor any other uncomfortable feeling, however long the time may be before I go to sleep. When hypnotized I disliked to talk; was not always in a good temper—very cross; but when mesmerised by Dr. Elliotson's method, felt cheerful and happy, and much better when awake, and particularly if I had been talked to during sleep."

When awake, she wrote to me on the 8th of September :

"The manner in which you mesmerised is at all times most delightful, and I feel much refreshed when I awake."*

It will be observed that the local affection was cured by only general mesmerisation. At the beginning I tried long passes with contact upon the leg and foot, and slow breathing upon them, while she was in the mesmeric state. But no advantage resulted on any day that I did either, and I therefore trusted entirely to general mesmerisation; using these local means only when she chanced to have severe pain and I had time, and then the advantage was the speedy removal of the pain; but this without local means usually occurred after she awoke. Ann Pearsey's right leg was contracted firmly almost to her body, and Mr. White of the Westminster Hospital had wished to cut it off. No local mesmerism was employed: passes before her face completely cured her.† I have a case of real cancer of the breast which has been benefited almost beyond belief by mesmerism. Yet this has been general only; the patient being sent to sleep-waking daily by me with one pass, or a fixed look for a few seconds.

PHENOMENA.

I shall now detail the phenomena of the case.

Sleep-waking was at once induced, when, on the second attempt, I succeeded in influencing her; and it was at first, and on most occasions afterwards, of the perfectly rational kind. For, as far as she was awake she recognized every one, she knew the time and place, and conversed so as to

* See my observations, Vol I., p. 308.—The hypnotic was remembered in the mesmeric, but neither in the waking, state. Hypnotism is evidently coarse mesmerism.

† Vol. I., p. 427.

appear to strangers a person awake with her eyes shut; and, as far as she was asleep, she was unable to open her eyes ever so little, and contented to remain quiet in her chair for hours together, though young and sprightly and the time the morning, and went into an absolute doze occasionally if not spoken to. The difference of her mental state was merely the usual feeling of perfect ease, which causes sleep-wakers to behave almost as composedly to all persons, whatever their age or rank, as if they were equals. The generality of this striking effect is one proof of the reality of the mesmeric state.* The conduct which results from this happy feeling of equality depends upon the cerebral character and the education of the patient, and the absence or presence of a greater or less dash of cerebral alienation in the sleep-waking. This patient was well organized, and had been carefully brought up, and there was no dash of insanity; her conversation and behaviour therefore, though divested of the reserve which is usual in society, was only the same towards me and my friends as towards her own family and intimate friends: and, being always good with them in her waking state, was equally proper in her sleep-waking. Those whose familiar conversation is marked by levity or rudeness, may, in the mesmeric state, rattle and be rude; and then, or if there is a degree of imbecility in it, or of delirium, as happened in the Okeys, the conduct may surprise and beget a suspicion of imposition.† But after a time she occasionally fell into a dreamy state: perfectly rational on her premises; but mistaking persons, places, and time, and misconceiving some other circumstances, but perfectly rational on these false grounds: precisely as Rosina invariably was,‡ and as Miss Abbot§ was for the first month of her passing into the sleep-waking state. Her dreamy mistakes could always be rectified by touching over the organ of the sense of persons: and though the dreamy state frequently came on without evident cause, we could induce it, as I shall hereafter mention.

Attachment to the Mesmeriser. On the first day of my affecting her (the second mesmerisation) she manifested this by squeezing my hand when it touched her's. She was also uneasy if I removed from her, and if others touched her. For a few days I could not leave her. This is always a misfortune. For I am convinced that the longer patients remain in the mesmeric state, the greater usually is the benefit.

* Vol. III., p. 65.

† See Vol. I., p. 323, 409, 414.

‡ Vol. II., p. 219-221.

§ Vol. III., p. 64.

They are the more refreshed and composed, and the sooner is their health restored. The state is one of comfort and happiness; and, if to interrupt common sleep is a violence, much more so is the interruption of this. However long it may continue, it should generally be permitted to expend itself, as it is sure to do sooner or later. There are exceptions, as when the patient in the mesmeric state declares the time he should be permitted to sleep: or when a long duration evidently begins to excite or overpower him; and this may not begin to happen before the cure is advancing, just as medicines sometimes do in proportion as the healthy state returns and they are less and less required.* But those instances are comparatively rare; and, as a general rule, I would never wake a patient.† As she was generally in a perfectly rational sleep-waking, the longer it continued the better she was, even though chattering all the time with Dr. Engledue, myself, or two other patients who were there and every morning put into the same state in the same room. She, like so many others, assured me that she was not only not the less refreshed, but the more refreshed, for this incessant, cheerful, and often merry conversation.‡ And yet when alone with her aunt she would sit for hours in contented silence. This proves the usual composure and happiness of the state as much as the declarations of patients. I every day see patients in the midst of full activity, and early in the morning and after a perfect night's rest, sent into sleep-waking, and at once reclining in perfect silence and contentment for hours, though still so little asleep as to hear and answer you, and chat as readily as when awake, whenever you think proper to address them. As in other sleep-wakers, the proportion of sleep occasionally preponderated over the proportion of waking, and she then did not hear at once when spoken to, breathed heavily, and roused herself to activity as we do if aroused in ordinary sleep.

Fearing, therefore, that I should not cure her soon if she slept no longer than I could remain with her, I endeavoured to overcome this inordinate attachment to her mesmeriser, by representing to her, within the first two or three days, the disadvantage of her not allowing me to leave her in the mesmeric state, and by assuring her that she could overcome it. She having excellent sense and feeling, as well

* I have mentioned two cases in which, though the mesmeric state refreshed, its frequency excited unpleasant symptoms at last as the cure advanced, and I found it advisable to have the patients mesmerised less and less frequently. Vol. I., p. 328, 426.

† Vol. I., p. 310.

‡ See Vol. III., p. 61.

as strong resolution, presently overcame it, and allowed me to leave both the room and the house for any length of time, though she was always delighted at my return. I should recommend all mesmerisers to look to this point at once in every case: for, if the attachment is not governed early, it may become irresistible, and then the patient may have far less chance of an early cure or a cure at all; or the mesmeriser, if he consents to persevere with the case, may be compelled to most serious sacrifices of time. In some patients it may be irresistible from the first; but I am persuaded that where there is good sense, principle, and resolution, it may often be governed, especially if taken in hand early. I have observed in the two wonderful cases of general rigidity, with perfect closure of the eyes and deafness, in which the patients incline anxiously to the mesmeriser and recede from others, distinguishing them by some occult sense, that if I go out of the room and shut the door, or remain in the room and throw something over them so as to intercept any influence, they become contented and remain unmoved in their chair.* I mentioned the strongest example of mesmeric attachment with which I am acquainted; and in that young lady, the sincerity of the regard remains the same, but the intensity has so lessened that she will allow me to move a yard or two from her for a short time, to speak of others and even to others, and some of her dearest relatives to touch her:† yet, and notwithstanding her most earnest desire to be able to allow of my absence in her mesmeric state, that she may obtain a cure, of which there seems no chance while she cannot support my absence in her sleep-waking,—and I cannot devote more than half an hour daily to her,—she cannot permit me to leave her asleep. In another instance there was no mesmeric attachment to the mesmeriser for many months;‡ and then it became irresistible, till a serious indisposition, in which she feared she should die, took place, when she was able to govern it greatly, and allow the contact of her relatives.

In the mesmeric state, induced by her father, Miss C. informed him that, when hypnotized, she “felt no regard for an individual merely because he was the hypnotizer: and cared not who went near her:” and on his particularly inquiring whether she cared about any other person approaching her when mesmerised, replied very emphatically, “Indeed I do care.”

* Vol. II., p. 54, 77. These facts I had not ascertained when I wrote the account of the two cases.

† Vol. III., p. 53.

‡ Vol. II., p. 201.

As usual, when there is attraction to the mesmeriser and repulsion of others, the sensation given by my hand or breath was agreeable, and by the hand or breath of others disagreeable.*

My hand was "very smooth and nice," though really my palm is by hereditary organization rough; and, however cold it might in reality be, it was "*warm*" or "*not cold*." Her aunt, to whom she is deservedly much attached, she could not bear to touch her, and found "*rough and cold*." One patient with a cancer was, though in mesmeric sleep, ever "*rough*." Dr. Engledue, whom she likes very much, and whom she could hear when she heard no one else but myself, and who could at length mesmerise her as readily as I myself, was "*rough*." A youth, in both his ordinary and sleep-waking state, and his mother, were "*cold and rough*." In short she said they felt all "*very nasty*." The touch of one female patient in sleep-waking was "*very nice*." This patient has the peculiarity of dropping senseless and powerless if in her mesmeric state she mesmerises another, or remains a short time in contact with a mesmerised person or mesmerised gold, and of remaining long in this condition, coming to with great distress, and remaining very weak and melancholy, and without appetite, for many hours or a couple of days. By her holding Miss C.'s hand this happened, and then the feeling which she gave was no longer "*very nice*," but "*very unpleasant*."

Generally sleep-waking patients like the touch of all others in the same state, and some passionately;† others dislike it, but less than if the party was in his ordinary state.‡

My breath upon her hand was agreeable, but that of her aunt and Dr. Engledue was rough and cold.

If an individual is disliked, the unpleasant sensation is much greater §

She had no occult power of distinguishing the touch or breath of myself from those of others; nor of persons in the mesmeric state from those of persons who were in their ordinary state, as certain patients have.||

The sensation was probably the result of mesmeric dislike of all others in contact but myself. I have no doubt that the reason of the touch of the patient with the cancer being disagreeable, was her knowledge of the disease; and of that of the youth, her sense of propriety and her command over herself, which were both very strong, and prevented her from ever once exhibiting those childish marks of

* Vol. I., p. 177; Vol. II., p. 52.

† Vol. II., p. 217.

‡ p. 216.

§ Vol. III., p. 54.

|| Vol. II., p. 213, 216.

affection which are sometimes seen in mesmeric patients. Still the intensity of mesmeric affection differs, like that of all mesmeric phenomena, in different persons.*

She at first could hear no one but myself. But very soon heard Dr. Engledue. Her aunt she to the last never heard, unless that lady said, "Ellen, you'll wear your hands out," and this she invariably heard, however gently it was whispered: and one day a young gentleman, whom she had never heard, said this, when she instantly started, as if taken by surprise, and answered him sharply. At home she hears only her father, who mesmerises her, unless some one says these words, and then she always hears it, however low the whisper, and is displeased. It vexed her, and referred to her habit of rubbing her hands together to prevent them from growing rigid.

I mentioned at p. 62, the fact of a young lady hearing no one in her coma, which was not mesmeric, but her physician. A sleep-waking patient, not mesmeric, is mentioned by Lorry, who could be made to hear or see or be aware of the presence of only one person, and him she evidently saw and conversed with on the subject of her dream. Dr. Pritchard speaks of a boy who in such paroxysms was insensible to all external impressions, unless, when he was playing on his flute, other boys began to accompany him, and then he evidently attended to them.†

But she heard all who spoke in the mesmeric state, if she knew they were in that state; but none that she knew were not, or fancied were not; and she heard them, when not in the mesmeric state, if she fancied they were.

Her eyes were closed: two other female patients were always in the mesmeric state with her, and they all chatted freely. But she found them asleep when she arrived, or she was aware of my sending them to sleep if they arrived after her. If I woke them, she heard me breathing, or making transverse passes before them. But I have deceived her; and then she could hear them in their ordinary state and could not hear them in their sleep-waking state.

And yet there was no imposture here, as those unaccustomed to the wonderful phenomena of the states which are induced by the artificial process of mesmerism, and which often occur spontaneously and puzzle medical men, would at once pretend. She experienced what is so common in mesmeric patients, an attraction, which varies in different persons, towards those in the mesmeric state. She had no occult power of knowing when persons were in that state, and was guided by her hearing, &c., and might therefore be imposed upon. Just as among those patients who have the propensity to imitate movements and attitudes, some have an occult power of knowing what you are doing, others not: and the latter

* Vol. III., p. 52.

† See my *Human Physiology*, p. 647.

therefore either look, anxiously and without disguise, if they have their eyes more or less open,* or, if their eyes are by chance firmly closed in the state, do not imitate, for they know of nothing to imitate.

Mary Ann, the female patient whose touch she likes, and whom, like others, she hears only when she fancies her to be in the mesmeric state, one day prevailed upon her to hear, knowing M.A. to be in the waking state: and yet I have known her try very hard and fail,—and I am certain she did not hear, or rather heard and knew it not. She did not hear Dr. Engledue till he had day after day sat with her and begged her to hear him. She liked him greatly, as every one must who values high intellect and moral excellence; and above all, she knew him to be *my* intimate friend, and a physician, and a mesmerist, so that through many reasons, I conceive, she was able to bring herself to hear him consciously, though she could not consciously hear even her father or aunt. The words, “you’ll wear your hands out,” could not have been really heard more than others; and yet she invariably heard them consciously, whoever uttered them: and I have no doubt because they annoyed her greatly, and she had accidentally, when she first heard them, given way to manifesting signs of displeasure, so that they afterwards always arrested her attention and were heard consciously.† The young lady whose attachment to me has been more intense and exclusive than that of any other, could not for three years be made to give the slightest sign of hearing any one but myself, or a noise made by any one if she fancied it not made by myself; not her sister or father, whom she doated upon, not even when saying things calculated to vex her beyond endurance;‡ an experiment I have made with many patients. Miss C. was once exerting herself to the utmost in vain to hear Mary Ann, yet suddenly heard some accidental noise. On another day she heard Mary Ann and a gentleman speak together, but was unable to tell what they said, and gave as a reason that she had not attended. Here she heard, simply because less abstracted than usual. She stated lately in the sleep-waking to her father, that “she is always conscious in that state, but does not know what is passing.” The truth is, that sleep-wakers are more or less abstracted, and abstracted in regard to some things and not to others: that they, through unconscious and involuntary inclinations may not be consciously percipient of many things, which however their brains really perceive, and which they in

* Vol. I., p. 190, 317.

† Vol. I., p. 441; Vol. II., p. 211, p. 70; Vol. III., p. 62.

‡ Vol. III., p. 53.

the mesmeric state, and sometimes in the ordinary only, may never afterwards know they have perceived; and their brains may have various internal feelings, and will many things, quite unconsciously; and afterwards they may act upon and be influenced by the knowledge thus unconsciously received, without ever suspecting that they had received it. I must request the reader to peruse the pages referred to in the last note but one. Dr. Engledue never hears in his sleep the rattling of his alarum in his bed-room, but is always awakened by his night-bell, even by the motion of the wire before the bell actually rings. Mr. Case tells me that he does not hear his children who sleep around him cry in the night, but instantly hears his night-bell. One lady in her sleep-waking who hears me only, does not hear her own watch tick but always hears mine. Another lady, from her refusing to think of any living being in the mesmeric state but myself, always declared most solemnly there was no one in the room but herself and me; though she knew her sister was always present when she was mesmerised, and was in the room when I sent her off: and she was greatly hurt at my maintaining that her sister was there. She would tell me of things she was most anxious her sister should not know, and yet I kept assuring her that her sister was present. The bagpipes are her detestation; but they would be played screechingly in the street under her window, and she never noticed them.

No point in cerebral physiology is more curious than our unconscious reception of sensations or unconscious prevention of consciousness of them, and the influence of unconscious knowledge and feelings over our actions. Materialism only can explain this. The brain acts in all these wonderful ways: one part doing what another is ignorant of.

I shall now proceed to give some remarkable instances of unconscious reasons for acting; and of unconscious voluntary influences on ourselves.

It is well known that impressions may be made upon patients in their sleep-waking, which lead to acts in their ordinary state, though in acting they are perfectly ignorant of the reason.

My first experiments of this kind were upon a lady of rank, July 25, 1842. In her sleep-waking, she foretold all the course of her complaints without ever being wrong, and prescribed with invariable success for herself. She once prescribed two grains and a half of extract of Belladonna at bed-time; and promised me she would take it. After waking her I did not inform her of what had passed; but she took the quan-

tity of Belladonna, and with benefit. On sending her to sleep the next night, she informed me she could not help taking it, and that whatever promise she made me in her sleep, she should keep it when awake. I then begged her on waking the third time,—for she always awoke spontaneously in about ten minutes and I therefore was in the habit of sending her off three times,—to lift the candlestick and put it down again. On awaking the third time she extended her hand to the heavy silver candlestick which was at some distance from her, as she lay on the sofa, and drew it towards her—her weakness was such that lifting it was impossible, and what she did was an effort and for no apparent purpose.

She herself mesmerised the poor around the family seat; and had in her ordinary state asked me if I thought there was any danger in mesmerising those who had typhus fever. I told her yes, and entreated that she would not, and she promised me that she would not. A year afterwards, in her sleep-waking, she all at once asked why I had not allowed her to mesmerise in fever. On giving her my reasons, she assured me that she should never catch a fever, and that I might allow her with safety. I asked her if she felt certain, she replied yes; and I then told her she had my consent, for I had never known her wrong in any point regarding her own health. After waking her I never alluded to what had passed. But three months afterwards I received a letter from her, expressing her deep regret at having broken her promise to me that she would never mesmerise patients in fever,—she could not conceive why she had done so,—she had never broken it before, but on this occasion her promise to me had not prevented her from mesmerising a case of fever, she could not account for it, and felt it right to inform me.

I still did not tell her of my having absolved her from her promise and given her permission. But in a letter to a former pupil in India containing some mesmeric news, I related this, and he without my permission published the letter in a Calcutta paper. A retired Indian gentleman, residing in this country, was in the habit of receiving the Calcutta papers, and on reading this shewed it to his medical attendant, who also attended the lady's family. From her being mentioned as the daughter of the Duke of ——— he at once discovered who it must be, and carried her the paper. Thus for the first time she knew how she came to break her promise, the only one I am certain she has broken in her life. She mesmerised the case of fever about two months after I had absolved her from her promise.

I made an experiment of this nature at nearly the same time (August 1842) with the young lady whose case I referred to at p. 53.

August 5. In her sleep-waking I begged her to take up two books from the table when she awoke. She thought it impossible, as in her ordinary state she had never remembered anything of her mesmeric. However, as I told her it would be a kindness to me and her mesmeric attachment to me was strong, she promised, on the proviso, however, that she remembered her promise. After I had awakened her, and she had involuntarily followed me about the room some time, as was habitual with her, for the intense attraction to me in the mesmeric state always continued for many minutes after the sleep-waking was over, she went to the table and, laughing and looking vexed, took up a book, and after a little while, with vexation strongly depicted in her countenance, she took up the other. I made no remark and bid her good bye.

Aug. 6. The next day, her sister, who was always present at my visits, informed me that after I was gone she told her that she had felt very strangely on waking: that she as usual felt drawn towards me, and wished to be close to me when I retired from her, but at the same time felt drawn to the table, and at last rivetted to it, and compelled to take up two books—that the feeling of compulsion was very unpleasant, and her struggle very great. Her sister explained the whole to her, and she said she should in future know whenever I had told her in sleep-waking to do anything after waking. On my sending her off, she declared she would never promise again, it was so ridiculous and unpleasant, and that she should now always know on waking if I had made her promise. At length through her mesmeric attachment I prevailed on her, saying I would not laugh at her, to promise to take a book off the table on waking and place it upon the piano. On waking she would at first, as usual, be close to me, and then said that she knew I had made her promise to do something; and she took up a book, but instantly put it down again, saying *she would not*. I was close to her, and told her this was nonsense, but to do as she chose. She then said she would if I went with her. I assented, and she immediately took up the book and walked to the piano, and upon it laid the book, I moving with her.

The next day, when in sleep-waking, she told me that she had felt as if pulled by a cord to the piano, and could not have resisted even had I begged her not to go towards it and endeavoured by force to keep her away.

Aug. 8. On account of my conversing a good deal with her parents and sisters, she grew cold and cross, and refused to promise to do anything on waking. But such was her attachment, that at length she spontaneously apologized and was very kind, and promised to snuff one of the wax candles, but feared we should laugh at her. On waking, she snuffed one of the candles, but also took a thief out of it in order, as she afterwards confessed, to prevent her father from noticing that she snuffed it. I may remark that she

declared before waking that the cold she had suffered from the presence of so many of her family and my conversing with them, was worse than the east wind—"a most disagreeable feeling."

Aug. 13. Finding that she disliked coffee without sugar, and that her brother took no sugar in it, I now made her promise to pour out a little milk and coffee the *next morning at breakfast* and drink it without sugar: and then pour out a cup of coffee and milk for her brother and put in sugar. At breakfast she was observed to take a cup of coffee and milk without sugar: and then to pour out her brother's and put in sugar, and to offer it to her sister, who prefers tea and, having been present when the promise was made, declined it, and she then asked her brother to take it notwithstanding the sugar. In the evening, when asleep, she related all this with great glee, remarking that she had felt no discomfort as I was not then attracting her, and as she had no idea she was acting in consequence of a promise.

26. She promised to put her spoon and another into her cup the next morning, and then take them out again, before she poured out the tea. This she was observed to do. In order to prevent it, her sister proposed to make the tea; but she would make it herself, as she informed me in the evening in her sleep-waking. She informed me she had no good reason,—merely thought she would, and at that moment entertained no intention respecting the spoons: and after she had put in and taken out the spoons, she wondered why she had been so foolish.

I made no more such experiments upon her till a few weeks ago.

The winter before last I heard that Teste* had mentioned the possibility, by the same method, of making a person invisible to the sleep-waker on waking.

February 9, 1844. I requested a young lady whom I long mesmerised with the never tiring devotion of a parent, and in whom I produced a variety of phenomena, to promise to be unable on waking to see her maid, who always sat in the room at work during my visits, till I left the room, and then at once to discern her. On waking she did not see the maid, but said she saw the chair in which the maid sat; presently, however, she saw the maid—was agitated, had an hysterical fit, and passed into the sleep-waking state. I now enquired how she came to see her maid, as I had not left the room, and told her she must not when I woke her again. I then awoke her again; she could not see the maid, was astonished at the maid's absence, and at first supposed she was in an adjoining room; but presently rang the bell twice, though the woman was standing before her. I moved just out of the room, leaving the door open, and she saw the maid instantly, and was astonished and laughed.

Feb. 21. She promised to say to the party on going to dinner,

* Striking experiments of the present kind will be found in his tenth chapter.

"Oh how pleasant 'tis to meet,
That we may all sit down and eat. This is in Chaucer."

She was heard by the party to say it, and was in a great pet all the while she said it.

Feb. 22. She promised not to see a lady, who had come into the room after the sleep began and was sitting opposite, on waking, till I coughed. I woke her: and she took not the slightest notice of the lady, but as soon as I coughed, saw her with surprise.

23. She promised to see her maid sitting in the room with her bonnet on as soon as she woke, and not after I coughed. I woke her; she was astonished at the sight of her maid sitting with her bonnet on, and looked displeased; but, as soon as I coughed, saw her sitting as usual with her cap on. She could not comprehend this, and at last told me knowingly she was not quite sure that the maid had not still her bonnet with her behind the chair.

I did not prosecute the subject, but when Dr. Engledue came to see me last spring, I mentioned it to him, and proposed to make some trials. Accordingly,

March 5. I asked Miss Collins in her sleep to promise not to see her aunt and another lady, on waking, till I coughed. She did not think this possible; however, she promised to do her best. I awoke her. She did not see them, and seemed agitated at not seeing them. I therefore coughed. Still she did not see them. I coughed again; and it was a little while before she discovered them. She was astonished at finding herself in my library; for I had sent her to sleep in a further room, and in her sleep had led her into the library and the other ladies had followed.

She promised to whistle on the 7th in entering my library.

March 6. In the sleep she remembered promising not to see her aunt and the lady, but not that she was to see them on coughing: she also forgot that she promised to whistle on the 7th, but remembered she promised something. I therefore reminded her.

It should always be borne in mind that the ordinary faculties, no less than the extraordinary, are subject to fluctuations of strength both in the mesmeric and in the natural state. Sceptics expect all the phenomena to be perfectly at command at all times. Patients who usually hear only their mesmerisers, will sometimes hear other noises for a moment. Thus Miss C. one day not only heard my sleep-waking patient M. A. speak to a gentleman, but heard him reply; though she could give me no account of what he said, not having understood it. I presume that her abstraction at the moment was not perfect, but still existed. She has told me that she sometimes hears her aunt, but does not choose to hear her. In truth, the abstraction is sometimes perfect, involuntary and unconscious: sometimes imperfect, and more or less

controllable. She says she hears the words, "you'll wear your hands out," because they vex her so much: and she suddenly one day heard a patient whom she rather dislikes blow his nose. The loud horrid scream of my cockatoo made no impression upon her.

Yet she heard any person and any noise if I touched her: but no one if merely he touched me,—no relation (*rapport*) could be established thus between others and her.

April 7. She entered my library and walked through as Dr. Engledue and myself were at breakfast, without whistling. As soon as she was sent off, she mentioned this to me, and said she had not whistled because my butler was in the room; but that *when awake she knew nothing about the desire, or the reason of her not indulging it.*

This little fact is one of a nature that I have often observed. Those are greatly mistaken who imagine a mesmeriser can make his patient do anything.

The circumstance of a desire occurring unconsciously in the *brain*, and being repressed by an unconscious reason, is a striking fact, but in harmony with the facts previously mentioned.

She promised not to see her aunt on waking till I coughed. She did not. I even led her up to her aunt, and pushed her against her aunt, nay her aunt kissed her; still she was quite unconscious of her aunt's presence. I coughed, and she immediately perceived her aunt.

May 1. She promised to whistle on waking, if no stranger was present; and she fulfilled her promise: and as I did not, out of regard for her feelings, appear to notice it, she whistled again, and yet seemed ashamed.

The day before she left London, she promised Dr. Engledue in her sleep to write to him on the day four weeks after her return home, and her father made a note of her promise at the time. She arrived at home June 26th, she wrote July 24th, and Dr. Engledue received the letter July 25th. Mr. Baldock had given her some stock seed, and Dr. Engledue prevailed on her in her sleep to promise him to sow it and place a stick at each end of the row, with the words Mesmero-Baldockian Stocks. In her letter to Dr. Engledue she says, "the morning after my arrival I safely deposited my Mesmero-Baldockian stock seed in the ground, not neglecting to put their name largely written on sticks, at each end in the row." Hearing of all this from Dr. Engledue, I wrote and asked her why she did so. Her reply was,—“September 7: The day I received the seeds from Mr. Baldock, I took them with me to your house enclosed in his letter, which I had not had time to read. I remember that when you awoke me, I told my aunt I thought of giving the seeds the before-mentioned name, which on my return to my lodgings I

found written on the envelope of Mr. B.'s letter by Dr. Engledue. I was much amused by the circumstance altogether, and when I sowed the seed I thought I would write their name largely at each end of the row, that I might not forget it; and as it was written by Dr. Engledue I thought I should like him to know that I did not intend their appellation to be lost.

"I felt as though I should be neglecting a great duty were I to lose another post, though I had had plenty of time before, even more than on that day; and was surprised and ashamed to think I should have so long delayed writing to thank him for his kindness to me while under your care."

It was long before the reason of her writing was communicated to her in the waking state by her aunt.

She promised Mr. Thompson also in her sleep to write to him, and she did; but not having seen him often in her waking state, it was with many apologies, clearly not well knowing, Mr. T. tells me, why she wrote, and he had given her his address in her sleep only. The reason she gives me in a letter is, that "he appeared to take great interest in her case, and as she was not quite better when he left town, she thought she would write and tell him that she was perfectly restored, and by mesmerism alone."

One day in August, a friend of strong intellect and well versed in mesmerism called upon me, and we conversed upon this subject. He said that he had made still more curious experiments. That he had made one patient promise on waking to fancy herself in a small jar which was in the room. On waking she exclaimed, "What a disagreeable smell!" and fancied herself confined in the jar. It contained salted flowers — was a stale *pot pourri*. She did not know what was in it, had only just arrived, and had never been in the house before, nor had Mr. C. After she had left the room, Mr. C. took some of the flowers in his hand, and on her return put them covertly near her, when she said, "There's that nasty taste again." If he directed her to feel a pain on waking as soon as any object around him was touched, she did feel the pain, though prevented from seeing the object touched; if for instance his hair was touched by another person behind her back or behind a curtain. She could be made to feel pain as in any object around, as the tongs, and also to fancy herself to be some one else. She was to fancy herself to be a certain lady who was doing some lace work. On waking she went up to the lady, took the work from her, and the lady assured her she would not be able to do it, for every body found it difficult to learn from its being done diagonally: but she did it perfectly well though she had never learnt the way, and without effort and talking all the time. She could always be recovered from this fancy by addressing her as herself, even

inadvertently—without intending it: and when this was done, she was unable to execute the work without instruction, did it wrong, attempting it, as the lady said all uninstructed persons naturally do, by placing it at right angles instead of diagonally. She remembers this state after it is past. She was made to fancy herself a certain wayward child; and, being afterwards asked how she had felt in that fancy, replied she had been the worse for their attention and restraint, and best when they left her alone: and this actually had been found by the parents to be the best method with the child. She was desired to fancy herself on waking to be a certain gentleman whom she had never seen before. In endeavouring to break a friend at college of the habit of touching his cheek he had acquired the habit, and was also accustomed to put his elbow on the table. She did both these things though she was ignorant of his ways. On leaving the room he said he was convinced from having observed her do them, for they were two habits of his. The experiment was repeated the next day with all the same effects; and, when asked if she did these two things, replied, she once had the habit. She has been made to fancy herself in her own ear with her legs outside: and to fancy her hand had very numerous fingers. These effects were produced on signals being made, by persons who did not know the purpose, and when Mr. C. could not observe them. I had caused patients not to be aware of a sensation of sight, and to fancy they saw unreal things, but had not tried the other senses. I therefore made experiments with this view upon three patients,—1. the young lady with the exclusive mesmeric attachment,—2. the patient who has the cancer,—and 3. Mary Ann. The promise was made in the mesmeric sleep, and the effect was to ensue on waking or after a certain time, and perhaps at a signal, or was to cease at a signal.

1. I begged her to feel as if the back of her right hand, between the bone of the thumb and fore-finger, were pinched, upon my pinching the fluted silk of a fire screen. There was no effect. I said nothing. The next day I mentioned the failure in her sleep, and begged her to try again. After waking, when I pinched the screen, she suddenly exclaimed, "Oh! what's that? why my hand felt as if some one pinched it:" and she began pressing and rubbing the spot of the right hand agreed upon.

The next day I made her suddenly fancy at the same signal that a bee had stung the point of her nose.

The next day I tried to make a lady present invisible to her, but failed.

The following trials were made each on a successive day, and the delusion was to occur on waking.

To make her smell aromatic vinegar. Failed.

Repeated this experiment. After being awake a short time she began sniffing. I asked what was the matter. "She had such a nice smell." "Of what?" "I think it's aromatic vinegar."

To taste aloes; and on my coughing, to taste barley-sugar instead. Failed.

Repeated these. Both succeeded.

Repeated the attempt to make a person (her sister now) invisible, and visible again on my coughing. Failed.

Repeated this. Failed.

Ditto ditto. Failed.—I then sent her to sleep and awoke her several times on this day, to make the experiment in various ways. She was most anxious to try for me, and promised to do her utmost.—Not to see her sister, and then to see her with her bonnet on. Failed.—I then tried one of these things only at a time; each in different sleeps; but in vain.—To find an inanimate thing—a screen—invisible, and then on my coughing to see it and a hat upon it. Failed.—I tried each of these in separate sleeps. Not to see the screen. Failed.—To fancy a hat upon the screen. Failed.—To fancy her mother sitting in a chair. Failed.—Therefore I made no farther attempts on vision; but proceeded to the other senses.

To hear the piano playing "Oh Pescator;" and, on my coughing, "God save the Queen." On waking she soon began to listen, and said, "Oh, what is that music running in my ears?" "What instrument?" "It must be an organ." "Is it like an organ?" "No, it's more like a piano; but there's nobody at the piano, so it must be an organ in the street." "What tune?" "I think it's 'Oh Pescator.'" I coughed; but with no effect, for she was admiring my Newfoundland dog, and to my question replied she still heard the music. I coughed again—she told me it had ceased. The failure of many of these experiments was very satisfactory.

2. The following experiments were made with the patient who has the cancer:—the delusion to occur on waking.

Aug. 19. To taste raspberries. Observing her moving her lips, I asked what she was doing. "Nothing, sir." "You are moving your lips." "I thought I tasted something nice." "What?" "It's like raspberries." The next day I did not see her; but two days afterwards she informed me in her sleep that she tasted them till she got home, and thought I

had given her some in her sleep, and still thought so in her waking state.

20. To hear an organ playing "God save the Queen." On waking she looked attentively. "What are you thinking of?" "I thought I heard music." "What?" "An instrument." She thought it came from above, not through the wall exactly. Next door is a chapel. "What tune?" "God save the Queen." The next day she said in her sleep that she continued to hear it till she had passed through my library into the hall.

21. To feel a strong heat on the back of her left hand. On waking she began rubbing the back of her left hand. "Why are you doing that?" "It feels so hot—it's so painful—quite burning." The next day she said the sensation had lasted till she got home—a distance of a mile and a half, and that the hand then still felt rather hot.

22. Not to see M. A. till I coughed, and then to see her, but with my hat on, and me with M. A.'s bonnet on. She woke spontaneously, and it succeeded perfectly. But I will detail all this presently, in my account of the other patient.

23. The next day I merely told her I should beg her to do the same to-day, but she wished not; and a German came in whose rude behaviour annoyed her, and we were all vexed, so that the experiment was not farther alluded to. She awoke spontaneously, and saw M. A. as in a mist till I coughed, and then she saw her plainly; but this was all. The other patient was in a state of prostration and insensibility from accidentally touching my gold ring, and on being restored no result took place, though I intended the same experiment with her.

26. I repeated it with perfect success.

27. To fancy herself glass and in danger of breaking. On waking her, she looked strange and anxious, and did not get up from her easy chair as usual. "What is the matter?" "I feel weak." "How weak?" "Not strong, but light: funny altogether. I feel so cold." "How?" "That I shall break, if I am touched; if you push me, that I shall break to pieces; if you touch my arm, that it will break." "What, like pie-crust?" "No; like glass." She had risen very carefully, looking around. I asked her to sit down again. She was afraid. I pushed her gently into the chair, and she was frightened. After a time she got up again: for she knew it was time for her to leave. But she continued standing still. I begged her to go home. "I'm afraid." "Why?" "I'm afraid I shall be broken." "Look at yourself, and see if you are glass." "My hands don't look like glass." "Are

they transparent?" "No." At last she left me, slowly and full of fear. The next day in her sleep she said that at first she had not known what to think of herself, and at last concluded she must be glass: yet all the time knew she could not be glass, and it must all be imagination, and thought as well as Mary Ann, who fancied a leg of mutton hanging from her nose, I must have done something to her: that on leaving the room she asked Mary Ann to keep her up lest she should be hurt, and got out of every body's way as she walked home: that the fancy left her suddenly while turning from Park Lane into Green Street, when the fresh air from the park blew upon her.

28. To think she should go to the devil. "I fear it will be difficult, because I do not believe there is such a being as the devil: every one's bad inclinations are his devil." "Never mind; nor more do I." On waking she was silent, and remained in her chair. I smiled; and she very faintly returned it. "What is the matter?" She faintly replied, "Nothing," and looked very sad. After a pause, "I am miserable." "Why?—tell me." "No." After much entreaty, she took me aside, for she had risen and Mary Ann was in the room, and whispered, "I fear I shall go to the devil." I laughed and said, "Why you don't believe there is a devil." "I think I shall go to him." I coughed, and instantly her face brightened up, and she smiled. "What is it?" She laughed joyfully, and said, "I am happy now, but have been unwell." "Indeed!" and wondered what could have come to her. She only laughed on, as did M. A., who had hated me till she heard that same cough. The next day she apologized in her sleep for her conduct on the day before in endeavouring to leave the room quickly, (I had not noticed this; but M. A. had.) "I was so miserable, and did not like your laughing at me." "When did the feeling go off?" "It went off suddenly before I left the room." I had coughed, but she said she did not hear it. I had made no arrangement about coughing, but did cough intentionally; and it probably had the effect of dissipating the fancy,—from having been employed before as a signal. Yet it is remarkable that she was not conscious that she heard me cough.

29. To fancy herself glass *while still in the mesmeric state*, as soon as I coughed, and the fancy to cease when I coughed a second time. Succeeded as perfectly as before. I made her to fancy herself glass at once in the mesmeric state, *without any signal*; and in a short time the fancy at once to cease.

In the mesmeric state, I said, "Roast chicken is a very good thing:" and she was to remember this when awake.

Now during the two years and a half that I have regularly mesmerised her I never knew her remember on waking a single point of her sleep-waking. When I coughed she was to forget it again entirely. This succeeded perfectly, and she even forgot that she had just mentioned it,—a circumstance that I had not thought of.

30. To fancy herself dead till I coughed.—I once attended a Jewess in a very insane family, who fancied herself dead, though spending her time with the rest of the family.—I awoke her. She did not rise from her chair as usual. "What is the matter?" She looked very sad and serious, but made no reply. After I had repeated the question often, she said very solemnly, looking up earnestly at me, "I'm dead." I made a great effort, but could not restrain myself, and laughed most heartily; and the other patient, whom I had awakened the first, also laughed heartily. She, however, did not laugh: but looked as serious as before; said she was sure she was dead, and begged me to rouse her. "I cannot rouse a dead person." "Rouse me if you please." "You could not hear and see if you were dead." "I don't know--do rouse me," she sorrowfully and earnestly repeated. She thought she had been dead some days: did not know of what; declared she could not move or feel, and continued in the chair with sorrow in her face. I coughed. She instantly looked happy, laughed at her having had such a fancy, and was supremely happy.

31. To fancy herself the Queen of Sheba. On waking she was grave, and kept looking at me: rose and continued looking very gravely. With much difficulty I got from her that she was the Queen of Sheba. There was no smile, but evidently a doubt and a conviction at the same moment. I coughed without prearrangement, and she instantly looked herself, and was cheerful, and spoke of her past fancy as very strange.

Sept. 7. To wake with her right hand in a tremor. This occurred and continued to perfection, greatly astonishing her. I stiffened the arm by long passes with contact, as I am always able to do in her waking as readily as in her sleep-waking state, but the tremor was unabated. I relaxed the arm by transverse passes at a short distance; the tremor remained. I coughed without prearrangement, and it instantly ceased.

8. To fancy herself no larger than a seed and that she should be pecked up. When she awoke she was going away immediately, and wished me good morning. "How are you?" "Quite well, sir." "Is nothing the matter?" She

looked serious. "Are you grown taller?" "No, sir; I think shorter." "How much shorter,—one third?" "Yes." "Less?" "Yes." "How small?" After a pause, she said seriously, "Not larger than that spot on the dog's back." My Newfoundland dog has a black spot rather larger than a crown on one side. "As large as an apple?" "Yes." "A small apple?" "Yes." "Not smaller?" "No." "Are you afraid of being injured in going home?" "No, I shall be safe in the streets for being small." She now became very much confused, and said, "It must be fancy." I coughed, with no prearrangement; she smiled, looked no longer confused, but happy, and left the house.

The next day in her sleep she spontaneously informed me that she had fancied herself very far smaller than an apple, and feared she should be pecked up as she went home: but was ashamed to tell me so, lest I should take her for a fool; and was so confused when I questioned her about her size that she was anxious to leave the house.

3. The experiments on M. A. were made in the same room, and nearly each, it will be seen, on the same days as an analogous experiment on Miss B.

19. To smell aromatic vinegar. Succeeded. The next day she told me that the fancy ceased on her leaving the room, but she long afterwards thought of it, and could not help believing, and does still in her waking state, (and she did I found also the day following), that I had held a bottle of it to her nose in her sleep.

20. To hear a piano playing "Rule Britannia." Succeeded. The music seemed to come from the chapel; against the wall of which she always sat. The sound of the organ came to the other patient as from that side but above, and the other always sat in a chair removed from the wall by a wardrobe, before which her chair was placed sidewise. The next day she told me that the music lasted in her ears till she was out of the room; but she could not forget the tune till she got beyond the next room.

21. To feel the back of her hand cold. The moment she awoke she put it to her face and rubbed it, saying it was very cold, quite benumbed: and it felt cold to her cheek. The next day she told me it felt cold for three-quarters of an hour, and she went to the fire at home to warm it, and her mother asked her what she would do in the winter if she felt cold now.

Each of these patients begged me not to tell them what I wished till near waking time, as when I had once told them

they could think of nothing else and worried themselves. I may state that the young lady mentioned immediately before them has her attention and memory rather impaired by her disease, and this explains her forgetting to remember on waking several of the promises made in her sleep-waking.

22. Not to see the other patient on waking, and on my coughing to see her but with my hat on, and me with the other's bonnet on. The experiment was made on both simultaneously, and one cough was to answer for both. From some cause, when I awoke her, she awoke up imperfectly—in a peculiar state, in which she often knows me, but is very cross, stupid, and wayward. I breathed upon her to mesmerise her more deeply, and then rubbed her eye-brows to awake her, when she at once fully awoke, quite herself, and now answered me with her accustomed propriety. She said she saw me clearly, but saw the other mistily; knew it must be the other, but saw clearly only as high as her knees, and up to them indeed somewhat mistily; but more and more mistily higher and higher up, so that she could not recognize the face. Precisely the same misty appearance of M. A. happened to the other. M. A. fancied her head could not be quite right to see the other and yet see her in this strange way. The other thought the fault was in her eyes and rubbed them, and said she often felt stupid on first waking: she discerned M. A.'s eyes. On my coughing, each saw the other well. Neither uttered anything about my hat being on the head of the other, or the bonnet of the other on my head.

23. See my account of this day already.

26. The other had told me in her sleep, when she was far less reserved, that she thought she had seen the other with my hat on, and me with the other's bonnet on; and that she had felt the other's head to know whether the other really had my bonnet on, and mentioned it afterwards to her, but had not liked to tell me, "it would look so silly."

The experiment repeated with success; and the same peculiar results as on the 22nd. Each looked towards the other, and went close and looked peeringly. In sleep the next day, M. A. said that on the 22nd, as well as on the 27th, she knew by her reason that it must be the other, and saw the other with my hat on and me with the other's bonnet on, but had not liked to tell me when awake.

27. To fancy a leg of mutton hanging from her nose,—a fancy which, like that of being glass, has really occurred in hypochondriacs. On waking she put the back of her hand to her nose, rubbed it, and looked at her hand every now

and then while rubbing it. "What is the matter?" "I feel a weight at my nose, sir, as if something heavy was hanging from it." She tried all ways to get rid of it, and in my absence for a short time begged the other to endeavour to pull it off. "What is it like?" "Flesh." "What flesh?" After a pause, "A leg of mutton?" In the first moments, she felt only the weight, and the idea of meat came next, and last of all of a leg of mutton, as she told me in her sleep the next day. She was terribly puzzled, and continued rubbing and looking astonished. It hung by the knuckle—was not dressed. She was certain it was a mere fancy, and still there was a leg of mutton. So she went home quite at a loss, rubbing her nose.

28. She told me in her sleep that this fancy of the leg of mutton went off suddenly after she had been at home an hour. She forgot it for a few minutes, and, on thinking of it again, it was gone. She felt for it and believed its reality no longer. While she felt and saw it and believed it, she knew it could be only imaginary. It was not so heavy as a real leg of mutton would have been. She had thought about it ever since in her waking state.

To hate me on waking till I coughed. On waking her I placed my fingers upon Attachment and breathed upon the disposition to Violence, as I could affect her cerebral organs, as well as stiffen her arms, in the ordinary state. But she still hated me, and behaved very ill. The other, who was awake, was surprised, and told her she was not awake; supposing she must be in that half-waking wayward state. "Indeed I am awake." I employed the process which always brings her out of the half state, but in vain. It was not that state: and agreed with it simply in the existence of waywardness. I coughed. She smiled and was in her usual happy and amiable condition; apologized, and when she saw I was not displeased, laughed at herself. I must mention that all those patients recollected the events of the periods of fancy. The cross half-waking state is never remembered by her.

29. In her sleep, she again spontaneously apologized for behaving so ill to me, telling me that I knew the reason, and she would not have done so otherwise.

In her sleep, she consented to fancy the leg of mutton again in the mesmeric state, and to lose it on my coughing. This succeeded; but she did not fancy it so large or so heavy as she did when awake; and as her eyes are always closed in the mesmeric state, she could not see it. One cough was often to dissipate the fancies of each patient, and it did. But a pretty circumstance occurred. M. A. said I ought not to

make one cough do for both : I ought to cough separately for her. This tallied with the fact of her having a strong attachment to the mesmeriser, whoever he may be, in her sleep-waking, and of her being at her ease. In her waking state she never said anything of the sort, and I am sure never thought of it.

I then arranged for the same effect, and in a short time its cessation, while she was still in sleep-waking, without signals, and with success.

To wake with the feeling of madness and wander about the room rubbing her hands as if mad. On waking, she looked thoughtful and strange, and began whispering ; soon she also rubbed her hands, and slapped them repeatedly together gently, and walked about the room half lost. When I advised her to be still,—“I shall do as I choose.” She felt she should go mad ; would go to Bedlam. She saw and heard everything. I endeavoured to excite her cerebral organs—Wit, Veneration, Attachment, Pride—but altogether in vain. I coughed and all instantly ceased. But she complained of headache, was not refreshed as she always was before by her mesmerism, and seemed sad. I made passes from the centre to each side of her forehead—breathed on it—sent her to sleep and woke her again, and she was much better : but she still had a little headache and was rather uncomfortable.

30. She came to my house looking pale, and unhappy and weak. I said nothing, but sent her to sleep by one pass as usual. I asked her if she was not well. The other patient who had spoken to her before she came into my room, said she was not. Her head had been uncomfortable, and she was tremulous. I then learnt from her that she had been frightened at having felt mad—was now even in her sleep-waking sure she had really been mad—that it was not all fancy, and still feared she should lose her senses. Both her left extremities became bent and rigid, and she had an hysterical fit ; still she could speak, but suffered from pain in the head and was miserable. I had not expected this effect, but felt certain I could remove it as readily as I had produced it. I made her promise on waking to lose all her fears, and be satisfied for ever that it was nothing but fancy and not worth thinking of, and be perfectly happy. I woke her immediately, and she awoke perfectly free from all apprehension, and as happy and well as before anything had happened, and laughed heartily at the matter, and has never been concerned about it since. I then sent her to sleep again.—To wake deaf ; and when I coughed to lose the use of her right arm, and on my coughing again to recover its use. It succeeded.

But when she was deaf, and I clapped my hands close to her ears, she said she heard it slightly. On my coughing, no effect followed till I coughed a second time, and then she at once heard; but did not lose the use of her right arm for a few seconds. On my coughing again, she recovered the use of it.—Mesmerism ought to be fully tried among the insane. Many called lunatics are no doubt in a state analogous to the mesmeric, and susceptible of management with it: and among others, a number may be susceptible as among the healthy, and, if the mesmeric state is induced, it possibly may prove of great power. At any rate it is not merely a disgrace, but a crime in medical men who have lunatic establishments, that they do not fully try it. Ignorance, obstinacy, and laziness are sad reasons when the insane swarm throughout the land.*

31. To fancy herself Queen Victoria. She awoke looking important, and got up saying nothing. On my addressing her, she was reserved and important, and after a little remonstrance with her about this behaviour, said she was Queen Victoria. The other patient who was awake, asked her how her children were, and she laughed; but again behaved gravely, though not with too much importance: and said she had been married three or four years. I coughed and she was herself, and we all laughed heartily together. I had not arranged, nor did I after this, that her fancy should cease on my coughing, but she, like the other patient, took it for a signal. The next day in her sleep she said that when the question was asked her about her children, she recollected that she had none and remembered who she was for a moment, but that the truth passed away almost instantaneously.

Sept. 8. To fancy herself on waking in the drawer of the table in the room where we were. She thought it impossible, and laughed: but on my assuring her it was possible, consented. On waking she went and stood still against the table, saying nothing; and did not put her bonnet on as usual. "What is the matter?" "I feel so stiff; I cannot move my limbs." "What do you mean?" "I feel shut up in some narrow place—in a box or drawer." "Which?" "In a drawer." "What drawer?" "This in this table." I asked her to go with me into the next room: she declared she could not. I took her by the hand, and pulled her into the library; she declaring she could not go there because she was in the drawer. When she was in the next room I asked how this was possible if she was in the drawer. "The drawer seemed to come with me: I am still in it." All this passed

* See the Cures of Insanity in Vol. I.

very seriously. I coughed, and the delusion at once ceased, and she moved freely and laughed.

The next day in her sleep she told me that she had firmly believed she was in the drawer, while I shewed her the drawer and took her into the next room, and yet knew she was not in it.

Being in Hampshire lately I called on the lady whose case is related by Mr. Case, and I mesmerised her. Finding her ears so sensitive in the sleep-waking state that the very slightest cause distressed her, and was a drawback on her happiness, I begged her to be deaf after I coughed. She thought it impossible, but promised to try. I coughed, and spoke to her and she answered. I thought the experiment had failed. But presently I found that though not deaf, her ears were no longer sensitive, and the noises which before aroused her produced no more impression than upon me. Here was a fact shewing the important use to which the power of impressions in the mesmeric state may be applied: and I do consider the subject one deserving of the deepest attention.

It will be observed that in my cases there were none of the marvellous circumstances which my friend related to me. I have never yet witnessed in any case of my own, community of feeling or of ideas, vision with the eyes closed, and but once that kind of clairvoyance which has been called ultra-vision, though I cannot doubt their occurrence. The phenomena now related are all established facts in the history of insanity and nervous diseases. As with all the phenomena of mesmerism, the only question is whether they can be produced artificially. On every account I can assert that the whole in these three cases where fancy was so powerful was real, and the proof was equal to that of any such facts in the insane. The two last of these three patients are in humble life; the last but one in the middle class: but from daily observation of them for two or three years, I can assert that they are as incapable of deceit and even affectation as the first lady whose rank is high and who is an ornament to human nature. More excellent and truth-loving persons in their ordinary and their mesmeric state do not exist.*

(To be concluded in our next.)

* I presume my readers have been aware that in all these cases there was invariably complete ignorance in the waking state of all the occurrences of the sleep-waking.

My experiments were extended beyond the original intention expressed at p. 369.

XII. *Surgical Operations without Pain in the Mesmeric state.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

Sir,—Since your last number appeared, several more cases of Surgical Operations without pain have occurred; and I send you accounts of them. The American cases were made known to me by Dr. Doane, of New York. The case from Alton was refused admission into the *Lancet*, which declares it does not mean to publish anything further on mesmerism.*

Yours, &c.

JOHN ELLIOTSON.

Conduit Street, London,
Sep. 17, 1845.

I. *Removal of a Breast.*

"The following authentic and minute description of an operation in mesmerism appears in the last number of the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal*, written by Dr. L. A. Ducas, Professor of Physiology in the Medical College of Georgia, who performed the operation in the presence of several eminent physicians. This operation, it will be seen, was a complete removal of the mamma of the patient.

"On the 3rd of January, 1845, Mrs. Clark, (wife of Mr. Jesse Clark, of Columbia Co., Georgia,) came to the city, for the purpose of getting me to remove a schirrous tumor of her right mamma, which had been gradually increasing for the last three years, and which had now attained the size of a turkey's egg. The tumor had never caused any pain of consequence, was not adherent to the skin, nor did it implicate any of the axillary glands. Mrs. Clark is about forty-seven years of age, has never borne a child, and her health by no means robust, was pretty good, and had not been impaired by the evolution of the tumor. The operation having been determined upon for the following day, Mrs. Clark remarked to me that she had been advised by Mr. Kenrick to be mesmerised; but as she knew nothing about it, she would ask my advice, and would abide by it. To which I replied that there were several well-authenticated cases on record, in which surgical operations had been performed, under mesmeric influence, without the consciousness of the patient; that I would be happy to test the subject in her case; and that I would endeavour to mesmerise her, instead of operating as had been proposed, on the day following.

"On the 4th January, at 11 o'clock, a.m., I called on Mr. Clark, and was informed that on the preceding evening she had been put to sleep by Mr. B. F. Kenrick (at whose house she resided). I then mesmerised her myself, and in-

* Notice to Correspondents, May 10, 1845.

duced sleep in about fifteen minutes. Finding my patient susceptible to the mesmeric influence, and reflecting that it would not be convenient for the same person to maintain this influence and to perform a surgical operation at the same time, I requested Mr. Kenrick to mesmerise Mrs. Clark morning and evening, at stated hours, until insensibility could be induced.

"This was regularly done, with gradually increasing effect, when, on the evening of the 6th January, sleep was induced in five minutes, and the prick of a pin was attended with no manifestation of pain. The sittings were continued, and the patient's insensibility daily tested by myself and others in various ways.

"On the 9th January, I invited Professor Ford to be present, and after pricking and pinching strongly the patient without evidence of pain, the mesmeriser was requested to leave the room, when we exposed the breast, handled it roughly in examining the tumor, and readjusted the dress, without the consciousness of the patient. We then held to her nostrils a vial of strong spirits of hartshorn, which she breathed freely for a minute or two, without the least indication of sensation, unless the fact that she swallowed once be regarded as such, instead of a mere reflex action. On the 11th of January, in the presence of Professors Ford and Mead, in addition to the usual tests, I made with my pocket-knife an incision about two inches in length, and half an inch in depth, into the patient's leg, without indication of sensation.

"Fully satisfied now of our power to induce total insensibility, I determined to operate upon her the next day at noon, but carefully concealed any such design from the patient and her friends, who did not expect its performance until several days later.

"On the 20th January, at twenty minutes past 11, a.m., Mrs. Clark was put to sleep in forty-five seconds, without touch or pass of any kind, the facility with which the mesmeric influence was produced having gradually increased at each sitting. At 12 o'clock, a.m., in the presence of Professors Ford, Mead, Garvin, and Newton, and Dr. Halsee, the patient being in a profound sleep, I prepared her dress for the operation, and requested my professional brothers to note her pulse, respiration, complexion, countenance, &c., before, during, and after the amputation, in order to detect any evidence of pain, or modification of the functions. As Mr. Kenrick had never witnessed a surgical operation, he feared he might lose his self-possession, and requested to be blind-

folded, which was done. He now seated himself on the couch near the patient, and held her hand in his during the operation. This was accomplished by two elliptical incisions about eight inches in length, comprehending between them the nipple and a considerable portion of the skin; after which the integuments were dissected up in the usual manner, and the entire mamma removed. It weighed sixteen ounces. The wound was then left open about three quarters of an hour, in order to secure the bleeding vessels, six of which were ligated. The ordinary dressing was applied, and all appearances of blood carefully removed, so that they might not be seen by the patient when aroused. The amount of hemorrhage was rather more than is usual in such cases.

"During the operation the patient gave no indication whatever of sensibility, nor was any of the functions observed to those present modified in the least degree. She remained in the same sound and quiet sleep as before the use of the knife. Subsequently the pectoral muscle, which had been laid bare, was twice or thrice seen to contract when touched with the sponge in removing the blood. About 15 minutes after the operation, a tremulous action was perceived in the lower jaw, which was instantaneously arrested by the application of the mesmeriser's hand to the patient's head. This phenomenon recurred in about ten minutes after, and was again in the same manner requited. Professor Ford, who counted the pulse and respiration, states that before any preparation was made for the operation, the pulse was 96, and the respiration 16 per minute; that after removing the patient to arrange her dress for the operation, and just before this was commenced, the pulse was 98, and the respiration 17; that immediately after the detachment of the breast, the pulse was 96—respiration not counted; and that after the final adjustment of the bandages and dress, which required the patient to rise and move about, the pulse was 98 and the respiration 16. All present concur in stating that neither the placid countenance of the patient, nor the peculiar natural blush of the cheeks, experienced any change whatever during the whole process; that she continued in the same profound and quiet sleep, in which she was before noted, and that, had they not been aware of what was being done, they would not have suspected it from any indications furnished by the patient's condition.

"The patient having been permitted to sleep on about half an hour after the final arrangement of her dress, the mesmeriser made passes over the seat of the operation in order to lessen its sensibility, and aroused her in the usual

manner, when she engaged in cheerful conversation with Mr. Kenrick and myself, as though she had no suspicion of what had taken place. I then introduced to her the gentlemen, who had placed themselves so as not to be seen by her on awakening, and observed that I had invited them to come in during her sleep, in order that we might fully test her insensibility preparatory to the operation. After a few minutes of conversation, I asked her when she would like to have the operation performed? To which she replied, 'The sooner the better,' as she was anxious to get home. I added, 'Do you really think that I could remove your entire breast when asleep without your knowledge?' Answer—'Why, doctor, the fact is, that from the various experiments I am told you have made on me, I really do not know what to think of it.' 'Well, madam, suppose I were to perform the operation one of these days, and to inform you of it when you would awake, would you believe me, and could you control your feelings on finding that it had been done?' Answer—'I could not suppose that you would deceive me, and of course I would be very glad, but would try not to give way to my feelings.' 'Have you perceived, since your arrival here, or do you now perceive, any change in the ordinary sensations of the affected breast?' 'No, sir, it feels about as it has done for some time back.'

"About a quarter of an hour having elapsed since she awoke, I then told her that as we found her in a proper state for the operation, I had performed it, and that the breast was now removed. She expressed her incredulity—said I was certainly jesting, as it was impossible that it could have been without her knowing it at the time, or feeling anything of it now. She became convinced only on carrying her hand to the part and finding that the breast was no longer there. She remained apparently unmoved for a few moments, when her friends, approaching to congratulate her, her face became flushed, and she wept unaffectedly for some time. The wound healed by the first intention.

"In laying the above narrative before the profession, it is due to the cause of truth to state, that it has been submitted to all the physicians at the operation, and that I am authorized by them to say that it accords in every particular with their own observations so far as they were present. I should also add that, having no other object in view than the establishment of the fact that a surgical operation may be performed under such circumstances without the consciousness of the patient, I have designedly avoided any mention of the various and interesting mesmeric phenomena mani-

tested prior and subsequently to the operation. These have been carefully and judiciously recorded by Mr. Kenrick, whose well-directed zeal has enabled him to collect a body of highly important facts from a field unfortunately explored too exclusively in ignorance and charlatanism.

"Augusta, Ga., 1st Feb., 1845."

II. *Removal of a Polypus from the Nose.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE BOSTON MEDICAL AND SURGICAL JOURNAL.

"Dear Sir,—Additional to the accounts of like results that have lately reached us from various quarters, an experiment has dragged me into being a witness of the particulars that are hereby detailed to you as follows, for what they are worth, attending the removal, in July, 1843, of a polypus from the nose of a patient in the mesmeric condition. I give this name to the condition she was in, for want of a better one; but names are of little consequence, the facts only (from notes taken at the time) being intended to be regarded. The patient came from Montville, 14 miles distant, to Belfast, for the purpose of having me operate. She was a very respectable woman, of mild disposition and manners, of considerable energy and activity, fair complexion, about 24 years of age, married, had one child, was a person of good constitution, and to every appearance healthy at the time.—That tumor was of an oblong-rounded form, largely attached base, probably half an inch in its smallest diameter, and had been there three months. The base was larger proportionally than the average of cases within my experience, and so firmly adherent, that in removing it I was obliged to tear it away in pieces. I had laid out my instruments and was about proceeding in the operation, when she proposed to be magnetized if it was possible, as she dreaded the pain that would have to be borne; and as she was entirely unacquainted in town, at her request I procured the attendance of a gentleman who had the reputation of being a good magnetizer (Mr. P. P. Quimby), although entirely faithless on my own part, as I told her at the time, as well as others before who had asked what I thought of animal magnetism. I am quite confident that the lady and Mr. Quimby had never met before, and that there was nothing previously concerted. I am also confident that she took no medicine to induce stupor. In ten minutes after commencing, she was put into a state of apparently natural sleep, sitting upright in her chair, breathing

and pulse natural—colour of countenance unchanged. We then moved her from the back part of my room, where she happened to be sitting, to a window, for the light. Mr. Q. asked her if she felt well. She answered distinctly, "Yes." I immediately (in the presence of several of our most noted citizens, who had been called in at their own request) began to remove the polypus, and did it thoroughly, scraping the sides of the nostril repeatedly with the forceps so as to be sure that I had removed all the remaining fragments. There was some hemorrhage, say nearly an ounce of blood. I was operating four or five minutes at least. During the whole time, she evinced not the slightest symptom of pain, either by any groaning, sighing or motion whatever, but was in all these respects precisely like the dead body. I felt convinced that I might as well have amputated her arm. The circumstance that struck me at the time most singularly of all, was this;—as soon as the blood began to run down the fauces, there was a slight, rough, rattling sound of the breathing. One of the bystanders said, "She is choking to death." Mr. Q. hawked and spit repeatedly, when she did the same, and spit the blood out of her mouth. In about ten minutes after she was awaked, but said she was unconscious that anything had been done, complained of no pain, and found that she could now breathe freely through her nose, that had been entirely closed up for several preceding months.

"Yours, very sincerely,

"ALBURY T. WHEELLOCK, M.D."

III. *Amputation of the Leg without Pain.*

I find the following in the *Critic* of last June:—

"Thomas Dysart, a young man of this place, was for a period of two years confined to his bed by a sore leg. During that period every thing that medical skill could suggest was done for him; but in spite of every effort the disease continued to increase. His body became quite emaciated, and it was apparent that his disease would carry him off in a very short time. As a last resource, his medical attendant resolved to amputate the leg. This, considering the extreme state of debility to which he had been reduced, was looked upon as a most dangerous experiment.

"In order, if possible, to alleviate the pain, his medical attendant (Dr. Fenton) mesmerised him almost daily for a number of weeks, and at last, in the presence of a number of medical gentlemen, amputated the leg. During the operation he was in the mesmeric sleep, the leg being in the cataleptic

state. During the operation of amputating, the patient moaned heavily, especially at the taking up of the arteries. The patient states that he had no sense of pain, nor any idea of what was going on, until he saw the amputated leg lying before him, although his eyes were open during most of the operation.

"His being in this state is easily accounted for, when we consider that for some days previous to the operation he was in a state of the greatest excitement, expecting that it would take place every day. By mesmerism he got a sound and refreshing sleep after the operation; and subsequently, whenever he has felt pain, a few passes of the hand or of a book have given him immediate relief. He is now completely recovered, and it may truly be said that mesmerism has saved his life.

"The subject of the above remarks is very poor, and a few benevolent friends are anxious to get one of the artificial legs for him which you mentioned in the *Critic* some time ago, as being an invention of the greatest importance to those who had been deprived of this useful member. I am requested to address a letter to you, respectfully requesting that you would inform us of the plan we ought to pursue to procure one of the artificial legs.

"ROBERT MARSHALL, Bookseller.

"Alyth, Perthshire, N.B. June 17th, 1845."

IV. *Dr. Esdaile's Mesmeric Feats.*

I have found the following account in an East India Paper.

"We were not amongst the spectators of Dr. Esdaile's mesmeric feats, but we have received from eye witnesses very startling accounts of what took place. The operation on a Native during the mesmeric state, was not quite so successful as was expected, for the man woke in the middle of it; but he was immediately thrown back again into a state of *coma*. Though most of the company present had collected to witness this operation, it was very far from being the most interesting portion of the morning's entertainment. The feat which excited the most unqualified surprise was, Dr. Esdaile's *mesmerification* of several Natives through a thick wall—the operator and the patient being in separate rooms. Another most remarkable effect was exhibited in the case of a Native, who, in the mesmeric trance, echoed and mimicked every word and movement of the operator. Dr. Esdaile uttered words and sentences in the learned languages, which were repeated,

with wonderful exactness, by the poor ignorant Bengallee. The Doctor then sang an English song, which his patient sang after him; and when the former burst into a fit of laughter at the performance of the latter, the patient laughed also, with a perfect imitation of the Doctor's merriment. The muscles about the mouth of the mesmerized man were perfectly flexible, but the eye maintained, all the while, a death-like stare and rigidity. The effect is said to have been truly awful.

"Some water was mesmerized. Certain Natives who drank it were thrown into the mesmeric state, but it had no effect on a European Officer, who ventured to take a large draught of it. In one case, a patient was struck with the mysterious influence just as he was in the middle of his potation. It was like magic—as if he had been touched with the wand of an enchanter. The lips closed on the rim of the tumbler—where the stiffened hand still held it. These are strange facts and show that there is something more in nature than is dreamt of in philosophy of men in general."

V. Tooth Drawing.

From the Critic of May 31st.

Alton, July 31st.

In the present sceptical state of the public mind as regards the subject of mesmerism, an important fact, and that bearing on its most valuable feature—the relief of human suffering—must be worthy of record.

On Tuesday, February 4th, before a numerous company assembled to witness the operation, I extracted a large molar tooth without the knowledge of the patient whilst in the state of mesmeric sleep. The patient is a girl in the employ of Messrs. Spicer and Poulton, paper manufacturers in this town. She had previously been mesmerised only a few times by Mr. Poulton, for the sake of trying a few of the ordinary experiments, and for the relief of tooth-ache.

Her employers are gentlemen who have no interest in supporting or refuting the phenomena of mesmerism; they are as anxious to arrive at the truth as any reasonable men should be, and would be equally happy to expose any attempt to deceive.

I am perfectly convinced, and so are all present, that she was not in the slightest degree conscious of the operation; and it can scarcely be imagined that a simple and comparatively ignorant mill-girl could have any motive to deceive

sufficiently strong, to induce her to bear so painful an operation without any visible change of countenance.

WILLIAM CURTIS, Jun.,
Surgeon, Alton.

Signed also by the following gentlemen, who were present—

W. Newnham, Surgeon, Farnham.
John Edward Spicer, Alton.
Cornelius Poulton, ditto.
W. F. Poulton, Architect, Reading.

VI. *Extraction of a Tooth without Pain.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ZOIST.

SIR,—The following fact may prove of interest to some of your readers. Attending a family at Clifton, I was asked to see a young woman who had been suffering from violent tooth-ache, and had not resolution to have her tooth extracted in the natural state. On first trying to mesmerise her, an impression was made. My second trial convinced me that there was insensibility to pain. On my mesmerising her again, on Saturday last, I found she was fully equal to any operation. I made an appointment with a dentist to meet me at 29, Park Street. In less than ten minutes, the patient, a timid and excitable young person, was sent into the mesmeric state. The tooth was a double one, with three fangs, and was firmly rooted in its socket; in truth, a powerful wrench was required to extract it. The gum was afterwards firmly pressed with the fingers. During this period, the patient sat with her hands quietly resting on her lap; not the slightest motion or resistance could be detected by the lookers-on. After the operation, Mr. Mosely, the dentist, was asked his impressions from what had passed. His reply was, "That there was perfect insensibility, and that she remained as passive as a block of wood." This opinion was the more satisfactory to me, Mr. Mosely being a perfect stranger, and having expressed himself as very doubtful whether mesmerism could be brought to such a practical bearing. On being awake, the young woman looked about, surprised at seeing strangers in the room: and when told that she would not now feel the tooth pain her, she doubtingly enquired, "What, then, is it out?" I need hardly say that such a result was as gratifying to those who witnessed the operation, as to the patient who lost her tooth without knowing it. This case,

though only one out of many, I feel ought to be made known, occurring, as it does, in the centre of much medical scepticism; and I beg to refer any sceptics to Mr. Mosely, the dentist, of 28, Park Street, and to Miss Smith, of 29, Park Street, Bristol, both of whom witnessed this interesting operation. The members of the Provincial Medical Association will perhaps say this is only the effect of imagination. They shall have the full benefit of this opinion. My reply is, that if imagination will allow limbs to be amputated, teeth extracted, and tumors removed without pain, to say nothing of the most distressing nervous diseases cured, the sooner imagination is allowed to become an active agent of the curative art the better. To medical sceptics I would say, in the language of the late Mr. Chenevix on this subject, "Would it disgrace the greatest man whom England has ever produced to attempt an experiment or two upon a doctrine which Hufeland, Juissén, Cuvier, Ampère, and Laplace believed?" Nay, would it not disgrace him more to condemn, without knowing anything about what such men knew and believed? Surely, *what great men believe, ordinary men may try.*"

I remain, Sir,

Yours obediently,

27, Brook Street, Bath.

HENRY STORER, M.D.

XIII. *More of Alexis Didier.* By Dr. ELLIOTSON.

THE *Zoist* informed its readers last October, on the authority of M. Marcillet, that Alexis Didier would return to London in the spring. He did not return. I think that he acted very improperly in not fulfilling the promise; because, from his brain being overworked at clairvoyance by M. Marcillet, he had latterly failed very much, and his abrupt departure from London had given a shadow of probability to the bold and false assertion of Mr. Wakley, that his publication of what he vain-gloriously and puffingly termed Dr. Forbes's complete exposure of the youth had put him to flight. This was, however, a trifle compared with the diabolical falsehoods alleged by some medical men as the reason of his departure. It seems that Alexis had resolved to enter into a profession and no longer to exhibit his clairvoyance in public. This gave rise to other false reports:—that M. Marcillet was dead and that Alexis had confessed the whole to have been a cheat. Subsequently he relinquished his resolution, and has shewn his powers in public with M. Marcillet in several places. I will translate for your readers part of an article in the *Journal*

de Cherbourg of the 24th last July. After relating the production of sleep-waking, rigidity and relaxation, and the card-playing with the eyes bandaged and the cards reversed, the editor proceeds:—

"Alexis read fluently with his eyes still bandaged. A book was opened by chance, 'Stop,' said Alexis, 'it is a Latin book.' 'You are wrong,' was the reply. 'I am certain of it,' rejoined Alexis, and immediately he read a Latin line which was alone on the top of the page. His lucidity increased; his bandages were removed, and he read notwithstanding two hands and a handkerchief were placed over the page. I have seen him read with perfect accuracy a page, pointed out by one of the party, of an uncut book. A person went up to Alexis, 'Can you tell me what I placed upon my chimney-piece before I left home?' 'Willingly: give me your hand. The object is not there generally; you took it from a shelf in the next room; it is very near the clock; it is black; there is something white that runs round it on the top; what can it be? stop: it is leather; shining; oh, what a fancy to put it upon a chimney-piece; it is a boot.'—This was true. A lady asked him what she had done in the course of the day, and what was her name. 'You have received a letter from one of your friends who has three daughters, and it begins thus: My dear L.'—That was true. M. H. had concealed a word in his double watch case, 'Will you tell me what it is?' 'I will. In the first place it is a name; it is composed of five letters.' 'True.' 'It is the name of one of your relations.' 'True also.' 'I will write it for you,' and immediately he writes *les*; then he said, 'I begin with the end, for the word is *Jules*,' which it was. The watch had not been taken from the owner's pocket. A lady goes up to him, 'Be so good as to tell me my Christian name.' Alexis takes her hand and instantly says, '*At—Ad—Adele*.' The astonishment and admiration of all was extreme.

"A naval officer presents himself, "Tell me what you see in my cabin.' After describing the furniture and the name of the ship, Alexis adds, 'I see a frame with an engraving; it is a female; there is written below, *Angleterre*; the female has a butterfly upon her finger.'—The officer declared this was perfectly true. Alexis continued, 'In such a year you were in a storm at sea; you were borne away by a wave and cast by it upon a heap of cordage; you were injured in the head and leg.'—The officer declared that all these particulars were exact.

"Miss P. asks, 'Who am I thinking of at this moment?' 'One of your parents; your father; he is far away; in a

country beyond the sea; give me your hand, think attentively, and I will tell you the country; he is in England—in London.' 'Quite true.' 'Now I will tell you the street; it is near Regent Street, a little to the left and lower down.' Immediately he wrote with a pencil, *Leicester Street*. 'No,' replied the lady, 'it is Leicester Place, not Leicester Street.' The difference was trifling. He added 'Your father has had a fall, a severe fall, and injured chiefly his right leg. In fact the gentleman has been tossed by a bull and received a severe wound in his right leg.

"One of the company takes the hand of Alexis, "Try and tell me what I have put on the chimney-piece of my room in the night.' 'I see it perfectly; it is a plant; it has three flowers like roses, but they are not roses; two are blown, the third is small and scarcely opened.' 'Perfectly true.' 'What do you see behind this flower?' 'A daguerreotypic portrait; it is your wife's; you have another of her in your bed-room, but not so good.' 'I have put several things on the top of my secretary and in one of the drawers. Do you see them?' 'Quite well. In the first place there is an engraving in a frame upon the top of the secretary: in the back ground are houses and small figures; in the fore ground a pillar; no, it is a crucifix; it is Christ on the cross; a woman is near him with dishevelled hair; one of the drawers is full of pence; in the other I see a box containing a chain and key.'—All this was correct.

"We should never finish if we were to attempt relating all the beautiful experiments, of which more than 400 persons were witnesses during eight days, and which proved the prodigious lucidity of Alexis. Thus he told one person what he had done at a particular time of the day; another what was the hour by his watch; another what was at the bottom of his pockets; another a remarkable circumstance that had happened to him, with the year, the day, and the hour.

"Such is a brief sketch of what we have seen and heard at these remarkable meetings, in the midst of the electric excitement and bravos of the assembly.

"When we hear for the first time of the extraordinary phenomena of mesmerism, we cannot help smiling with incredulity. When we are present at experiments of this nature and witness facts so astounding, our feeble reason still refuses to believe the supernatural things which pass before our eyes, and sometimes startle even those who show them. But belief takes the place of doubt, and we are compelled to yield to evidence when we have frequently witnessed the beautiful powers which Alexis possesses, or when turning ex-

perimenters ourselves, we obtain phenomena which prove our own power.

"To the conscientious observer who is anxious to investigate this subject and who perceives all the importance of mesmerism, these are not experiments of mere curiosity. It is a philosophical matter of vast extent, and of which no educated person has a right longer to remain ignorant. This science may, in many cases, aid the healing art, especially in the treatment of nervous affections; it displays to the physiologist new views of life, and throws a brilliant light upon psychology. In fact, somnambulist lucidity is but one of the truths of mesmerism; there are twenty others as interesting, and possibly more useful to study: a volume would be required to make them known.

"Allow me to express my regret at seeing so many respectable and well informed persons give themselves up to obstinately denying instead of studying a science which opens so vast a field for their reflections."

In Vol. II. of *The Zoist*, p. 482, after slightly mentioning a number of facts witnessed, and detailed to me from his notes, by Colonel Gurwood, proving beyond all doubt the extraordinary powers of Alexis, I stated that the Colonel had promised to give me a full account for publication, but afterwards excused himself. I consider him on every account very wrong: and am now enabled, notwithstanding the non-fulfilment of his promise, to furnish your readers, in a circuitous way, with his own account of the extraordinary revelations made to him by Alexis respecting some testimony of which he had long stood in need to do justice to himself. In the *Journal de Havre*, last August, 20th, is an extract from the *Journal Pandore*, containing an account by a gentleman of his journey in the Malle Poste from Bordeaux to Paris, accidentally with Colonel Gurwood, on the 24th of last November. After a time, the conversation turned upon mesmerism, in which the gentleman was a decided unbeliever, while Colonel Gurwood, who till two years ago had been a despising sceptic too, declared his firm conviction of its truth. A friend, he said, had with difficulty prevailed upon him at Paris to visit a sleep-waker and mesmeriser. I give you the rest of the account in the writer's words, translated in the *Cheltenham Free Press*, of September 6th.

"The mesmeriser was M. Marcillet, the patient, Alexis Didier.

"I shall pass over without notice a game of cards played between me and Alexis, and gained by him through his naming the cards, although I had myself attached a triple band-

age over his eyes. I shall not observe either upon the tetanic state of his legs, which were stiff and insensible, under the influence of the fluid. I hasten to come to the statement of facts personal to myself.

"After several experiments, I seated myself by the side of Alexis, my hand in his, and there we were chatting.

"My friend," said I to him, "I am incredulous, but I am so with good faith; so do not fear on my part a systematic opposition."

"Oh! I know that well! you have too much good sense to deny evidence, and too much heart not to love those who love you—and I love you much myself, Englishman as you are; I love you because you generously saved the life of a Frenchman!"

"Singulantly struck by this remark, I begged him to continue.

"Yes," continued Alexis, it is a long time ago! 'It is,' added he, after a pause, 'thirty years!' The affair took place there away, in the south, during the winter. The country is wild. There, see, the night, and your troops, provided with scaling-ladders, appearing under the walls of a strong place. My God, what a noise! what a battle! Poor man, you were wounded," said Alexis, placing his hand on my head; 'it was there that the blow fell—but your wound did not stop you. I see you farther on, mounting to the assault—on the breach. Stifled cries come to your ears: some English soldiers surround a Frenchman, whom they wish to kill. You run bravely. You lift up with your arms the weapons that menace his head, and you command them to respect his life. Oh! come, I love you, indeed. The officer follows you to a square tower, where several of his comrades are made prisoners. You traverse the town to find your general, to whom, by your orders, the French general surrenders his sword.'

"And what became of this sword?"

"Your general presented it to you—and you have it still in London, suspended to the wall of your room; the blade only is the same; the scabbard was changed in 1827."

"And does the officer, whose life I saved, still exist?"

"Yes, he exists; and for a long time you have made useless researches to find him again. But have good hope, come again to-morrow, and we will discover him."

"Struck, affected by what I had just heard, I went out from M. Marcillet's with my head all on fire, not knowing what to think or believe; for, in fine, Alexis had said what was the truth.

"Yes, the 19th January, 1812, at the siege of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, in Spain, I was wounded in the head, and at the very place Alexis indicated.

"Yes, on the same night I had the happiness to save the life of a French officer.

"Yes, I received from Lord Wellington the sword of General Barrie, after the assault took place.

"Yes, the scabbard of this sword was changed about the epoch fixed by Alexis.

"Yes, I have been making researches to find again this French officer, saved by my care, because General Napier (in his *History of the Peninsular War*) refuses me the honour of having conducted the assault of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, and designates Major Machis as having the right to the sword which was given me by Lord Wellington. Judge, then, of what importance it was to me to find again a witness who could certify the truth of facts already thirty years old! Unfortunately, I had no longer, as to this officer, the least notion which might aid me in my researches.

"On the morrow I returned to Alexis, whom I pressed with questions touching the French officer.

" 'I avow,' the somnambulist replied to me, 'that I feel some embarrassment in following him in all the changes of his military career: he is found mixed up in my mind with other officers who were present, as he was at the siege of which I have spoken. Let us search well, however! Yes, I see our man, about eight years later—at Paris—Rue Saint Antoine—during the night. . . . There! they remit to him a despatch of great importance—and, with a company that he commands, as captain, he hastens to the Rue Richlieu, near the Royal Library, where I see a riotous crowd. Ah! there has just taken place a fatal event.'

" 'What has taken place, then?'

" 'A crime—an assassination—committed upon an illustrious personage.'

" 'Let us see, Alexis; follow the captain down to the present time, and tell me where I ought to seek for him.'

" 'It is in vain that I pursue him—my sight cannot attain to him. But, hark ye, address yourself to the colonel of the 42nd regiment of the line in garrison at Valenciennes. However, you need not hurry; for, if you write to him to-day, he will not receive your letter immediately; he is at Maubege.'

"Curious to verify these facts, I consulted *P'Annuaire*, and I addressed my letter to M. Husson, colonel of the 42nd of the line, in garrison at Valenciennes. Five days after, I

received from Colonel Husson a reply, in which he excused himself for his *delay, occasioned by his tour of inspection*. It was not him who was at the siege of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, but his brother, whose address he indicated at Paris.

"I wrote then, immediately to this brother, and here is the substance of his reply. After having confirmed his presence at the siege of *Ciudad Rodrigo*, M. Husson continues thus:—

" 'It was reported to me, and I heard several English officers say, during my stay at the general quarters, that an officer of the company of sharpshooters, charged with the defence of the small breach, was assailed and nearly overcome by some soldiers, when he uttered the *Mason's cry of distress*; an officer saved him and took the greatest care of him afterwards; he recommended him to his comrades on the route that the garrison followed, I believe, as far as Lisbon. It is without doubt you, Colonel, who, in the midst of a sharp action, saved the life of this officer, whose name I have never known.

(Signed) " 'HUSSON, Retired Colonel of Artillery.
" 'Paris, 17th January, 1843.'

"The same day I communicated this letter to Alexis.

" 'Courage,' said he to me, 'we are in the right road. On your return to London consult the documents relative to the months of January and February, 1812, and I answer for your success.'

"A month later, I was in the Tower of London, hunting among the papers of Lord Wellington all the documents relative to the affairs of Spain of the above epoch. All of a sudden my eyes fell upon an indorsement thus worded:—

" 'BONFILH, 34th light.'

"This name struck me like a ray of light, and I felt myself seized with an inexplicable conviction; I opened the letter, exclaiming, "Without doubt it is him!"

"By this letter, signed 'Bonfilh,' a French officer asked Lord Wellington to send his letters to the advanced posts.

"There was nothing in that which served to fix me; nevertheless, urged by an internal voice, I wrote to Colonel d'Artois, secretary to the committee of fortifications at Paris, begging him to make researches in the War-office.

"Colonel d'Artois replied that there existed no person of the name of Bonfilh on the army-list; but he sent me a certificate proving that the Commandant Bonfilh, who served in the 34th light, received his half-pay at Villeneuve-d'Agen, and lived at Villareal (Lot et Garonne).

"The 23rd of April, 1844, I addressed a letter to the Commandant Bonfilh, in which I made known to him my re-

searches and my hopes, and on the 7th May following I received the following reply:—

“ ‘ Villareal (Lot et Garonne), 1st May, 1844.

“ ‘ To Colonel Gurwood.

“ ‘ Sir,—I received from you a letter, dated the 23rd April, in which I read with the warmest interest the details on the taking of Ciudad Rodrigo.

“ ‘ After the recitals you have made, Colonel, there is no doubt that I am the French officer whose life you so nobly saved, and for whom you have so long time sought.

“ ‘ I recollect that when you arrived to my aid, I was down on the ground, surrounded by six or eight English soldiers, some of whom held their bayonets to my body, while others were tearing open my clothes and taking my money away. You ran to me, Colonel, and making the soldiers retire, you took me under your protection. We went to the square tower, near the gate of Almeida, where General Barrie surrendered to you, saying, “Respect my soldiers.” This General offered you his watch; but you replied, “Preserve your watch, General: honour brings me here, and not pillage.” He wished also to give up his sword to you, and you refused it, saying, “You will remit it to General the Duke of Wellington.”

“ ‘ I shall add, Colonel, that when they were conducting us prisoners towards Portugal, you made me enter a house in a little village, *El Codon*, where there was given me a cup of rum, and a rations loaf, for the route. In fine, you had the goodness to accompany me as far as the column of prisoners, which was in advance; and without you, Colonel, the Spaniards would infallibly have cut my throat before I could have joined my comrades in misfortune.

“ ‘ I have often reproached myself, Colonel, for not having asked the name of my benefactor: but for which, believe me truly, I should have taken the advance in writing and testifying my lively and eternal gratitude. In fine, I pray continually for your happiness; and beg of you to sacrifice a moment of your leisure to write to me.

“ ‘ Him who owes life to you,

(Signed) “ ‘ *BONFILH, Chief of Battalion on Half-pay,*

“ ‘ *Officer of the Legion of Honour.*”

“ At length, I received the price of my labours! The letter of this brave commandant rendered me so happy, that I promised myself to go and see him on my first journey to France; and you see me, young man, returning from Villareal, where I have passed some days that I reckon among the number of my most fortunate. Oh! that you had been present at our mutual recognition! You would have taken a lively part in the joy of all that family, whose benedictions I bring away! With what charming recollections M. Bonfilh entertained me of the events of his life, entirely conformable, by the bye, with the narration of Alexis. Thus, for example,

on the 13th of February, 1820, M. Bonfilh, captain of the 47th of the line, in garrison at Paris, was going the rounds in the evening, in the Rue Saint Antoine, when they informed him of the assassination of the Duke de Berri. Immediately he repaired, with his troops, to the Rue Richieu, and passed the night at the post of the Royal Library."

"Colonel, I am confounded. Mesmerism plays so great a part in the recital that I have just heard, that you have almost converted me: and, hence, on my arrival at Paris, my first visit shall be to M. Marcillet."

My amiable companion stopped at Orleans, where he was to remain; and I arrived alone at Paris, about seven o'clock in the morning. At two o'clock in the afternoon, the same day, I knocked at the door at M. Marcillet's, where, by a lucky chance, Alexis was sleeping, giving a *séance*.

The master of the house gave me a reception full of kindness, and consented to place me *en rapport* with the somnambulist.

Then, addressing myself to Alexis,—

"My dear Sir," said I, "could you divine who I am?"

These were his first words:—

"You are a friend of Colonel Gurwood's!"

* * * * *

J. S. DE GOSSE."

The account given in Vol. II., p. 292, of Colonel Gurwood's interview with Alexis at my house, last year in June, a month after he had received Commandant Bonfilh's letter, may be looked at as well as p. 482.

ERRATUM.

In Vol. III., No. 10, p. 153, in Mr. Noel's paper, for "lunatic views," read somatic views.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Kosmos. Parts II., III., and IV.

A Plea for Phonotypy and Photography; or, Speech Printing and Speech Writing. By Alexander John Ellis, B.A., Fellow of the Cambridge Philosophical Society, and formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge; Honorary Member of the Phonographic Corresponding Society; Author of the Alphabet of Nature, &c. 1845.

A Manual of Phonography or Writing by Sound; a natural method of writing by signs that represent the sounds of language, and adapted to the English language as a complete system of Phonetic Short-hand. By Isaac Pitman. 7th Edition. 1845.

The Phonographic Class Book. By Isaac Pitman. 1845.

The "Fonographic Correspondent." Conducted by I. Pitman, Phonographic Institution, Bath. No. 18. June, 1845.

The Phonotypic Journal. Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43.

Supplement to Vol. I. of the Phonotypic Journal. December, 1844.
Retrospect of the Progress of the Writing and Printing Reformation during 1844.

Abridged Report of the Proceedings at the Brighton Phonographic Soirée, held February 18th, 1845.

Phonography. Nos. 4, 5, 6.

The Phonographic and Phonotypic Alphabets.

A Penny Sheet of the First Style of Phonography.

Phonographic Wafers.

Edinburgh Phrenological Journal. July.

Third Annual Report of the Sheffield Phrenological Society, held in the Assembly Rooms, Sheffield, during Session 1844-5, with the Proceedings of the Year, Rules, List of Members, &c. Sheffield, 1845.

Lettre à Timon sur son Pamphlet Feu, Feu. Par J. B. Mège, D. M. P. Paris, 1845.

Contributions to the Mathematics of Phrenology, chiefly intended to aid Students. Illustrated with a Plate. By James Straton, Secretary of the Phrenological Society, Aberdeen. Aberdeen, 1845.

The American Journal of Insanity. Edited by the Officers of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, Utica. Vol. I., Nos. 2 and 4. Vol. II., No. 1. We acknowledged in No. 7 the receipt of Vol. I., No. 1, but have not received Vol. I., No. 3.

Regeneration of Society, the only correction for the Distress of the Country; or, an Appeal to the English Nation in the cause of Humanity-Reform, Religious and Political; a Restitution for the Debt she owes to Germany and France, for the work of first Reformation and the enactments of the Revolution. By John Lhotsky, Ph. D. 1845.

The Life of Moses. 1845.

The New York Dissector. A Quarterly Journal of Medicine, Surgery, Magnetism, Mesmerism, and the collateral Sciences. New York, 1845.

Mesmer, Galvani et les Théologiens. Par M. l'Abbé Comte de Robiano. Bruxelles, 1845.

Mesmeric Experiences. By Spencer T. Hall, Author of "The Forester's Offering," "Rambles in the Country," &c., and Editor of the "Phrenomagnet." Price 2s. 6d.

We are requested by Mr. Arthur Wallbridge to state that his work called "Torrington Hall" is a fiction.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The obliging communications of Mr. Childs, Mr. Chandler, Dr. Elliotson, Mr. D. Hands, Mr. Kiste, Mr. Magendie, and Mr. Topham, will appear in our next.

Madame F.'s case lies at the publisher's for Mr. V.

Mr. B.'s paper is good; but contains only what has been often urged.

A. B. Age does not destroy mesmeric susceptibility. Dr. Elliotson informs us that Mr. Jago lately sent a gentleman 63 years of age into the mesmeric sleep, at Bodmin, the first time, in about ten minutes; and after a dozen trials, in half a minute; and that Mr. Kiste lately mesmerised a lady at Plymouth nearer 70 than 60, with the effect not only of producing mesmeric sleep and curing her of debility and pains which had tormented her for years, and of rendering her a beautiful sleep-waker, and after some sittings a clairvoyante of the highest order.

