

Eusapia Palladino

AND HER PHENOMENA

BY

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"THE PHYSICAL PHENOMENA OF SPIRITUALISM,"

"VITALITY, FASTING AND NUTRITION,"

"THE COMING SCIENCE," "HINDU
MAGIC," ETC.



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*Eccelsa
Dall'Adino*

THIS BOOK
IS LOVINGLY DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF MY FATHER
R. C. CARRINGTON, F.R.G.S., F.R.A.S., F.R.S.L.
AS A TOKEN OF MY RESPECT AND ESTEEM
FOR HIS UNRECOGNIZED
GENIUS

P R E F A C E

WHILE much has been written in France and Italy concerning the remarkable woman who forms the subject of this book, but little has appeared either in England or America—with the exception of M. Flammarion's work, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, and a series of articles that have appeared from time to time in the English edition of the *Annals of Psychical Science*. Yet the case is one of the most remarkable that has come to the attention of the scientific world for many years—since we are concerned, apparently, with movements of physical objects without contact, and even far more startling phenomena—contrary to the known laws of physics and physiology.

In the following book I propose to lay before the reader a summary of all the historic evidence available, together with a detailed record of our own experiments with this medium, conducted in Naples, in November and December, 1908; a complete résumé of every theory that has been advanced to date—with a provisional hypothesis of my own; and then to discuss at some length the biological and psychological peculiarities of the case—from the point of view of one who assumes, on the strength of the existing testimony, that the facts are established.

One forms a very different opinion of Eusapia's séances before and after he has obtained personal sittings. Before, although I was vastly impressed with the cumulative evi-

dence, I was far from being irrevocably convinced—an attitude which I occupy to-day. I had given a rapid survey of the Palladino case in one of my previous books, *The Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*, saying in part:

“And thus the matter stands: One half the world is convinced that Eusapia is a fraud, and the other half is convinced that the phenomena witnessed in her presence are genuine! What the ultimate verdict will be it is hard to foresee; but it is certain that the case, as it stands, is not convincing to the scientific world, and fresh evidence must be forthcoming if the case is ever to be decided in her favor. If Eusapia possesses genuine mediumistic gifts, it ought only to be a matter of time and sufficiently careful experimenting in order to establish that fact.”

Professor Morselli took occasion to make this the text of a lengthy reply to my book (appearing in the *Annals of Psychical Science*, August–September, 1908), based on his sésances with Eusapia, in which he said:

“I hope and believe that my voluminous work on Palladino’s spiritism will give a satisfactory answer to the distinguished American psychist, who is so severe on physical mediumship, and only accepts as valid, in general, the bygone categories of the historical phenomena of spiritism. He is guided by the preconceived idea that in the earlier times, from the Fox Sisters to Home, the physical phenomena were more authentic, because then the mediums did not copy one another and mediumship was confined to the spontaneous revelation of new biopsychical forces, without the intervention of mimicry. . . .

“Now it is hazardous to express judgments on a powerful but variable medium like Eusapia on such slight documentary evidence; but Mr. Carrington, like all the English and American psychists, is still under the impression received from the check at Cambridge, caused by an excess of rigidity

in the interpretation of the movements of the medium's hands and feet. We have the obsession of trickery by the substitution of one hand for the other, according to the formal accusation made by E. Torelli-Viollier against Palladino in 1892, at the time of the celebrated experiments in Milan, at the house of M. E. Finzi. And in reality, in America also, where the conjuring ability of mediums has reached the highest degree, the trick of the freeing of one hand from the chain of controllers is practised every day by charlatan mediums, who are very numerous there. I append two very significant illustrations which Mr. Carrington has inserted in his book, . . . which show very plainly the method of deception used by mediums for evading the surveillance of the controllers to right and left; with the freed hand they are able to produce touchings, raps, noises, slight movements of objects, apports, etc. . . .

"Mr. Carrington, whom I still quote for precaution, for he is not only a firm believer in immortality, but also a psychist of authority, assumes an attitude of extreme distrust when he says:

"It is not only probable, but certain, that the vast majority of modern occult phenomena are fraudulent. I am disposed to believe that fully ninety-eight per cent. of the phenomena, both mental and physical, are fraudulently produced. . . ."

"No critic or skeptic, were it Dr. Hodgson returned to earth, could ever convince me that, in a long series of séances with Eusapia, and especially in the last ones of 1906-7, I had only seen, in all, *two* genuine phenomena in every hundred! This is my opinion, and I live in this confidence toward myself and my fellow-investigators, notwithstanding all that Carrington writes about Eusapia Palladino. . . ."

This will, I trust, serve to show the reader that I did not go to Eusapia's séances any too ready to be convinced; and the fact that I *was* so convinced (this being the *first* case of genuine physical mediumship I had ever seen during ten

years continuous investigation) proves, it seems to me, that the severest skeptics are likely to become converted if they would but deign to stop criticising the reports and sittings of others, and go and have sittings themselves. Only in that manner can one's mental attitude be changed, and the genuine nature of the facts be forced upon one—as they were forced upon me.

In spite of my conviction, however, I wish to say that I am just as skeptical as ever of all *other* professional mediums; and still think that as large a percentage of fraud exists as when I wrote the above passage. Eusapia is genuine; but she is, so far as I know, almost *unique*; and I shall believe in the genuineness of none other, until they have submitted their mediumship and their phenomena to tests similar to those imposed upon Eusapia. It is very true that, granting that her séances are genuine, it is highly probable that many others are genuine also—only the evidence does not *prove* it. However, until phenomena are produced under conditions which preclude the possibility of fraud, it is useless to speculate as to whether they are genuine or not. Of course it is possible that phenomena only occur under conditions which render fraud possible; but if that be the case, it is useless to continue the investigation, since nothing will ever be proved. We should always have to assume that fraud was the real explanation of the facts so long as it was *possibly* operative.

In our own séances, we (my fellow-investigators and myself) felt that we had obtained phenomena under conditions that absolutely precluded fraud; we were forced to the conclusion, in consequence, that genuine phenomena occurred; and, that being the case, they should be studied by scientists—not with the object of detecting trickery, but in the hope

of discovering the hidden causes and laws of certain unknown and as yet unrecognized biological phenomena. Of course each investigator must, unfortunately, be convinced in turn before he can approach the case from that point of view. The consequence is that years of valuable time have been consumed in attempts to establish the facts; and, by the time they are accepted by the skeptical world, it is probable that Eusapia will have died, and that we shall have to await the advent of another equally gifted medium before we can study the significance of the phenomena in the spirit in which they should be approached!

I think I ought to say in conclusion that, although this book represents my own opinions concerning these phenomena—for which I alone am responsible—the task of establishing the facts was equally shared by my colleagues, the Hon. Everard Feilding, and Mr. W. W. Baggally, to whom I wish to express my sincerest thanks and appreciation for their coöperation and support, and to whom credit is equally due, for whatever certitude has been reached regarding the existence of these preternormal events. Only by their exhaustive and painstaking investigations and by their sympathetic coöperation has the issuance of this book been rendered possible.

I wish to acknowledge my thanks, also, to the English Society for Psychical Research, for their permission to quote extended passages from our official Report upon Eusapia—which originally appeared in the S. P. R. *Proceedings*: also to the editor of *The Annals of Psychical Science*, for permission to quote from the valuable collection of material upon Eusapia's mediumship that has appeared in that journal.

I also wish to acknowledge, in this place, my indebtedness to all those investigators of Eusapia whose records have been

utilized in the compilation of this book; and particularly to those eminent men of science whose courageous championing of an unpopular cause has paved the way for this investigation.

H. C.

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EUSAPIA PALLADINO

CHAPTER I

THE PLACE OF EUSAPIA PALLADINO IN THE HISTORY OF MODERN SPIRITUALISM

Eusapia Palladino,¹ the Italian medium who forms the subject of this book, occupies a unique place in the history of Spiritualism. No other medium, producing "physical phenomena," has been studied with so much care, for so long a period, and by so many scientific men, as she. The case most nearly resembling it is that of Mrs. Piper—and she is not a medium for the production of physical phenomena, but is a trance medium, solely, and nothing has ever occurred in her presence resembling the phenomena asserted to have taken place in the presence of Eusapia Palladino. Mrs. Piper has been studied continuously, by men of scientific repute, for some twenty-five years (since 1885)—including some of the leading scientists of England, France and America; but the investigation was left for the most part in the hands of Dr. Hodgson, and the men and women who investigated her scientifically might be counted on the two hands. Further, as I have said before, there is no resemblance whatever between the types of phenomena wit-

¹ Mme. Palladino told me personally that she spells her name with two, 'l's,' contrary to the all but universal custom.—H. C.

nessed through the mediumship of the two mediums. Mrs. Piper merely sits at a table, and, while conversing, passes into a trance, in which state she remains for some two hours. During that period, her hand writes out certain messages automatically—which are read at the time by the sitter. It is all done openly, and in the light. In her case, there is no mystery; no dark séances; no physical phenomena; everything is perfectly clear and open, so far as the actual *production* of the phenomena is concerned. The whole point of interest, in her case, is the *content* of the written message. Does it or does it not contain any facts unknown to the medium, that are apparently gained supernormally? That is the problem, in her case. It is a *mental* problem; not a *physical* one. The phenomena are mental or psychological, and not physical. The problems to be solved are, it will be seen, of a very different order from any that occur in the physical world.

In the case of Eusapia Palladino, on the other hand, everything is as different as possible. Here, the phenomena are almost entirely physical in their character, and very rarely are mental or psychological phenomena obtained.

In order that the reader may understand the case which we are to discuss, it will be necessary, first of all, to give a brief outline of what happens at these séances, so that the phenomena which take place at these sittings may be familiar to him.

Eusapia Palladino is a "physical medium"—that is to say, physical phenomena occur in her presence, and mental or intellectual manifestations—such as are usually seen in the presence of trance mediums—are missing. Tables and chairs move about the room of their own accord, untouched by visible hands; the table around which the sitters are seated,

rocks violently, and finally goes completely into the air, contrary to the law of gravitation. Lights are seen in various parts of the room; musical instruments are played, no hand touching them; hands and faces appear—not belonging to any member of the circle, or to the medium; and various other phenomena of a kindred nature occur, quite inexplicable by any of the known laws of physical science. The above list will at least serve to show the general character of the phenomena observed in the presence of this medium.

Of course the most obvious explanation of the facts is that the medium succeeds in some manner in producing the phenomena by fraudulent means; that she succeeds, *e.g.*, in freeing one hand, and producing the touchings, playing upon the various musical instruments, lifting the table, etc., unseen by the sitters. That is the most natural explanation, and its possibility we should certainly have to eliminate before we could accept the facts as genuine. So much fraud has existed in the past, in connection with the physical phenomena of spiritualism, that we should have to take the greatest precautions that the mediums could not by any artifice produce the results seen by any normal means, or by any process of trickery. That is the obvious problem which all investigators of this medium's powers have been called upon to face, and which they have endeavored to overcome by imposing test after test, and obtaining phenomena under more and more stringent conditions, which precluded all possibility of fraud.

It must not be thought that the investigators of Eusapia have been blind to the possibility of fraud in her case. On the contrary, they have been on the incessant watch for it; and have frequently detected it in operation. If fraud had never been detected, the problem would be a comparatively

simple one; but, unfortunately, it is well known that this medium *will* resort to trickery whenever she can—sometimes in a normal state, sometimes in a state of semi-trance.

I have said before that Eusapia Palladino holds almost a unique place in the history of spiritualism, and for several reasons. The chief reason is this: That in her may now be said to culminate and focus the whole evidential case for the physical phenomena of spiritualism. If it could be shown that—in spite of all these years of work, in spite of the elaborate precautions taken, in spite of the testimony of the numerous scientific men who have carefully investigated her, and brought in favorable reports—her performances were fraudulent throughout, and that nothing but fraud entered into the production of these phenomena—then the whole case for the physical phenomena would be ruined—utterly, irretrievably ruined.¹ If, on the other hand, it becomes evident that fraud will *not* cover all the facts, and that genuine phenomena do occur in her presence—phenomena as yet inexplicable by science—then it will be proportionately more probable that many of the historic cases were genuine also; that the same phenomena occurred in other cases, but not so frequently, or under such good test conditions as those reported to occur in this case. The theoretical possibility of the facts having once been established, it does not neces-

¹ This statement may be questioned, but it is, I think, valid for this reason: The phenomena occurring in the presence of this medium have been studied by more scientific men, for a greater period of time, in a more careful manner, and with greater precautions against fraud, than any other medium in the history of the subject. If, then, in spite of all this, it were proved that fraud covered and explained all the facts, such doubt would be thrown upon the value of human testimony—so impossible would it obviously be to guard against fraud—that no amount of testimony for any other phenomena of the sort would be tolerated or considered for a moment. This may be both wrong and arrogant, but the case would be hopelessly lost, I am assured. So far as the scientific world is concerned, it could never again be reconverted after such a crushing blow.

sitate much credulity to imagine that the same phenomena took place many times in the past, in the presence of lesser and "weaker" mediums. Thus, Eusapia Palladino forms a "wedge," as it were, that might be driven home, perhaps—opening the way for the acceptance of the theoretical possibility of the older facts, and for the actual occurrence of many historic phenomena. She is, in fact, the *crux*, the pivot upon which the whole case for the physical phenomena turns. Upon her, upon the proof or disproof of her claims, rests one of the most stupendous crises in the history of science.

Thus, in this medium may be said to rest the case for physical phenomena—as the case for the mental phenomena rests with Mrs. Piper. These two mediums are both representatives, in a way, of their particular class of phenomena—the physical and the mental; and a very similar problem confronts us in the two cases. In the Piper case, if it could be shown, now or in after years, that subliminal faculty and telepathy, or other supernormal powers are sufficient to explain the facts (or even some more normal and as yet unsuspected cause), then the case for spiritism would go to the wall; for no other case is so strong as this. In the same way, no medium of our day has succeeded in producing such remarkable phenomena, under such good conditions, as Eusapia; and the case for the physical phenomena, as before said, may be said to rest with her.

There was one medium in the past who occupied very much the same position, in the interested and the scientific world, as does Eusapia to-day—D. D. Home. The phenomena occurring in the presence of this medium were very much on the same order as those occurring in the presence of Eusapia. In many respects, the phenomena were identical; but, whereas Eusapia, or the forces operating through her,

produce certain phenomena that were never reported to have occurred in the presence of Home (impressions of hands in wet putty, *e.g.*), Home, on the other hand, obtained certain phenomena that Eusapia never duplicated or equaled—the handling of red-hot coals, etc. But the phenomena are very similar in many respects; and there is this further similarity—that both these mediums have been studied by scientific men, who published reports upon them and their phenomena. But while Sir William Crookes was almost the only man of great eminence who defended Home, numbers have come forward and published positive testimony in favor of Eusapia; and in that respect her case is far stronger than that of Home, simply by reason of this cumulative testimony—though it can hardly be said that many of the incidents are stronger or better evidenced than some of those occurring in the presence of Home and witnessed by Sir William Crookes. In many of those incidents, no loophole for fraud or other natural explanation has ever been found; and critics have had to fall back upon the ground that *more* evidence of the same character must be forthcoming in order to compel belief. This was perfectly rational and justifiable, but Home's death prevented this additional evidence from being accumulated. In the case of Eusapia Palladino, it seems to have been accumulated, as we shall presently see.

The relative value and significance of the Palladino phenomena can best be estimated, perhaps, by a brief glance at the historic phenomena—similar cases of the same general character occurring in the past. If we review these cases, we shall find many points of interest; and it will be profitable to devote at least a brief space to this side of the controversy, before enumerating the actual facts themselves. In this way we can get a better look at her phenomena in per-

spective, as it were, and judge them as they will ultimately be judged—from the standpoint of history.

Modern Spiritualism is, Mr. Podmore contends, "the direct outgrowth of Animal Magnetism." This gave rise, first of all, to the idea of "questioning spirits" through the mouths of entranced persons, and the mental phenomena are the product of this idea. These phenomena and these beliefs Podmore traced back, through Andrew Jackson Davis and others in America; through the English Clairvoyants and the early English Mesmerists; through the German Somnambules; through the old French Mesmerists, to the Possession and Witchcraft cases of the Middle Ages. The physical phenomena, on the other hand, were traced back through the early physical mediums and poltergeist cases to the physical phenomena associated with the same mediæval Witchcraft. It is a natural outgrowth, and doubtless the correct one, in the main. Modern spiritualistic phenomena—originating the present movement in 1848—really date back a very long way—through all history, in fact, and accounts of those phenomena occur in the traditions of every nation. So far as we have any history at all, we find these phenomena occurring—just such phenomena, apparently, as we observe to-day, and construed in very much the same way then as they are construed now! Phenomena, supposedly remarkable, took place in all times—in all countries; it has always been merely a question of their interpretation.

Now, when we come to consider this question of evidence and interpretation, we find this interesting fact. One class of individuals invariably explained the phenomena in one way—spirits; the other class endeavored to explain the facts in a "naturalistic" manner, and attempted to show that fraud, and disease, and other natural states and conditions were suf-

ficient to explain the facts. The same warfare is existing to-day! No certain solution of these problems has even yet been arrived at—in spite of the centuries of squabbling, and the division is as great and the dispute as keen now as ever. Further, the stronger the arguments that are advanced on one side, the stronger the arguments on the other—they seem to balance each other exactly, so that the matter now stands just where it did at first! Why is this?

I think that an explanation of this fact may perhaps be found—in a number of cases at least. In the first place, one side was contending for the reality of the *facts* (only), while the other side was fighting the facts-and-the-popular-construction-of-the-facts as well. They could not seem to get it into their heads (and they don't now) that the opinions and explanations of a man need not be accepted, merely because his facts are. This cannot be too strongly insisted upon, as it is a large cause of the trouble—past and present. In the next place, the two sides were not always arguing about the same facts at all! Thus, one man may be attacking “spiritualism”—meaning by that, slate writing, materialization, and similar phenomena; while another man may be defending “spiritualism”—while *he* means by the term mental and psychological phenomena merely! It is exceedingly important that the terms used should be very clearly understood by both sides, in any dispute of this character; and further, they should be sure that they are arguing about the same phenomena, viewed from the same standpoint. If this were done, half the trouble would doubtless disappear at once.

I have digressed to make these remarks primarily for this reason. If the history of “the supernatural” be studied carefully, it will be found to duplicate, on a large scale, the his-

tory of modern spiritualism. The latter movement condenses and epitomizes, as it were, the whole past phenomena in just this way. Throughout the course of its history, fraudulent phenomena have been observed (of that there can be no doubt whatever), and apparently genuine phenomena have been taking place at the same time also. Some investigators came in contact with the fraudulent phenomena, and others with the apparently genuine; and they have both been arguing from their own "experiences." Of course the result was, that no lasting agreement was arrived at. In order to arrive at an agreement, it would be necessary, first of all, to discuss the *same* phenomena; then agree as to the means that must be adopted in order to solve the problem; finally, agree to attempt to solve it in that manner. Only in that way can any lasting peace be found.

Now, throughout all the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and all earlier periods, and throughout modern spiritualism, there has been an admixture of the fraudulent and the genuine. The preponderance has been on one side, according to some minds, and on the other, according to others; but very few have questioned the central fact that the two have always existed side by side. Especially is this the case with the physical phenomena—where much fraud has always been known to exist. Indeed, so much fraud existed in the past, and so many and so ingenious are the means of deceiving the investigator, that some critics are disposed to think that no genuine physical phenomena at all have ever occurred! Mr. Podmore and other critics are inclined to take this view—and this, after a careful search through both the historical evidence and the newer cases. For them, the physical phenomena have been "analyzed away"; they have been resolved into very natural phenomena! Whether this position can be main-

tained indefinitely or not will have to be decided by the later and more conclusive evidence.

So we come, as the result of this long preamble, to this point: Taking the past history of modern spiritualism, we find many cases of apparently supernormal phenomena recorded, but most of them so badly recorded that they do not of themselves carry conviction. They are to be doubted, therefore. On the contrary, there are a few notable exceptions to this rule—*e.g.*, D. D. Home, and William Stainton Moses—in whose presence many remarkable phenomena are reported to have occurred, and these cases are strong enough to withstand criticism, and have at all events never been satisfactorily explained. We thus have two or three cases standing out against all past history and human experience. Are they strong enough or numerous enough to warrant our belief in their reality? Most men and women of a scientific turn of mind would probably think that they were *not*, and would demand further proof and more facts. That is only fair. This is one way of looking at the facts.

The other view of the historic evidence is this. Here are one or two cases that have never been explained, and are strong enough to found a belief upon. The facts being accepted upon the strength of these few cases, may we not justly assert that the other, more numerous, but weaker cases, evidentially, are genuine also—and may we not conceive that the same laws and forces that certainly governed the phenomena in the best-attested cases, governed and produced the phenomena in the less well-attested cases also? It was simply *not proved* to be the case, in those instances. Certainly this would be a rational assumption—if the original cases were strong enough, or well enough attested. The whole past history of the phenomena may be read in the light

of the evidence of the newer facts. If no new facts be forthcoming, then the older facts will be cast into greater and greater doubt; if, on the other hand, newer facts are brought forward, tending to establish the reality of the phenomena, then it is certainly probable that many of the older and less well-attested phenomena were genuine also—only the evidence did not *prove* it.

Now we can see the tremendous importance of the Palladino phenomena. Their disproof would, on the one hand, cast all the historic phenomena into the gravest doubt; while their proof would, on the contrary, tend to credit many of the older phenomena; and would tend to render it probable that they were, in reality, genuine also.

Now, in this case—the *crux* of spiritualism, as before said—the medium is, fortunately, still living, and can still be experimented upon, by the skeptical. Experiments are now being conducted which, it is hoped, will settle this question once and forever; while much of the evidence that has been presented in the past is of such a character that it has already done so, to many minds. That, however, is a question that cannot be discussed here; as it would be to anticipate. This will at all events show the great significance of the facts, historically, and how much depends upon their solution and establishment—one way or the other.

We have come, therefore, to the point where we must investigate the facts, and see whither they lead us: What their nature; how strong their evidential character, and what conclusions we must draw from them, if genuine. And this brings us to another important aspect of the case that must not be ignored, and which I might perhaps allude to in this place.

We have seen the relative importance and significance of

the facts historically; now let us briefly consider them from the orthodox scientific standpoint. In what way would they affect science and scientific thought, as at present held, if true? Would they, if proved to be genuine, enforce any recasting and remolding of science or scientific ideas? Would they run counter to the law of the indestructibility of matter? of the conservation of energy? of the possibility of *actio ad distans*? or other well-grounded scientific dogmas? These are questions that must be settled, or at least discussed.

First, I would point out that it would really make no difference at all, to the really scientific investigator, if they ran counter to these beliefs or not. He would not care a fig whether they did or did not run counter to scientific beliefs in this respect. He would endeavor to ascertain the *facts*, and, these once established, he would then endeavor, as best he could, to fit them into his scheme of the universe. Some scientists, it is to be regretted, take the opposite view, and insist that the possibility of a fact must be proved before it can be investigated! But we need hardly point out that this is the reverse of scientific. It is the rankest dogmatism. Facts should always come before theories, and no matter what our views of the Universe may be, any new and strange facts should be investigated, no matter how they may seem to run counter to accepted science, or alter the world-scheme, as at present held. The *facts* must be investigated, the *interpretation of the facts* may come later. Once established, it will be time enough to quarrel over them and their interpretation. We must insist, therefore, that, no matter in what way they may upset science, as at present held, these facts should be investigated and the results of the investigation impartially recorded.

If these phenomena—such as are recorded in this book—are ever accepted by orthodox science—as they surely must be, if the evidence continues to increase in bulk and conclusiveness—then it will certainly become necessary to consider the question of interpretation or explanation. Until fraud is shown incapable of explaining all the facts; until all purely “natural” explanations are shown to be inadequate—we must not, of course, seek any other interpretation. But having once shown that genuine supernormal phenomena of the kind *do* exist, it becomes the duty of the scientific man to try and explain them. It may be contended that we need not as yet have any explanation at all; that not enough and conclusive enough phenomena have been collected to warrant any hypothesis; and it would be well to refrain from theorizing or speculating until this additional evidence be forthcoming. I sympathize with this point of view, and was inclined to defend this attitude myself.¹ But there comes a time, nevertheless, when speculation is legitimate, if tentative. There is a difference between saying that such and such a thing *is* done in a certain way; and saying that such and such a thing, if true and genuine, might perhaps have been performed in that manner! In view of the newer evidence, it would seem that there must come a time when these phenomena will be recognized by science; and then theorizing will be legitimate enough. At all events, those of us who are convinced of the reality of the phenomena are entitled to form conclusions and advance theories; and it is in this light, and for this reason, that the theories advanced at the end of the book are published.

We have not yet discussed the changes in scientific views that must follow these newer researches, if accepted, or the

¹ See *Journal of the American S. P. R.*, August, 1908, pp. 471-91.

manner in which the phenomena would contravene orthodox science, if established. It may be well to allude to this now, briefly, in order that the theories advanced in Chapter V may assume their proper proportions and aspect. Assuredly we must know what is to be changed before we can undertake to change it!

Materialism starts with the assumption that there are only two things in the universe that are eternal—matter and force—all the rest is ephemeral and phenomenal. I have endeavored to show elsewhere¹ that at least one of these laws can no longer be said to hold good; and that both of them, in the light of the newest discoveries in physics, are certainly questionable. However, letting that pass for the moment, materialism has made no distinct place in the universe for that “third thing” of Huxley’s—consciousness. Materialism must take the stand that consciousness is merely an epiphenomenon; that it is a mere by-product of the brain functioning, and of course ceases at the moment of death—just as all the other vital activities cease. Vitality is for orthodox science a simple resultant of chemical combustion, limited strictly to the periphery of the body. Spirit and soul do not exist, in that scheme; the universe is in fact a very simple thing, and easily understood—according to materialism, and to those who hold to it as a philosophy.

But there are, unfortunately for it, certain facts that cannot be explained by any of its laws, or in accordance with its teachings. If that doctrine were true, all our knowledge must come to us through the five avenues of sense, and it would be impossible for us to obtain knowledge in any other manner. That is what the ordinary psychologist would say *is* the case. For him, telepathy, clairvoyance, etc., do

¹ *The Coming Science*, pp. 90-113.

not exist—except in the credulous minds of the masses. And it is certain that, if consciousness is nothing more than a product of brain functioning, any extension of it beyond the brain is impossible. And yet telepathy is a fact! At all events, then, materialism must be stretched and extended to take in and cover this remarkable phenomenon; and the same is true of other supernormal phenomena.

Now, when we come to the material world, we find the same hard and fast rules set for us as existed in the psychological. In fact, modern science is even *more* certain of what is possible and what is impossible when it comes to the material world than it is in the psychological! There are certain “laws of nature,” we are told, and these it is impossible to transgress. They never have been transgressed, and they will never be! Possibly, if we knew *all* the laws of nature, this would hold true; but it so happens that we do not know one tenth (doubtless) of the “laws of nature,” and so are unable to say, really, what is possible and what is not. We can say what is *usual* or *uniform*, but beyond that we cannot go. Certainly, if any man asserts that he has seen a remarkable fact, apparently disproving laws hitherto held to be inviolable, he must prove his claim by producing the fact; that is but right and logical. But if the fact is produced, and thoroughly established, it must be accepted; and science and even the “laws of nature” must be recast in order to take in and include this newer fact. True science is always ready and willing to do this. So that, if the Palladino phenomena are deemed to be established, science will have to be remolded sufficiently to include and explain those facts.

Now, when we come to consider these phenomena in detail, we find them broadly divided into two classes: (1) those physical movements of objects, raps, etc., which seem

to indicate the presence of some force, but no intelligence; and (2) those phenomena that seem to indicate that an outside intelligence is present—and not only that, but a distinctly *human* intelligence, having the shape of a human form, with face, hands, etc., and in fact all the characteristics that go to make what is, in popular tradition, a “spirit.” It is needless to say that the first of these two types presents far less difficulty, and will doubtless be accepted by science long before the second set of phenomena. They should not be, doubtless, if the testimony were equally strong in both cases, but there is a certain legitimate prejudice in the minds of scientific men that must be taken into account and allowed for. In view of the past, it is quite intelligible; and spiritualists, if they are wise, will not insist too strongly upon these phenomena at first, but would let time take its own course, and know that Truth, whatever that is, will ultimately triumph. If true, the phenomena will one day be recognized and accepted; and nothing is to be gained, and perhaps much is to be lost, by unduly hurrying the scientific world into an acceptance of the facts.

Taking the first group of phenomena, we find that there should be really very little difficulty in accepting them—if only an extension of present-day science were granted. The facts would not run counter to anything that has been taught, in the majority of cases; they would merely mean an *extension* of present theories and knowledge. Perhaps I can illustrate this. Take, for example, the movement of an object without contact. We know that this object can always be made to move by the application of a certain amount of pressure or force—when no material object is touching it. A gust of wind will blow over a table or a chair, for example; light energy will keep clouds suspended

in the atmosphere, etc. Here, although there is a medium postulated through which these effects are produced, there is no direct contact between one material object and the other. The cause and the effect are separated by a gaseous or an etheric medium, through which these energies act.

This being so, why may it not be conceived that there is some vital energy or some other force unknown to us which is capable, under certain conditions, of extending beyond the periphery of the body, causing vibrations in the ether, and producing these various movements? It seems to me that there is, or should be, but little difficulty experienced here. Very much the same is true of the rap and other nonintelligent phenomena. It might easily be conceived, as Dr. Maxwell indeed *did* conceive, that "an explosive discharge of neuric force" would account for these raps—they being closely akin to the noise of a spark, in an electrical discharge. Of course the mentality connected with these raps is a different matter; that requires separate treatment.

Speculations such as these are perhaps out of place in the first chapter of a book which is to be devoted principally to the collection and presentation of *facts*; but it may be as well to insist at the outset upon the point of view from which these facts must be regarded. The clearing away of previous prejudices and preconceptions is the primary object of this chapter; to insure, so far as possible, an open and unbiased mind in reading and weighing the facts and the evidence to be presented. I have reserved for the last chapters all considerations of a purely theoretical and speculative character; and shall first of all devote myself to a statement of the facts, with critical comment. If the reality of the facts be accepted—if the facts be admitted as such, by the scientific and thoughtful world—then theories and explana-

tory hypotheses are very valuable and necessary; but until the facts themselves are established, all such speculations are premature. I accordingly propose that we address ourselves to the facts, throughout the remainder of this book, until the last chapters be reached; when explanatory hypotheses will be discussed. With the facts before him, the reader will be in a better position to judge of the relative probability of the various theories advanced—or even of their necessity at all.

CHAPTER II

EUSAPIA PALLADINO'S BIOGRAPHY

Accounts of the early life of Eusapia Palladino, and of how she first came into her mediumship, vary greatly. Her own statements are sometimes contradictory, thus: Eusapia told me, when I was in Naples, that she had been an out-cast since quite a little child, had been taken up by a family of friends, and cared for by them—accidentally discovering her mediumistic powers when about fourteen years of age by sitting at a table. The table tilted, and finally rose completely into the air. She asserted that, for a number of years, she gave séances only infrequently, and to friends; and that the séances, during the early years of her mediumship, seemed to relieve her and remove her feeling of depression; but that, during her later years, they sapped her energy, and made her extremely weak and depressed. This would seem to be the truth, judging from her condition after a séance—but I have remarked upon this elsewhere.

When we asked Eusapia whether the report was true that she had married a conjurer, she replied indignantly that it was not. She stated that her first husband had been "connected with theatricals," and knew the details of stage mechanism, and its various trick devices. He also knew a few tricks, and took a delight in exhibiting them to his fellow-workers; but that he was not by any means a professional conjurer.

This account seems to agree somewhat with other statements made by her—though differing in some particulars. M. Flammarion, *e.g.*, in his *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, says:

“Eusapia Palladino was introduced to me. She is a woman of very ordinary appearance, a brunette, her figure a little under the medium height. She was forty-three years old, not at all neurotic, rather stout. She was born on January 21, 1854, in a village of La Pouille; her mother died while giving birth to the child; her father was assassinated eight years afterwards, in 1862, by brigands in Southern Italy. Eusapia Palladino is her maiden name. She was married at Naples to a merchant of modest means named Raphael Delgaiz, a citizen of Naples. She manages the petty business of the shop, is illiterate, does not know how to either read or write, understands only a little French. I conversed with her, and soon perceived that she has no theories and does not burden herself by trying to explain the phenomena produced by her.” (p. 67.)

Probably the completest account of her youth, and the manner in which she first became interested in the subject, is that given by Mme. Paola Carrara, the daughter of Professor Lombroso, who says of her:

“We are not concerned now with the Eusapia of dark mediumistic cabinets, amidst the sobbing and whispering, the mystery of hands, of dancing tables, of resounding raps; but the Eusapia of daylight, who, free from the paternal shade of John, returns to her normal personality as an ordinary and altogether uneducated woman of the very lowest Neapolitan populace.

“During the two months passed by Eusapia at Turin I often saw her,” writes Mme. Carrara, “and I always thought that her real personality is as interesting as her personality as a medium, and that it is the result of the strangest product which the human race can supply.

"Eusapia is a mixture of many contrasts. She is a mixture of silliness and maliciousness, of intelligence and ignorance, of strange conditions of existence. Think of a saleswoman of Naples transplanted without any preparation into the most elegant drawing-rooms of the aristocracy of Europe. She has gained a smattering of cosmopolitan intellectuality but she has also ingeniously remained a woman of the lower class.

"She has been carried on the wing of universal renown and yet she has never cast off the swaddling clothes of illiteracy. No doubt this illiteracy saves her from vanity, for she knows nothing of all the rivers of ink which have been spent upon her. . . .

"Here are a few details sufficiently piquant to awaken public interest.

"Her appearance and words seem to be quite genuine and sincere. She has not the manner of one who either poses or tricks or deceives others. She has had the perversity, a rare occurrence, to remain as nature made her: outspoken, sincere, instinctive, to such a degree that however wonderful may be the tales she tells, they are true.

"Her physiognomy is not ugly, although M. Barzini has discreetly insinuated that it is so. Her face is large, marked by some suffering, and bears traces rather of the spiritistic séances, of the effort and the fatigue which they involve, than of the fifty-three years that she has lived.

"She cherishes her appearance, or, at least, she shows some coquetry about it. She has magnificent black eyes, mobile and even diabolical in expression. She displays coquettishly her famous white lock among her dark hairs.

"'Formerly,' she says, 'I was ashamed of it, but now that everyone compliments me on it I do not hide it any more.'

"Her hands are pretty, her feet small. She always keeps them visible outside her dress to show that they are closely shod in polished shoes."

The first time that she saw her at her father's house, Mme. Paola Carrara could not draw from her any confidences con-

cerning her life as a medium. Instead, she told her of the feelings she had when frequenting high-class society. Her impudence and arrogance as a Neapolitan of the lower class sometimes almost takes the form of personal dignity.

On one occasion, she related that she was staying with the Grand Dukes in St. Petersburg: the Grand Duchess often sent for her to come and talk to her or keep her company in the drawing-room, but when visitors came she made an imperious sign, showing her the door. Twice Eusapia rather reluctantly obeyed, but at last she rebelled and planting herself in front of the princess, she said: "Madame la Grande Duchesse, you doubtless mistake me for a basket which is carried to market when it is required, and left in a corner when it is done with. Either I shall remain in the drawing-room with all the visitors, or I shall leave the castle."

And the princess by blood, not to discontent the princess of spiritism, consented that she should remain in the drawing-room.

At Turin the Duke of the Abruzzi asked and obtained a séance with her and afterwards paid her lavishly, but Eusapia was dissatisfied.

"What is a five-hundred-franc note to me? I am capable of tearing your five-hundred-franc note into four pieces (she made a gesture of tearing it, but did not really do so), but I do what I choose, and I choose to be treated politely."

She had been very annoyed because the prince had not sent her his card.

But one day Eusapia, who ordinarily replies apathetically to those who interrogate her on this question, consented to relate how she became a medium.

"My history is long and incredible," she said, "but I wish

to tell it to you because everybody pretends to know it (I mean journalists), and they know nothing, and have only accumulated a heap of lies about me."

She told us that she was born at Minervo-Murge, a mountain village near Bari (Apulia). Her mother died shortly after her birth, and her father, who was a peasant, caused her to be brought up on a neighboring farm.

But the villagers took little care of the orphan. Once when she was only a year old, she was allowed to fall, so that a hole was made in her head. That is the famous cranial opening from which, in moments of *trance*, a cold breeze is felt to issue. On this scar has grown a tress of hair that has always been white since infancy, and which is easily distinguishable in her photographs.

"As if I had not had trouble enough," she said, "when I was twelve years old my father died. I was thus completely alone, for I had no near relations. A native of my village, who lived in Naples, having learned my sad history, took charge of me. At Naples he put me in the care of some foreigners who wished to adopt a little girl. But I was not at all the sort they wanted, for I was like a wild animal, a forest bird, ignorant, and having always lived as a poor creature, and these ladies wanted to make of me an educated and learned girl. They wanted me to take a bath every day, and comb my hair every day, and to use a fork at table, to study French and the piano, and to learn to read and write. In fact, I was to fill up all my time with occupation, and I could not amuse myself. Then began scoldings and revolt. They told me I was lazy, and, in short, in less than a year I was turned out of their house. I was in despair; I went again in search of that family in my own country, who gave me shelter for a few days, whilst arrangements were being made to put me in a convent. I had been in the house for a few days when, one evening, some friends came who spoke of tables that dance and give raps, things which were much

talked about at that time. And, as a joke, they proposed to try and make a table turn.

"They fetched one, sat around it and called me to come and make a chain with them. We had not sat down for ten minutes before the table began to rise, the chairs began to dance, the curtains to swell, the glasses and bottles to walk about, and the bells to ring in such fashion that all were frightened, as if in fun they had called up the devil and expected him to appear every minute. We were tested one by one to see who produced these phenomena, and they finally concluded that it was I. They then proclaimed me to be a medium and talked to everybody about it, inviting their friends and acquaintances to little spiritistic séances. They made me sit whole evenings at the table, but that was tedious to me, and I only did it because it was a way of recompensing my hosts, whose desire to keep me with them prevented their placing me in the convent. I took up laundress work, thinking I might render myself independent and live as I liked without troubling about spiritistic séances."

"But," she was asked, "how did John King appear on the scene?"¹

"That is the strangest part of my story, which many persons will not believe. At the time when I began to hold spiritistic séances in Naples, an English lady came there who had married a Neapolitan, a certain Damiani, a brother of the deputy, who still lives. This lady was devoted to spiritism. One day when she was at the table, a message came to her informing her that there was in Naples a person who had lately arrived, who lived at such a number, in such a street, and was called Eusapia, that she was a powerful medium, and that the spirit who sent this message, John King, was disposed to incarnate himself in her and to manifest by marvelous phenomena. The spirit did not speak in vain, for the lady at once sought to verify the message. She went directly to the street and the number indicated, mounted to the third floor, knocked at the door and inquired if a certain

¹ John King is the so-called spirit "guide" or "control" of Eusapia, who is supposed to regulate her séances and produce most of the phenomena. For this, however, see later on in the book.

Eusapia did not live there. She found me, though I had never imagined that any such John had lived either in this world or another. But almost as soon as I sat at the table John King manifested and has never left me since. Yes! I swear" (and she said this emphatically) "that all that I am telling you is the simple truth, although many persons seem to think I have arranged the facts."

Mme. Paola Carrara then relates the following anecdote, told by Eusapia Palladino:

This happened ten years ago. Eusapia says she possessed diamond earrings and bracelets set with emeralds, massive chains and rings with precious stones. Her rich acquaintances—Sardou, Aksakoff, Richet, Ochorowicz, Semiraski, Flammarion—knowing her Neapolitan taste for gold ornaments, had loaded her with many gifts. For better security she put these treasures into a sort of strong box in her shop.

"One night," she said, "I had a horrible dream: I saw a man, of whom I saw not only the face, but all the details of his clothes, with an old hat, a handkerchief round his neck, check trousers; he came into the shop and forced open the box, whilst two companions watched at the door."

The impression was so strong that she awoke her husband and told him that the shop was being robbed. He paid no attention; but she got up about two o'clock, went into the shop and assured herself that there were no thieves there. But to set her mind at rest she took her precious jewels and carried them to her room, where she shut them up in a piece of furniture after counting them one by one. What was her alarm next day when she encountered, near the door of the house, an individual identical in appearance with the person she had dreamed of! Worried by this thought, she went to consult a police functionary whom she knew, but he excused himself, saying: "I cannot, dear Madam, undertake

to act as policeman of dreams, but if you wish to make your mind easy take your jewels to the bank, where they will be better looked after than by my officers."

Following this sound and simple advice, she took her precious box to the bank, but she arrived too late, the doors were closed; being still uneasy, she returned to the officer and asked him to station two of his men at her door for one night. This was done. The two guards remained there all night. And on that night the dream of the theft was repeated, so that on awaking her first thought was to assure herself whether her small treasure was still in the place where she had put it.

At about ten o'clock she went out to the shop, a few yards away from her house. When she reached it she bethought herself suddenly that she had been unwise to leave her jewels in the house. She returned quickly to fetch them. The entrance door was closed; but she had scarcely reached the cupboard before she perceived that the precious box had disappeared. She rushed out, crying, like one possessed: "Holy Virgin, holy Virgin! my jewels are stolen. Catch the thief! catch the thief!" for she had not been out of the house ten minutes, and the thief could not be far away.

The police commissary recognized the individual, whom Eusapia described, as one of the best-known thieves of a gang in Naples. Afterwards, Eusapia found out how he, in league with one of her servants, had succeeded in getting a false key made to fit the lock of the jewel box. "You see," Eusapia bitterly remarked, "you see what little use there is in this fine mediumistic faculty! It did not serve to save my jewels, those jewels which were dear to me as the apple of my eye. What is to happen, happens in spite of everything!"

On being asked whether the spirits, or at least the medium-

istic faculty, had intervened previously, in other circumstances of her life, she replied:

"No, I never perceive the presence of a spirit, but sometimes without my being aware of it or wishing it, a spirit must have helped me. Two years ago I was ill in Paris, and I had a lazy and negligent nurse who, instead of giving me medicine, lay down on her bed and slept profoundly. I might call and ring, nobody answered. And what happened then? The lazy woman was aroused by blows and pinches which I had no intention of making, so that the nurse became alarmed by this strange phenomenon and would have nothing more to do with me and my sorceries."

Everyone who has observed and studied Eusapia, has noticed that her hands and her fingers produce a repercussion on objects and persons at a distance. The movements which her hands made in her imagination were probably movements of irritation against the nurse and resulted probably in those pinches which the nurse actually felt.

Mme. Paola Carrara thus terminates her interesting study:

"There are singular things in this nature which seems so simple and open—certain attempts at cheating have been remarked. An observer who held more than thirty séances with her, and who saw produced by day and in full light really marvelous phenomena, asserts that two or three times in the course of the séance she had recourse to trickery, to fraud and deceit, but so clumsily that she was easily discovered. It is not because at these moments the mediumistic faculty fails, for when controlled, she immediately afterwards produced indisputable phenomena."

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL RÉSUMÉ OF THE PALLADINO CASE

§ 1. Professor Lombroso's Conversion—1891

Eusapia Palladino owes her introduction to the scientific world to Professor Chiaia, of Naples, who published, on August 9, 1888, in a journal issued in Rome, a letter to Professor Lombroso, in which he stated that he had investigated this medium for some time, and had become convinced of her genuine supernormal powers. He called upon Professor Lombroso to investigate likewise; and put the matter of her mediumship to the test. Professor Lombroso did not accede to this challenge for a considerable time; but some years later he consented to sit with Eusapia—the result of the sittings being to convince him that at least some of the observed phenomena were genuine, beyond dispute. In a letter dated June 25, 1891, he said:

“I am filled with confusion and regret that I combated with so much persistence the possibility of the facts called Spiritualistic. I say facts, because I am still opposed to the theory. . . .”

It was in February, 1891, that Professor Lombroso, Professor Tamburini, MM. Gigli, Vizioli, Ascensi, and Ciolfi (who drew up the report) secured two séances with Eusapia in Naples. The usual phenomena were observed, and one incident of remarkable interest that should be recorded here. This phenomenon was the following:

"The light was extinguished, and the experiments began again. While, in response to the unanimous wish, the little bell was beginning again its tinklings, and its mysterious aërial circuits, M. Ascensi, taking his cue unknown to us, from M. Tamburini, went (unperceived, owing to the darkness) and stood at the right of the medium, and at once, with a single scratch, lighted a match, so successfully, as he declared that he could see the little bell *while it was vibrating in the air*, and suddenly fall upon a bed about six feet and a half behind Mme. Palladino."¹

Later in the séance, a small table, in spite of M. Ascensi's efforts to hold it, extricated itself from his grasp, and went rolling over the floor.

At the second séance, Eusapia was bound with ropes. In spite of this, however, the usual phenomena occurred—raps, touches, etc.—and the small table, which had been placed in the cabinet, advanced toward Mme. Palladino. Suddenly, while the table was still in movement, a salver that had been placed upon it, turned upside down, without a particle of the flour which it contained being spilled. It was asserted that such an occurrence is, under usual circumstances, impossible.

§ 2. The Report of the Milan Commission—1892

As the result of Professor Lombroso's conversion, several *savants*—Professors Schiaparelli, director of the observatory of Milan; Gerosa, professor of physics; Ermacora, doctor of natural philosophy; Aksakof, councilor of state to the Emperor of Russia; Charles du Prel, doctor of philosophy in Munich; Professor Charles Richet, of the Sorbonne, Paris;

¹ A number of photographs of objects floating in the air without visible support—violins, horns, etc.—are to be found in *The Annals of Psychological Science*, April-June, 1909. The medium in this case is Carancini.

and Professor Buffern—met in October, 1892, in the apartment of M. Finzi, at Milan, and conducted a long series of experiments. Seventeen sittings, in all, were obtained—extracts of which are quoted below.

The most striking phenomena took place in full light. These were (1) the levitations of the table, and (2) the alteration of the medium's weight in the balance. Photographs of some of these levitations were taken, and published in the Report. Arguments were adduced, showing that Eusapia could not have lifted the table by her hands, knees, or feet. The committee attempted to duplicate these levitations of the table under conditions imposed upon Eusapia, but failed to do so. The experiments in which her weight appeared to be altered are of great interest. The account of these reads as follows:

“Eusapia, seated on a chair, was placed on the platform of a weighing machine, and her feet were strongly bound together by a handkerchief. One of us, M. Finzi, was told off to read the weight. M. Schiaparelli and I employed ourselves in watching closely the balance and its surroundings, so as to be sure that Eusapia did not touch with hand or foot the ground, or any object in the neighborhood.

“Her weight with the chair being 58 kilogrammes (nearly 128 pounds, or over 9 stone), we placed on the scale 500 grammes at a point where it would be equivalent to 50 kilogrammes, and then the rider was placed at the figure eight. Eusapia's weight was thus exactly balanced. Then, though Eusapia did not move her chair, we had, in order to maintain equilibrium, to shift the rider, first to six, then to four, and then to two, and finally to zero, and further to obtain exact equilibrium, it would have been necessary to take away a little of the weight of 500 grammes which represented 50 kilogrammes. It will be seen, therefore, that Eusapia diminished her weight in this experiment by at least 8 kilo-



This photograph shows the interior of our cabinet, the two curtains being drawn to one side. In the angle of the plastered wall stands the guitar, and in front of it the small table, upon which the various musical instruments rest—the bell, tambourine, trumpet, toy-piano, wet clay, etc. To the left is hung a photographic plate, wrapped in several thicknesses of red and black paper.

grammes ($17\frac{1}{2}$ pounds). We are certain that she threw nothing away (if she had thrown anything away she would have had to recover it in order to restore her original weight), and equally certain that she derived no support from any neighboring object. And, finally, the movements were sufficiently slow—it occupied from ten to twenty seconds—to make it impossible to attribute it to any jump, or quick movement of any kind. Nevertheless, the observation did not appear to us conclusive. In brief, in the ordinary weighing machine, constructed on the principle of the steelyard, the weight varies (although it is true within very narrow limits) with the position of the center of gravity. By changing his position on the platform, especially when, as was the case here, the machine is not a very good one, the person who is being weighed can appreciably vary his weight.

"We devised, accordingly, a weighing machine of a different kind, in which the platform was suspended by the four corners. In this machine, the weight would show no variation, no matter what was the position of the sitter on the platform. An automatic arrangement, devised by M. Finzi, registered the movements of the lever. In the fifth sitting we obtained a result which was certainly remarkable—seeing that it occurred under exceptionally good conditions. M. Schiaparelli and I were watching the machine, both above and below, so as to be sure that Eusapia did not touch either the ground or the support from which the platform was hung.

"Under these conditions, there was certainly a slight upward movement of the platform, but it was very trifling; and although the automatic register indicated a marked diminution in the weight, lasting for about 15 seconds, I cannot say for certain that the movement of the register did not occur at the moment when Eusapia, in order to gain more strength, asked one of the investigators to give her his hand, which she held for a short time before relinquishing."

The committee point out, however, that the evidence for a new physical force is incomplete, because this experiment

succeeded only when a part of Eusapia's dress touched the floor, and when precautions were taken to prevent this contact, no appreciable effect was produced on the balance. Upon one occasion, when the balance was placed some ten inches behind Eusapia, in response to an urgent movement of her hand, the rider oscillated violently, and the hands, feet, and knees of the medium were being securely held. This effect, as of some heavy weight being thrown into the scale, was, however, never repeated.

In a further set of experiments, results were obtained which seemed clearly beyond the medium's unaided powers. A portion of the room was curtained off from the rest, and the medium placed in the aperture of the curtains, which were joined above her head. The space curtained off was left in absolute darkness, the rest of the room was dimly lighted by a lantern with red glass sides. On one occasion Professor Richet took up his station in the darkened part of the room, behind the curtains, his chair placed back to back with that upon which Eusapia sat. The medium's hands were held on either side by M. Schiaparelli, and M. Finzi. Her feet were also held. Under such circumstances, however, the curtain was blown out, and Professor Richet was touched on the right shoulder by a distinct hand and pulled with some force. At the same moment, M. Finzi was touched on the ear, on the forehead, and on the temple by fingers from behind the curtain—while the hand which touched Professor Richet was free from the curtain. The committee state in their report:

"It is impossible to count the number of times that a hand appeared and was touched by one of us. Suffice it to say that doubt was no longer possible. It was indeed a living, human hand which we saw and touched, while at the same

time the bust and arms of the medium remained visible, and her hands were held by those on either side of her."

The committee express their conviction that the results obtained in the light, and many of those obtained in darkness, could not have been produced by trickery of any kind. Professor Richet, who did not sign the committee's report, states his own conclusions as follows:

"Absurd and unsatisfactory though they were, it seems to me very difficult to attribute the phenomena produced to deception—conscious or unconscious—or to a series of deceptions. Nevertheless, conclusive and indisputable proof that there was no fraud upon Eusapia's part, or illusion on our part, is wanting—we must therefore renew our efforts to obtain such proof."

§ 3. Experiments at Naples and at St. Petersburg—1893

As a result of the publication of this joint report, a long series of experiments was conducted by scientific men in various centers. In 1893 a series was held in Naples under the direction of Professor Wagner, Professor of Zoölogy in the University of St. Petersburg; in Rome, in 1893 and 1894, under the direction of M. de Siemiradski, Correspondent of the Institute; in 1893-4, at Warsaw, at the house of Professor Ochorowicz; in 1894, at Carqueiranne, at the house of Professor Richet, and on the île Roubaud, under the direction of Professor Richet, Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, and Dr. Ochorowicz; in 1895, at Naples, under Dr. Paolo Visani-Scozzi, Specialist of Nervous Diseases, at Florence; and at Cambridge, at the house of Mr. F. W. H. Myers—these sittings being shared by Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, Miss Alice Johnson, Dr. Richard Hodgson, and

others; in 1895, at l'Agnelas, at the house of Colonel de Rochas; in 1896, at Tremezzo, at Auteuil, and at Choisy-Yvrac; in 1897, in Naples, Rome, Paris, Montfort, and Bordeaux; in 1901-2, at the Minerva Club at Geneva; in 1905, at Rome and at Paris—and other newer investigations, all of which I shall summarize more or less completely in the pages that follow.

Professor Wagner obtained, apparently, but one or two séances—which completely convinced him of the genuine nature of the phenomena; but there is reason to think that Professor Wagner was shortsighted, and in other ways a poor observer, so that his testimony, such as it is, cannot be given great weight. As the result of these séances, however, Professor Wagner induced Eusapia to go to St. Petersburg, where she was studied by him, and by Professor K—— (whose name is not given) of the University of St. Petersburg—who was not convinced that he had seen any genuine supernormal phenomena. It is probable, from the account, however, that Professor K—— was more or less hypercritical. Thus, he would not believe in the levitations of the table, because one leg touched Eusapia's skirt; but, as I have said before, Professor Wagner's testimony cannot be given great weight, in any case, and need not be given more fully in this place.

§ 4. Experiments in Rome—1893-4

The next series of séances, held in Rome in 1893-4 under the direction of M. Siemiradski, and Dr. Ochorowicz, is far more interesting and convincing. The following phenomena were vouched for:

(1) Movements of objects without contact.

(2) Touches by invisible hands.

(3) Luminous apparitions.

(4) Auditory phenomena.

The light during the first set of manifestations is described as being very good, and consisted of two candles and an oil lamp. When the medium was in trance, the same phenomena were produced in full light.

The sitters were unanimous in saying that the touches by invisible hands were certainly *not* hallucinatory. They were, they assert, objective in character, beyond all doubt.

The investigators are also certain that the apparitions seen by them were not hallucinatory, since the forms were seen at the same moment and described in similar terms by all the sitters. The same remarks apply to auditory phenomena—raps, etc.

The séances in Rome in 1894 were attended by Professor Richet, Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, of Munich, Professor Lombroso, Professor Danilewski, of the University of St. Petersburg, and Dr. Dobrzycki, director of the *Medical Gazette*, at Warsaw. Various movements of objects without contact occurred, and on at least one occasion it would seem that an “apport” took place, which is described as follows:

“Hoping to obtain the movement of an object without contact, we placed a little piece of paper folded in the form of a letter A under a glass, and upon a disk of light pasteboard. . . . Not being successful in this, we did not wish to fatigue the medium, and we left the apparatus upon the large table; then we took our places around the little table, after having carefully shut all the doors, the keys of which I begged my guests to put in their pockets, in order that we might not be accused of not having taken all necessary precautions.

"The light was extinguished. Soon we heard the glass resound on our table, and, having procured a light, we found it in the midst of us, in the same position, upside down, and covering the little piece of paper; only the cardboard disk was wanting. We sought for it in vain. The séance ended; I conducted my guests once more into the antechamber. M. Richet was the first to open the door—well bolted on the inside. What was not his surprise when he perceived near to the threshold of the door, on the other side of it, upon the staircase, the disk that we had sought for so long. He picked it up; and it was identified by all as the card placed under the glass."

§ 5. Experiments at Warsaw—1893-4

Dr. Ochorowicz, having become greatly interested in the phenomena he had observed, induced Eusapia to come to Warsaw, in order to be studied at length by himself and his friends. In all, forty séances were held, as many as twenty persons being present at some of the séances, which included a number of men and women eminent in science, philosophy, and letters. Whatever we may think of the phenomena, therefore, we can, under such circumstances, hardly conclude that the observed phenomena were hallucinatory in character!

Partial and complete levitations of the table; movements of objects without contact (witnessed by more than a hundred persons); touches, and visible hands (seen by fifteen persons); levitations of the medium on to the table (witnessed by five persons); luminous phenomena (witnessed by thirteen persons); abnormal marks, etc., upon paper (witnessed by twenty persons); exteriorization of sensibility, and instances of clairvoyance, were all observed at this series of séances.

Dr. Ochorowicz observed that all the séances began and

nearly all closed with levitations of the table—even though these might not be wanted! He cites cases in which levitations were obtained while both the medium's feet were visible in the light, and other cases in which the feet were tied and held under the table by a sitter, kneeling under it.

One case of great interest is given, in which Eusapia approached her finger tips to within a few centimeters of a small bell, that had been suspended by means of a thread from a metal arch, and, moving her fingers to and fro, the bell followed their movements, "as though moved by an invisible thread." It is not definitely stated, however, that a thread was not employed—though the hands were examined immediately after the manifestation, and nothing abnormal was found upon them. The phenomenon must be set down as inconclusive, though it should be recorded, as it has been produced a number of times lately under test conditions.

On January 7, 1894, a séance was held *without a table*, in order that the force of the medium might not be dispersed in mechanical phenomena. Eusapia soon went into trance. Speaking in the name of "John," the medium said:

"You have taken away the table in order that you may see the legs of the medium! *Allez!* I am going to show you that I do everything by the aid of the medium's legs!"

"Saying this, Eusapia extended her legs, and laid her feet on the knees of Professor Prus-Glowacki. The medium then said: 'Look, I knock the table with my left leg.' At the same time she struck the knee of M. Prus-Glowacki with her left foot; and simultaneously strong blows resounded behind the curtain, very like those which would be given by the leg striking against the table, which was in the cabinet, against the wall, two meters from her."

Instances are then given of levitations of the medium, which Dr. Ochorowicz considers undoubted, luminous phe-

nomena, touchings (during some of which *both* of Eusapia's hands were held by one sitter), materializations of hands, various abnormal marks, cold wind, etc. Several improvised or "unofficial" séances were also held, which, Dr. Ochorowicz informs us, "strangely enough, restore the forces"—while the official séances, held under strict, scientific conditions, only irritated the medium and exhausted them.

Dr. Ochorowicz concluded that the objective character of the facts was proved beyond all reasonable doubt; and that genuine supernormal phenomena were observed. As to their interpretation, that is another matter! He is inclined to the belief that John is not a real person, but is a "subliminal creation of the medium"—a sort of reflex of her unconscious thinking, which has the capacity of externalizing itself in space, and producing real, objective effects in the physical world. However, we shall come to this in the chapter devoted to theories.

§ 6. Experiments at Île Roubaud—1894

In July, 1894, a series of four séances was held in Professor Richet's house, on the île Roubaud. These sittings were held by Professor Charles Richet, Sir Oliver Lodge, Mr. F. W. H. Myers, and Dr. Ochorowicz. The island was owned by Professor Richet, and inasmuch as the sittings occurred in his own house with doors and windows locked, when all the servants had retired, it seemed conclusive to the investigators that confederates of any sort were excluded.

It is unnecessary in this place to give a résumé of Professor Lodge's report, which deals with general subjects already familiar to students of Eusapia's sittings, and which

have been covered more or less thoroughly in this volume already. Explanations were offered of the various instruments and paraphernalia employed, a summary of the phenomena given, and lengthy discussions on the various possible explanations—fraud, illusion, hallucination, etc.

Dealing with the question of fraud, Dr. Lodge offered the following remarks, which I think further investigations have fully warranted and justified.

"I happen to have had only good sittings with Eusapia, and my own experience of what was likely to happen in the others was based upon what happened when she was not entranced at all. Judging from that experience, I thought it not unlikely that she may sometimes somnambulically attempt to achieve effects which she thinks desired, in what may readily appear a fraudulent manner. Later experience with sittings of a less uniformly successful character, though it has not so far verified that conjecture, leads me to supplement it with the further opinions, (1) that it must be possible, by sufficient precaution, to check such attempts, even if made; and (2) that if undue latitude were given, it would be reasonable to expect some such attempt sooner or later. . . . All danger of unfair accusation will be avoided if sitters will only have the common sense to treat her not as a scientific person engaged in a demonstration, but as a delicate piece of apparatus, wherewith they themselves are making an investigation. She is an *instrument*, whose ways and idiosyncrasies must be learned, and to a certain extent humored, just as one studies and humors the ways of some much less delicate piece of physical apparatus turned out by a skilled instrument maker."

Various points of interest were discussed, showing the effect of light on the phenomena, the nature of the objects moved, the source of the energy, the seat of the reaction, and the study of the sympathetic movements of the medium.

Parts of these passages I have quoted elsewhere. In a summary and conclusion, Dr. Lodge stated his position as follows:

"However the facts are to be explained, the possibility of the facts I am constrained to admit. There is no further room in my mind for doubt. Any person without invincible prejudice who had had the same experience, would have come to the same broad conclusion, *viz.*: That things hitherto held impossible do actually occur. If one such fact is clearly established, the conceivability of others may be more readily granted, and I concentrated my attention mainly on what seemed to me the most simple and definite thing, *viz.*: the movement of an untouched object, in sufficient light for no doubt of its motion to exist. This I have now witnessed several times; the fact of movement being vouched for by both sight and hearing, sometimes also by touch, and the objectivity of the phenomena being demonstrated by the sounds heard by an outside observer, and by permanent alteration and position of object. . . . Instead of action at a distance in the physical sense, what I have observed may be said to be more like vitality at a distance—the action of a living organism exerted in unusual directions and over a range greater than the ordinary. . . . The effect on an observer is usually more as if the connecting link, if any, were invisible and intangible, or as if a portion of vital or directing energy had been detached, and were producing distant movements without apparent connection with the medium. . . . The result of my experience is to convince me that certain phenomena usually considered abnormal do belong to the order of nature, and, as a corollary to this, that these phenomena ought to be investigated and recorded by persons and societies interested in natural knowledge." (p. 360 *Journal S. P. R.*, Nov., 1894.)

At the conclusion of the meeting at which Dr. Lodge's paper was read, Mr. Myers, and Professor and Mrs. Sidgwick, offered corroborative testimony of Dr. Lodge's position, and

Sir William Crookes rose to point out the similarities between Eusapia's phenomena and many of those he had witnessed in the presence of D. D. Home. Some of his remarks are worthy of quoting in this connection—affording, as they do, strong confirmatory evidence of the reality of these phenomena. He said:

"When he (Home) was not in a state of trance, we frequently had movements of objects from different parts of the room, with visible hands carrying flowers about, and playing the accordion. On one occasion I was asked by Home to look at the accordion as it was playing in the semidarkness beneath the table. I saw a delicate-looking female hand holding it by the handle, and the keys at the lower end rising and falling, as if fingers were playing on them, although I could not see them. So lifelike was the hand that at first I said it was my sister-in-law's, but was assured by all present that both her hands were on the table, a fact which I then verified for myself.

"The best cases of Home's levitation I witnessed were in my own house. On one occasion he went to a clear part of the room, and, after standing quietly for a minute, told us he was rising. I saw him rise up with a continuous gliding movement and remained about six inches off the ground for several seconds, when he slowly descended. On this occasion no one moved from their places. On another occasion, I was invited to come to him when he rose eighteen inches off the ground, and I passed my hands under his feet, round him, and over his head when he was in the air.

"On several occasions Home and the chair on which he was sitting at the table rose off the ground. This was generally done very deliberately, and Home sometimes then tucked up his feet on the seat of the chair, and held up his hands in view of all of us. On such an occasion I have got down, and seen and felt that all four legs were off the ground at the same time, Home's feet being on the chair. Less frequently the levitating power extended to those sitting next

to him. Once my wife was thus raised off the ground in her chair. . . .

"One of the most common occurrences at the séances consisted in movements of flowers and light objects; sometimes those present could see fingers or a complete hand carrying things about, but frequently no visible support was to be detected. The hands felt warm and lifelike, and if retained, would appear to melt away in one's grasp. They were never dragged away.

"One of the most striking things I ever saw in the way of movement of light objects was when a glass water bottle and tumbler rose from the table. There was plenty of light in the room from two large salted alcohol flames, and Home's hands were not near. The bottle and glass floated about over the middle of the table. I asked if they would answer questions by knocking one against the other. Immediately three taps together signified 'Yes.' They then kept floating about six or eight inches up, going from the front of one sitter to another, round the table, tapping together, and answering questions in this manner. Quite five minutes was occupied by this phenomenon, during which time we had ample opportunity of seeing that Home was a passive agent, and that no wires or strings, etc., were in use. . . . I never noticed any sympathetic movements of Home's hands or body when objects at a distance were being moved. I am certain that in most cases when Home was not in a trance he knew no more of what was going to happen than did anyone else present. He was an excellent *raconteur*, and by no means kept silent. Frequently he was looking another way, engaged in animated conversation with someone at his side when the first movements took place, and his attention had to be called to them, like the rest of us. He took a childlike pleasure in what was going on, and he always declared that he had no power whatever over the progress of the phenomena.

"General conversation was going on all the time, and on many occasions something on the table had moved sometime before Home was aware of it. We had to draw his attention to such things far oftener than he drew our attention

to them. Indeed, he sometimes used to annoy me by his indifference to what was going on. When things were going on well, ample opportunity was generally given us to examine the occurrences at leisure, and frequently things would repeat themselves at request, or small objects, flowers, etc., would move about for many minutes, passing from one to the other of those present. For my part I was always allowed to move about and examine what was taking place as carefully as I liked. All that we were asked was that we should not move *suddenly*. This was liable to stop the phenomena for a short time.

"The drawback to accurate observation of Eusapia's phenomena appears to have been the very dim light in which most of the things occurred, rendering it necessary to take special precautions against possible deception. Had the light been better, the elaborate holding of hands, feet, and head would have been unnecessary, and the unavoidable suspicions that the person on the other side had liberated a hand would have been impossible. Home always refused to sit in the dark. He said that with firmness and perseverance the phenomena could be got just as well in the light, and even if some of the things were not so strong, the evidence of one's eyesight was worth making some sacrifice for. In almost all the séances I had with Home, there was plenty of light to see all that occurred, and not only enabled me to write down notes of what was taking place, but to read my notes without difficulty. . . .

"During the whole of my knowledge of D. D. Home, extending over several years, I never once saw the slightest occurrence that would make me suspicious that he was attempting to play tricks. He was scrupulously sensitive on this point, and never felt hurt at anyone taking precautions against deception. He sometimes in the early days of our acquaintance used to say to me before a séance: 'Now, William, I want you to act as if I were a recognized conjurer, and was going to cheat you and play all the tricks I could. Take every precaution you can devise against me, and move about, and look under the table, or where else you like. Don't consider my feelings; I shall not be offended. I know

that the more carefully I am tested, the more convinced will everyone be that these abnormal occurrences are not my own doings.'

"I think it a cruel thing that a man like D. D. Home, gifted with such extraordinary powers, and always willing, nay, anxious, to place himself at the disposal of men of science for investigation, should have lived so many years in London, and with one or two exceptions, no one of weight in the scientific world should have thought it worth while to look into the truth or falsity of things, which were being talked about in society on all sides. To those who knew him, Home was one of the most lovable of men, and his perfect genuineness and uprightness were beyond suspicion; but by those who did *not* know him, he was called a charlatan, and those who believed in him were considered little better than lunatics!"

To return, however, to Professor Lodge's report upon Eusapia Palladino, which the above extended quotation is merely to support, I now extract from the detailed records of sittings, printed as Appendix I, to his paper:

The first séance, which took place on July 21st, commenced at 9.36 P.M. Tilts, levitations, and protuberances of Eusapia's dress were noted, followed by raps—all these in good light. These were followed by a series of touches on the back and sides of the controllers. The following extracts from the records cannot fail to be of interest:

"10.24. Light lowered more. M.¹ held both hands in the air; L. held her head, and each held one foot. M. was again distinctly touched in the back.

"11.34. L., holding both hands of E., was distinctly touched as by a hand on the shoulder and back of head. The hairy mass again felt by him.

¹In all séances of this series, M=Myers, L=Lodge, R=Richet, and O=Ochorowicz.

"11.36. M.'s chair was again drawn from under him, and put on the middle of the table, and M. remained standing. The large table drew nearer. Hands and feet of E. well held."

After lights had been seen, and further touches had been experienced, the record proceeds:

"12.04. M. and L., each holding one of E.'s hands firmly in the air, R.'s hand was strongly grasped, and held, as by a hand, while thirty-one was counted. At request of L., the large table then turned itself over on its back behind M., and was left with its feet in the air.

"A light was now struck, and the under surface of table (now turned upward) was examined for marks. Nothing was found except joiner's lines, which had been there before. The table was now half raised so that its legs were now horizontal, and its upper surface showed at once a large blue scrawl. . . . There was now full light, and the séance was understood to have stopped, but E. asked for a blue pencil, and when one was found and given her she proceeded to cover the tip of her forefinger with blue chalk. She then gave this finger to R. to hold, and with it extended, she walked up to the vertically standing top surface of the large table, and made near, but not touching it, a couple of quick cross marks in the air. The blue had then disappeared from her finger, and two large blue crosses, sharply drawn, not as with finger tip, were found on the back, or far side of the table, namely, on one of the side boards of the under side, which had been just previously examined for such marks. There was no fresh mark on the surface in front of which she had made the gestures."

At 12.35 the séance was resumed, and while R. was holding one hand of E., and while M. held both feet and her other hand, R. felt a hand move over his head and rest on his mouth for some seconds, during which he spoke to the other

investigators with his voice muffled. A series of remarkable phenomena occurred at 12.49, which were recorded thus:

"A small cigar box fell onto our table, and a sound was heard in the air as of something rapping. R. was holding head and right hand; M. holding left hand, raised it in the air, holding it lightly by the tips of his fingers, but with part of his own hand free. A saucer containing small shot, from another part of the room, was then put into this hand of M. in the air. A covered wire of the electric battery came onto the table and wrapped itself round R.'s and E.'s hands and was pulled till E. called out. Henceforth, R. held her head and body; M. kept one hand and both feet, while L. held the other hand, and in this position E. made several spasmodic movements, each of which was accompanied or followed by violent movements of the neighboring round table.

"12.57. The accordion, which was on the round table, got onto the floor, somehow, and began to play single notes. Bellier (the stenographer) counted twenty-six of them, and then ceased counting. While the accordion played, E.'s fingers made movements in the hands of both M. and L., in accord with the notes, as if she were playing them at the distance with difficulty. The lightly touched quick notes were also thus felt by L. with singular precision, sometimes the touch failed to elicit a response, and this failure was usually succeeded by an interval of silence and rest."

After these phenomena, the small *châlet* or music box, which was on the round table, began to play, approached visibly, being seen coming through the air by M. and L., and rested on the *séance* table. It got onto the floor; finally Professor Richet said: "Enough of that music!" It then stopped, "probably," the report says, "because run down."

Various touches, under good conditions of control, ended the *séance*; afterwards, however, Professor Richet, when undressing, found upon his shirt front, which had been covered

by a flannel jacket, and a high white waistcoat, a blue scrawl, clearly defined. Just before the séance had terminated, Eusapia had taken one of Mr. Myers' fingers and with it executed a scrawl outside Richet's flannel jacket, which was buttoned up to the neck. It will be observed that several times during this séance phenomena were obtained when *both* of Eusapia's hands were held by the same controller.

The second sitting occurred two days later under virtually the same conditions. After various minor phenomena, the châlet wound itself up and, playing, descended to the floor. It ran down, and stopped playing, but while still on the floor, it wound itself up again, and rose onto the table once more, playing as it came. Eusapia's hands and head were well held, and her feet had been placed in a wooden apparatus, so constructed that, if she lifted either of them, an electric bell would ring immediately, showing that they had been removed. The report continues:

"L. was then permitted to hold both arms and both feet (the foot apparatus being removed), and he was then touched twice on the back, and grasped distinctly on the left arm. E. then held up one of L.'s hands, and with it made two small movements, and at each movement a chair not far distant grated along the floor, as if pushed or pulled."

Various touches and levitations ended the séance.

The *third* sitting took place two evenings later under the same conditions. After various minor phenomena, including the production of scent, had been observed, the large table was violently dragged about, and raps heard upon it. Touches and grasps by hands were then experienced by the sitters. The following phenomenon, which must be regarded as remarkable, then took place:

"While L. held both the medium's hands on the table, and also her head, leaning over onto him, away from the châlet, and while Richet held both her feet, the suspended châlet was heard to be wound partially up three times, with three pauses, taking four seconds in all, as heard and recorded by Bellier. (The châlet had been suspended from the ceiling quite beyond Eusapia's reach.) It did not now begin to play, but began to flap, as if its doors were trying to open. Soon it began to play, and raps were heard on it. While it played, Eusapia's hands waved L.'s hands in the air, in time with the music. It was immediately rewound, and went on playing sometime. While this was going on the châlet began to swing, and the string was heard to break, but instead of dropping onto the floor, the châlet was gently placed on M.'s head, and thence onto the table. This phenomenon occurred under quite satisfactory conditions."

Professor Lodge was told to hold one hand loosely against the skirt of Eusapia, still holding her two hands with the other, and he then felt his hands gripped quickly several times, as by a hand through her dress. He had also several distinct hand grasps, as by a bare hand, coming from E.'s shoulder, both her real hands being at the time completely in his control. He did not succeed in grasping one of these pseudo-hands, though other observers did on other occasions. "Attempt was now made to prolong one of these pressures. A hand was felt on M.'s back, and he began counting seconds, when it slapped audibly, and disappeared. Observation made in light as to the correct holding of Eusapia's real hands."

After the séance had been concluded, the following interesting phenomenon occurred:

"The clean finger nail of Professor Richet, held by Eusapia, was made to act as a blue crayon, and to leave a thick, blue pencil mark, when drawn thus along white paper, in full candle light. This was done several times, and the forma-

tion of the last two of these marks was closely watched by all in the light close to a candle. It appeared to L. as if the blue did not appear directly under the nail, but slightly to one side, as if some invisible protrusion from the fingers of Eusapia (which themselves were about half an inch off the paper) were really producing it, but he does not vouch for this detail, and only records it as a memorandum for future observation. [The paper was certainly clean beforehand, and the marks could be seen *being* formed.]”

The fourth séance was held under virtually the same conditions, on the evening of the next day. Loud raps were heard on the square table adjoining the séance table, and lights were seen several times by L. and M. An arm chair was made to move several inches in various directions, the light being good, and the chair at least four feet from Eusapia, there being a space visible to all between the chair and her body. The window curtain, five feet away, then swelled out, and a large face, visible twenty or thirty seconds, was observed close to the window. Professor Richet was grasped by a large hand, he at the time holding both hands of Eusapia. Mr. Myers’ wallet of books and papers, weighing twelve pounds, was lifted from the floor onto the table. The following important phenomenon then occurred:

“Noise, as of key being fumbled in the door, and Ochorowicz, from outside, asked who was unlocking the door. Eusapia’s hands were well held, and no one was near the door. The clear space of several feet, near the door, was plainly enough visible. Blows occurred on the door. The key then arrived on the table, and was felt there by L. It disappeared again, and was heard to be replacing itself in the door, with a sound as of the door being locked (or unlocked); then the key came again onto the table, into Richet’s hand, and stayed there. [At the beginning of the séance, the door had been locked, and at the end it was still locked. Judging by sound,

it had *probably* been unlocked and locked again during this episode. The door certainly remained shut all the time.]

"Richet saw an indistinct, black, square-looking object, which seemed to prolong the key when it was brought toward his hand. There was light enough to see the position of everybody's normal hands all the time on this occasion, and we were sitting some four or five feet distant from the door. [It was a perfectly distinct phenomenon.]

"Richet next saw something detached, like a bird in the air, going to M.'s head. At the instant he saw it touch, M. called out that he was touched on the head.

"L., R., and M. then all saw the curious imitation hand, or feather fingers, stretched horizontally over the vertical gap between the half-open shutters; a thing which L. had several times seen before.

"M. was seized from behind while standing, and vigorously pulled and shaken about, while all four were standing, holding hands around the table. L. saw him moving, and felt a transmitted pull. A loaf, and other objects, from the buffet, hard by, arrived on the table, and a pile of five plates. Our small table was in front of the buffet. Everybody was now standing up, and observers were getting tired, so we asked to stop; but agency insisted on continuing. Statement made that the medium needed refreshment, but the agency said it could see to that. A gurgling noise was heard, as if the medium was drinking from a bottle, and directly afterwards a decanter with water, which had been on the top shelf of the buffet, arrived on the table. Then it rose again to the medium's mouth, where it was felt horizontally by Richet, and again she drank. It then came again onto the table, and stayed there."

After the séance had been concluded, the medium was conducted to a writing desk in a corner of the room. She made three movements with her hand, and the desk was tilted backward, after an interval of a second or two. She moved farther away and repeated the action, and the same movement of the desk occurred, but with more delay. When

standing *two meters* from the desk, she did the same thing, and the desk again tilted, but not until two seconds after the motion made by her hand.

Appendix II to Professor Lodge's paper consists in a list of appliances that would be needed for a psychical laboratory. Their uses are also pointed out. Thus, a registering balance would be necessary, to test losses and gains in the weight of medium, before, during, and after sésances. A clock, thermometer, and barometer would be essential, and instruments for recording the medium's temperature, muscular exertion, pulse, breathing, etc.; and these should all be registered automatically by apparatus outside the room. Means for obtaining graphic records should, therefore, be supplied. Special chairs and tables should be provided; and the method of graphic record should be applied to registering levitations of the table. Elaborate arrangements for variations of the amount of light should be made, and, if possible, means should be invented for obtaining a number of photographs secretly from without the room. A number of cameras should be operated simultaneously through various openings, and the room might be flooded with invisible, ultraviolet light—sufficient to obtain photographs, but which would be unknown to the medium. Other devices, such as smoked surfaces, wet clay, etc., for obtaining an imprint of the hands, should also be provided, together with such additional instruments and appliances as future experiments and experience might suggest.

§ 7. Experiments at Cambridge—1895

When this Report was issued, Dr. Richard Hodgson, then Secretary of the S. P. R. for America, challenged the conclusive nature of the sittings, and pointed out what, in his esti-

mation, were numerous defects in the record—showing that it might have been possible, on some occasions, for the medium to have resorted to trickery. He suggested various ways by which Eusapia might have released one hand or one foot. He contended that the holding was not sufficiently described, and suggested substitution of dummy hands and feet instead of those held by the sitters. The actual detail of the hand and foot holding was, he contended, the essential feature, and this was insufficiently described. As to the levitations of the table, Dr. Hodgson suggested that they might have been accomplished by means of a hook inserted under its edge, and attached to a strap passing over Eusapia's shoulders. Other critical remarks of a general nature were also made.

This criticism by Dr. Hodgson elicited four replies—one from each of the four investigators. They were unanimous in declaring that, while Dr. Hodgson's paper was remarkable, and his criticisms excellent, and while they admitted that further precautions of the kind suggested by him should be taken in future, they contended that Dr. Hodgson's explanations did not explain all the phenomena witnessed by them; nor, indeed, any larger portion of them. Reviewing the séances in detail, it was found that some of Dr. Hodgson's criticisms were unjustified, and that, for example, where he had said that both of Eusapia's hands were not accounted for on any particular occasion, they were in fact amply accounted for on a number of occasions, while in two or three instances, both her hands were held in the hands of one investigator. Dr. Lodge in his reply insisted upon this point, and he had the support of Professor Richet and Dr. Ochornowicz, as well as Mr. Myers, whose reply was the most detailed.

In spite of these replies, however, Dr. Hodgson apparently

remained skeptical, and the result of the disagreement was that both Eusapia and Dr. Hodgson were invited to England, and a series of experiments, since famous, and styled the "Cambridge Experiments," were held in the house of Mr. Myers, in August and September, 1895. The results of these sittings will be found described in detail in the October and November, 1895, issues of the *Journal S. P. R.* (English).

The results of these séances were entirely negative. Not only were the phenomena, comparatively speaking, sparse and uninteresting, but fraud was detected in actual operation again and again—fraud of a kind which necessitated the supposition that the medium had practiced it long and carefully. Details of these séances are unnecessary. It need only be said that Dr. Hodgson, and, in a lesser degree, Mr. Nevil Maskelyne, of London, detected substitution of hands over and over again, and caught her in the act of producing fraudulent phenomena. The conclusion was, that systematic fraud had been used from first to last, and that there was no adequate reason to suppose any supernormal agency whatever. Mr. and Mrs. Myers, Miss Johnson, Mrs. Sidgwick, Professor Sidgwick, and Dr. Hodgson unanimously "adopted the conclusion that nothing but trickery had been at work in the Cambridge series of experiments." As a result of these sittings, Professor Sidgwick stated that "inasmuch as trickery had been systematically practised, apparently, by Eusapia Palladino for years, he proposed to ignore her performances in the future as those of other persons engaged in the same mischievous trade were to be ignored." (*Journal S. P. R.*, April, 1896.)

When the results of this exposure were made known, it created little less than a furore in the world of psychic re-

search. For many days columns of material, and letters *pro* and *con*, appeared in *The Daily Chronicle*, *The Westminster Gazette*, *The Liverpool Daily Post*, *The British Medical Journal*, *Light*, and other magazines; and it need hardly be said that the general effect of the exposure, on the public mind, was to impress them even more deeply than ever with skepticism, and to confirm their wavering doubt that Eusapia was fraudulent from beginning to end.

Yet there is a reason for the fraud that Eusapia resorted to at Cambridge, and those investigators who have had much experience with her had no difficulty in pointing out exactly what the cause of this was. It has always been well known that if Eusapia were allowed to trick her sitters she would do so, and the policy of the English investigators had been, not to endeavor to prevent phenomena by rigorous control, but to allow great laxity, to permit her to substitute her hands when she desired, and merely note the results. Eusapia, finding that she could effect substitution of hands with ease, and apparently without detection, naturally resorted to this device at every séance, and the result of this was that fraud was almost invariably detected during her English sittings. Yet there is doubt if all the phenomena witnessed in England could be accounted for by fraud. Certainly the phenomena differed considerably from the more striking manifestations witnessed at her genuine séances. Mr. Myers, in a letter written to *The Daily Chronicle*, and published November 4, 1895, said:

“As to the phenomena on the île Roubaud, in relation to those at Cambridge: The best of those observed on the island were so different from those at Cambridge that I cannot wonder that Professor Lodge should still hold firmly to their genuine character.”

This has been our own experience also. We noted in our séances that when Eusapia resorted to fraud, as she did occasionally (see p. 182) the character of the resulting phenomenon was entirely different from the genuine and far more striking manifestations which occurred at other times. Further, had the opposite policy been adopted; had she been *prevented* from resorting to fraud instead of allowed to do so, very different results would doubtless have been obtained. It must be remembered, in this connection, that these methods of trickery (substitution of hands, etc.) had always been known to the Continental investigators; and in their previous reports they had several times called attention to this aspect of the problem, and stated that Eusapia would invariably resort to trickery unless she were prevented from doing so. Dr. J. Maxwell, indeed, in his *Metapsychical Phenomena*, criticised the results of these Cambridge experiments, and said:

“As far as his (Dr. Hodgson’s) experiments with Eusapia Palladino are concerned, I will reply to him that in a great measure he and his friends were responsible for her frauds, and almost wholly responsible for the failure of the experiments. They appear to have neglected the psychological side of a medium’s rôle, and forgot that a medium is not a mechanical instrument. Eusapia was not at her ease, and, if my memory serves me right, she found the Cambridge center rather disdainful and haughty, save Mr. and Mrs. Myers. She was dull and lonely. . . . The séances were too numerous (there were twenty séances held in less than seven weeks—a séance every other day)—if you take into consideration her not being very well and consequently unfit for anything for a few days. This was making sure of bad results, especially as the séances sometimes lasted two and a half to three hours. It was impossible for the medium to recruit her strength, physically or morally—especially in a country

where the manners, life, language, and even the cooking were so different from those of Naples. . . .

"It appears, however, that the first séances were pretty good. There were some suspicious things, as is often the case with Eusapia. Hodgson's arrival changed everything. It was then that fraud was discovered, but a long time after Richet and Torelli had pointed it out."

Then follows a discussion of the method employed by the English experimenters, which Dr. Maxwell considered fundamentally wrong. Extracts from the sittings were quoted to sustain his position. Dr. Maxwell stated that he, in common with other Continental investigators, had proceeded by another route, and had obtained very different results. He had set about gaining Eusapia's confidence and sympathy, and the results of some of his séances appeared to him quite conclusive. One or two extracts from séances held by him are quoted by way of sustaining his position. I cite one of these here, as being of special interest.

"P. is vigorously touched. Eusapia gives him the control of her hands and feet. P. receives slaps on the back every time Eusapia presses her foot. The noise is distinctly heard. P.'s chair is shaken and drawn from under him. Eusapia rubs her feet on the floor, 'to give fluid,' she says. Finally, P.'s chair is slowly carried on to the séance table. The persons (Dr. Denuce, Mme. A., and I) for whom P. is between the table and the window, see the chair very clearly outlined on the window. After having been placed on the table, the chair is taken back to the floor, and the second time carried on to the table. The movements were slowly produced. While they were being produced, the hands, feet, and head of the medium were under control. If any part of the medium's body had touched the chair, the contact would have been seen on the silhouette of the chair, the latter standing out well against the lighted-up window. While the chair is in movement, P. is crouching down on his heels. He is

touched on the back. His garments are pulled, he is tickled. At the same time the table is levitated. *These three manifestations were produced simultaneously.*"

Dr. Maxwell concludes with these words:

"My judgment will convince no one. In such matters we must see for ourselves in order to be convinced. Dr. Hodgson himself knows this to-day. My testimony contradicts formally and explicitly the conclusions of the Cambridge investigators. Eusapia does not always defraud. With us she rarely defrauded."

§ 8. Experiments at l'Agnelas—1895

Immediately following the exposure at Cambridge, a committee was formed at the house of Colonel De Rochas, in September, 1895, consisting of Dr. Dariex, Count De Grammont, Dr. Maxwell, Professor Sabatier, Baron De Watteville, and Colonel De Rochas. The report of these séances is given in full in M. De Rochas' book, *The Exteriorization of Motivity*—to which I would refer the reader for a detailed account. It was believed by these experimenters that the Cambridge exposure had been incomplete and more or less superficial; and it was determined to test again Eusapia's powers, and to see whether or not genuine phenomena could be obtained when Eusapia was prevented from resorting to trickery. The investigators seem to have been exceedingly careful in their method of procedure, the hands and feet were well controlled, and are accurately described by Colonel De Rochas. Here, *e.g.*, is the method of control during the third séance—which was the first official séance held—all members of the Committee being present.

"At a quarter to nine, Dr. Dariex, upon the request of the medium, returned to her right side. He seated himself on the

little tabouret, in the angle formed by the medium and M. Sabatier. Eusapia then places her two legs between those of Dr. Dariex, and rests her two feet upon the tabouret. The right arm and the right hand of Dr. Dariex supports her knees and her thighs. In that position, the feet, the legs, the knees, and the thighs of the medium are continually controlled; the contact is constant, so that the least movement of the lower members of the medium can be accounted for. This position of the legs was retained to the end of the séance; at the same time Eusapia rests her head against that of Dr. Dariex, and the latter also shares in the control of the right arm and the right hand, twining his left arm around the arm of Eusapia, in such a manner that the bend of the elbow encircles the lower part of the arm, so that the forearm of Dr. Dariex comes in contact with the forearm of the medium, and his hand rests on the back of her wrist; moreover, by the tips of his fingers, Dr. Dariex touches the hand of M. Sabatier, which holds the right hand of Eusapia.

"To sum up, he holds the medium in such a manner that he is sure of her lower limbs, her right hand and her right wrist, which do not leave the table, and of her head, which does not leave his head. Dr. Maxwell always holds the left hand; M. Sabatier the right hand very securely."

It must not be assumed that the control throughout the whole series of séances was as complete as on this particular occasion, but it seems to have been accurately governed and accurately recorded throughout, and it would appear to me that any impartial critic must be forced into the belief that on very rare occasions could Eusapia have freed one hand or one foot, and with it produced spurious phenomena. Without going into detail regarding the control throughout these séances, therefore, I shall give a brief résumé of the phenomena observed—since the control will be stated in great detail during our own series of séances, to be recorded later on.

Various movements of the table and curtain phenomena

usually commenced the séance. Loud raps occurred, the toy piano was brought from the cabinet onto the séance table, and the large arm chair partly rose into the air, its feet keeping time with the music. Invisible hands touched the sitters, pulling their hair and pinching them. Chairs and other articles of furniture were piled onto the table without apparent cause—both hands of Eusapia being well held, it is asserted, at the time. Indeed, Eusapia invariably announced in advance the character of the phenomenon which was about to take place, and asked that the control should be thoroughly verified.

It would be useless to supply similar details of all the séances held at l'Agnelas, which were of very similar character—progressing in excellence as the séances proceeded, and which finally convinced the sitters that genuine phenomena had been obtained under excellent conditions of control, and that, in spite of the Cambridge exposure, Eusapia's mediumship was undoubted.

§ 9. Experiments at Naples—1895

Meanwhile, in 1895, a new series of experiments had been held in Naples, under the direction of Dr. Paolo Visani-Scozzi, Professor of Nervous Diseases at Florence.

Four séances were held, which were also attended by Dr. Visani, Countess Helena Mainardi, Professor Chiaia, and others. Precautions were taken against fraud—which, however, are not detailed in the report—and the following phenomena were observed and vouched for by the experimenters:

1. *In plain light*: Movements of objects without contact; levitations of the table, raps—which frequently kept time to music—and answered questions.

2. *In semidarkness* (the light being sufficient to distinguish all the sitters, however) there occurred: Touches by invisible hands; very loud raps on the table; movements of chairs, and kisses were heard distinctly in the room. A shadow formed near to the medium, as though issuing from her, and assumed colossal proportions. During the production of this phenomenon the medium was in deep trance, and completely immobile.

3. *In complete darkness*: Movements of the table, chairs, and other objects (which were sometimes, when the lights were relighted, found to be turned upside down). The formation of hands, which touched the sitters, the formation of invisible heads, which gave kisses and rubbed the faces of the sitters with their silky beards; the formation of a misty ball, which emitted a whitish light; and the formation of a phantom, which assumed the form of a very large man.

A trumpet, a tambourine, and a bell played *at the same time*, all being raised in the air simultaneously. All the furniture in the room was then moved about. In tune to a march played by the above-mentioned instruments, the table promenaded toward the door, keeping time to the music with its feet—while the medium, half asleep, was dragged with her chair along with the table.

The most important phenomenon was an imprint of a hand and of a face, obtained in clay, which in no way resembled those of the medium.

Although these séances were striking in character, we cannot, unfortunately, attribute to them much evidential value, since the conditions of the experiments, and particularly the manner of controlling the medium, were very insufficiently recorded throughout.

§ 10. Experiments at Tremezzo, at Auteuil, and at
Choisy-Yvrac—1896

In 1896 an interesting séance was held at Tremezzo, which was accurately recorded by Mme. Z. Blech. Various interesting phenomena were observed, when both hands of Eusapia were distinctly *seen*, resting upon the table. Four days later a new series of séances was held at Auteuil, under the direction of Dr. Dariex, M. Desdeaux, M. Guérinon, M. Marcel Mangin, and M. Sully-Prudhomme. The result of the seven séances was, again, to convince the sitters of Eusapia's undoubted supernormal powers.

Following these experiments, a new series of séances was held at Choisy-Yvrac, which were attended by M. Maxwell, Count de Grammont, Count de Watteville, Colonel de Rochas, and other well-known investigators. The usual phenomena were observed, and, in addition, various experiments were tried, such as the effects of electricity upon the medium and the phenomena; magnetizing and hypnotizing the medium—an interesting account of which will be found in Colonel de Rochas' book, before referred to. It was ascertained, apparently, that electricity in some manner increased her "forces," and assisted in the levitation of a small stool, which she had been unable to raise. As, however, such levitations have been obtained at various times without any electrical apparatus, its value seems doubtful.

§ 11. Experiments at Naples—1897

In April, 1897, sittings were held at Naples by MM. Ernest Mayer, and Leon Boullöche. These were followed by a séance held in June, in Rome, by M. de Siemiradski—followed again by séances held in Paris in July, and later in

the same month at Montfort l'Amaury. These latter séances, which are by far the most noteworthy, were attended by M. de Fontenay, who published a lengthy report, and has since written a book, *Apropos d'Eusapia Palladino*, based largely upon these sittings. Since then, M. de Fontenay has obtained a number of séances, and has especially devoted himself to the task of photographing the phenomena, and particularly the heads, faces, and hands that are supposed to materialize at Eusapia's séances. In an article entitled *Fraud, and the Hypothesis of Hallucination, in the Study of the Phenomena Produced by Eusapia Palladino* (*Annals of Psychical Science*, April, 1908), M. de Fontenay succeeded in photographing various hands appearing over Mme. Palladino's head—one of which, particularly, is of interest, inasmuch as both the medium's hands are seen (in the photograph) to be securely held by her investigators outside the cabinet. The "hand" in this case, however, does not appear to be a fully formed hand, but rather a claw, or an exceedingly malformed or half-formed hand. M. de Fontenay was forced to the conclusion that he had on this occasion photographed "matter in the course of condensation"—i.e., a materialization. It is true that other photographs taken by M. de Fontenay are far less convincing, but, as he himself says, "in any case one point is settled—the appearance of hands in the vicinity of Eusapia are not generally hallucinatory, nor are the formations of lights, which are observed to occur with this medium. If my photographs prove no more than this, their importance would not be negligible."

§ 12. Experiments at Montfort l'Amaury—1897

In 1897 a short series of three séances was held at the home of M. Blech, at Montfort l'Amaury. M. Blech, Mme.

Blech, Mme. Z. Blech, and Mlle. A. Blech, together with M. G. de Fontenay, formed the circle at first, and they were afterwards joined by M. Flammarion. These séances seem to have been very successful in character, a great variety of phenomena being obtained under what appear to be good conditions of control. A full account of these séances will be found in M. de Fontenay's book, *Apropos d'Eusapia Palladino*, to which I would refer the reader for an exhaustive discussion of these sittings, and accompanying theoretical data. The book is a remarkable one, and is well worthy of careful perusal. M. Flammarion, who was present at one of these séances, gives us a vivid picture of the course of events, which I quote from his own book, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, pp. 70-75:

"Five raps in the table indicate, according to a convention arranged by the medium, that the unknown cause seeks for less light. This is always annoying; I have already said what I think of this. The candles are blown out, the lamp turned down, but the light is strong enough for us to see very distinctly everything that takes places in the salon. The round table, which I had lifted and set aside, approaches the table and tries several times to climb up on it. I lean upon it, in order to keep it down, but I experience an elastic resistance and am unable to do so. The free edge of the round table places itself on the edge of the rectangular table, but, hindered by its triangular foot, it does not succeed in clearing itself sufficiently to climb upon it. Since I am holding the medium I ascertain that she makes no effort of the kind that would be needed for this style of performance.

"The curtain swells out and approaches my face. It is at this moment that the medium falls into a trance. She utters sighs and lamentations and only speaks now in the third person, saying that she is John King, a psychic personality who claims to have been her father in another existence, and who calls her 'My daughter.'

"Five new taps ask for still *less light*, and the lamp is almost completely turned down, but not extinguished. The eyes, growing accustomed to the clare-obscure, still distinguish pretty well what is taking place.

"The curtain swells out again, and I feel that I am touched on the shoulder, through the stuff of the curtain, as if by a closed fist. The chair in the cabinet, upon which are placed the music box and the bell, is violently shaken, and the objects fall to the floor. The medium again asks for less light, and a red photographic lantern is placed upon the piano, the light of the lamp being extinguished. The control is rigorously kept up, the medium agreeing to it with the greatest docility.

"For about a minute the music box plays intermittent airs behind the curtain, as if it was turned by some hand.

"The curtain moves forward again toward me, and a rather strong hand seizes my arm. I immediately reach forward to seize the hand, but I grasp only the empty air. I then press the two legs of the medium between mine, and I take her left hand in my right. On the other side, the right hand is firmly held in the left hand of M. de Fontenay. Then Eusapia brings the hand of the last named toward my cheek, and imitates upon the cheek, with the finger of M. de Fontenay, the movement of a little revolving crank or handle. The music box, which has one of these handles, plays at the same time behind the curtain in perfect synchronism. The instant that Eusapia's hand stops, the music stops; all the movements correspond, just as in the Morse telegraph system. . . .

"I feel several touches on the back and on the side. M. de Fontenay receives a sharp slap on the back that everybody hears. A hand passes through my hair. The chair of M. de Fontenay is violently pulled, and a few moments afterwards he cries, 'I see the silhouette of a man passing between M. Flammarion and me, above the table, shutting out the red light!'

"This thing is repeated several times. I do not myself succeed in seeing this silhouette. I then propose to M. de Fontenay that I take his place, for, in that case, I should be

likely to see it also. I soon distinctly perceive a dim silhouette passing before the red lantern, but I do not recognize any precise form. It is only an opaque shadow (the profile of a man) which advances as far as the light and retires.

"In a moment, Eusapia says there is some one behind the curtain. After a slight pause she adds:

"'There is a man by your side, on the right; he has a great soft forked beard.' I ask if I may touch this beard. In fact, while lifting my hand, I feel rather a soft beard brushing against it.

"A block of paper is put on the table with a lead pencil, with the hope of getting writing. The pencil is flipped clear across the room. I then take the block of paper and hold it in the air: it is snatched violently from me, in spite of all my efforts to retain it. At this moment, M. de Fontenay, with his back turned to the light, sees a hand (a white hand and not a shadow), the arm showing as far as the elbow, holding the block of paper; but all the others declare that they only see the paper shaking in the air.

"I did not see the hand snatch the packet of paper from me; but only a hand could have been able to seize it with such violence, and this did not appear to be the hand of the medium, for I held her right hand in my left, and the paper with arm extended in my right hand, and M. de Fontenay declared that he did not let go her left hand.

"I was struck several times in the side, touched on the head, and my ear was smartly pinched. I declare that after several repetitions I had enough of this ear-pinching; but during the whole séance, in spite of my protestations, somebody kept hitting me.

"The little round table, placed outside of the cabinet, at the left of the medium, approaches the table, climbs clear up on it and lies across it. The guitar in the cabinet is heard moving about and giving out sounds. The curtain is puffed out, and the guitar is brought upon the table, resting upon the shoulder of M. de Fontenay. It is then laid upon the table, the large end toward the medium. Then it rises and moves over the heads of the company without touching them. It gives forth several sounds. The phenomenon lasts about

fifteen seconds. It can readily be seen that the guitar is floating in the air, and the reflection of the red lamp glides over its shining surface. A rather bright gleam, pear-shaped, is seen on the ceiling of the other corner of the room.

"The medium, who is tired, asks for rest. The candles are lighted. Mme. Blech returns the objects to their places, ascertains that the cakes of putty are intact, places the smallest upon a little round table and the large one upon the chair in the cabinet, behind the medium. The sitting is resumed by the feeble glimmer of the red lantern.

"The medium, whose hands and feet are carefully controlled by M. de Fontenay and myself, breathes heavily. Above her head the snapping of fingers is heard. She still pants, groans, and sinks her fingers into my hand. Three raps are heard. She cries, 'It is done!' M. de Fontenay brings the little dish beneath the light of the red lantern and discovers the impression of four fingers in the putty, in the position which they had taken when she had gripped my hand.¹

"Seats are taken, the medium asks for rest, and a little light is turned on.

"The sitting is soon resumed as before, by the extremely feeble light of the red lantern. John is spoken of as if he

¹ Professor Chiaia, of Naples, writes, *a propos* of these impressions in clay:

"I have imprints in boxes of clay weighing anywhere between sixty-five and sixty-eight pounds. I mention the weight in order to let you see the impossibility of lifting and transporting with one hand alone so heavy a tray—even upon the supposition that Eusapia might, unknown to us, free one of her hands. In almost every case, in fact, this tray, placed upon a chair, three feet behind the medium, was brought forward and placed very gently upon the table about which we were seated. The transfer was made with such nicety that the persons who formed the chain and held firmly the hands of Eusapia did not hear the least noise, did not perceive the least rustling. We were forewarned of the arrival of the tray upon the table by several taps, which, according to our conventional arrangement, 'John' struck in the wall to inform us that we could turn on the light. I did so at once by turning the cock of the gas fixture, which was suspended above the table. [We had never completely extinguished it.] We then found the tray upon the table, and, upon the clay, the imprint which we supposed must have been made before its transfer, and while it was behind Eusapia, in the cabinet where 'John' usually materializes and manifests himself."



THE "STOCKS" APPARATUS.

The two nearest legs of the Seance table are seen to be inserted into the inverted wooden cones, fastened to the floor. Their shape allowed the table to rock and oscillate, while preventing the medium from touching the table-legs with her feet and knees. The board joining the tubes at their upper extremities prevented the medium from raising the table by means of her knees.

existed, as if it was he whose head we perceived in silhouette; he is asked to continue his manifestations, and to show the impression of his head in the putty, as he has already several times done. Eusapia replies that it is a difficult thing and asks us not to think of it for a moment, but to go on speaking. These suggestions of hers are always disquieting, and we redouble our attention, though without speaking much. The medium pants, groans, writhes. The chair in the cabinet comes forward and places itself by the side of the medium, then it is lifted and placed upon the head of Mme. Z. Blech, while the tray is lightly placed in the hands of M. Blech, at the other end of the table. Eusapia cries that she sees before her a head and a bust, and says '*E fatto*' (It is done). We do not believe her, because M. Blech has not felt any pressure on the dish. Three violent blows as of a mallet are struck upon the table. The light is turned on, and a human profile is found imprinted in the putty. Mme. Z. Blech kisses Eusapia upon both cheeks, for the purpose of finding out whether her face has not some odor (glazier's putty having a very strong odor of linseed oil, which remains for sometime upon the fingers). She discovers nothing abnormal. . . ."

§ 13. Experiments in Paris—1898

In November, 1898, Eusapia went to Paris on the invitation of a scientific committee, composed of MM. Flammarion, Charles Richet, A. de Rochas, Victorien Sardou, Jules Claretie, Adolphe Brisson, René Baschet, Arthur Levy, Gustave Le Bon, Jules Bois, Gaston Mery, G. Delanne, G. de Fontenay, G. Armelin, André Bloch, etc. These séances were held in M. Flammarion's salon under good conditions of control. Before each séance, Eusapia was undressed and dressed in the presence of two ladies. The following incidents are taken from the reports of various members of this committee, which follow one another, and which I shall briefly summarize here. The full account of these séances

is to be found in M. Flammarion's book, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*.

M. Arthur Levy records one case, typical of a number of others, of the depression of a spring-balance letter-weight of the ordinary kind:

"While we are talking some one puts a letter weight on the table. Putting her hands down on each side of the letter weigher, and at a distance of four inches, she causes the needle to move to No. 35, engraved on the dial place of the scales. Eusapia herself asked us to convince ourselves, by inspection, that she did not have a hair leading from one hand to the other, and with which she could fraudulently press upon the tray of the letter weigher. This little by-play took place when all the lamps of the salon were fully lighted. . . ."

At this séance, a series of remarkable events transpired in rapid succession. After describing a number of minor phenomena, and finally a struggle between himself and two invisible hands over the possession of a tambourine, in which he was worsted, M. Levy continues:

"Eusapia utters repeated cries—a kind of rattling in the throat. She writhes nervously, and, as if she were calling for help, cries: 'The chain, the chain!' We thereupon form the chain by taking hold of hands. Then, just as if she were defying some monster, she turns, with inflamed looks, toward an enormous divan, which thereupon *marches up to us*. She looks at it with a satanic smile. Finally, she blows upon the divan, which goes immediately back to its place. . . .

"Eusapia was evidently very tired; her burning hands seemed to contract or shrivel; she gasped aloud with heaving breast, her foot quitting mine every moment, scraping the floor and tediously rubbing along it back and forth. She uttered hoarse, panting cries, shrugging up her shoulders and sneering. The sofa came forward when she looked at it, then recoiled before her breath; all the instruments were

thrown pellmell upon the table; the tambourine rose almost to the height of the ceiling; the cushions took part in the sport, overturning everything on the table; M. M. was thrown from his chair. This chair—a heavy dining-room chair of black walnut, with stuffed seat—rose into the air, came up on the table with a great clatter, then was pushed off. . . .”

At a séance held September 26, 1896, the following incident occurred:

“A dark bust moves forward upon the table, coming from where Eusapia sits; then another, and still another. ‘They look like Chinese ghosts,’ says M. Mangin, ‘with this difference, that I, who am better placed, owing to the light from the window, am able to perceive the dimensions of these singular images, and, above all, their thickness.’ All these black busts are busts of women, of life size; but, although vague, they do not look like Eusapia. The last of them, of fine shape, is that of a woman who seems young and pretty. These half lengths, which seem to emanate from the medium, glide along between us; and when they have gone as far as the middle of the table, or two thirds of its length, they sink down altogether (all of a piece, as it were) and vanish. This rigidity makes me think of the reproductions, or facsimiles, of a bust escaped from a sculptor’s *atelier*, and I murmur, ‘One would think he was looking at busts molded in *papier mache*.’ Eusapia hears me. ‘No, not *papier mache*,’ she says indignantly. She does not give any other explanation, but says (this time in Italian): ‘In order to prove to you that it is not the body of the medium, I am going to show you a man with a beard. Attention!’ I do not see anything, but Dr. Dariex feels his face rubbed against for quite a time by a beard.”

Dr. Le Bon, speaking of the one séance he attended, says:

“Eusapia is undoubtedly a marvellous subject. It struck me as something wonderful that, while I was holding her

hand, she was playing on an imaginary tambourine, to which the sounds of the tambourine that was behind the curtain accurately corresponded. I do not see how any trick is possible in such a case, any more than in the case of the table.

"My cigarette holder was grasped by a very strong hand, which wrenched the object from me with a good deal of energy. I was on my guard and asked to see the experiment again. The phenomenon was so singular, and so beyond all that we can comprehend, that we must first try natural explanations:

"1. It is impossible that it could have been Eusapia. I was holding one of her hands, *and was looking at the other arm*, and I placed my cigarette holder in such a position that, even with two arms free, she would not have been able to accomplish such a marvellous thing.

"2. It is not probable that it could have been an accomplice; but is it not possible that the unconscious mind of Eusapia suggested to the unconscious mind of the person near the curtain to pass a hand behind it and operate there? Everybody would be acting in good faith, and would have been deceived by the unconscious element. This important point ought to be verified, for no experiment would be so valuable if it were once demonstrated."

M. Armelin, in his report of the séance of November 21st, writes:

"At 10.03 the table is lifted clean off its four feet at once, at first on the side opposite to the medium, rising about eight inches, then it falls abruptly back. While it is in the air Eusapia calls to her two neighbors to make sure that they are closely holding her hands and her feet, and that she is not in contact with the table. . . . Suddenly, M. Antoniadi exclaims that he is enveloped by the curtain, which rests upon his shoulders. Eusapia cries: 'What is this that is passing over me?' The round table comes forth beneath the curtain. Mme. Flammarion, who is standing opposite the window, and has kept looking behind the curtain, says that she sees some very white object. At the same moment

M. Flammarion, Mme. Fourton, and M. Jules Bois exclaim that they have just seen a white hand between the curtains, above Eusapia's head, and at the same moment M. Mathieu says that his hair is being pulled. The hand we saw seemed small, like that of a woman or of a child."

M. Le Bocain asserts that at one of these séances he addressed a materialized spirit in *Arabic* in the following terms:

"'If it is really thou, Rosalie, who art in the midst of us, pull the hair on the back of my head three times in succession.' About ten minutes later, when he had almost completely forgotten his request, he felt his hair pulled three times in response to this wish. It is hardly necessary to say that Eusapia knows no Arabic."

As is well known, the famous medium Home succeeded in causing an accordion to play by itself, and untouched, in the presence of Sir William Crookes. M. Flammarion wished to see if this same phenomenon could be duplicated in Eusapia's presence. He accordingly tried the following experiment, which seems to have been completely successful:

"I therefore take a little new accordion bought that evening in a bazaar, and, approaching the table, and remaining in a standing position, I hold the accordion by one side, resting two fingers upon two keys, in such a way to permit the air to pass, in case the instrument should begin to play. So held, it is vertically suspended by the stretching out of my right hand to the height of my head and above the head of the medium. We make sure that her hands are all the time tightly held, and that the chain is unbroken. After a short wait of five or six seconds I feel the accordion drawn by its free end, and the bellows is immediately pushed in, several times successively, and at the same time the music is heard. There is not the least doubt that a hand, a pair of pincers, or what not, has hold of the lower end of the instrument. . . . I perceive very well the existence of this

prehensile organ. All possibility of fraud is eliminated for the instrument is well above Eusapia's head, her hands are firmly held, and I distinctly see the distention of the curtain as far as the instrument. The accordion continues to make itself heard, and is pulled on so strongly that I say to the invisible power, 'Well, since you have such a good hold on to it, keep it.' I withdrew my hand, and the instrument remains as if glued to the curtain. It is no longer heard. What has become of it? I propose to light a candle and hunt for it, but the general opinion is that since things are going so well it is better to make no changes in the environment. While we are talking, the accordion begins to play—a slight and rather insignificant air. In order to do that it must be held by *two* hands. At the end of fifteen or twenty seconds it is brought to the middle of the table, playing all the while. The certainty that hands are playing is so complete that I say to the unknown, since you have got the accordion so well, you can doubtless take my hand itself. I reach out my arm at the height of my head, rather a little higher. The curtain inflates, and through the curtain I feel a hand (a pretty strong left hand)—that is to say, three fingers and a thumb—and these grasp the end of my right hand."

§ 14. Experiments at Genoa—1901

In 1901 Eusapia went to Genoa, where, at the Minerva Club, she gave a series of remarkable séances, which were attended by Professors Porro, Morselli, Bozzano, Venzano, Lombroso, Vassalo, and others.

I shall cite extracts from these reports later on in this volume. It is of interest to quote in this connection the conclusions arrived at by Professor Porro, as a result of this series of experiments. Speaking of the sittings, he says:

" . . . A formidable blow, like the stroke of the fist of an athlete, is struck in the middle of the table. The person

seated at the right of the medium feels that he is grasped in the side. . . . The blows are redoubled, and are so terrific that it seems as if they would split the table. We begin to perceive hands lifting and inflating the curtains, and advancing as far as to touch, first one, then another, of the company, caressing them, pressing their hands, daintily pulling their ears, or clapping hands merrily in the air above their heads. . . .

"A bouquet of flowers, placed in a carafe on the larger table, comes over on to ours, preceded by an agreeable perfume. Stems of flowers are placed in the mouth of No. 5; and No. 8 is hit by a rubber ball, which rebounds upon the table. The carafe comes over to join the flowers on our table; it is then immediately lifted and put to the mouth of the medium, and she is made to drink from it twice; between times it sinks down to the table and stands there for a moment right side up. We distinctly hear the swallowing of the water, after which Mme. Palladino asks some one to wipe her mouth with a handkerchief. Finally, the carafe returns to the large table. . . .

"The guitar took its flight around the room, coming to a standstill in the middle of the table, where, finally, it came to a rest. In a final, supreme effort, Eusapia turns toward the left, where, upon a table, is a typewriting machine weighing fifteen pounds. During the effort, the medium falls exhausted and nervous upon the floor; but the machine rises from its place and betakes itself to the middle of our table, near the guitar.

"In full light, Eusapia calls M. Morselli, and controlled by the two persons next her, brings him with her toward the table, upon which is placed a mass of molding plaster. She takes his open hand and pushes it three times toward the plaster, as if to sink the hand into it and leave upon it an impression. M. Morselli's hand remains at a distance of more than four inches from the mass; nevertheless, at the end of the séance, the experimenters ascertain that the lump of plaster contains the impression of three fingers—*deeper prints than it is possible to obtain directly by means of voluntary pressure.*

"The medium lifts her two hands, all the time clasped in mine and those of No. 5 (Morselli) and, uttering groans, cries, exhortations, she rises with her chair, so far as to place its two feet and the ends of its two front cross bars upon the top of the table. It was a moment of great anxiety. The levitation was accomplished rapidly, but without any jarring or jolting or jerking. . . .

"There is more to follow. Eusapia was lifted up still farther with her chair, from the upper part of the table, in such a way that No. 11, on one side, and I, on the other, were able to pass our hands under her feet and under those of the chair. . . ."

These are the conclusions of Professor Porro:

"The phenomena are real. They cannot be explained either by fraud or by hallucination. . . . While admitting it as the most probable hypothesis that the intelligent beings to whom we owe these psychical phenomena are preëxisting, independent entities, and that they only derive from us the conditions necessary for their manifestation in a physical plane accessible to our senses, ought we to admit also that they are really the spirits of the dead?

"To this question I will reply that I do not feel that I am as yet capable of giving a decisive answer.

"Still, I should be inclined to admit it, if I did not see the possibility that these phenomena might form part of a scheme of things still more vast. In fact, nothing hinders us from believing in the existence of forms of life wholly different from those which we know, and of which the life of human beings before birth and after death forms only a special case—just as the organic life of man is a special case of animal life in general. . . ."

§ 15. Experiments at Palermo—1902; at Rome and at
Paris—1905

In July and August, 1902, a series of experiments was held at Palermo, under Dr. Carmelo Samona, which are

reported in the *Annals of Psychical Science*, 1903, pp. 72-82. (French edition.) Again, in 1905, at Rome and at Paris, Eusapia gave a series of séances, in the former city to Dr. H. Carreras—which were reviewed in the *Revue Scientifique et morale du spiritisme* (1904-5, pp. 585-91); and in Paris, to Count de Grammont—a full report of which, so far as I know, has not been published. These experiments, while they are doubtless of interest, can be said to add little to the evidence for the supernormal in the case of Mme. Palladino—inasmuch as the reports do not state the amount of control exercised, and in other ways are imperfect—being extremely abbreviated.

§ 16. Experiments at Genoa—1906-7

In 1906-7 Professor Morselli renewed his investigations of Eusapia, and the séances conducted by him are among the most remarkable and convincing that have ever been held. They at all events completely converted Professor Morselli, and so impressed him that he decided to publish his voluminous book, which he had held in reserve, even after the proofs had been sent in, because of laudable scientific scruples! I give a résumé of these séances herewith, as they were reported at the time.

Professor Morselli has noted no less than thirty-nine distinct types of phenomena, which he lists as follows:

1. Oscillations and movements of the table without significance.
2. Movements and beatings of the table having a significance.
3. Complete levitation of the table.
4. Movements of various objects, as soon as touched by the hands or body of the medium.

5. Movements, undulations, and swellings of the curtains of the cabinet.
6. Movements and swelling out of the medium's clothes.
7. Oscillations of the table without contact.
8. Independent liftings of the table.
9. Movements occasioned in material objects by the hands being voluntarily turned toward them, but at a distance, and gestures made from or toward the object.
10. Spontaneous movements and displacements of different objects at various distances from the medium.
11. Bringing of distant objects on to the table.
12. Displacements of the seats of the experimenters.
13. Movements of operation of mechanical instruments placed at a distance.
14. Spontaneous changes of weight in a scale.
15. Change of weight in the body of the medium.
16. Raising of the medium's body in the air.
17. Wind from the cabinet.
18. Intense cold.
19. Radiations from the head and body of the medium.
20. Blows, raps, and other sounds in the table.
21. Blows and raps at a distance from the medium.
22. Sounds of musical instruments.
23. Sounds of hands, feet, etc., being moved.
24. Sounds of human voices.
25. Mysterious signs left at a distance.
26. Direct writing.
27. Impressions in plastic substances.
28. *Apports*.
29. Touching, feeling, grasping, by invisible hands.
30. Organization of solid forms having the character of members of the human body.

31. Organization of hands, naked, and distinguishable to the touch.

32. Complicated actions of materialized forms, tangible, but invisible.

33. Appearance of luminous points.

34. Appearance of whitish clouds or mists.

35. Formation of dark prolongations of the body of the medium.

36. Forms having the appearance of arms and hands coming out of the cabinet.

37. Appearance of hands.

38. Appearance of obscure forms, of indeterminate character, and not very distinct.

39. Appearance of forms having determinate and personal characters.

At the séances attended by Professor Morselli, several remarkable phenomena occurred. His arm was seized by a big hand, of which he felt the fingers distinctly—while he was holding the hand of Eusapia next himself. The lamp was switched on and off several times—the switch being at a distance of several feet from the medium and beyond her reach. Professor Morselli was then drawn backward in his chair several inches. A chair from within the cabinet came out, and under the conditions of the strictest control climbed on the séance table. A metronome was started and stopped several times, and finally conveyed on to the séance table by invisible hands, where it again began to beat time. At the conclusion of the séance, several large objects at some distance from Eusapia changed their positions—moving several inches along the floor.

The second séance was far more remarkable, and the report deserves to be quoted at some length. It reads in part:

"*Second Séance.* Eusapia was again carefully examined by Professor Morselli. The same persons took the same places round the table. The room was lighted by a tiny night lamp which, after a minute or two, made it possible for the sitters to see sufficiently clearly. . . . Eusapia pressed my (M. Barzini's) hand forcibly from time to time; each time she did so we heard on the table a thud which seemed to be given by a clenched fist.

"A white hand came out of the cabinet and touched Professor Morselli on the shoulder, while he showed us the left hand of the medium under his control and I did the same with the right.

"These mysterious hands which, for very brief moments, often appeared, generally issued from the opening between the curtains, but sometimes even from their surface; they seemed to come through the stuff."

To the chair of Eusapia two vertical rods had been tied, to which a frame of wood (13 cm. by 18 cm.) had been attached containing two photographic plates, intended, if possible, to register radiations from the head of the medium. All the knots had been fastened by Professor Morselli, who had used blue and white threads easily recognizable.

"We heard," continues the Editor of the *Corriere*, "a delicate and restrained sound behind the medium; I looked and saw the frames slowly moving. We assured ourselves that the controls were as they should be. Moreover, Eusapia's hands were visibly resting on the table with ours. We waited with curiosity. There was no doubt that the knots were being patiently undone, under our very eyes. In truth, after a few minutes, the frame raised itself and disappeared into the cabinet. It did not fall, for we should have heard the noise. Dr. Morselli remarked: 'It seems to be in some one's hands!'

"He had scarcely finished speaking when the frame reappeared, with an oscillating movement, and placed itself

on the head of the medium; on it was a rod which cheerily tapped out the rhythm of a tambourine. We recognized it as one of the two rods which were attached to the back of the chair. After a little while the frame and the rod fell noisily on the ground. 'I had, however, fastened them well!' observed Professor Morselli, regretting somewhat that his photographic experiment should have failed. . . .

"All this time, everyone could see the medium motionless in her place, under our control, outside of, and almost indifferent to, the phenomena which were produced behind her, and which lasted long enough to exclude the possibility of such tricks as are favored by rapidity.

"At one moment we saw the dynamometer, which was almost touching the bottom of the curtain, upon the table, move about and disappear behind the curtain. We discussed what could have happened to it. At once a hand came out of the cabinet on to the head of the medium; it held the dynamometer and seemed to show it to us. Then it retired; after some seconds the dynamometer reappeared on the table. Dr. Morselli seized it, and examined the graduation to find out whether the instrument had been under any pressure. The needle showed a pressure of 110 kilogram-meters—which is, as we know, equivalent to the effort necessary to raise 100 kilogs. 1 meter from the ground during the space of half a second.

"At another moment Eusapia said to Dr. Morselli, 'Attention!' and a curious phenomenon followed. I must first say that, being put on the *qui-vive* by this announcement, we assured ourselves that the control was secure. Between science and public opinion, Eusapia looked as though she were guarded by two policemen, we had contact with her hands, her knees, and her feet. She strongly contracted her forearms, and Dr. Morselli felt himself touched in several places by the moving curtain. He thought he observed behind the curtain the presence of a complete human form whose body leaned against his, the arms pressing against him; we all saw the arms wrapped round by the curtain.

"I got up suddenly, drawing the medium against me, and

I put my head between the opening of the curtains to look into the cabinet. The light which penetrated through the openings made by the movement of the curtain was sufficient to light up the interior of the cabinet. It was empty. Professor Morselli felt behind the curtain at the spot where it was bulged out, and was assured that it was empty. What, from the outside, appeared to be a moving human body covered by the curtain, was, on the inside, a cavity in the stuff, an empty mold.

"It reminded one of Wells' *Invisible Man*. I then wished to touch the bulging part of the curtain, on the outside, with my right hand, which was free, and I encountered the effectual resistance of a living head. I distinguished the forehead, I moved the palm of my hand downward on to the cheeks and on the nose, and when I touched the lips the mouth opened and seized me under the thumb; I distinctly felt the strain of a clean bite. At the same moment a hand pressed against my chest and pushed me back, the curtains swelled out and fell back inert. All this time the medium remained in view. She was separated by at least half a yard from the Invisible Man."

[We must point out that the medium's cabinet was formed by curtains stretched diagonally in front of an angle of the room, where there were neither doors nor windows. Inside there was nothing but a chair and a few small objects: a mandolin, fairy bells, a trumpet, a block of clay for obtaining casts of human hands. This phenomenon of semi-materialization behind a curtain is said to be obtained frequently in séances with this medium.]

"The fairy bells arrived on the table, as if they fell from the skies, and there, completely isolated, while we watched the toy curiously, it played for some seconds. It is in the form of a little coffee mill; both hands are required for playing this instrument, one to hold it firmly, the other to turn a small handle. Immediately afterwards we heard the mandolin sliding along the floor, M. Bozzano saw it come out of the cabinet and stop behind Professor Morselli, where it made two or three sounds. Afterwards it came on to the

table, went all round and finished by laying itself in my arms like a baby. In this position it began jingling again in my honor, while I observed its complete isolation. From my arms it returned to the table and continued to make confused sounds. When we placed our hands on the cords we felt them vibrating; and in this way we had the proof of touch as to the reality of this phenomenon."

In the course of the third séance a very typical case of fraud was observed, which may throw some light on the trickery and, apparently unconscious, fraud which this medium resorts to so frequently. While the experimenters were forming a chain around the table, at which the medium was also seated, with her back turned to the cabinet, Professor Morselli called out the three letters: "E. T. V.!" This signified, according to a preconcerted arrangement among the investigators: "Eugène Torelli-Viollier," or more precisely, "the medium has had recourse to the trick observed by M. E. Torelli-Viollier, *i.e.*, has withdrawn one of her hands or feet from the control of her two neighbors." Eusapia had in fact liberated her left hand from that of Professor Morselli, and stretched out the freed hand toward a trumpet which was on the table, in order to seize it. But she had not time to do this, for the Professor, as he pronounced the three warning letters, possessed himself again of the fugitive hand, and the experimenters increased their vigilance. Eusapia understood, and said, in a saddened tone: "Don't say that!"

"At this moment," says the reporter, "while the control was certainly more rigorous than ever, the trumpet was raised from the table and disappeared into the cabinet, passing between the medium and Dr. Morselli. Evidently the medium had attempted to do with her hand what she subsequently

did mediumistically: such a futile and foolish attempt at fraud is inexplicable. There is no doubt about the matter: this time the medium did not touch, and could not touch, the trumpet; and even if she could have touched it she could not have conveyed it into the cabinet, which was behind her back.

"I was placed behind Professor Morselli, quite close to the curtain, and I was already watching the medium from the side, when, suddenly, the trumpet came out again from the cabinet, passing through the opening at the side of the curtain, and came toward the Professor and me. I was the only one who saw it, but the others heard it, because the object gave two stout blows on Dr. Morselli's shoulders, with some degree of violence, perhaps to punish him for his 'E. T. V.,' and then it retired.

"I at once put my hand inside the cabinet and asked: 'Where has it gone?'

"The trumpet immediately came into my hand. I took it and showed it to those present; then I held it again inside the cabinet, saying: 'Take it!' It was taken from me; then it returned to the table, passing through the central opening in the curtains—and so it went on. All this time the medium's hands remained motionless, separated from each other, between those of her two guardians."

The room was lighted feebly by the dim light of a night lamp.

The reporter then speaks of certain curious apparitions which, from time to time, came out from the curtains. They generally took the form of a human head, or rather of two clasped hands enveloped in a black veil. Behind this head, or these hands, stretched a sort of long neck or arm. Sometimes these formless and indistinct members touched one of the experimenters. At this séance, as at all others, the bulging of the curtain was often observed, assuming, more or less completely, the outlines of a human form; this form offered

a certain amount of resistance to the touch. At one time the medium invited M. Barzini to kneel on the table, and this gentleman resigned himself to this uncomfortable and somewhat ridiculous position. Stretching his hand up toward the cabinet M. Barzini was able almost to touch the top of the curtain; that is to say, he reached to a distance of nearly four feet from the medium's head, and about seven feet six inches from the floor. At this height his hand was touched from behind the curtain, but very slightly, as if by a vaporous body. As he lowered his hand the touch became firmer; when he held his arm out horizontally he was able to recognize that the object which touched him was a hand, which feebly grasped his own, through the material of the curtain. When he lowered his arm still more, toward the head of the medium, the pressure became firm and resolute—the mysterious hand acquired force and energy. He raised his arm, and the pressure lost consistency, until, when he reached the top of the curtain, the experimenter again only felt the uncertain and vaporous touch which he had felt at first. Details and observations of this nature throw more light on the manner in which the psychic force exteriorizes itself than many treatises on mediumship.

While M. Barzini was communicating his observations to those present, the medium said to him: "Don't be frightened: pay attention!" And the table rose twice, with M. Barzini upon it; while at the same time the two persons guarding Eusapia felt themselves simultaneously touched by hands, the one on the shoulder and the other at the back of the head. "Thus a weight of about 160 pounds was being moved, while one hand was manifesting well above the medium's head, and two other hands were touching the experimenters on either side of the medium."

The Fourth Séance. M. Barzini observes that on several different occasions he was able to grasp the mysterious fugitive hands which touched him. "The feeling to which this gave rise was very curious," he says; "they did not escape from my grasp, they dissolved, so to speak. They slipped out of my hands as if they had collapsed—they seemed like hands that had very rapidly melted and dissolved, after manifesting a high degree of energy, and an absolutely lifelike appearance while performing actions. It should be stated that these observations have always been so rapid and so rare that they did not leave any very clear impressions on my mind. It is necessary to be careful with regard to rapid subjective impressions and only accept the genuineness of facts repeatedly proved. Proved, that is to say, as far as it is possible to prove them."

The writer in the *Corriere della Sera* also speaks of the way in which he and Dr. Morselli simultaneously gave chase to the mysterious hands which were scratching and rapping on the table, while the medium's hands and those of the investigators were all visible on its surface. The failure of these attempts seemed to amuse the table and it laughed—if one may be allowed to speak of it as a person—by little sharp movements which are familiar; subsequently it showed its satisfaction by two huge levitations of quite a new kind. "I might almost call them chronometric levitations," adds the reporter. "The table rose in the air to the height of our shoulders, completely isolated, and while Dr. Venzano counted the seconds aloud, so as to time the duration of the phenomenon, the table marked each second as it was counted by raising and lowering one of its ends; and, strange to say, it was the end farthest from the medium which thus oscillated. As we followed the count of seconds we were amazed

at its length. But the table evidently felt some pride in its performance, as it continued pluckily; when sixty seconds had been counted, the table fell back to the ground; it had reached the record of a minute, not hitherto attained by any aeroplane.¹ But it was not yet satisfied; a moment later it rose up again to the same height, and the count began again; this time it managed to reach 78 seconds before it fell to the ground."

On a little camp bed, which had been fitted up in the cabinet, a lump of prepared modelers' clay, weighing a little less than six pounds, had been placed on a board, with its surface carefully smoothed. M. Barzini wished to reach this, but it was at the back of the bed, so far that he could not do so. He raised the curtain at the extreme left of the cabinet, and was just extending his hands when the lump of clay rose up from the bed and came to meet him, as though to save him the trouble. It stopped at the level of the journalist's chest, after having brushed against Professor Morselli's shoulder. It looked as if a plate were being held with both hands by a well-trained servant; this object remained isolated in the air, in contact with nothing except the corner of the curtain, which was slightly folded at this point. The object waited politely until M. Barzini took it, which he did carefully, without feeling any resistance; just as he took it, however, he felt a sudden increase in its weight, as though someone had let go of it and left it in his hands. The marks of three fingers were found on the lump of clay.

Unknown to the others Dr. Morselli had brought with him a piece of string, about sixteen inches long; this he laid on the table. The string disappeared, then came back, shaking like the tail of an animal. The Professor examined it

¹ Written in 1907.

and then said, in a tone of disappointment: "But it is as it was before! I wanted to see it knotted." It evidently had not understood what was expected of it. It was not lacking in good will, however, as it at once proved by disappearing again, and returning shortly afterwards neatly knotted in three different places. The knots were all alike, well made and symmetrical, placed at equal distances from each other.

The medium entered the cabinet and was fastened carefully to the bed, her hands and feet tied; the investigators remained at a distance of about two yards from the curtain; in the space thus left vacant stood the table with no one at it; nevertheless, it moved, rose and fell, slid over the floor, and at last leaned over toward the cabinet, lifting its two legs in the air. A sound was heard like that of a pencil writing rapidly. As M. Barzini had left several sheets of paper on the table it was thought that direct writing would be obtained. When the sound had ceased the journalist went to pick up the sheets; they each in turn lifted one of their corners as though to make it easier for him to lay hold of them. "They are lifting themselves," said M. Barzini, "as if equal, steady breaths of wind, coming from my direction, were acting on each of them in an orderly and discreet way. The sheets are all blank."

The Fifth Séance. In the course of this séance the investigators decided that the medium should go into the cabinet with a view to obtain materializations if possible, but they then remembered that they had forgotten the cords. In spite of this they placed the medium on the little bed. But she kept on complaining and asking to be tied; she is aware that the phenomena are not considered of much value unless she is tied. Under these conditions, and after waiting some

time, a round form, looking like a pale face surrounded by white drapery, appeared twice in the opening of the curtains. No sound was heard, although it had been noticed that the least movement of anyone on the bed caused loud crackings to resound in it; but this is the only indication there was of the genuineness of the phenomena.

Eusapia came out of the cabinet, took off all her white clothing, threw down even her handkerchief, keeping on only her skirt and bodice, and returned to her position on the camp bed. Twenty minutes later the curtains opened again and the face of a woman appeared surrounded with bandages. The medium had been completely undressed and searched before the séance.

The Sixth and Last Séance. This time Eusapia was tied to the bed in an original manner. The investigators provided themselves with a special kind of strong cord used in asylums to fasten violent maniacs—a thick, broad, greenish band, which can be tied very tightly, without risk of cutting the flesh (as would be the case with cord) and can be knotted in the most complicated manner. The operation was intrusted to Professor Morselli, who, as an alienist, was specially qualified for this task. He secured the wrists and ankles of the medium in such a way that the hands and feet could not slip through the knots, and made them fast to iron rings, through which the lateral bars of the bed passed.

A red electric lamp of ten-candle power was lighted. The table, which was standing isolated in the free space, moved from time to time. The curtains opened, allowing the interior of the cabinet to be seen, as well as the head and feet of the medium. These phenomena were inexplicable considering that the position of the medium rendered movement

on her part impossible—but these were the only results produced except that many small lights were seen about twenty inches above the medium's head; and at one moment a hand was also perceived at the upper part of the curtain, and again a little lower down; this was seen several times.

Let us turn to the part of the séance during which the medium remained outside the cabinet. The room was then dimly lighted by the night lamp. A mandolin, which had been placed on the bed, after having sounded several times at a distance, came on to the table, where, absolutely isolated, it began to play. It was plainly visible before the very eyes of the sitters. They felt all round to verify its complete isolation. Eusapia was held by her hands, one of which was on the edge of the table, the other on her knees. The mandolin went on playing; nothing very melodious, of course, but the strings vibrated forcibly and clearly. The investigators placed their hands a few inches above the strings, and these were felt to vibrate more strongly than ever. Professor Morselli seized the handle of the mandolin with his left hand, and the instrument still continued sounding, at intervals, beginning again every time the investigator expressed a wish that it should do so. Each sound, however, corresponded exactly to movements of the fingers of the medium, who, at a distance, performed the action of playing, and who finally pinched out the last notes on Professor Morselli's forehead. It is needless to say that the mandolin does not belong to Eusapia, that it was bought by the investigators, and that, as M. Barzini says, "it is a modest instrument incapable of fraud."

M. Barzini took a tiny musical box which had also been purchased by the investigators, placed it on the table and said to the medium: "Please make it play without touching it."

She held out her hands above the instrument, moving her fingers. After many useless efforts, two feeble sounds were at last heard from the interior of the instrument.

"Did you hear?" asked Eusapia.

"No," said the experimenter, "try again."

She made another attempt. Scarcely half a minute had passed when the box again resounded, giving forth five or six notes without any motion of the handle. "It was as if an invisible hand had entered the box and had touched the little metallic tongues with its nail. It was evident that some unknown force was working in the interior of the musical box, for it was even slightly displaced on the table. Eusapia continued her attempts and the phenomenon was repeated with greater intensity and obviousness; finally, the musical box tilted up and began rolling on its edge, and in this position it made the entire circuit of the table."

§ 17. Experiments at Turin—1907 (Lombroso)

In 1907 Professor Lombroso, aided by his two assistants, Dr. Imoda and Dr. Audenino, held a series of séances in Turin. These séances were held in the clinical chamber of psychiatry in the University, and were attended by a number of eminent men. The unanimous opinion was that "even the cleverest trickery could not begin to explain the majority of the phenomena observed." The account of the séances first appeared in *La Stampa*, a well-known Italian paper, and was reprinted, in part, in *The Annals of Psychological Science*. The account proceeds:

"Two doctors took control, one on either side of the medium. An electric lamp, of ten-candle power, hung from the ceiling, and clearly lit up the room.

The medium asked one of the persons who formed the chain to rap on the table with the palm of the hand in some sort of rhythm. The experimenter rapped three times and leaned his hand lightly on the table at the spot where he had rapped. At the same spot, an instant later, exactly the same rhythm was heard repeated, like an echo. The red light was now turned on and the white light turned off.

A footstool of common wood, which was inside the medium's cabinet, shook and fell; the curtain also shook; behind it a hand grasped repeatedly the extended hands of those present; shook them, and caressed them. Suddenly, to the surprise of all, a little closed hand, the arm covered with a dark sleeve, showed itself in the full light, quite visibly; it was pink, plump, and fresh. "Surprise did not prevent our at once giving attention to the control of the medium; her hands were firmly inclosed in those of the two watchful doctors." A few minutes later a cold wind came from behind the curtain, which suddenly opened as if it had been opened by two hands, a human head came out, with a pale, haggard face, of sinister evil aspect. It lingered a moment and then disappeared.

The wooden stool rose up in the air and seemed to want to leave the cabinet, pushing aside the curtains. It was liberated from the curtains, then it continued to ascend in an inclined position toward the circle. Several hands stretched out following the curious phenomenon and lightly touched the object.

The woman's small hand then reappeared near the curtain, seized one of the feet of the footstool, and pushed it. Signor Mucchi broke the chain and, by a rapid action, seized the warm hand, which at once seemed to dissolve and disappeared. Immediately observations were made to ascertain if the medium's two hands were well controlled; such was found to be the case. The footstool kept on rising, and passed over the heads of the sitters, but at this moment the medium seemed in distress, and cried out: "It will kill us! Catch it!" The hands that were following the movements of the small piece of furniture then seized hold of it to with-

draw it from this perilous position, but an invisible force withdrew it to the center of the table, where it finally remained at repose.

At the close of the *séance*, the reporter placed his hand on the deep scar which the medium has on the left side of her head and felt a cold, strong, continuous breeze issuing from it, like a human breath. He subsequently felt the same cold breeze issuing, though less strongly, from the tips of her fingers.

Second Séance. In order to eliminate all doubt as to whether some of the sitters might have produced, or helped to produce, the phenomena, it was decided to connect everyone by forming a double chain: the first six being round the table, the other eight, behind, joining hands in a second row connected at each end with the inner chain. Every movement was thus under the observation of the next sitter. Two small tables were placed in the cabinet, on which were placed a toy piano, an otoscope for scientific experiments, a tambourine, a hand bell, a trumpet, and a few other small objects.

"The trance began this time with the familiar explosive sound; in sight of everyone, the medium's hands and feet being securely held by the two controllers, we saw the center of the table vibrating under a heavy blow comparable to that which might be produced by the toe of a heavy boot, on the top of the table. This phenomenon was repeated several times during the *séance*; in order to make it more evidential the medium asked one of the sitters to lay hold of one of her feet under the table and to observe its movements; she then raised the foot slightly and the blow was produced on the top of the table. The other foot was also controlled; moreover, Eusapia only wears woolen slippers during the *séance*.

There was another instance of synchronous raps: the me-

dium raised her hand with that of the controller on the left, and made the action of striking the air; at once, with absolute synchronism, blows resounded on the tables inside the medium's cabinet. The medium moved her fingers on the hand of her controller as if playing the tambourine, and the experimenters heard corresponding sounds on the tambourine in the cabinet.

Some one having expressed a desire to hear the sound of the toy piano, an inexplicable preparatory work was heard going on in the cabinet; furniture was heard being moved about, the clink of glasses and other objects, and finally it was observed that the table bearing the little piano was moving toward the medium, as if issuing from the cabinet; the object of this movement was probably to draw the piano, which was quite at the back of the cabinet, within the radius of the mediumistic activity.

At a certain moment the curtain shook forcibly, one of its extremities being pushed as far as the center of the table and a white box, locked and sealed, containing a sheet of smoked paper, came out. This object paused for some seconds on the arm of the controller on the right, then, as if it had been seized by a real but invisible hand, it was lifted toward the center of the table, shaking as if to draw attention to it, and thrown down on the table, eliciting from everyone an exclamation of surprise and admiration. "The phenomenon," says the reporter, "was indeed complete, clearly visible in all its phases, distinct, incontestible, and convincing."

Attention was called to the control of the medium by five raps, and the little piano which had been repeatedly heard in movement was at last played upon as if with a finger feeling for the notes, not striking them at hazard but with a vague musical intention. The rhythm was not very precise, but neither was it the mere noise that a child might make on a piano; there was in fact a clearly expressed musical intention.

A little later a toy sheep, made to bleat when squeezed, which was in the cabinet, first appeared on the medium's

head, where it rested for sometime, and was then thrown among the sitters, by some invisible hand.

A desire being expressed to hear the piano again, a few notes sounded. One of the experimenters expressed a doubt whether these came from the otoscope; this instrument was then in its turn thrown on the table, and it was evident that the sounds came from the piano.

The medium begged M. Bocca to kneel on the table, and, having done so, he felt, behind the curtain, a hand, which grasped his own at a height to which the medium could not reach; a phenomenon which, as we have already reported, occurred at Genoa with M. Barzini.

Then lights appeared; they started from the medium's head, and were projected like a minute Roman candle.

Third Séance. On this occasion some important additions were introduced into the medium's cabinet: a red electric lamp, with a reflector, was hung on the interior wall at the back of the cabinet at the height of about six feet from the floor, and this lighted up the interior very well: the object of this was to make it possible to follow the development of the phenomena at the spot where they are the most frequently forthcoming.

A "tambourine Marey," with its curious structure of cylinders and needles, was spread out on a table placed near the cabinet; an india-rubber tube connected it with a Marey cardiograph in the interior of the cabinet; another tube led to a Morse apparatus placed on the experimental table. The desire was to register simultaneously, on the smoked paper of the tambourine, the pressure of the medium's finger on the Morse apparatus outside, and that exerted by the "entity" on the button of the cardiograph inside the cabinet, and to verify the synchronism of the two phenomena. A round table on four legs, weighing twenty-four pounds, occupied the left angle of the cabinet and supported a lump of molding clay weighing sixty pounds and covered by a damp cloth.

When the medium had fallen into a trance, the movement of the heavy table bearing the clay was heard inside

the cabinet. The curiosity of the sitters was at once concentrated on this spot. Would they be able to see the impression of a face or hand forming? The reply to this question came immediately, and it was of a rather unexpected and disrespectful character. A lump of wet clay was thrown out of the cabinet and lodged on the thumb of the individual who had put the question. The medium began making little movements and contractions, and simultaneously the table moved noisily a few inches toward the curtain. This lasted about a quarter of an hour, after which the clay was found behind the medium's back on her right, at a distance of about thirty inches. The table rapped five times to ask for less light; the interior lamp, which was not necessary for verification, was then put out, but the possibility of seeing the phenomena in process of formation was thus relinquished. Great raps were heard on the table; and the table on which the clay was placed rapped out with its feet: "The impression is made."

"I was asked," writes Dr. Mucchi, "to take the mold: I was about to enter the cabinet, but was repelled by two hands 'made of nothing.' I felt them; they were agile and prompt, they seized me and pushed me back—the struggle lasted for sometime; the hands seemed to take pleasure in resisting me; they pushed me back if I tried to enter and pulled me forward if I retired. I ended by seizing the lump of clay which these satanic hands persisted in claiming for themselves; when I withdrew they thrust me out with a violent shove which nearly upset everything. There were observable on the clay two or three impressions such as might be made by a closed fist."

One of the sitters was asked to take a mandolin, which was in the room, and to place it on the table from which the clay had been taken. This gentleman also found himself

resisted by the mysterious hands, who alternately would, and would not, let him enter; when he had once got hold of it he was afraid lest it should escape him and placed it quickly on the table inside, with the strings turned downward. The mandolin was soon raised from there in some inexplicable way and carried on to the experimental table, where, *in view of everyone, it played all by itself*, first one string at a time, giving forth a clear sound as if it were being played with a finger nail; then with all the strings, as if a finger were being passed across them. One of us was asked to play on the medium's fingers as if they were a mandolin; a string sounded in correspondence with each touch, and if the touch was vague the sound was incomplete or strident. Afterwards, a hand, which suddenly materialized, seized the instrument by the handle and placed it on the shoulder of the player, and there, under his very nose, the strings shook and twanged, while the hand dissolved and disappeared.

The mandolin returned to the table, and the medium made it advance and retire as if *she had a thread in her hands*; the strings creaked as if rubbed by this invisible contact.

"All this time," says the reporter, "the control was very rigorous. At my right, one of the circle, who was standing up, was very attentive to all that was happening, when suddenly his hand was seized by the index finger and drawn upward; he did not resist, but had no cause to rejoice, for he felt his middle finger seized by the teeth of a mouth from behind the curtain.

"He wished to know who the invisible entity was, and the unknown hand drew his up to the level of a face to make him touch it. I asked this investigator if he could recognize whether it was a man or a woman, and his hand was drawn to trace the lines of a profile which was moving behind the curtain. The same hand struck him several times on the

shoulder, and we heard the sharp, characteristic sound of the blow. . . .

"The medium then asked that a venerable old man whom she had known for years, and who had already experimented with her for sometime, might sit beside her. He leaned toward the curtain and we heard the sound of kisses. The light at this moment came from a red electric lamp placed outside, a little behind and to the left of the medium's cabinet; thus the wall on the left of the room was well lit up and afforded a light background against which the profiles of the medium and the old man were clearly visible.

"The medium rested her head against the shoulder of the controller on the right; her hands were held in his; suddenly the curtain shook violently, a cold wind passed out, then a human form covered by the thin material of the curtain was visible against this light background. The head of a woman, unstable and staggering, approached the face of the old man; she moved tremblingly like an old woman; she seemed to lean forward and touch the old gentleman, perhaps she kissed him; the old man encouraged her; she withdrew, returned, seemed as if she were afraid to venture, then advanced resolutely. It was a moment of uncontrollable emotion. Skeptic though I am, adverse to all mysticism, I was conscious of the intense feeling of this silent scene. . . ."

Fourth and last Séance. The room and the cabinet were emptied as much as possible of all little objects—the mandolin, the trumpet, etc., which might distract the attention of the mysterious beings. It was earnestly desired to concentrate the force upon the narrow circle of the scientific apparatus which had been prepared.

First a photograph was taken by magnesium light of the complete levitation of the table. The photograph was a complete success, the table being very high up. The control conditions were perfect, but the controllers observed that a contraction of the muscles of the thighs and rigidity

of the whole muscular system corresponded with each levitation.

"A hand issued from the curtain near my head," writes M. Mucchi; "it first showed with closed fist, then the hand opened and the fingers stretched out. This phenomenon was repeated several times; everyone could take note of it, because the hand stood out against the illuminated wall. The same hand subsequently laid hold of the wood of the cabinet and shook it violently; I tried in my turn and I found that to do this required considerable effort. While I was doing so the invisible hand seized mine, pressed it and let go, giving me a friendly pat on the shoulder.

"I left my place as controller, being replaced by Engineer Pomba. While a few ordinary phenomena were occurring I observed the dynamometer, and I placed the needle at zero. My maneuver was, however, perceived by the medium's subliminal consciousness, and she asked that that object might be laid on the table.

"'What object?' asked the controller on the right.

"I was even uncertain whether she meant me, because I was at a spot where she absolutely could not see me. But the medium insisted, and finally indicated me by a movement of her head. I hastened to satisfy her. It really seems that the medium has the faculty of using her senses at a distance.

"Then the medium desired me to keep the instrument in my hands, high enough for everyone to see it. I did so. The curtain swelled out and advanced to my hand; *the invisible* behind the curtain seized my fingers, which held the dynamometer, and I felt a rapid and not very strong pressure. Holding it to the light I perceived that the pressure was only that of 2 kilog. (4 lbs.); we were far from the 110 kilog. registered in the Genoa séances! I showed my surprise and disappointment, and the medium, whose *amour propre* was stung, wished to try again. The phenomenon was repeated in the same manner. The hand seized mine, holding the four fingers on the side of the oval piece of steel on which

my thumb was resting, and the thumb on the side on which my four fingers were pressing. The pressure of the mysterious hand was thus exerted partly on my fingers and partly on the instrument. The constraint was felt longer and stronger, but not with much more effect than the first time.

"On the other hand, a sudden and curious variation occurred: I was following attentively a little operation of *the invisible*, who was trying to displace the needle of the dynamometer in order to raise the coefficient of the pressure. The first finger of the mysterious hand liberated itself, felt for the needle, and instead of pushing the indicator, touched the needle connected with the levers and fixed to the steel spring in such a manner that when it was let go it caused the clear sound of metallic vibrations; then it glided to the other needle, displacing it perhaps a few degrees, so that the dynamometer registered 20 kilog. (44 lbs.). Evidently 'John King' was attempting a trick.

"I now understand how it came about that the pressure was raised in the Genoa experiment, to 110 kilog. (242 lbs.), a result so much in excess of that which would be obtained with a strong man, and I also understand the variability of the pressure already observed in many other instances. It is not only 'John's' force, but also his trickery which moves the needles of the dynamometer to such an incredible extent.

"Dr. Norlenghi requested that a tiny round table which he had brought with him might be placed on the table. I took it by one of its feet, and I was in the act of holding it out toward the curtains; I had not reached to the middle of the circle of investigators when it was torn out of my hands and raised, turned over and upside down, and shaken about for nearly a quarter of a minute. Dr. Norlenghi insisted on verifying the control, and as he was advancing his head toward the medium's hands to satisfy himself *de visu* that they were securely held, he inquired whether the control was complete. This seemed to annoy the unknown entity, whose hands rapidly lowered the little table on to the surface of the large table with a bang. The little piece of furniture then rose up again, was violently seized, knocked about, and



"A WHITE HAND RINGING A BELL."

This photograph shows the exact position of the medium's hands and feet during the production of this remarkable phenomenon. It will be seen that her hands are held on the extreme opposite corners of the table. [From a photograph specially taken to illustrate this manifestation.]

smashed in pieces. Two feet were thrown down among the investigators, the third hit Dr. Norlenghi in the face, without hurting him, however.

"Then the unknown entity seized one of the feet of the little table and rapped with it repeatedly now on one, then on another of the hands of the sitters, while the big table shook, and laughed in its own fashion.

"Meanwhile the curtain blew out; the table rapped three times to signify 'Attention!' and Engineer Pomba was honored by a visit from the *unknown* as in the preceding séance, the head surrounded by the curtain approached him and kissed him while two hands, which we could not see, held his head with an affectionate gesture. This was repeated more than once. We all got on to the right side of the table to be able to see the materialization, which was clearly outlined against the light background of the wall, so as to observe all its movements.

"I observed that the dimensions of this human form varied, that its volume increased and diminished visibly, so that sometimes it appeared to be that of an adult, sometimes that of a child. It was evidently subject to the variations of the emission of the mediumistic force. When the effort was more intense, the materialization was more complete; the medium seemed more fatigued when the head was more largely developed.

"It is difficult to state precisely the nature of this head; it seemed to me—and long practice in the use of my eyes justifies my believing that I was not deceived—like those of the last séance. The most striking characteristics were the same; the jests, the way of coming out and approaching M. Pomba were the same, the only difference, in my opinion, consisted in this, that in the course of the last séance the head represented the aged mother of one of the sitters, and this evening it represented the father of another.

"Dr. Audenino thought sadly of his Marey apparatus, which for three evenings had not been used, and looked to see if the smoked paper had not been touched, when suddenly a slight sound indicated that the needle of the appa-

ratus was moving. Dr. Audenino at once put the tambourine in action, and our ears perceived for a few seconds the scratching of a pen, which made long jumps on the smoked surface of the tambourine in such a manner as to correspond to the pressure exerted inside on the cardiograph, tracing a curious and variable diagram. The cabinet was quite empty and the medium's hands were, as always, in the hands of the controllers. Moreover, the distance between the cardiograph and the medium's chair was such that, even had she wished to, she could not have succeeded in pressing it with her hands.

"This phenomenon finally eliminates all suspicion. We have no longer merely the testimony of our senses, but that of a metal instrument which has registered, as we have, an unknown force; a well-known scientific apparatus has been moved by an invisible force, and has had imprinted upon it the tangible and mathematical proof of the reality of these phenomena.

"The medium got up, the table going with her and with the investigators into the middle of the room, where it rose to a considerable height and fell on the ground upside down. The medium, standing up, moved it first on one side, then on the other, but she seemed already very tired, and was almost supported by the two controllers. She then turned to an armchair and let herself sink into it exhausted. The table was raised by the sitters, but the medium wished it to go down again, and with a gesture of her head she sent it rolling again on the ground. Then she threw herself back in the armchair, hid her head in her arms, and seemed to fall asleep. Our series of sittings was thus concluded."

§ 18. Experiments at Turin—1907 (Foà, etc.)

Soon after the experiments performed by Professor Morrelli and Professor Lombroso, another series of séances was held in Turin by Drs. Herlitzka, Charles Foà, and Aggazzotti—assistants of Professor Mosso. At the second and more

remarkable séance Professor Pio Foà, of the same University, Professor of Pathological Anatomy, Director of the Anatomical Museum, and General Secretary of the Academy of Sciences, was also present.

Speaking of the séances, these gentlemen state:

"We all, who had never before been present at mediumistic phenomena, found that even the most incredible phenomena produce no emotion, and the most extraordinary things soon appear as quite common and natural manifestations. In the days that followed the first séance, however, all seemed to us an impossibility, and but for our reciprocal testimony, and without the objective, irrefutable documents which remained, we should almost have doubted our senses and our intelligence."

The séances took place in the house of Count Verdun. The doors and windows of the séance room were securely fastened, and the room examined. The two controllers were, at first, Dr. C. Foà and Dr. Herlitzka. Throughout the séance, we are told, incessant and reciprocal control was exercised by all those present.

Eusapia commenced the séance by having a fit of hysterics. Upon recovering, she no longer spoke in the first person, but in the third, speaking as if she were John King. Dr. C. Foà immediately afterwards saw a dark, ill-defined profile, which disappeared almost instantaneously, but reappeared again at his request. Attempts by Dr. Foà to seize this head failed. The table in the cabinet was heard to move about, and immediately afterwards came right out into the séance room, no one touching it. Many objects then began to arrive one by one, and were deposited on the séance table. A mandolin, a sheet of paper, a little woolen sheep, were thus carried. Then the curtain came out, and a hand, ob-

viously not the medium's, pulled the hair of Dr. Foà. At the same moment the strings of the mandolin were picked. The toy piano issued from under the table, the keys were depressed in turn, and various notes sounded. Soon after this, the lights were turned up and an examination made, but no cause for these manifestations was discovered. In full light, strong movements of the table were heard—synchronizing with movements of the medium's hand. The investigators endeavored to obtain graphic records—the keys and other parts of the instruments capable of being manipulated being covered with a cardboard box, and fastened down with sealed ribbons. These attempts, however, resulted in complete failure—since, although the keys of the instruments were manipulated, it was found that the cardboard box, containing the key, had been unfastened, that a glass tube had been broken, and that one of the ribbons which fastened the box was missing.

Numerous other phenomena of interest occurred, however, during this séance, notably touches by invisible hands. Eusapia was asked if the key of the apparatus might be pressed down. She replied: "The key is uncovered, and as I do *this* I can also press the key down." When she said the word *this*, Dr. Herlitzka felt a finger press strongly on his shoulder. Eusapia's hands were at this moment firmly held by her two neighbors. The séance ended with several levitations. The small table upon which the toys had been placed was pushed completely outside the cabinet.

The second séance, which took place in the same room, and virtually under the same conditions as the first, was far more remarkable. Two complete levitations in full light opened the proceedings, which were immediately followed

by the small table in the cabinet advancing into the room, pushing the curtain in front of it. Eusapia moved her hands in the air over the small table, which moved about upon the floor, corresponding in its movements to those made by her hands. It ended by rising completely into the air. Dr. Aggazzotti repeatedly pushed the table back but every time it returned to its place. The curtain then swelled out, in response to movements of the medium's hands, and remained out during the rest of the sitting. This enabled Dr. Herlitzka to see into the cabinet during the rest of the séance, and observe carefully everything that went on in it.

In this séance, also, the fabrics and other materials that had been used to cover the apparatus in the cabinet were torn away by invisible fingers and, both Eusapia's hands being visible, the experimenters could hear the cloth being torn, inside the cabinet. The experiments in registration, therefore, were not conducted under test conditions, but numerous other phenomena occurred at this sitting which were even more interesting than these. Thus we read:

"In consequence of a desire expressed by the medium, Dr. Herlitzka took control instead of Dr. Arullani, who took his seat on the left, near the cabinet, where he immediately felt a blow as with a fist, while his feet were trodden upon, and a finger nail was stuck into his hand.

Some of the sitters observed a sort of white mist round the medium's head. A few seconds later, inside the cabinet, was heard the sound, several times repeated, which told us that the membrane of our apparatus was being rapped upon. At each of these raps there was corresponding pressure of the right hand of the medium on that of the "controller" on that side. The apparatus was on the right of the medium at a distance of a foot or two from the controller and *perfectly visible*. No one was at that time in the cabinet, as it was easy to certify.

A little drum which was on table No. 1 floated in the air above the medium's head, and subsequently returned to its place. Immediately afterwards a mandolin made some sounds on table No. 1, rose up above it and fell on the ground. Also from the toy piano, which was on the floor, some notes were heard to sound and the medium stated that the effort to produce these latter sounds was made through her feet. And, in fact, the controllers, who had Eusapia's feet on theirs, observed that each sound corresponded with a contraction of the muscles of her leg. The medium rested a leg horizontally on the knee of Dr. Aggazzotti, who held the foot of the medium in his hand and asked her to repeat the experiment without moving her foot; a slighter but synchronous movement of the foot corresponded with each sound.

Soon after this, the piano, of its own accord, came on to the séance table, passing over the head of Professor Foà in so doing. Dr. Aggazzotti's eyeglasses were taken and flung violently on to the floor. He stated his anxiety lest the lenses should be broken. This the medium emphatically denied. The eyeglasses were later discovered on the floor uninjured."

John King seemed to possess a certain antipathy to Dr. Arullani. Thus we read:

"Dr. Arullani wished to approach the curtain on the medium's left; but the table, advancing toward him, pushed him back, as if with anger. The medium then asked the doctor to put his fingers over her eyes; he did so, but two hands were placed on his chest and violently repulsed him, the hands of the medium being at the same time held below by the two controllers. Arullani tried to approach again, but the medium cried out, "Do not approach," and the doctor felt himself hit on the head.

We relate all these details because they show that the medium is perfectly conscious of the phenomena which are forthcoming, although when the somnambulistic state is over she does not remember what has happened.

A luminous interlude ensued: above Eusapia's head, at a height of about eighteen inches, all the sitters saw a bright light appear, similar to that of a small electric pocket lamp. One of us (Dr. Foà) went out of the circle and held a photographic plate above the medium's head to find out whether it was possible to register the radiations. A few moments later, the bright light, well localized, reappeared; immediately afterwards the toy piano, which was on the table all the time with the keyboard turned away from the medium, made a few sounds; the sitters observed the spontaneous depression of the keys which accompanied the sounds.

Still with the object of obtaining a record of possible radiations, one of us (Dr. Foà) held the photographic plate, wrapped in paper, over Eusapia's head, and he felt the plate seized by a hand covered with the curtain; he passed one hand behind the curtain, but found nothing there.

The hand (for reasons that will appear later we apply this term to the force that acted on the plate, although no form of a hand was visible) made an effort to seize the plate, by snatching it unexpectedly, and renewed this attempt repeatedly but without success. Dr. Foà seized the hand, which was covered with the curtain, and had the impression of pressing real fingers, the fingers escaped him, however, and gave him a blow; the plate was changed, and the invisible hand began another struggle, during which it had tight hold of the plate for several seconds. At last a sudden blow given to the plate caused it to fall on the séance table without breaking. Dr. Aggazzotti, who held another plate over the medium's head, had, in his turn, to struggle in order to prevent its escaping him—a struggle in the course of which his hand was even bitten.

At this juncture the medium told Professor Pio Foà not to be alarmed whatever might happen, and advised all present not to touch the objects which would be suspended in the air, otherwise she would be unable to restrain the movements and might hurt somebody.

Table No. 1 rose in the air many inches high and passed once over the head of Professor Foà; returning to the

ground, and keeping, all the time, outside the cabinet, it turned over and then stood up again.

Needless to say that the controllers were always vigilant and saw that the hands and feet of the medium were held in our hands and under our feet. Often during the occurrence of the most important phenomena, Eusapia's legs were placed horizontally on our knees.

After table No. 1 had stood upright, Dr. Arullani approached it, but the piece of furniture, moving violently toward him, repulsed him; Dr. Arullani seized the table, which was heard to crack in the struggle: it was a strong table of white wood about 2 feet 9 inches high and 3 feet long by 22 inches broad, weighing 17 pounds.

Dr. Arullani asked that the hand behind the curtain should grasp his; the medium replied in her own voice: "First I am going to break the table, then I will give you a grasp of the hand." This declaration was followed by three fresh complete levitations of the table, which fell back each time heavily on to the floor. All those who were on the left of the medium could observe, by a very good red light, the various movements of the table. The latter bent down and passed behind the curtain followed by one of us (Dr. C. Foà), who saw it turn over and rest on one of its two short sides, while one of the legs of the table came off violently, as if under the action of some force pressing upon it. At this moment the table came violently out of the cabinet and continued to break up under the eyes of everyone present; at first its different parts were torn off, then the boards themselves went to pieces. Two legs which still remained united by a thin slip of wood floated above us and placed themselves on the séance table.

The medium said: "Unhappy owners of the house!" As the medium had thus kept her promise to break the table, Dr. Arullani asked for the hand shake, and was invited by the medium to approach the curtain. He had hardly reached it when he found himself hit by pieces of wood and hands, and we all heard the noise of the blows.

One of us, who was in control, felt himself tickled under

the arm, but could not see any hand, although the subjective impression was that of four fingers which moved rapidly under the armpit.

During the whole séance the condition of the medium and her power were being discussed. Dr. Arullani maintained that this force was only manifested at a few inches' distance. The medium then told him to stand on the séance table. Dr. Arullani confined himself to kneeling on it, and was struck on the head by a piece of wood; then two feet of the table were raised three times; the third time more violently, and the doctor was sent rolling over on to the ground.

The séance approached its close; the medium seemed very tired; she leaned her head on the shoulder of one of the controllers. A very interesting experience was yet in store for us. The medium, as well as all the sitters, who formed a chain, rose up. The table moved toward the center of the room and afterwards rose completely in the air. After a brief pause, during which one of us mentioned the fact that a photographic plate was fixed under the séance table, and while everyone was standing up at some distance from the table, which was free and quite visible on all sides, the medium asked for Dr. Aggazzotti's hand, and immediately afterwards the photographic plate was seen to fall with violence on to the séance table. Dr. C. Foà and Dr. Aggazzotti saw it distinctly come out from under the table, move round the edge and pass on to the upper surface.

It was 1 A.M., and the medium was asked whether the séance should be closed, but she did not reply; she was seen to be very fatigued, and we broke off the séance without further demur; the medium was placed in an armchair and carried into a small adjoining sitting room."

At the conclusion of the séance, the "field of battle" was visited, and the various objects were found out of place, the table broken, etc.—showing that real forces had been at work, and that the investigators had not been the subjects of any hallucination. One incident of extreme interest is

to be noted in this connection: When the photographic plates were examined, two gave uncertain results, but the third, which had been seized for some seconds by the invisible hand, showed distinctly the dark, negative image of four big fingers, the position and form of which corresponded with the index, the middle finger, the third, and the little finger. The impression of the thumb seems to be indicated also but not so clearly.

Summing up the results of their experiments, the investigators concluded that, whatever might be thought of the séances as a whole, or of the various minor phenomena, at least four of these were to be retained as proof positive that fraud could not account for the results obtained. These four were: (1) The marks on the apparatus (the revolving cylinder); (2) the table broken to pieces before their eyes; (3) the photographic plate nailed under the table, passed on to it by invisible hands; (4) the impression of the hand on the photographic plate enveloped in black paper. As to this latter phenomenon, the committee could only suggest that some sort of radio-activity issued from the medium's fingers when in trance—penetrating the opaque paper, and impressing the sensitive plate.

The investigators favored the hypothesis that the phenomena were produced by some force issuing from the body of the medium, and pointed out that, in our present state of knowledge, the denial of such force is absurd. The phenomena of heredity, they say, are equally unknown to us, and that "it is very probable that when the determinism of mediumistic phenomena have been completely established, that of the phenomena of heredity will still remain enveloped in the veil of mystery."

§ 19. Experiments at Naples—1907

In the September and October, 1907, issues of *The Annals of Psychical Science*, Professor Bottazzi records a number of séances which he, together with Professor Galeotti, Dr. DeAmicis, Dr. Oscar Scarpa, Dr. Luigi Lombardi, and Dr. Sergio Pansini conducted in their own laboratories in the University of Naples. The cabinet consisted of two curtains hung across a doorway. This door led into another laboratory in the University, and both rooms were invariably locked securely before the commencement of any séance. A series of electric lamps of various intensities, red and white, were affixed to the movable supports, and above the door—allowing various degrees of illumination of the séance room. They were controlled by a switch within reach of the sitters.

The object of the experimenters was to obtain *graphic* records of the phenomena—that is to say, records obtained by means of mechanical instruments. The reality of the phenomena, therefore, did not depend upon the observation of the sitters. The medium was prevented from tampering with these instruments during the séance in the following manner. The séance cabinet was constructed in front of a door leading into another laboratory. In this other laboratory, and behind the closed door, were placed the recording instruments on various tables, and they were connected with the keys, etc., inside the cabinet, by means of electric wires. Thus, if a key had to be pressed in order to affect one of the instruments on the other side of the partition door, this could only be done by pressing the proper key, and the instrument itself could not be tampered with. The medium, we are assured, never placed her hand inside the cabinet, and she was, throughout the whole course of the sittings, care-

fully watched and controlled by two members of the investigating committee, one on either side of her.

At the first séance, comparatively few startling results were obtained. The heavy table in the cabinet was violently and repeatedly shaken and all the objects on it were thrown on to the floor. The metronome was set in motion, but it is probable that this and other phenomena resulted from oscillations of the table.

During the second séance, the small table in the cabinet came out of its own accord, in a jerky manner, these jerks corresponding with convulsive movements of Eusapia's hands or legs. Soon after this, touches by invisible hands were felt. Nearly all the sitters were touched in turn, Eusapia's hands being well controlled at the time. Twice an apparition of something black was perceived, resembling a head with a fairly distinct profile, that came out slowly, remained two or three seconds, then retired rapidly. Eusapia was asked to obtain movements of the electric keys and other instruments placed in the cabinet. She protested for a long time, saying that she did not know their meaning, that she could not find them, that she did not know how to do it, that they were too far off, etc. But in the ensuing séances, in spite of these protests, the various recording instruments *were* moved—buttons were pressed, the rod of the metronome was set swinging, etc. Dr. Bottazzi came to the conclusion that the reason these phenomena had not been obtained in the first two séances was that the hands operative must become "familiar" with the instruments—just as human hands would have to become familiar with them.

At the third séance, several complete levitations were obtained—most of them lasting but a few seconds. One of

them, however, was extremely lengthy, and Professor Galeotti was enabled to count fifty with perfect regularity while the table remained in the air! A large number of visible and semivisible hands were observed at this séance—hands described as having the shining appearance of pearl, which were seen on Eusapia's head, or issued from between the curtains, and caressed the sitters. Mme. Bottazzi, while controlling the left hand of the medium, saw, almost touching her left cheek, a black hand, with a part of the forearm, and was so vividly impressed by it that she changed her position and took one farther off.

Various objects from the cabinet were conveyed by some mysterious means on to the séance table. The little drum made repeated attempts to climb on to the table, while Professors Galeotti and Bottazzi were closely observing it. A bouquet of flowers, placed at a distance of more than three feet from the medium skimmed across the séance table and landed in Mme. Bottazzi's lap.

At the fourth séance, lights were obtained for the first time. Hands and closed fists appeared over Eusapia's head, sometimes of ordinary size, sometimes, we are told, "at least three times larger than Mme. Palladino's hands and fists." Professor Bottazzi tried, on two or three occasions, to grasp these hands, but the apparition invariably dissolved and he grasped only empty space. Twice a black form was seen. A stethoscope was taken to pieces and put together again, which is certainly a very difficult feat *with one hand*. The following incident then occurred, which has great interest:

"While the numerous touches and kissings were going on, which I felt and announced each time (although everybody heard them), on one occasion when my forehead had been

strongly rubbed, my *pince-nez* fell off my nose upon my knees. I wear them without a cord and I thought they had fallen on to the ground. I inquired at once of 'John,' and I distinctly felt soon afterwards a very delicate touch on my knee, as if a hand were trying to find something, and the *pince-nez* were immediately replaced on my nose, with a very precise action. Needless to say I was keeping strict control of the medium all the time."

The tambourine was then played, various letters on a typewriter were struck, and the sound was heard as of fingers running over the typewriter. An electric spring key, used by telegraphers, was pressed, and finally the key was torn to one side, and depressed so strongly that the metal was bent and the key practically destroyed. The metronome was set going, and, upon request, stopped.

The fifth séance was notable for a number of quite remarkable phenomena. After several levitations, the mandolin was touched and the strings of it twanged. The movement of the mandolin was observed by M. Scarpa, who saw the mandolin rise, and fall back again, then turn over without any hand touching it and in good light. Every movement of Mme. Palladino's arm was clearly perceivable at the time. An impression of three fingers was left on a cake of clay placed in the cabinet, and invisible hands began to finger the wires and other instruments inside the cabinet. The following phenomena then occurred:

"Suddenly, without any warning, a sharp rap was heard upon the table. I looked, I felt. It was one of the glasses that had arrived, after pouring out on those nearest to it the solution of sulphate of copper which it contained. Passing my left hand over my clothes I found them to be quite wet, and I complained to Eusapia, begging her not to play

practical jokes of this sort, because, as I told her, the liquid contained in the glasses was not innocuous, but might injure us, and leave stains on our clothes. I had hardly said this when we heard on the floor the sound of a liquid being violently poured from out of the small vessel, and immediately afterwards the other glass, almost empty, was placed on the table beside the first, also making a sharp rap."

At the conclusion of the séance, various graphic records were obtained by means of raps on the electric key, etc.

At the sixth séance an interesting phenomenon took place, demonstrating the synchronous character of some of the phenomena with movements of Eusapia's body. Thus, two electric keys were arranged, one within the reach of Eusapia, the other beyond it. Eusapia touched one key with her left hand, and depressed it a number of times. Exactly corresponding with these depressions, the *other* key, beyond her reach, was also depressed, showing that the keys were pressed with perfect synchronism. The sixth séance was largely devoted to attempts to obtain graphic records of some of the phenomena, but no definite results were obtained.

The seventh séance, however, was far more productive of results. Various touches were experienced by Professor Bottazzi, and, soon after the séance began, his chair was suddenly seized from behind, fingers of the hands moving it being distinctly felt, and he was pulled backward toward the cabinet. Professor Bottazzi states that he and the chair together weighed two hundred and four pounds, and the following day he ascertained if one of his assistants, who was young and robust, was capable of moving him when seated upon this same chair. The assistant was obliged to use both his arms in order to drag Professor Bottazzi a few inches, and admitted that he had put forth all his strength! A vase

containing a bunch of flowers was next presented between the curtains and placed upon Mme. Palladino's head. It was taken by Professor Bottazzi and placed upon the séance table. The curtain on the left then advanced toward the table, and a hand, which was clearly delineated behind it, seized the bunch, and threw it against the extended face of Dr. Poso (to whom "John" had taken a violent dislike) as if in scorn, and carried the glass of water away. A remarkable incident then followed, which is recorded as follows:

"I have said that the drum advanced behind the left curtain; Galeotti tried to take it, but 'John' (I will speak thus for brevity) pulled it out of his hands, carrying it inside the cabinet, and reappeared. Galeotti took it back, but the other did not let go; then followed an amusing struggle which lasted several seconds, during which we distinctly saw the drum contested by Galeotti, who held it outside, and 'John,' who held it inside, with a hand covered by the curtain. The struggle was so lively that a little piece of the case of the drum was torn off. Finally it remained in Galeotti's hands. Galeotti then had a good idea. He got up, raised the drum with one hand against the curtain and said: 'Hit it, John!' The curtain shook, it was pushed out toward the drum as if by a hand, and we heard muffled, yet distinct, beats on the drum; we were amazed. M. Galeotti was standing, he it observed, with his arm raised, and Mme. Palladino was seated. Even if we suppose that she could have liberated one hand (certainly not the one under my control; and Mme. B. declares she did not liberate the other, but one cannot be absolutely certain), Eusapia, being seated, could not have touched the drum—unless she had had gigantically long arms, or unless her natural arms had been suddenly elongated.

"Once, when the drum was presented above Eusapia's head from the interior of the cabinet, I said to Dr. Poso: 'Take it.' He got up, approached the drum and stretched out his arm. But the drum withdrew a little, then it vio-

lently moved as if to give a blow, and pushed back the hand that tried to seize it. John was still in a bad humor."

"The materializations," says Professor Bottazzi, "were numerous and very important. Four times I saw an enormous black fist come out from behind the left curtain, which remained motionless, and advance toward the head of Mme. B. Immediately afterwards this lady said that she had been touched either on the cheek, the ear, or the neck. The last time the fist remained so long outside that when, at my request, everyone looked that way, it was quite distinctly seen by all. But what I am about to relate is perhaps the phenomenon which most impressed me.

"I felt an open hand seize me from behind, gently, by the neck. Instinctively I let go of Dr. Poso's right hand with my left, and I carried it where I clearly felt this sensation of contact, and I found the hand which was touching me: a left hand, neither cold nor hot, with rough, bony fingers which dissolved under pressure; they did not retire by producing a sensation of withdrawal, but they *dissolved, dematerialized, melted*.

"Shortly afterwards, the same hand was laid on my head; I carried mine quickly to the spot, I felt it, I grasped it; *it was obliterated and again disappeared in my grasp*.

"Another time, later on, the same hand was placed on my right forearm, without squeezing it. On this occasion I not only carried my left hand to the spot, but I looked, so I could see and feel at the same time; I saw a human hand, of natural color, and I felt with mine the fingers and the back of a lukewarm, nervous, rough hand. *The hand dissolved, and (I saw it with my eyes) retreated as if into Mme. Palladino's body, describing a curve*. I confess that I felt some doubt as to whether Eusapia's left hand had freed itself from my right hand, to reach my forearm; but at the same instant I was able to prove to myself that the doubt was groundless, because our two hands were still in contact in the ordinary way. If all the observed phenomena of the seven séances were to disappear from my memory, this one I could never forget. . . .

"Two apparitions of human faces were also seen, not dark, but natural in color, very pale, almost diaphanous, but well lit up. Each time the apparition was announced by Eusapia. The first time a head appeared above hers; but I did not see it, and I report this according to what I was told by the others. It was asked: 'Who is it?' and Eusapia replied in a thin voice: 'It is Peppino!' The second time Eusapia leaned her brow on mine, and said immediately afterwards: 'Look!' We looked and saw behind the edge of the left curtain a very pale human head, clearly lit up. We were not at all in agreement as to the interpretation of the vision. M. B. affirmed that he saw the head of John King in a turban, as he has been seen at other séances; M. Galeotti also said that he saw something white round a head, which must have been a turban."

An eighth séance was held in July, 1907, in the physiological laboratory, on which occasion Eusapia's hands were securely tied and sealed to two iron rings fastened to the floor. Strong cords led to the wrists from these rings, and were wound round them and securely tied. The length of the cords was such that, no matter in what direction she moved her hands, she could reach none of the objects in the cabinet. At the conclusion of the séance, the ropes and seals were examined, and were found to be intact. Yet, during the séance, various articles were carried from the cabinet on to the table—touches, raps, apparitions of hands, and huge fists were seen, as well as the following phenomena, recorded by Professor Bottazzi:

"(1) Eusapia said to me: 'Stretch out your arm on your wife's shoulder.' I did so, and felt the trumpet being held out toward me from behind the curtain, and I at once recognized it by the touch. I seized it and placed it on the little table.

"(2) Later on, without any warning, a sound as if the

curtain were being touched was heard on Eusapia's right side. The curtain shook a little, while the vase of flowers advanced on the same side. I seized the latter and placed it on the small table.

"(3) While Galeotti was controlling Eusapia's right hand, he distinctly saw the doubling of the left arm of the medium. 'Look,' he exclaimed, 'I see *two left arms*—identical in appearance; one is on the little table, and it is that which M. Bottazzi touches, and the other seems to come out of her shoulder—to approach her, and touch her, and then return and melt into her body again. This is not an hallucination. I am awake, I am conscious of the two simultaneous visual sensations, which I experience when Mme. Bottazzi says that she has been touched.'"

Professor Bottazzi, in commenting on these phenomena, says:

"It would be necessary to have Mme. Palladino's fingers in the palm of one's hand, as I had that evening, in order to be convinced that the levitations, the twanging of the strings, etc., all synchronized with the very delicate movements of her fingers, and with the dragging and pushing movements of the medium's hand, as if she were directed in the execution of these movements by a will which knew the effect to be produced. These were not irregular, impulsive, disordered movements—they were precise and coördinated. Whether they were movements of one finger, or of several fingers, and were identical with those which we should make if we tried to seize or to vibrate the strings with precision and delicacy. Two of us, M. Scarpa and I, had our eyes fixed on the mandolin, and we can affirm with assurance that the instrument, lit up by the lamp above it, was not touched by Eusapia's visible hands, which were at least thirty inches away, but that it moved by itself, as if, by enchantment, it had been provided with motor organs. It looked like the carcass of some monstrous reptile, which had been restored to life. I cannot describe the sensation one experiences

when seeing an inanimate object move, not for a moment merely, but for many minutes in succession, and, watching it together in silence, moving among immovable objects, untouched, under the action of some mysterious force. . . . The medium does not only move objects, but also feels with her invisible limbs, and while the movement was performed on the left, phenomena occurred to the right of Mme. Palladino."

As the result of his séances, Professor Bottazzi concluded that the phenomena are undoubted—whatever their interpretation. He further asserted that fraud had never been even attempted at their séances, that Eusapia never used any expedients to deceive him, but that, on the contrary, she invariably warned them every time she moved a table or a curtain with her own hands. He concludes:

"To those who deny without having seen, affirming *a priori* the impossibility of these phenomena, one must reply: 'First see; then you may argue.'"

§ 20. Report of a Séance Held in Naples—1908

The following interesting séance was held in Professor Bottazzi's laboratory, under the same conditions as his former séances, and was attended by Mr. Gilman Hall, one of the editors of *Everybody's Magazine*, and Dr. Herbert R. Moody, Professor of Chemistry in the College of the City of New York. These gentlemen drew up the reports of the séance, which were originally published in *Everybody's*, and which, with their kind permission, and that of the magazine, I quote herewith. It gives us a vivid pen picture of a typical séance—as seen through the eyes of an unprejudiced investigator.

A Séance with Mme. Palladino

The séance was held in the same laboratory and with the same cabinet that Professor Bottazzi had used in all his previous experiments. It was a bare room with cement floor and bare walls—a room with almost no fixtures or laboratory paraphernalia. There were one or two shelves around; a stone pedestal; and a window opening on a garden. The cabinet was formed by a recess opposite the door by which we had entered; and the back of it was a door leading into another laboratory. This door and the door leading out of the second laboratory were locked by Professor Bottazzi in Dr. Moody's presence, and Professor Bottazzi put the keys in his pocket. The cabinet was about twenty-four inches deep. Professor Bottazzi had placed in it a shelf nine inches wide about three feet from the floor, and on this shelf he had put various things—a scale, a trumpet, a small drum, a box of matches, a heavy brass candlestick, and an electric bell.

There was no intention on our part of reporting the séance. The time was too short for extensive preparations. So, while we took many precautions and made a number of tests, yet we depended on Professor Bottazzi for all the preliminary arrangements.

Professor Bottazzi and his assistant joined us at the table, making a party of nine, which proved an unwieldy number. Mme. Palladino sat about one foot in front of the curtain that hung before the recess, and faced the end of the table. I sat at her right, but around the corner. Mme. Palladino faced east, I looked north. Mrs. Moody sat beside me and Dr. Moody beside her, both facing north. Mrs. Hall sat at the medium's left and opposite me, facing south. The rest of the party finished out the circle, which extended beyond the table. Professor Bottazzi sat directly opposite Mme. Palladino and at least three feet beyond the end of the table. Mrs. Hall and I by our position were in charge of the psychic, and it was our duty to see that all the necessary tests were put on her. I held her right hand. By her

instructions, I pressed my knee against hers and put my left foot over her right one. Mrs. Hall applied the same tests on the left.

The curtains in front of the cabinet were black, made of some thin material like cheesecloth. The table was a light deal one—about two by four, and the chairs were rather light, common ones. We began the séance with a red sixteen-candle electric light on a wall bracket, quite high above Mrs. Hall's head, and a sixteen-candle white light on a small shelf back of Professor Bottazzi. Soon, at Mme. Palladino's request, we turned the white light out. The séance was not one hour along when, by request of the "spirit" controlling the medium, we placed a handkerchief over the red light. Later, we put another handkerchief on. And later still, the handkerchiefs burned and we took them both off. *We could see plainly all through the séance.*

Within a minute after we seated ourselves, the table began to tremble. I noticed it almost instantly and called the attention of everyone to it. It seemed to me as though the fiber of the wood was vibrating.

Within five minutes, the table began to rock and rise from the floor. One end would lift up from six to twelve inches and then drop noisily. Now one end, now the other would come up. Then the table would lift on one side. Dr. Moody pressed against it at one of these times and said he thought it took a pressure of three pounds to force a release of the table from the unseen power.

Soon raps began. The table was pounded on the floor for raps—generally ordinary ones; but now and then it would strike the floor with great violence, giving a startling effect of emphasis. The table tipping continued at intervals throughout the séance, growing stronger and more pronounced as time wore on. There was one very dramatic lift near the end of the sitting. Mme. Palladino suddenly thrust both her hands high above her—Mrs. Hall and I being drawn from our chairs in our efforts to retain our holds on her, and the table—every leg of it—rose all of eighteen inches from the floor. The synchronism which Mr. Garland told of in

his articles was perfect in this experiment. The table followed the psychic's hands on the moment.

The first twenty minutes we spent in trying to identify the "spirit" controlling the raps. There was talk of a "John King"—whom Mme. Palladino said was her "spirit control." We asked if there was anyone in the room with whom the spirit wished to communicate and got an answer—"yes." It proved to be Mrs. Moody that was meant, and soon the table moved toward her—nearer and nearer—and finally pressed against her chest. But the answers were contradictory, the results futile, and we gave it up. Anyway, we were looking for physical phenomena.

The next manifestation after the table raising was a sudden swirl of the curtain, which enveloped me completely. From hanging limp, it suddenly rose high in the air—as though blown by a strong wind—and fell over me. I remained in that position a full ten minutes; for it gave me an excellent view of the inside of the cabinet. But nothing of importance occurred there, beyond a marked movement of the other curtain. I had hardly thrown the curtain off when there was a crackling sound and the table leg under me began to split, at the point where it joined the table. I felt the leg press against me as it moved. Professor Bottazzi cried out a protest, "Here, John King, leave my table alone," and it stopped.

"He broke a table to pieces for me once. I do not want it done again," commented Professor Bottazzi.

The action seemed like that of a miniature flash of lightning; the sound was of rending wood—a splitting, tearing sound.

We spent sometime trying to persuade the "spirit" to bring us a fan which lay on the pedestal under the red light, but we failed utterly. A minute later, though, some force knocked the matches from the shelf in the cabinet to the floor. Suddenly Professor Bottazzi cried out excitedly: "Here comes the candlestick." There darted through my mind the thought that this was the crucial time for me to know beyond all doubt that I was holding Mme. Palladino's

hand. I clenched it firmly and instead of looking at the candlestick I gazed steadfastly at the hand I held. The candlestick, a heavy brass one, and the candle it held came from the shelf in the cabinet up through the opening in the curtains about a foot above the medium's head, and landed with a crashing blow on the table in front of Mrs. Moody. The candle fell out and then both candle and stick rolled into her lap. On the way to the laboratory I had said: "If I could only see some object moved one inch I should be satisfied." I had had my wish in full measure.

We had not time to recover before a heavy, clumsy, crockery plate containing a wad of clay, which Professor Bottazzi had placed in a vacant chair some two feet to the left of Mme. Palladino, came hurtling with tremendous force and almost superhuman speed on to the table. It landed with a really appalling noise. The effect was as though it had been thrown by a giant's hand and in great anger. There was a wait of a few minutes. Then some force swept the remaining objects from the shelf in the cabinet. The drum fell, the trumpet followed; there was a succession of various noises from falling bodies. "There go the scales," said Professor Bottazzi, as the heavy thud of falling iron was heard.

For some of his previous experiments, Professor Bottazzi told me, he had cut a peephole in the door which formed the back of the cabinet, and one of his assistants had been stationed there. An electric light was placed on the wall of the cabinet, the wires for which led to a push button in Professor Bottazzi's pocket. During some of the amazing phenomena, such as we witnessed, Dr. Bottazzi had switched on the light so that his assistant could see clearly into the cabinet. He proved beyond a question that no one approached the cabinet from behind, and that no one was in it.

If Mme. Palladino went into a trance, it was not, for the major part of the time, a deep one. She was conscious of almost all our doings. During the séance, and particularly during the earlier stages of it, she coughed a great deal, cleared her throat repeatedly, and suffered severely from hiccoughs.

She interspersed her manifestations with remarks to Professor Bottazzi, which he sometimes translated. Often she called out in a half moan asking if we had a good control over her. "She always inquires about that," volunteered our mentor. A dozen times during the evening she cried out in complaint of our gripping her hands so tightly. Just before anything spectacular happened she moaned, and seemed to sink suddenly but temporarily into a deeper, perhaps an entire trance. Her head would roll a little from side to side, but in a moment she would return to her half consciousness again, and would show a somewhat dazed knowledge of what was going on. Before the séance was a half hour old, she threw her legs up on our laps—her left leg on Mrs. Hall's lap and her right one on mine. She held this position for a good part of the sitting. Before and during the manifestations, there were violent convulsive movements of the arms and sometimes of the legs. We grew used to these and soon learned to call out a warning of some impending action when we felt these muscular movements.

The next occurrence was a startling one—and aimed directly at me. My chair was seized from behind by a powerful force, and an attempt was made to drag it from under me. I had again the impression of a giant at work in our presence. I cried out. All saw me moving. The force tugged at the chair and nearly succeeded in getting it from me. I was swerved around so that I faced Mrs. Moody and was seated on only a third of the chair. Though everyone saw me moving, no one saw any figure or apparition back of me. I had just resumed my position when I felt a hand move across my back as though some one were reaching by me to Mrs. Moody. Mrs. Hall, too, felt some one touch her on the back.

There was a series of remarkable kicks in the cabinet—a noise like the pounding of a horse's hoof in a near-by stable in the dead of night. No man could have produced it. It was made apparently within the fiber of the wood. And here the synchronism between the convulsive workings of the medium's muscles and the manifestations was marked. Mrs.

Hall felt Mme. Palladino's foot thrust forward with great force, in time with each kick in the cabinet behind her.

Professor Bottazzi here said that he was surprised at our calmness. We ought to get more excited. We ought to talk more—to demand manifestations. We should select some one thing and then clamor for it. Supposing, for instance, we tried to lift the empty chair to the table.

So we tried.

Mme. Palladino asked us to set our minds on the task. We did. We all talked at one time. We called out demands that the chair be lifted. The noise became a veritable babel. Mme. Palladino's hands worked convulsively—though held by us—as if in an effort to lift the chair. And up it came—a foot or so from the floor, giving the impression of a magnet's work. Then, as if the magnet's power had failed, the chair dropped to the floor and rocked back to its normal position. Twice, three times, four times we tried, but the lifting power was not strong enough. After a few moments, however, with amazing swiftness the chair came on to the table—and lay on its back. It seemed incredible. We made several efforts to will the chair to an upright position, but in that we did not succeed.

Mme. Palladino here spoke to Professor Bottazzi in a half-querulous voice. "She is complaining of the circle," he said. "She says it is a poor one and does not help her." I realized the truth of her complaint. The circle was unwieldy in numbers; having no common language was a serious handicap; Mme. Palladino had been ill for two months and was far from strong; three of our party knew nothing of psychics; Dr. Moody had come to the meeting under protest and in utter scorn of it all. There were a dozen reasons why the circle was of small potency.

The blowing out of the curtain was a frequent occurrence, and those nearest the cabinet felt often a cool breeze—as though a window had been thrown open. "Has anyone noticed a light above Mme. Palladino's head?" inquired Dr. Bottazzi. We all turned to him. "There it is now," called Mrs. Hall, and we all turned quickly back. But it had gone.

"Let's will it back," suggested some one, and we set up a clamor demanding it. It came at once—a pear-shaped light about six inches above the medium's head. I did not see it, but every other member of the circle did. It appeared to them like a faint electric light shining through a ground-glass bulb. At the same time Mme. Palladino's face was illuminated. Her skin shone as though phosphorescent.

It was now twelve o'clock and we broke up the circle. We arose, turned on the white electric light, and I walked around the table. Professor Bottazzi then took Mme. Palladino's hand—in bright light and with no circle—and produced sharp raps. He beat her hand toward the table, stopping short when within twelve inches of the top—and a rap would come from under the table. Most of the phenomena had been synchronous with her movements, but these raps would follow a perceptible moment after the beat of the finger.

I have been often asked if I was convinced. I can see no other alternative than acceptance of the phenomena. Only one of the main phenomena took place entirely in the cabinet; only one other important one—the moving of the candlestick—originated in the cabinet. All the rest of the manifestations occurred in the room and in clear light. There could not possibly have been any preparations in the laboratory that would not have been visible to us. Had Mme. Palladino used paraphernalia for trickery, we should have been able to see it when the manifestations were in process—for it was light enough for that. On these points we are all agreed.

I asked Professor Bottazzi about the chances of fake. He was as impatient of the subject as he had been of spiritualism. He had had trained scientific men to help him in his experiments. Many people had been present at the various séances. The phenomena had been established in utter finality. But they had led nowhere. He had reached only a *circle* of phenomena. He had "come face to a blank wall." He was through—for the present, anyway.

Professor Bottazzi's assistant brought Mme. Palladino a cup of strong coffee. She seemed dazed and in real distress.

Where she had been gracious before, she now seemed hardly to realize our presence. She showed many of the symptoms of a person in dire seasickness. She looked old and seamed and yellow. She seemed to have little strength left. She drank a little coffee, placed the cup on a shelf, crossed the room to the window opening on the garden, and vomited. Professor Bottazzi said she was always weak and nauseated after a sitting. We all stood about, and I, for one, felt like a guilty child. It seemed wrong that we should have caused this woman such sickness just to satisfy our curiosity and interest in psychical experiments. I gained an added respect for her from the thought of all she had been doing for years at so heavy a cost, in her sittings for the various scientists. We waited perhaps twenty minutes and then said our farewell to Mme. Palladino—a farewell which she returned with a limp hand and an indifference strangely in contrast with her early greetings. Madame went out first. As we left the building, we passed her, leaning heavily on the arm of her husband, who had been waiting for her outside; dragging herself slowly and painfully along the narrow lane which leads to one of those wonderful streets of steps in Naples—which, in turn, gives on the larger street where the carriage waited.

GILMAN HALL.

Notes on the Palladino Séance

Location:

An ordinary biochemical laboratory, practically unfurnished, with a cement floor and a few shelves, in the University of Naples. Two double doors—both leading into other laboratories equipped for regular preparative work, one door—that by which we had entered—left ajar all the evening, with the room beyond well lighted; the other door shut and locked in my presence—after I had thoroughly examined the rooms—and the key put into Professor Bottazzi's pocket. This latter door was midway through an alcove, making a recess about two feet deep on our side of it, the recess cur-

tained off with a simple black cheesecloth curtain. Across the back, behind the curtain, a shelf eight to ten inches wide.

Equipment:

Ten rush-bottom chairs; a large plate containing clay on an unoccupied chair two feet from Palladino; a plain deal table—no drawer (could see under it, a pedestal five feet high; two wall shelves a foot wide; one red electric bracket lamp; and one portable white lamp on wall shelf.

Procedure:

Circle formed and all held hands lightly. Those at the two horns of circle held Palladino's hands and kept their feet and knees against hers. Later she extended her legs so that second sitters beyond guarded her feet. Her movements always kept under absolutely perfect surveillance. White lamp burned at first, later screened, after five minutes or so extinguished. This left full power red lamp; later, receiving five raps for less light, this was screened with two handkerchiefs. Eyes accustomed themselves to dim light—all could see even the expressions on others' faces.

Phenomena:

Almost imperceptible tingling through hands—comparable to feeble current. Table began to rear almost at once, at first with Palladino's hands on it, but soon with no hand whatever touching it. Maximum height of elevation about eighteen inches. Always descended with violence, not as if falling but as if thrown down, with noisy clatter. I pushed it down myself once; required from three to five pounds' pressure to overcome elevation. Fiber of table trembled, quivered. All in full light. Got usual one, two, three, four, five knocks at will at any time upon request. Their significance seemed slight except as directions for more or less light, or a request to talk among ourselves. Instead of diminishing Palladino's power by talking, during utterly inconsequential conversation fine results came. This points to possibility of desire to distract attention of observer until object is practically accomplished. If so, in our case this was not successful; we were continuously alert. Doubt if this were intended, as conditions absolutely gave no chance for fraud

and because at all times when we concentrated our minds on what we wished done, the end was reached more quickly. For example, appearance of phosphorescent luminosity in pear-shaped form about a foot above Palladino's head. Part of the time her face was mildly luminous. Afterwards Professor Bottazzi rather discredited this, but it was apparent enough to me.

Phenomena of telekinesis were wonderful. Candlestick and candle came through opening between curtains and proceeded in a leisurely way in a sort of parabolic trajectory and fell rather violently on edge of table and into Mrs. Moody's lap. Plate containing ball of clay rose from chair a foot from corner of table and dropped to table top with a violent bang. Nearly everything on shelf in recess was noisily thrown down and, queerly enough, directly under the shelf—not on the floor in front of it. Cool draughts developed, an "arm" appeared around the side of the curtain at a height of about six feet. Mr. Hall's chair was almost pulled from under him, a hand touched Mrs. Hall's back, and after various slight excursions across the floor the unoccupied chair finally rose and lay on its back on the table, then moved off on to the floor. Door behind curtain was hit several hard blows resembling kick of a horse.

After the circle was broken, and in full light, Professor Bottazzi held Palladino's hand and moved her finger tip through space of about an inch. The finger never got nearer than six inches from the table, and yet there was a distinct knock as if a force were propelled from finger and struck the table directly underneath. This was done in various parts of the table.

Important to observe that all kicks, noises, and movements were synchronous with spasmodic movements of Palladino's muscles. Also phenomena were preceded and accompanied by signs of hysteria, coughs, and unusual noises. Palladino much exhausted after sitting, had active nausea, and no strength to leave until twenty minutes after the end of the sitting.

Conclusion:

Considering the sort of phenomena that I am accustomed to observe, my preconceived opinions were at variance with these facts, but I had to accept what I saw.

HERBERT R. MOODY, PH.D.

§ 21. Report of the Psychological Institute, Paris, 1908

One of the latest reports on the mediumship of Eusapia Palladino is that issued by the "Institut General Psychologique," of Paris, which appeared in November, 1908, under the signature of M. Jules Courtier, Secretary of the Institute. It is based on four series of elaborate experiments, carried out during the years 1905, 1906, 1907, and 1908. The Report is divided into two parts, the whole of one part being devoted to photographs of phenomena—levitations, etc., of the séance room, apparatus, the medium herself, graphic tracings of the phenomena, etc.

The text of the Report is roughly divided into four parts: (1) A description of the phenomena themselves; (2) psychophysiological studies of the medium; (3) exploration of the physical conditions in the vicinity of the medium; and (4) critical considerations. I shall give a brief résumé of these, in turn.

The chief sitters at the séances held in Paris under the supervision of the Institute were—in addition to M. Jules Courtier—M. d'Arsonval, Professor at the College de France; MM. Ballet, Richet, Perrin, Bergson, and Mme. Curie—all professors at the University of Paris; M. Charpentier, professor at the Nancy Lyceum; M. Debiegne, principal at the Sorbonne, and M. Youriévitich, Secretary to the Russian Ambassador at Paris.

Particular attention was paid throughout to obtaining tracings of the phenomena by the graphic method. Many illustrations of such tracings are given in the illustrated portion of the report.

Raps are first considered, and numerous cases are cited in which these were obtained. I quote two of these cases, by way of illustrating the manner in which the phenomena were recorded.

"Eusapia says that she wishes to hit the table with her head; she bends her head three times over the table, and three strong blows are heard in the table. (Controllers: On the left, Mme. Curie; on the right, M. Debierne.)"

"At other times, the blows were heard in the table at the demand of the controllers and as many times as the controllers asked for them. (Controllers: On the left, M. Curie; on the right, M. Charles Richet.)"

Partial and complete levitations of the table are then considered. I quote from an excellent summary of these phenomena in *The Annals of Psychical Science* (July–September, 1909):

"The two hands, feet, and knees of Eusapia being controlled, the table is raised suddenly, all four feet leaving the ground; then two and again four feet; Eusapia closes her fists, and holds them toward the table, which is then completely raised from the floor five times in succession, five raps being also given. It is again completely raised, while each of Eusapia's hands is on the head of a sitter. It is raised to the height of one foot from the floor and suspended in the air for seven seconds while Eusapia kept her hand on the table and a lighted candle was placed under the table; it was completely raised to a height of ten inches from the floor and suspended in the air for four seconds, M. Curie

only having his hand on the table, Eusapia's hand being placed on top of his. It was completely raised when M. Curie had his hand on Eusapia's knees and Eusapia had one hand on the table and the other on M. Curie's head, her two feet tied to the chair on which she was sitting. . . ."

Wooden cones or tubes were then applied to the table legs, resembling those used by us (see p. 180), but the table was several times levitated to such a height that it came completely out of the "sheaths." An electrical arrangement was then affixed to the legs of the table. Had a foot been introduced under the table legs, it would have been instantly discovered by means of signals. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the table continued to be levitated, but no contact was registered by the electrical apparatus.

It was noted that the medium became heavier by the weight of the table when the table was levitated, showing that the fulcrum of the force was the subject herself. Yet she was enabled to voluntarily reduce her weight on another occasion—a phenomenon that has been noted years before at Milan (pp. 30-31).

Bulgings or swellings of the curtains and of the medium's dress were noted. M. Curie suggested that this force might be directed by some mechanical means toward a distant object. Accordingly, at the next séance a wooden frame was brought, which, it was hoped, might effect this. "It displeased Eusapia, who criticised it severely: it was strongly shaken and finally destroyed. When this occurred, Eusapia was controlled by M. Curie on the left, M. Richet on the right, and her two feet by M. Youriévitich."

Various heavy objects were seen to be moved without apparent cause; particularly a small, three-legged wooden table, which went backward and forward at Eusapia's com-

mand. When this was happening, Eusapia's feet were tied by laces to the legs of her chair, and her wrists tied to those of her controllers. The following remarkable incident then occurred, which I quote *verbatim*:

"M. Ballet holds Eusapia's two hands. M. d'Arsonval has placed his arm on the stool. Eusapia tells M. d'Arsonval to try to raise the stool. He tries to do so, but finds it very difficult. Eusapia leans her elbow on the stool, then she removes it, and asks M. d'Arsonval to raise it again. M. d'Arsonval cannot succeed. 'One would think it nailed to the ground,' said he. Eusapia again places her elbow on the stool, and M. d'Arsonval raises it then with difficulty. Some minutes afterwards, Eusapia says to the stool, 'Be light!' and M. d'Arsonval raises it then still more easily."

Following these cases, instances are given of touches by hands; lights, which formed and disappeared suddenly, etc. Descriptions are given of the various lights—for the details of which I must refer the reader to the report itself.

The second portion of the Report is devoted to a psychophysiological study of the medium. It is of interest primarily to the medical man and to the psychologist. Her reaction times, memory of colors, memory of figures, optical illusions, powers of mental calculation, etc., were tested, and are accurately recorded in the Report. Experiments testing her sensibility at a distance yielded negative results—which fact is of interest, in view of the theories of the phenomena advanced by some who have studied them. She is very sensitive to the muscular movements of her controllers during the séance. Her strength was also tested with a dynamometer—with varying results.

The investigators next wished to test the effect upon physical instruments of Eusapia's "fluid." Alterations in weight

were noted; a depression of a recording scale, of a Roman scale, and a cocoon weigher. The depression of a letter weigher seemed to yield uncertain results. Eusapia succeeded in discharging at a distance three electroscopes of different construction, but she was not able to charge the electroscope by means of the cold breeze coming from the scar in her skull. No phenomena of ionization were observed.

"Sonorous Waves. A glass placed in full light between her hands, at a distance of three millimeters, was made to vibrate without apparent contact, as though a moist finger had been placed on the edge; then followed the rhythm of her hands, which began to tremble in a jerky manner; it glided forward and backward, fell on to the table and broke."

The whole of the second part is devoted to a critical discussion of the evidence, and need not be summarized here. Details of the control of the hands and the feet are given; and it is stated—what all investigators of Eusapia's mediumship know only too well—that she objects to certain kinds of control. A long discussion of her fraud then follows, and several instances are given where Eusapia was caught in the act of trickery. Her frauds are, unfortunately, only too well known, and it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here. Skepticism exists in the minds of the majority, in any case; and it would be unnecessary to accentuate it by recitals of fraud. If the reality of the phenomena were really in doubt, it might be justifiable to do so; but when there is no longer any doubt as to the reality of the phenomena, it would be misleading to emphasize, unduly, the small amount of fraud that had been practised in her séances in the past. There has been a certain amount of fraud; that is certain. But I am convinced that this amount is very

small indeed—compared with the vast mass of the phenomena that have been observed in the past. It may be said in this connection that various experiments conducted with the object of duplicating the phenomena by fraudulent means, resulted, in almost every case, in complete failure.

§ 22. Miscellaneous Cases Illustrative of the Phenomena

In the August and September (1907) issues of *The Annals of Psychical Science*, Dr. Joseph Venzano, a distinguished doctor of Genoa, gathered together a number of remarkable instances under the heading: "A Contribution to the Study of Materializations." I have referred to one of his cases on pp. 283-84 when elaborating my own explanatory theory of the facts, and shall give here merely a résumé of his cases, which are partly original and partly gathered from other sources. "It is certain," he says, "that a large proportion of mediumistic phenomena suggest the intervention of a conscious entity, who, whatever may be its origin, is able to objectify itself in such a manner as to acquire the character of a materialized form." He excludes, however, from this category, levitations and similar phenomena, apparently due to a blind force.

The first incident referred to by Dr. Venzano is that which occurred at the house of M. Alfredo Verisso, at Genoa. *In full light*, it will be observed, the following incident took place:

"When the séance had just begun, and while the room was still lighted by an electric lamp of sixteen-candle power, a very important phenomenon was observed, namely, a trumpet was distinctly heard playing inside the cabinet, at different distances from the ground, so that all heard it. Shortly

afterwards M. Brignola called the attention of the experimenters toward the ceiling, where the trumpet appeared suspended in the air between the two curtains, and a little behind them, at a height of not less than a yard above the medium's head. It was placed transversely, with the opening toward the right side, on which I was seated, and the other extremity toward my wife, who had taken her place opposite to me and to the left of Eusapia. The hands of the latter were lying motionless on the table, controlled by ours, and *perfectly visible to everybody*. After a time the trumpet withdrew, and in retiring it again emitted various sounds several times."

At a séance held at the Minerva Club, May 22, 1900, and attended by Professors Morselli, Porro, and a number of distinguished men and women, the following incident occurred:

"The control was more strict than ever. The guitar suspended on the wall was heard to move. It was unfastened and carried in the air; it passed round the table, rapped repeatedly on the head of Professor Porro, and finally stopped on the table. A little later it rose to the height of more than a yard, and again began hovering round the heads of the sitters before returning to the table. The tambourine, which, as we have said, was placed on a chair in the cabinet, also moved. At one time the guitar rose up again, and moved about in the air *at the same time as the tambourine. This time the guitar went very high up, and it was distinctly seen crossing the room at the level of the top of the curtain, (more than ten feet from the floor) followed by a streak of light, due probably to the reflection of the light of the candle coming from the anteroom and falling on the back of the guitar itself.* The control remained very strict. Suddenly a bulky object was heard to be placed on the table, and by the dim light it was seen to come from the corner of the room to the left of the medium. Dr. Venzano, who was at the end of the table farthest from the medium, was

able to see this bulky object rise in the air, from the left corner of the room, pass over the head of Professor Morselli and place itself on the large table in front of him. It was found that this object was the large No. 6 'Barlock' typewriter, weighing thirty pounds. Soon afterwards the séance was closed on account of the lateness of the hour."

Three days later, in the same place, the following incident took place, which certainly is remarkable in character:

"Suddenly Professors Morselli and Porro perceived that Eusapia had been raised, along with her chair, and carried up to a level above that of the surface of the table, upon which she redescended *in such a way that her feet and the two front legs of the chair rested on the surface of the table, which was partially broken.* Meanwhile the medium moaned, as if intensely frightened, and asked to be put back with her chair on the floor. *But almost instantly she was carried up again with the chair, and this levitation lasted some seconds, so that M. de Albertis and Professor Porro, without preconcerted arrangement and with completely simultaneous thought, succeeded in passing their hands under the feet of the medium and of the chair.* Shortly afterwards Eusapia, still seated, redescended on to the table; she was held by those to right and left of her, the chair was pushed or thrown down backward on to the floor; and the medium, seized by several of those present, while still moaning was carried to the floor and seated again in her place."

The above is taken from the report made at the time, and we are glad to confirm it by a few brief remarks from Professor Porro, in which this distinguished astronomer clearly expresses the impressions made on him by this incident. Referring to the levitation of Eusapia along with her chair, he writes:

"It was a moment of great anxiety and amazement. The levitation was accomplished without blow or shaking, swift-

ly, but not by jerks. In other words, if one wished, by dint of supreme distrust, to imagine that this result had been obtained by artifice, one should have to suppose a pull from above (by means of a cord and a pulley) rather than a push from below. But neither of these hypotheses will stand the most elementary examination of the facts. Palladino was actually drawn up and *sustained* in a position absolutely contrary to static laws, by an invisible force, inexplicable in the present state of our knowledge of physics."

Professor Lombroso, in his interesting book, *After Death—What?* (pp. 69-70), tells the following incident which occurred at one séance at which Professor Morselli was present. He says in part:

"At the sitting of the 26th, Morselli having taken a place in the chain, Madame Palladino remarked suddenly that she perceived a young man who came from a distance, and, after being questioned, specified 'from Palermo'; and afterwards said 'portrait made in the sun.' Whereupon Massaro remarked that he had in his letter-case a photograph of his son taken out-of-doors (in the country). At the same time he was aware of being sharply tapped on the breast at the very spot where he had that picture of his son, and felt himself kissed twice on the right cheek through the curtain that hung near him; and the kisses were followed by very arch caresses, though most delicate withal. Then all of a sudden the significant touches were repeated, but this time by a hand that insinuated itself with eager movements into the inside pocket of the coat just where the letter-case was. This it opened just at the compartment that held the portrait. During the second appearance caresses and kisses were held back at first; then he felt himself seized round the body, drawn near the curtain, and repeatedly kissed. Finally there was projected on the curtain the apparition of a head bound with a white bandage—a head which he recognized as that of his son."

The materializations generally seen at Eusapia's séances are those of heads and faces, and very rarely does the full form manifest—particularly of 'late years. Usually, also, the form is felt through the curtain, and it issues from behind their shelter and advances into the room but seldom. Nevertheless, the materializations are unmistakable. The hands and faces may be *felt*, and on more than one occasion they have been grasped and found to melt in the experimenter's hands. These bodies, which appear to be real human beings, or at least parts of human beings, sometimes show themselves directly, and have the consistency of flesh. Occasionally, also, the medium carries the sitters' hands to the materialized face, and allows them to touch it, both behind the curtain and when exposed. Dr. Venzano, M. Barzini, Professor Bottazzi, and others, have all asserted that these hands, if grasped, will melt away, as did the so-called spirit hands observed by Sir William Crookes, in the presence of D. D. Home.

The following incidents are typical of the materializations that occur in the presence of Eusapia. The first incident occurred in the same series of séances, at the Minerva Club, from which some of the previous incidents have been quoted, and is taken from Dr. Venzano's original report:

"The Cavaliere Peretti having approached the curtain, he felt himself suddenly grasped by a hand which gently pressed his own. This hand, as everyone could see, came from the interior of the cabinet, keeping itself all the time covered by the curtain, and its form was distinctly recognizable under the curtain. This unexpected occurrence excited the curiosity of those present, who, in turn, offered their hands and received in the same way an affectionate pressure. Professor Morselli, for the second time, and M. Ferraro, who until then had stood apart, put forward their hands at the

same moment, but the desired phenomenon was not produced again. Dr. Venzano and M. Schmolz, who had approached the medium while the phenomenon was being repeated, were able, while the curtain swelled out, to turn their attention to the interior of the cabinet, which was entirely empty, except for the chair and the lump of clay, while outside could be seen the relief, formed in the texture of the curtain, of the hand which grasped those of the sitters."

At a later series, held in July, 1905, at the house of M. Berisso, the following incident occurred, and is reported by M. Berisso thus:

"At a certain moment, within the cabinet, in which a bottle full of water and a glass had been placed on a chair, a noise was heard, evidently caused by these objects being knocked against each other. Shortly afterwards we heard the sound of water being poured from the bottle into the tumbler, and almost at once the curtain was shaken and a hand covered by the curtain placed the glass of water on the table in front of Mme. Palladino. Meanwhile the left hand of Dr. Venzano and the right hand of Mme. Berisso were distinctly seen on the table, holding the hands of the medium. As soon as the glass had been placed on the table, Eusapia expressed a desire to drink. We did not think it advisable to let her do so, knowing by long experience that this might result in nausea and vomiting. She persisted in her request and we still refused it.

"Eusapia became nervous and excited. Suddenly the right side of the curtain swelled out and partly covered the forearm of the medium, which was controlled by Dr. Venzano. Shortly afterwards my wife, Dr. Venzano, and I distinctly saw a hand and an arm covered by a dark sleeve issue from the front and upper part of the right shoulder of the medium. This arm, making its way above the free end of the side of the curtain which was on the table, seized the glass and carried it to Eusapia's mouth; she leaned back and drank eagerly. After that the arm replaced the glass on the table,

and we saw it withdraw rapidly and disappear as if it returned into the shoulder from which we had seen it issue.

"Dr. Venzano, who did not let the smallest detail of this phenomenon escape him, asked the sitters whether they also had seen the arm, which seized the glass, issue from Eusapia's shoulder. My wife and I confirmed this fact. M. Bozzano, who sat at the end of the table opposite to that at which the medium was seated, affirmed that, for his part, he had seen a black mass detach itself from Eusapia's shoulder, and shortly afterwards advance under the side of the curtain lying on the table; the arm ended in a hand of living flesh which seized the glass; he was at once seized with the conviction that this was a case of a double, and he was about to communicate this impression to those present, when he was prevented by the exclamation of Dr. Venzano. Mlle. Venzano and Dr. Gellona, on account of the position which they occupied, were not able to observe the first part of this phenomenon. It should be noted that during the period of the production of the whole of this phenomenon, Eusapia's hands were under control and did not cease for a single moment to rest on the table, visible to everybody."

The next report is taken from a séance which occurred on the evening of December 27, 1901, in the rooms of the Minerva Club. I quote from the report:

"At this moment there were fresh and repeated appearances of a child's hand, previously mentioned, above the head of Eusapia. It was a little hand, evidently a right hand of the color of pink flesh, with tiny fingers, somewhat long and thin, which might belong to a child of seven years old. These appearances were so numerous that it was impossible to count them. The little hand sometimes showed the palm, sometimes the back. At times it was seen with the tips of the fingers upward, at other times with the tips pointing downward, and it often moved with a gesture of salutation. Sometimes it remained visible for a very short

time, sometimes for about ten seconds. Dr. Venzano and M. Vassallo, who was seated on his left, got up, and without breaking the chain of the control, they bent toward the curtain, so that they were able to observe it at a distance of a few inches only. Dr. Venzano expressed a desire to be touched by it, and almost at once the little hand approached, with its fingers in front, and stroked his cheeks repeatedly, so that the doctor felt the warm touch. At a certain moment, the little hand seized his nose and two fingers pulled it gently, then took the lobe of his right ear and pressed it with a certain amount of force.

"The medium was awakened. The little hand retired, and after a few moments it reappeared with another little hand, the latter being certainly a left hand. As they appeared, the two hands parted the curtains, then disappeared and reappeared several times. The phenomena ceased for about a minute, during which M. Vassallo and Dr. Venzano sat down again. Suddenly, while the medium continued awake, and kept her hands, visible to everyone, on the table and under strict control on the part of those sitting next to her, on the right and left, the curtain swelled out, and a hand much greater in bulk and in dimensions than that of Eusapia, and at the same level as the small hands previously described, came out of the opening between the two curtains, seized the head of the medium and drew it violently backward. The medium alarmed, tried to free herself, and began to cry out for help to the sitters. But the hand did not let go of her head and continued to drag it forcibly backward, as if to carry it into the cabinet. At a certain moment the hand withdrew but it reappeared almost at once, along with another hand. The two hands, like the former ones, by the disposition of their thumbs, were manifestly right and left hands and by the identity of their characters seemed to belong to the same person, this time apparently a man. While Mme. Palladino cried out and protested, they seized her on both sides of her head, and continued to drag it backward so that it twice disappeared into the cabinet and was covered by the curtain."

The following incidents are related by M. Arnaldo Vassallo, in his work, *Nel Mondo delgi Invisibili*. The séances took place in the rooms of the Minerva Club, in December, 1901. The report reads:

"When the room had been darkened, M. Vassallo felt himself seized from behind by two arms, which embraced him affectionately, while two hands with long, thin fingers pressed and caressed his head. Meanwhile a head, apparently belonging to a young person, approached his face and kissed him repeatedly, so that those present could distinctly hear the sound of the kisses. While the phenomenon was being produced, the head of Eusapia, who was completely entranced, rested on the right shoulder of Mme. Ramorino.

"M. Vassallo asked the name of the entity who manifested, and at once the table began to move, and gave by typology the word: Romano. M. Vassallo then remarked that this was one of the three names of his only son, usually called Naldino, whom he had lost a few years before, when he was barely seventeen years of age. He added that this name was unknown even by some of his near relatives.

"He continued his interrogations. Having asked for a proof of identity, a finger passed inside his jacket and rested against his inner pocket, in which, said M. Vassallo, there was a pocketbook containing the portrait of his son.

"M. Vassallo persisted in asking for more complete evidence and, if it were possible, a visible manifestation. The table replied affirmatively, and by typology asked that semi-darkness might be made, which was done by placing a lighted candle on the floor of the anteroom adjoining. In this way a very feeble light was produced, but sufficient to make it possible to distinguish the faces of Mme. Palladino and the experimenters. Eusapia, still in a state of profound trance, kept her head, as before, resting on Mme. Ramorino's shoulder. Suddenly, Dr. Venzano, who was seated almost opposite to Mme. Ramorino, saw a vaporous mass rise between her and Eusapia; it was of an oblong form, gradually

condensing at the top into a pear-shaped formation of the size of a human head, on which appeared successively a very abundant growth of hair, and the eyes, nose, and mouth of a human face. Dr. Venzano, in order to assure himself of the phenomenon, got up, and was about to communicate his impressions, when Cavaliere Erba and Professor Porro, who were beside Mme. Ramorino, exclaimed at the same time: 'A profile, a profile!' M. Vassallo, who, in expectation of the apparition of a materialized form, was looking toward the back of the room, which, on account of the light coming from the anteroom, was somewhat better illuminated, turned toward the cabinet and was also able to see the head, which advanced repeatedly over the table in his direction, and then dissolved. The small white electric lamp was lit up. Dr. Venzano traced with a pencil on a piece of paper a sketch representing the form he had seen, and at the same time M. Vassallo, who was very clever at drawing, reproduced with much accuracy the head in profile of his lost son. Then he showed the photograph in his pocket-book to those present. The points of resemblance between the face which appeared, and the sketches drawn by M. Vassallo, and Dr. Venzano and the portrait in M. Vassallo's possession were then recognized with lively surprise. In fact, the outlines of the head, and its pear-shaped aspect, produced by the very abundant hair above the oval face with the thinness of youth, corresponded marvelously. M. Ramorino, from his position behind Dr. Venzano, and M. Vassallo, both standing, and consequently shutting out his view, declared that he had not seen the apparition; also Mme. Ramorino, seated somewhat on one side, and in front of the apparition, said she had not observed it either."

The second incident is also remarkably interesting. M. Vassallo, after being touched several times by a hand, and his scarf pin having been gently removed by it, felt himself suddenly seized under the armpits by two hands which lifted him up, obliged him to stand upright, and drew him about two paces

from the circle and behind his own chair. That is to say, more than a yard away from the medium. Under these circumstances, M. Vassallo, in order not to lose the hand of the medium, passed it from his right hand into his own left hand, in contact with that of Dr. Venzano—so that Eusapia, remaining motionless, was under the vigilant observation of three controllers.

“Then M. Vassallo felt a human body, of about his own height, leaning on his left shoulder, and a face, which, in his opinion, had the character of the deceased Naldino, remained for sometime pressed against his face. He then received repeated kisses, the sound of which everyone could hear; and meanwhile, broken sentences were heard, uttered in a soft voice, which replied to the repeated questions of M. Vassallo. Dr. Venzano, getting up without abandoning the control, advanced in the direction of the voice, and succeeded in hearing several words pronounced in the Genoese dialect, among which were the words: ‘*Caro Papa.*’ The conversation between M. Vassallo and the entity lasted for sometime, until after the sound of a kiss, Dr. Venzano succeeded in catching this sentence: ‘*Questo e per la mamma.*’ (This for mamma.)

“Almost at once the materialized form disappeared, and the table requested, by raps, that the light might be raised. As soon as the white electric light had been lit, there was seen advancing toward M. Vassallo, who was still standing up, a human form enveloped in the curtain of the cabinet, which embraced him, while a hand, also covered by the curtain, seized that of M. Vassallo and held it for sometime.

“The medium remained all the time motionless in the chair, her hands in contact with those of the controllers.”

The next incident is quoted from the minutes of the sitting which took place in the rooms of the Minerva Club, on the evening of December 29, 1900, in the presence of



Mme. Eusapia Palladino seated at our Seance table, in Italy. Behind her are seen the black curtains of the cabinet; to her right, the locked door leading to Mr. Baggally's room. Directly in front of her is the Seance table, and beneath it is the small stool, referred to on several occasions.

Professors Morselli, Porro, and other eminent investigators. The account reads in part as follows:

"Suddenly, Dr. Venzano, who held the medium with his left hand, she resting her head, visible to all, on the shoulder of Professor Porro, saw forming to his left, at about a hand's breadth from his face, as it were a globular, vaporous, whitish mass, which condensed into a more decided form, that of an oval, which gradually assumed the aspect of a human head, of which the nose, the eyes, the mustache, and the pointed beard could be distinctly recognized. This form came and touched his face, and he felt a warm and living forehead press against his own and remain there for a second or two. Then he felt the contact of the whole profile of the face against his own, with a pressure as of a caress, then the imprint of a kiss, after which the mass seemed to vanish into vapor near the curtains. The other sitters, meanwhile, were only aware of a vague luminosity in the direction of Dr. Venzano; but they distinctly perceived the sound of the kiss."

Dr. Venzano asserts that the vaporous mass which condensed into the form of a human face came into direct contact with his own face, shutting out his sight of surrounding objects, but furnishing forcible evidence through tactual sensation. He recognized in the face an extraordinary resemblance to a very near relative whom he had lost some years before. This relative had not been known in life either to Eusapia or to any of the sitters present at the séance.

The next account is one of great interest, and is taken from Dr. Bozzano's book, *Ipotesi Spiritica e Theoriche Scientifiche*. The séance occurred in the dwelling of M. Avellino, June 16, 1901. The séance is recorded by M. Bozzano, as follows:

"To my left and a little more than a yard away there was a small door, through the opening of which a faint light

penetrated. Suddenly the hands of 'John,' laying hold of my temples, forced me to turn my head in that direction. I understood that the action was done with a purpose, and I redoubled my care of observation. Very soon I noticed, low down, something like a kind of black cone with uncertain, smoky, and changing outlines. It seemed as if this little mass gradually condensing in front of me were animated, or rather convulsed with a rapid rotary motion. It rapidly increased in size and length until, in a few moments, it attained the height and size of a man. Then, in less time than I can tell it, I was aware that this form had assumed the aspect and profile of a human being. This form was not more than two paces from me. My companions all noticed that the light from the doorway was unexpectedly and almost entirely obscured. Our sensations therefore coincided and supplemented each other.

"Mme. Palladino at this point raised my hand and carried it in the direction of the form. Immediately two other hands took possession of mine, and carried it upward. I then felt a soft, long beard, which passed and repassed over the back of my hand, causing a tingling sensation. After this my fingers were caused to pass over the features of a face. *I was thus able to assure myself that the face was not that of 'John.'* Eusapia then pulled my hand sharply toward herself. A moment afterwards the same figure began to advance behind my back; at the same time the gleam from the doorway reappeared.

"Almost immediately Dr. Venzano announced that a hand had taken possession of his own, and was drawing it upward. Soon afterwards we all heard the sound of a sonorous kiss above his head. And now the same very fine and long beard began to brush over the back of his hand, passing backward and forward. The impression felt by Dr. Venzano was sufficiently distinct to enable him to declare that this beard was shaped to a point. Then he was made to feel the hollow of a mouth, the upper jaw of which had some teeth wanting on the right side.

"At this point Dr. Venzano remarked that these signs

corresponded exactly with the characteristics of a very near relative, deceased."

To this account by Dr. Bozzano, Dr. Venzano adds some notes of his own. He says:

"When my hand, guided by another hand, and lifted upward, met the materialized form, I had immediately the impression of touching a broad forehead, on the upper part of which was a quantity of rather long, thick, and very fine hair. Then, as my hand was gradually led upward, it came in contact with a slightly aquiline nose, and, lower still, with mustaches and a chin with a peaked beard. From the chin, the hand was then raised somewhat, until, coming in front of the open mouth, it was gently pushed forward, and my forefinger, still directed by the guiding hand, entered the cavity of the mouth, where it was caused to rub against the margin of an upper dental arch, which, toward the right extremity, was wanting in four molar teeth.

"It should be mentioned that when my hand came in contact successively with the lock of hair on the forehead, the nose, and the chin with the pointed beard, the other hand which guided it pressed upon it and caused it to stop at each with manifest purpose, as though each of these points represented a special sign. I must note, also, that on comparing the indications obtained with those typical of a person who was very dear to me, I did not remember whether the four molars were absent on the right or left side, and that later, after making special inquiries in the family, I was able to ascertain that this defect exactly corresponded with the conditions presented by the materialized form.

"In the present case, the problem of seeking for the will which directs the phenomena is of very great complexity. It must be remembered that, in the execution of this manifestation, *two* materialized forms took part. This fact becomes evident since, without the control of the medium being in any way relaxed, two large hands, which were not his own, seized M. Bozzano's head and forced him to turn toward the far end of the room, which was dimly lighted,

where a second materialized form developed, having the appearance of a complete figure of a man.

"As for the materialized form which presented itself to my direct observation, offering the tokens typical of a deceased person, who was dear to me, I can affirm that it was neither thought of nor expected by me. Moreover, as I at once declared, when I did first think of it, I certainly did not ask for proofs of identity such as were offered me. Then, too, among the tokens by which the materialization revealed its identity, it chose one which was only imperfectly known to me, and the accuracy of which I could only ascertain after making inquiries among my family. Nor could I have been influenced by an impression received from what had occurred just before to M. Bozzano. He had simply mentioned that his hand had been carried into contact with a human face, with a pointed beard—a fact which had been previously mentioned at sittings, and was insufficient to afford precise *data* for the identification of a face. Thus the possibility is excluded of direct suggestion conveyed to Mme. Palladino from myself or from the other sitters—to whom, as to the medium herself, the person who manifested himself to me was entirely unknown.

"As to the medium, who remained during the whole séance in a state of profound trance, the only act of hers which might be suspected of being done with a purpose was that of raising M. Bozzano's hand to touch the human face, on which he recognized nothing characteristic except the pointed beard.

"In the face of these conditions what conclusions can one deduce? In this case the dilemma referred to in relation to the previous case repeats itself. Either the phenomenon is produced under the direction of an intelligence foreign to the medium and to the experimenters, or the subconsciousness of Palladino succeeded in bringing forth from the innermost recesses of my thought details known only by myself and followed up this work of mind-reading by a liberation of physiopsychic energy which assumed the form and the character of two human beings, one of whom bore the

typical traits of a deceased person with whom I was very familiar during his lifetime. And not only was the sub-consciousness of the medium able to reveal facts which I could clearly remember but also circumstances which I had doubtless known of in the past, but which I had in large measure forgotten at the moment when the phenomenon occurred. I allude particularly to the number and position of the teeth found wanting at the extremity of the upper jaw of the mouth of the face, a point on which, as I afterwards found, the Intelligence regulating the manifestation was much better informed than I."

The last séance here quoted is that originally published in the *Revue d'Etudes Psychiques*, in September, 1902. Professors Morselli, Bozzano, and a number of noted ladies and gentlemen were present. The sitting was held in the house of the Avellino family. The cabinet was of the usual simple kind—two black curtains stretched across one corner of the room. Before the séance, Mme. Palladino was carefully searched by two ladies present, and nothing unusual discovered upon her person.

Eusapia was then bound to a small camp bed by means of ropes. Her wrists were fastened to the iron bars at the side; next, her waist was fastened likewise, and lastly her feet and ankles. Professor Morselli executed the tying himself, and fastened the cords in a number of knots in every case. All felt that the tying was perfectly secure, and all that could be desired.

Places were resumed in the circle, and the table soon began to move about of its own accord. Then the curtains of the cabinet were gently parted, and the head and shoulders of a young woman emerged. She bowed several times, and ended by blowing a kiss to the company—which was heard by all present.

The face of a man, with large head and strong shoulders, then made its appearance between the curtains. It was enveloped in white drapery, but the rosy tint of its skin could be distinctly seen, and a black beard was visible also. It remained visible about a minute, then disappeared behind the cabinet curtains.

At this juncture the medium began calling out plaintively that the ropes were hurting her, and Professor Morselli, going into the cabinet, found her securely tied as at first. He unfastened her wrists, leaving her still tied by the waist and ankles, and resumed his seat.

Several forms then issued from the cabinet, in turn; but soon plaintive cries were again heard from the cabinet; and Professor Morselli, entering at Eusapia's request, *found that the medium had been tied afresh, at the wrists, and fastened to the two side boards of the bed, by means of many turns of cord, which terminated in knots much more numerous and tighter than those which were made by Professor Morselli at the beginning of the séance.*

She was again untied and several more forms issued from the cabinet—one that of a young woman carrying a child, which repeatedly kissed her. Finally, it became necessary to untie the medium, on account of her increasing complaints. Her breathing was difficult, and her pulse rapid and strong. She appeared to be tired and suffering. It is of interest to note in this connection that the form carrying the child was recognized to be the host's grandmother. She wore a peculiar lace cap, characteristic of her in life.

One of the most remarkable and striking peculiarities of the séance was that the forms remained visible for some considerable time *in bright gaslight*—light sufficiently good, as Professor Morselli ascertained, to read a newspaper by.

This seems to show us that, when the medium is genuine and the force is strong, no reasonable amount of light will impede the manifestations.

Commenting on these séances, Dr. Venzano comes to the conclusion that the spiritistic hypothesis is the only one capable of explaining the facts in a reasonable way. He says:

"In the greater number of the materialized forms perceived by us either by sight, contact, or hearing, we were able to recognize points of resemblance to deceased persons, generally our relatives, unknown to the medium and known only to those present who were concerned with the phenomena."

CHAPTER IV

PERSONAL EXPERIMENTS WITH EUSAPIA—NAPLES, 1908

Bearing in mind the results of previous investigators—particularly the reports more recently issued by eminent scientific men in Europe, it became imperative for the Society for Psychical Research, in spite of the past negative results of the Cambridge experiments, to reconsider the question of Eusapia's mediumship. The decision was reached in the following way:

In October and November of 1908, I found myself in London on other business, and while discussing with Miss Alice Johnson various matters connected with the work of the S. P. R., and my desire to hold séances with Eusapia Palladino, she suggested that it might be desirable for me to go for the English Society, and render them a report of the phenomena observed. I acquiesced in this, and said I should be glad to go, if the matter could be arranged. The Hon. Everard Feilding—second son of Lord Denbigh—Hon. Secretary of the Society, who had previously obtained séances with Eusapia in Paris, said that he would be glad to go also, and share in the investigation. The matter having been decided, we left London on different days, traveled by different routes, and met in Naples on the afternoon of November 19, 1908.

At the conclusion of the second séance, we were so impressed by the phenomena we had observed that we wired to England, giving the officials of the S. P. R. a brief account

of the phenomena witnessed, and asking for additional help, in order the more successfully to control the medium. We had hoped that either Mr. Podmore or Miss Alice Johnson would be able to come, but in this we were disappointed, neither of them being able to leave London at the time, but we were joined after the fourth séance by Mr. W. W. Baggally—a member of the Council of the English S. P. R., who is himself an expert conjurer, and thoroughly well acquainted not only with the past history of all the important mediums since Home, but with their methods of trickery. And just here let me give a brief sketch of the *personnel* of the three investigators (*i.e.*, the two gentlemen above mentioned and myself) who formed the committee of inquiry for these séances.

Mr. Baggally, as I have said, is himself an amateur conjurer and is exceptionally well posted on all the tricks and devices resorted to by fraudulent mediums. Most of them he can perform himself. He has been constantly investigating the subject for more than thirty-five years, and during all this time he had *never witnessed a single genuine physical phenomenon*—with the exception, perhaps, of a few occurring at a previous séance of Eusapia's which he had attended some years before. Throughout his investigations, he had invariably detected fraud and nothing but fraud. I think it is safe to say, therefore, that a man of his caliber, armed as he was with this past knowledge of medium's histories, and their methods, would not be likely to be taken in by a few simple tricks, such as the substitution of hands or feet, which Eusapia occasionally practises!

Mr. Feilding, in his position of Honorary Secretary for the Society, is constantly investigating cases of all kinds, and delights especially in running down cases of poltergeists,

physical phenomena, etc. He has an excellent and keen judgment in all such investigations. He has been engaged in this work on and off for some ten years, but during all that time he had *never seen one physical phenomenon which appeared to him to be conclusively proved*—with the exception, perhaps, of certain phenomena which, again, had occurred in Eusapia's presence, at a previous séance attended by him in Paris. We may well suppose, therefore, that Mr. Feilding, also, was quite enabled to detect fraud, had such existed, and was not at all likely to be taken in by the simple process of substitution which he, in common with all of us, well knew existed.

As for myself, I can but say that, during ten years continued investigations of the physical phenomena of spiritualism, during which period I have sat many score, if not hundreds of times, with mediums, and traveled many hundreds of miles in order to see genuine physical phenomena, if such existed—I had invariably been disappointed, and until I had attended my first séance with Eusapia, had *never seen one single manifestation of the physical order which I could consider genuine*. On the contrary, I had always detected fraud, and, being an amateur conjurer myself, was enabled in nearly every instance to detect the *modus operandi* of the trick, usually the first time I saw it. In my *Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*, I devoted more than three hundred pages to the psychology of deception, and to a detailed exposure of the tricks and devices of fraudulent mediumship.¹

¹ In reviewing my book for the *Proceedings* of the English S. P. R., Count Perovsky-Petrovo-Solovovo said:

"Mr. Carrington seems to have quite an extraordinary knowledge of conjuring and pseudo-mediumistic tricks, and throughout the four hundred pages of his book he almost unceasingly opens up in this direction such vistas, that the

Taking it all in all, therefore, we felt that our committee—composed as it was of skeptical investigators—and of skeptics, moreover, who were particularly qualified to expose trickery of the nature usually practised—we felt that, if trickery were practised to any great extent, we should detect it; and I think the detailed reports of our sittings will indicate that we took all due precautions to guard against substitution of hands and of feet, and to convince, not only ourselves, but the outside world also, that her hands and feet were not at liberty during the production of these phenomena, and that they were not produced by any normal means. This, however, the reader must judge for himself, when he comes to the records of the séances.

It will be obvious to the careful student of the preceding records that there are two fundamentally weak points, which, in spite of the evidential value of some of the sittings, must be said to weaken them tremendously in the eyes of the public. It is improbable that any séances will be held in the future more striking than some of those already held, and yet, in spite of their tremendously strong character, it is certain that they have failed to carry conviction to all careful students of the reports—though I feel they should have done so—largely because of these two weak points. They are (1) that the amount of light, on any one occasion, was not as a rule specifically stated; and (2) the exact position of each hand and each foot of the medium was not fully accounted for, when any special phenomenon took place. Thus, it is quite inadequate to say that “the medium was securely

uninitiated reader's breath is simply taken away. . . . As an exposé of conjuring and 'mediumistic' devices he in my opinion stands unsurpassed, and there can be no doubt that his volume has dealt professional mediumship a most sensible, I should perhaps say a crushing, blow.”

held," or that "there was no possibility of trickery" on any special occasion—when remarkable phenomena were in progress. We want to know just *how* and *where* each hand and each foot was during that crucial moment; who was holding it, and how. In other words, as I have pointed out before, we do not want the investigator's opinion that such and such a phenomenon was genuine; we want the *facts* and the *data* which will allow us to form our own opinions as to whether the normal production of the phenomenon was possible or not. It is inconclusive to say that an object "at some distance from the medium" moved of its own accord. What we want to know is exactly how many feet and inches away the object was; and, having these facts before us, we should be in a position to know or judge whether it was impossible for the object to have been moved or not. This judgment may be wrong. We may conclude that it was possible for the medium to have moved the object, whereas, as a matter of fact, it was not possible, and this might have been obvious to the members of the circle. But so long as the *printed evidence* does not prove its impossibility, the skeptical world will never be convinced. I have no doubt whatever that every impartial investigator, who sits with Eusapia, becomes convinced of the reality of at least some of the phenomena; but all the world cannot obtain personal sittings. They must judge by the printed reports; and so long as that is the case, the reports of the sittings must be made to read convincingly. And in order to read convincingly, it is necessary, first and foremost, to have a strict account of the exact position of each hand and foot of Eusapia, during each minute of the séance—certainly at the moment when any important occurrence is happening. Such a record can only be made by keeping an exact *stenographic* account of the

position of the hands and feet; and this must be made *during* the sitting—while it is actually in progress—and it is useless for evidential purposes to attempt this account *after* the séance has terminated. A precise contemporary record is therefore necessary—giving these exact details from moment to moment.

Feeling the force of these arguments strongly, then, we determined that our séances should not be vitiated by the same weaknesses that had impaired those of our predecessors in this field, and we accordingly organized our control, and the manner of dictating it. We arranged a series of lights of varying intensities, in the center of the room, and described exactly what we could see in each case. This will be found described in detail in the sittings. We also dictated to the stenographer, sitting at another table, the exact position of each hand and each foot during the production of every phenomenon.¹ This will also be found in the record of sittings. It will be seen that this method of accounting for each hand and each foot precluded all possibility of deception; since, if *both* hands and *both* feet are accounted for, it is obvious that the medium could not have produced any of the observed phenomena—unless some third hand produced them—or some means equally supernatural.

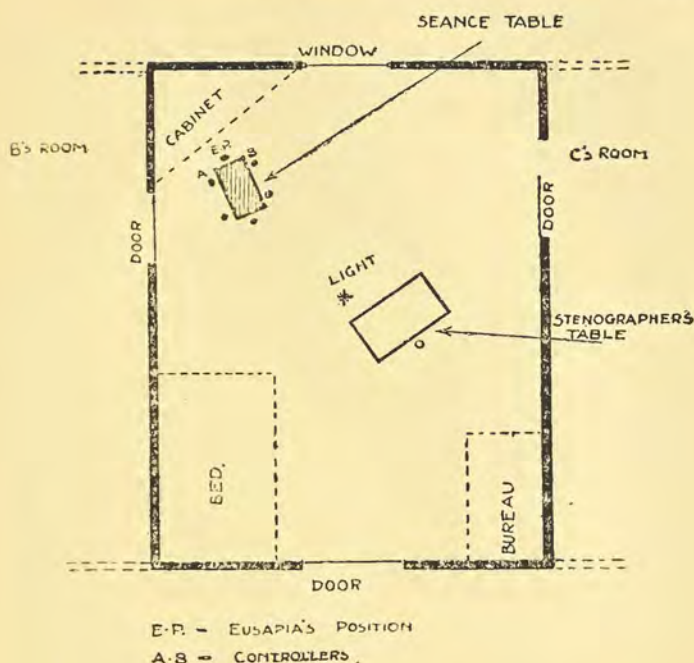
Our own séances at Naples were held in the middle room of our suite at the Hotel Victoria. The three members of the committee occupied three adjoining rooms—Mr. Baggally the one on the extreme left, Mr. Feilding the one in the middle, myself the room on the extreme right. These three rooms were all connected by double doors, which were usually

¹ The extracts that follow are all drawn from our official *Report* on Eusapia Palladino's mediumship, which appeared in the *Proceedings* of the English Society for Psychical Research, Vol. XXIII, Part LIX.

left open, but were closed during the séance. All these doors, particularly those leading into the public hall, were securely locked and bolted before each séance, and we tied the door handles together by means of white tape, when the doors could not be bolted from the inside. The windows, one in each room, led on to a small balcony, which looked on to the street, five flights below. These small balconies were not connected, and it would have been an utter impossibility for anyone to have climbed from one room to another, and so into the séance room through the window. The windows were, moreover, closed, bolted, and shuttered. I need scarcely add that we made a careful examination of the cabinet, the instruments, the table, and séance room before and after each sitting. The instruments used were in all cases our own, bought by us at various shops in Naples.

We constructed a cabinet by hanging two light, black curtains across one corner of the room, forming a triangular space about three feet deep—the curtains extending up seven or eight feet from the floor. Directly in front of the opening in the curtains we placed Eusapia's chair, and again in front of her, the séance table. The controllers occupied positions on either side of the table, as close to Eusapia as possible.

The walls and the floor of the séance room were of stone and plaster, no wood being used in their construction. This caused us some annoyance, since when, later on, we desired to fasten the small table to the floor by means of staples, we found it extremely difficult to do so, and had to drive these into the woodwork, on the one hand, of the door leading from one room into the other, and on the other side, into the window frame!



And now as to the control of Eusapia's hands and feet. It is obvious that it is desirable to encircle the *whole* of the medium's hands, whenever possible, and it is hard for the absent critic to see why this should not be done. Before we had our own séances, we could not see why previous sitters had not insisted on this more strongly than they appeared to have done. The fact of the matter is that Eusapia herself has a good deal to say as to the manner in which her hands shall be held, and her feet also. We do not mean by this that she always insists on her hands being held in

such a manner that substitution is thereby rendered possible, for she would allow one of her hands to be held in her lap and the other on the table. She does, however, frequently object to a complete and rigid encircling of her hands by those of the sitter, and, in reply to our protest, explained to us first, that if the hands of the sitter are moist or clammy, she cannot bear them to touch her during the trance state—though she does not particularly object to this when she is normal, and secondly that the backs of both her hands, and the insteps of both her feet (especially the left hand and left foot) become extremely hyperæsthetic during the condition of semitrance when the slightest pressure occasions her acute discomfort. We have frequently seen Eusapia wince under a pressure of the hand that would not affect her in the least in the normal state; and we came ultimately to the conclusion that this hyperæsthesia is genuine, and is not mere affectation, for the purpose of getting the hand free to produce phenomena. One may hold the hand and wrist as firmly as one likes, provided the tender spots are not touched, and she does not object in the least. It is for this reason, therefore, that the entire hand of Eusapia is not completely encircled by the hands of the controllers more often than it is; but the control is generally quite as good as if it were—while, when her two hands are situated far from one another, on different corners of the table, or one on the table and the other in her lap, it must obviously be regarded as quite secure.

We may state, then, that, save on a few occasions, which will be found described fully in the shorthand notes, the control of the medium's hands and feet (and particularly of her hands) was a far easier matter than we had anticipated. During the greater part of many of the sittings, there was

so much light that we could clearly see both her hands on the table before us; and as at such times it was perfectly easy to follow every movement of them, we ourselves should have been content not to hold them at all. But for the sake of the public, and in order to be able to say that we had done so, we carefully controlled each hand, nevertheless, and recorded this control, as will be found in the notes. When it is light enough to see both the medium's hands on the table in front of you, it is useless and childish to talk of substitution—it would be just as obvious as a substitution practiced by a friend in the course of ordinary conversation. And all the best phenomena during the first two séances took place in a light sufficiently good to see clearly every movement of the medium, and not only that, to see the very texture of the skin of her hands, the color of her finger nails, etc. Under such circumstances it would be absurd, we felt, to talk of substitution, which only becomes possible when the light had been so far lowered that the hands became invisible to us. Throughout our sittings this very rarely happened. All our best phenomena took place in what might be called good light—light sufficiently good, that is, to enable us to see the whole of the medium's body, and to see that she did not produce the movements herself.

Even when Eusapia's hands rested on ours, it was an easy matter, as a rule, to feel which hand was on ours. Except when Eusapia was preparing to effect a substitution of hands (at which times her control became very furtive and uncertain), her hands rested on ours quietly throughout; and we could feel, from the relative position of the thumb and fingers, which hand we were holding. When the controlling hand slipped down so that only a *portion* of the hand would be felt (*e.g.*, only the fingers), then we would immediately

move our hand about in such a way that Eusapia was forced to cover our hand with the whole of hers. This served the double purpose of showing us which hand we were holding, and also of proving that the hand covering ours was a real hand of flesh and blood, and not a mere dummy. When we moved our hands in this manner, calling for completer control, the hand covering ours would invariably and at once react in a perfectly natural manner; would grip our hand, move the fingers, change its position, etc., as only a natural hand could do. Moreover, the hand was warm and life-like, and we could feel the texture of the skin. At no time was there the slightest doubt in our minds that the hand we were holding was really a *human* hand; the only objection was that we were not always holding *enough* of the hand. The portion that we were holding was doubtless the hand of Eusapia.

I should like to dwell upon this point at some length, for the reason that, in some of our experiments, phenomena took place when both hands and both feet were certainly accounted for and stated as being held securely. Such being the case, it becomes obvious that the phenomena must be accepted as genuine, unless she managed to substitute a dummy hand for one of her own that we were holding. To us, the suggestion appears absurd, and we are absolutely positive that nothing of the sort took place, but it is necessary to state the precautions we took at the time to ascertain that they were really flesh and blood hands we were holding, so that these precautions might be stated in the report.

In the first place, then, we had the testimony of our eyes, for, as we have repeatedly pointed out, during the greater part of almost every séance, it was quite light enough for us to see that the hands we were holding were really Eusa-

pia's, and were connected with her body. This only became questionable when the light was so far reduced as to render this direct observation impossible—a very small fraction of the time. On such occasions, we traced the connection of the hand we were holding with the medium's body, and found that it invariably joined her body at the shoulder. We also moved the hand about to see if there was any resistance such as would be offered by the arm, for it must be remembered that if Eusapia had substituted a dummy hand for one of her own, and we had suddenly jerked away the hand we were holding, we should have jerked away the hand altogether, and we might have removed this dummy a yard or more away from Eusapia's body. As a matter of fact, however, we found that the hand always resisted us, and so was connected with Eusapia's body in some manner.

In addition to all this, we had the testimony of our sense of touch. As I have said before, we could always feel distinctly that the hand we were holding was a natural, human hand, and not a mere dummy. It was warm, and moist, and kept moving its fingers, and responding to our pressures and movements as only a natural hand could. When, further, we take into account the fact that all this only applies to those portions of the séance when the hands were not visible to us (and these portions were but a small fraction of the whole), we feel quite safe in saying that we regard it as proved beyond doubt that the hands held by us at these sittings were real hands in every case, and not mere dummies.

Again, as to the disposition of the hands. In a large number of cases, it is true, both the medium's hands were on the surface of the table, and on some of these occasions, the medium was *holding* the hand of one sitter, and was *held by* the sitter on the other side—that is, in the position most

favorable for substitution. I am practically certain, however, that substitution did not take place, as a matter of fact, at any time, save on those occasions mentioned in the shorthand notes. On the two occasions when Eusapia attempted this (because the force was weak, or for some other reason best known to herself) we immediately detected this substitution, and even knew that it was going to take place *before* it actually did so. We could tell that Eusapia was gradually working our hands nearer and nearer together, and finally, when, at an opportune moment, she effected the substitution. But we had not the slightest difficulty in at once detecting this, and the resulting phenomena, produced by fraudulent means, were also strikingly different from the genuine on both occasions. It struck us at the time that it would be quite impossible to mistake the one for the other—the genuine for the fraudulent. The character of the phenomenon was entirely different, and could not be confounded. To us, these very facts were perhaps the strongest argument for the genuineness of the phenomena that we could conceive. The fact that fraud was immediately detected when it was attempted, and that the resulting phenomena appeared to us to be entirely different in character from the genuine, were very strong arguments for thinking that the genuine phenomena were such in reality; and further assured us that we should easily have detected other fraudulent manifestations, had they been attempted.

But during the greater part of all our séances, the hands were held in such a manner that substitution would have been impossible. In the first place, the light was generally sufficient to allow us to clearly *see* the two hands of the medium resting on the table; and we did not have to depend upon our holding entirely or even primarily. A large part

of the time we should have been content to have no control at all, so clear were Eusapia's hands; and we only paid such close attention to the control and dictated it so carefully in order that it might appear in the shorthand accounts of the sittings that we had done so. During a large part of each sitting, we held one of the medium's hands in her lap and the other on the table, *e.g.*, or one hand on each corner of the table; or held the hands in the air; and, on two occasions, I held *both* the medium's hands in *both* of mine, while touches on my left side took place. During these touches the medium's head was clearly visible to us all, and her feet remained tied to the sitters' chairs on either side of her. Hardly for a second throughout the whole course of the sittings was the medium's head invisible to us, *i.e.*, the controllers on either side of her.

Now a few words as to the control of the feet. As we have said before, Eusapia is extremely hyperæsthetic about the control of her feet, and one cannot control them in the way one would like. This is especially so with the left foot, as will be seen by referring to the detailed notes. Of course the obvious deduction to be drawn from this fact is that Eusapia attempted to force us to relax our control of her feet, so that she might thereby release them the more easily. But we are quite assured that this is not the case. During the levitations of the table, and during some of the best phenomena that took place (for the production of which her feet might have been employed), the control of her feet was practically perfect. On some occasions one of us was under the table holding both her feet in his two hands; at other times her feet and legs were tied to the legs of her chair, or to the chairs of the two controllers on either side of her; on yet other occasions the "stocks" apparatus effectually pre-

vented her from using her feet for the production of spurious phenomena; at other times, the light was sufficiently good for us to see both her feet; while on all occasions, we could clearly feel the medium's foot pressing on ours, on the extreme opposite sides of the table, and at a sufficiently great distance from each other to effectually prevent any substitution. We frequently verified the control of the feet with our hands, and in other ways assured ourselves that her feet were really pressing on ours, and that the feet were really Eusapia's. At the very moment of the production of the phenomena we were especially careful to observe the control, and generally all but disregarded the phenomena in our attempt to verify the absoluteness of the control.

For all of these reasons, then (largely because Eusapia's hands and feet were kept so widely separated, were visible as well as tangible, and were perfectly passive in our grasp), I consider the hypothesis of substitution as absolutely excluded throughout our séances—except on those few occasions where our control was relaxed, and Eusapia attempted substitution. On these occasions, we at once informed Eusapia that the control was not good, and she immediately admitted that it was not, and replaced her hand under the safe keeping in one of ours. The psychology of this fraud will be found discussed at some length on pp. 327-28, 335.

During the levitations of the table, we tried every device to check the results by making the control as rigid as possible. Frequently, we lifted the medium's hands above the table a foot or more while the levitation was in progress, and saw that there was no connection between her hands and the table. When her hands remained on the surface of the table, we often passed our hands under her hands, and especially under her wrists, to see that she was inserting noth-

ing beneath the edge of the table. We would also pass our hands between her body and the table, and hold her head well away from the table—precautions which the amount of light really rendered unnecessary, but which we did in order that we might say that we had done so. We ascertained that her skirt was not touching the legs of the table by passing our hands between the table and the skirt; we frequently pressed heavily upon her two knees with our hands and arms; we controlled her feet with ours, and on several occasions placed a night light under the table, to be better enabled to see her feet and legs. We tied her legs to the chair with rope; finally we got under the table and held her ankles in our hands. In spite of all these precautions, however, the table continued to rise up into the air without visible means of support. Accordingly, we devised the “stocks” apparatus (which will be found fully described in the notes), in order to check, mechanically, our observations, and render impossible the use of the medium’s feet for purposes of levitation by fraudulent means. Even after the introduction of this apparatus, and the additional precautions followed by us after its use, we still obtained levitations; and we were consequently forced to the conclusion that these levitations of the table were not produced by Eusapia, but were the result of some force or forces as yet unknown.

Throughout our sittings, we never lost sight of one primary fact, *viz.*, that our object was to establish the *facts*, and not to theorize about them. Our sole object was to ascertain that certain phenomena took place, and that they were not produced by Eusapia herself by normal means; and we did not care to speculate on the nature of the force displayed, but merely to establish its reality. Of course we could not help commenting on the nature of the force at the time; but

such speculations we carefully kept out of the report. Various theories have been advanced in the past, from time to time, to explain these facts, but none of them can be regarded as satisfactory, and none of them really explain all the facts. Let the facts once gain general acceptance, and the theories will come in due

SÉANCE I

Our first séance was held on November 21, 1908, F. and C. only being present. M., the stenographer, was seated at a separate table in the next room. We dictated at first through the partially opened doors. The séance commenced at 10.35 P.M., in good light. A sixteen-candle power electric lamp, covered by three thicknesses of thin, brown tissue paper, hung from the ceiling. We could clearly *read the small print* of a Baedeker. For the first half hour, little took place, except tilts of the table, which had very little evidential value. Owing to our inexperience, moreover, at dictating notes, these appeared to us totally inadequate, when re-reading the séance next day, and we accordingly omitted accounts of all phenomena, up to 11.04, when our first complete levitation took place.¹

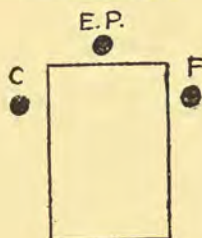
Our shorthand account of this séance reads in part as follows:

"11.04 P.M. The table tilts toward C. Then a complete levitation follows, both medium's hands being on the table, and both clearly visible.

¹ By "complete levitation" we mean the lifting of the table off all four legs simultaneously. A levitation of this kind is seldom less than six inches off the ground, and frequently a foot or more. By "partial levitation" we mean the raising of the table on two, and sometimes onto only one, leg. In complete levitations the table generally went up horizontally, sometimes momentarily but occasionally lasting several seconds. A partial levitation would often turn into a complete levitation—the table going up into the air at an angle.

"C.¹ Both feet being on our feet, my left hand being across both her knees.

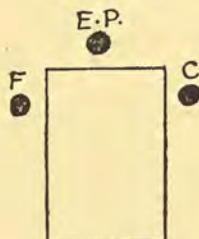
POSITION I



"F. I looked under the table and clearly saw that her knees and the table legs were not touching."

Various raps and tilts followed, including one complete levitation. As we found considerable difficulty in dictating the control to the stenographer, he entered the room, and

POSITION II



took up his position at another table, at a distance of eight or nine feet from the medium. F. and C. changed places,

¹ Throughout the séances, initials will be found indicating the dictator. Thus, in this first séance, C = Carrington, F = Feilding, and M = Meeson (our stenographer).

at 11.15, when this was going on. During the rest of the series of sittings the stenographer was invariably present in the room at his own table. Various tilts and a complete levitation at 11.26 followed under good conditions. At 11.43 the following incident occurred:

"The table rocks violently.

"F. I am certain that her right leg is not touching the table.

"C. My right hand being across both knees. Complete levitation of the table.

"F. I am certain that her right leg is not touching the table. My right leg was continuously curled round the table leg. I can see right down the right leg of the table. The medium removed her hands, and mine, from the table, which rose right up into the air about two seconds after the hands had left. My right hand had been pulled up by her about two feet above the table before it started. [My left hand was on her right knee.]

"C. Her left foot was on my right foot; my right hand was held by the medium beneath the table, in her lap, about one foot from the table. [M. notes that he could see table in the air, with nobody touching it.]

"C. Medium's left foot was continuously on my right."

Another levitation and further tilts took place, immediately after this phenomenon. At 11.56 we first saw the famous "curtain" phenomenon—the curtain blowing out as though from a wind inside—bulging out the curtain, as the sail of a ship might be blown out by the wind. The medium held one of our hands toward the curtain, and the curtain blew out of its own accord while our hands were at least a foot away from it. Her hands and knees were also controlled while this was taking place, and we could see that her head and body remained immovable.

At 11.58 a complete levitation of the table occurred under excellent conditions. Mr. Feilding was enabled to stoop down, and pass his hands under the table legs while it was in the air, showing that it was several inches off the floor. Both the medium's hands were held away from the table. My right hand was across both her knees, both her feet were securely held, and we observed that the table legs did not touch her skirt in such a manner as to effect the results. While the table was in the air, Eusapia suddenly brought my hand down on to the table, and asked me to press downward as hard as I could, she also pressing downward with her hand above mine. I used considerable force in an attempt to force the table to the floor, but for two or three seconds was unable to do so. Several raps and bulgings of the curtain followed. Between these bulgings, I felt along the floor, and between the medium and the curtain, and ascertained that there was no string or thread which Eusapia was pulling in order to cause these bulgings. I found none. As a matter of fact, even if she had succeeded in attaching a string to the curtain, unknown to us, and pulled it at the critical moment, the phenomena would have had an entirely different appearance than any which we saw. It would have come out always at one place, and in a *point*, as it were, whereas the bulgings we perceived took place in various parts of the curtain, and always had a rounded appearance, as though a head were inside, pushing against the curtain. Moreover, since both the medium's hands were perfectly *visible* in ours, we ascertained that she was not pulling any thread, or making any movement that would be necessary in order to accomplish this result. These observations we checked off repeatedly at later sittings.

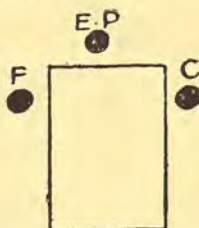
Two levitations, two minutes apart, followed by seven

raps on the table, told us to end the séance, which we did at 12.30 A.M. At our first sitting we had obtained only raps, curtain phenomena, and levitations of the table.

SÉANCE 2

Our *second* séance occurred under practically the same conditions, on the evening of November 23d. Only F. and C. were present, with the exception of M., the stenographer, at his separate table. The same light was permitted at first, though this was afterwards reduced, as the notes will show. F. controlled the right side of the medium on this occasion, and C. the left.

POSITION THROUGHOUT



We commenced by asking the medium to obtain raps on the surface of the table, while her feet and legs are clearly not touching the table legs. She consents, and kneels on a chair, her feet away from the table. Her right hand rests on the table, closely observed by us, and apparently motionless. Eusapia then makes two movements with her left hand, at a distance of about six inches above the table. Two faint, echolike raps occur in the wood, about a second later. After obtaining these raps we tied Eusapia's legs to the legs

of our chairs by means of ropes, which were first passed round each ankle, knotted, and then carried to our chair legs, where they were securely fastened. This tying occupied thirteen minutes—from which it may be judged that it was fairly secure! We then resumed our places at the table, placing our feet upon her feet and pressing her knees together with our knees. We then each placed a hand upon one of her knees, and with our other free hand, each held one of Eusapia's hands upon the table.

Raps and tilts began almost immediately. Some of these were very remarkable, and one of them ended in a complete levitation. The table had tilted on to its two right legs. I was holding the medium's left hand in my hand, over the table, her left foot pressing on my right foot, my right knee being in contact with her left knee. Her right hand was resting on F.'s shoulder, her right knee and foot also being carefully controlled. The table was then completely levitated, and, while it was in the air, I brought my hand down to its surface and pressed upon the table strongly, in an attempt to force it to the floor. Eusapia also pressed with her hand—which was controlled by my hand. In spite of our united pressure, however, the table remained in the air for at least two or three seconds, before falling heavily to the floor.

At 11.01, Eusapia's feet and knees being controlled by our feet, and by our hands, which rested across her knees, the table tilted away from her—the two nearest legs rising into the air at least a foot. At the moment this took place, the medium clenched both fists, and removed them away from the table, on a line with her waist, to a distance of about eighteen inches. Both hands were clearly visible, fists clenched. She sat well back in her chair and we observed

that there was a clear space of at least nine inches between her body and the table, during the production of this remarkable phenomenon.

A series of levitations then followed—succeeding one another so rapidly that we found it difficult to dictate the control. In spite of our utmost attention and repeated efforts to check these levitations, by some means or other they continued to occur in the most exasperating manner. We were seated merely on the corners of our chairs, constantly peering beneath the table, noting the distance between her body and the table, her skirt and the table legs, the exact position of her knees, her feet, her hands, her head—holding, controlling, probing, investigating—all to no purpose. The table continued to rise into the air in spite of our utmost precautions and our attempts to prevent it. Our record of this series reads as follows:

“11.05 P.M. Complete levitation of the table.

“F. The table lifts about six inches, only C.’s and my hands were on the table, clasped across the middle.

“Another complete levitation of the table.

“F. Nobody’s hands are on the table. It goes up all by itself!

“Another complete levitation of the table.

“C. All hands being off the table. Her right hand was free, but perfectly visible, and about six inches off the table.

“11.10. F. asks medium to attempt levitation while standing up. She agrees, but presently says she cannot stand any longer. She reseats herself.

“11.11. Complete levitation of the table.

“C. Both hands of the medium are about eight inches above the table. I can clearly feel her left foot across my right. The leg of the table was not in contact with her skirt.

“Another complete levitation of the table.

"F. My left hand was underneath the bottom of the leg of the table. There was no contact between her and the table leg. Her right hand is off the table altogether.

"C. There is nine inches between her body and the table."

Between this time and 11.32 the light was lowered several times so that we could distinguish merely the outlines of the medium's body, and the details of her head and hands upon close inspection. During this period raps, tilts, curtain phenomena, and levitations had continued to take place. At 11.34 we experienced our first phenomenon of a different character, consisting in the movement of objects at some distance from the body of the medium. The conditions of this experiment were as follows:

"C. My right hand is under the table, firmly holding the medium's left hand.

"F. I have hold of her right hand continuously in her lap.

"C. Medium holds my right hand firmly.

"F. The medium kicks with her right foot violently on mine.

"C. She kicks with her left foot also.

"C. Her left hand raises my right hand toward the curtain.

"F. Objects in the cabinet rattle on the table.

"F. Medium asks me to put my left arm on her shoulder. Her right arm is around my neck.

"C. With her left hand medium is holding my right hand on the table.

"C. Objects in the cabinet fall over on the table. She grasped my right hand firmly in her left hand at the time this was going on and pressed on my right foot with her left foot.

"F. I held her right hand on the table with my left and the tips of both her feet under the table with my right hand.

"C. My left hand holds her head. I am holding her left hand in my right."

Immediately after this, the small table, which had been placed in the cabinet, and upon which rested the various musical instruments, climbed up of its own accord on to the séance table. It came up, remaining behind the curtains, so that it was invisible. Several objects remained on the surface of the table—kept there by the pressure of the curtain above them. It came up at an angle of about forty-five degrees, and, while it was endeavoring to clamber up on the séance table by a series of jerks, I placed my hand and elbow upon its surface and pressed downward in an attempt to force it to the floor. I experienced a peculiar elastic resistance, however, as though the table were strung on rubber bands and was unable to force it downward. I continued this struggle for several seconds, then yielded and allowed the table to clamber on to our séance table, which it almost succeeded in doing. While this was happening, we verified, several times, that our control of head, hands, elbows, feet, and knees was secure.

At 11.44 we experienced for the first time a touch by an apparently human hand. This was in reply to a request. F. had said, 'John, will you touch me?' He was immediately touched on the left forearm as though by a hand. He verified at that moment that he was holding the medium's right hand in his, while I verified that I was holding her left hand. Her head was clearly visible."

Following this, we experienced a series of touches, which we recorded as follows:

"F. asks John to touch C.

"C. I am touched through the curtain on my right arm,

Her hand is holding mine on top of the table. I could see her face.

"F. I could see her right hand in mine, and her face.

"11.49. F. asks whether John can touch C. on his head. The medium asks F. to rest his head against hers.

"F. Our two heads are touching.

"C. I am touched on the head by a hand through the curtain. While this was going on, the medium held my hand in hers, and I could feel her forearm, with my arm pressed against it. The distance between her hand and the touch was about two feet.

"F. Her head was resting against mine. Her right hand was in mine.

"C. The curtain blows right out over the table."

At this point the medium asked that her feet might be untied, as they were hurting her. [Up to this point they had remained securely tied with rope to our chair legs.]

F. stooped down to untie the rope on his side, and at the moment he was doing so I saw a square black object come out from the cabinet to within a few inches of my face and instantly recede into the curtains again. This square object somewhat resembled a head in outline—although it was exceptionally *square* and rather small. It appeared to be attached to a long neck. Eusapia's left hand was held in mine and her body and head appeared to be motionless. As, however, her right hand was unaccounted for, since F. had released it in order to untie her feet, we had to discount the evidential value of this phenomenon. F. stated, however, that he looked up immediately I cried out, on seeing the face, and saw Eusapia's right hand and arm resting quietly, partly on the table and partly on his own shoulder.

The cabinet curtains had remained drawn to one side, and, leaning sideways on my chair, I was enabled to see into the

cabinet. While doing so, I perceived that the small round table (which had fallen backward, after its attempt to climb up on the séance table, and was now lying prone upon the floor) seemed to be endowed with life and commenced to move about upon the floor of its own accord. I watched the movements for sometime, pausing to ascertain that Eusapia's feet, knees, and hands were securely held in F.'s hands and mine, and again saw the table moving at some distance from everybody. It moved about a foot.

Eusapia now pressed F.'s hand three times, and three noises in the cabinet were heard, corresponding to these squeezes. The noises appeared to issue from the tambourine, whose cymbals were heard to rattle.

I have said that the small table was lying across the cabinet floor. In the corner rested our guitar, standing upside down, where it had fallen from the small table when the latter was forcibly extracted from the cabinet. In this position, it will be seen, the small table formed an effectual defense, or barrier, as it were—some eighteen inches high, between Eusapia's feet and the guitar in the corner. In order to reach the guitar, moreover, she would have had to lift her foot, pass it between the opening in the curtains, over the table, and touch the strings of the guitar. When I say, moreover, that both the medium's feet were securely held, and that there was a clearly lighted patch of carpet of about a foot between her skirt and the cabinet curtains, it will be obvious that her feet had nothing to do with the following phenomenon.

The medium was standing up, outside the cabinet, her hands held in ours. She took one of F.'s hands in hers, and rapped upon it three times with the other. Exactly corresponding with the first two raps, raps were heard on the

wood of the small table in the cabinet, and corresponding with the third tap, one string of the guitar was played. The medium had had no opportunity to touch this instrument before, and we regarded this phenomenon as one obtained under excellent test conditions.

At the conclusion of the séance a rather amusing incident occurred. The medium had said that she was tired, and asked John if the séance might terminate. John replied, "No! No!" by means of raps upon the table. The medium said, "Say yes, John, please," but John again rapped, "No! No!" The curtains of the cabinet were then gently parted, as if by invisible hands, and the next minute four complete levitations of the table took place, following one another instantaneously. This took place when both hands and both feet of the medium were well held—her hands being clearly visible about six inches above the table. After this, Eusapia again asked "John" if the séance might end, and this time he rapped three times for "yes."

SÉANCE 3

The first two séances had afforded us ample opportunity to assure ourselves that the phenomena were real, and had indicated several weak points in the management of the séance—partly in the manner of dictating the stenographic record, but chiefly as to the arrangement of the lights.

For our third séance, we had, accordingly, arranged in the same position as the single burner at the previous séances, a cluster of four electric lights. The current varied through 110, 150, 220, and 240 volts. These lamps are referred to throughout the shorthand notes as Numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, respectively. No. 1 was a bright white light, sufficiently

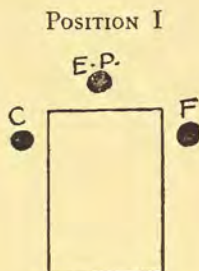
clear to enable us to read small print with ease; No. 2 a feeble white light, but enabling us to see across the room various articles of furniture, etc.; No. 3 was a bright red light, really as intense as No. 2, and we had to shade this later with tissue paper and a silk handkerchief, since the rays were very penetrating; No. 4 was a feeble red light, enabling us only to see the white of the medium's head and hands, and in order to detect the texture of the skin, etc., we had to hold them within a few inches of our eyes. The stenographer was provided with a separate red lamp of his own, so as to throw no light into any part of the room—the rays being directed downward on to his notebook.

In order to test, further, the phenomena of levitation, we had had constructed, in wood, a piece of apparatus, which we styled "the stocks." [See accompanying figure.] This consisted of two square, tapering cubes, into which were set the legs of the table. These tubes were fastened to a board, and this board was held to the floor by our feet, which were placed upon it, and by the legs of our chairs, which also rested upon this board. It will be seen, therefore, that the medium could no longer raise the table by means of her feet, since she could not touch the table legs nearest to her in any way. She was also prevented from levitating the table with her knees by the board which joined these two tubes at the upper extremity. The table could rock and sway, therefore, with more or less freedom, and could, of course, be levitated with perfect ease.

The séance commenced about 9.50, and considerable time elapsed without any important phenomena taking place. The lights were successively lowered through Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4. After about fifteen minutes the curtain commenced blowing out, and at 10.10 an incident occurred which shows us how

this power may be communicated from the medium to one of her sitters when she chooses to impart it. Thus:

"F. She asked me to make a motion toward the curtain with my hand, free. I did so, and the curtain moved. She then took hold of my wrist and the curtain came out and touched me."



At 10.32 we detected a substitution of hands, which was the first attempt at fraud that the medium had made, and, I feel sure, with one possible exception, during the ninth séance, that it was the last. The lights had been successively lowered, until almost complete darkness resulted—this being very different from our first two séances, where all our best phenomena had been obtained in bright light. Moreover, instead of holding our hands *upon* the table, the medium insisted in holding them beneath it—upon the board of the stocks—still farther in the shadow. Our record of the incident reads as follows:

"10.32. F. The medium makes three gestures with the right hand and nothing happens.

"C. The curtain blows out on the table.

"F. For the first time the right-hand curtain blows out on the table.

"C. My left hand was not properly held, and I am perfectly certain that there was a substitution of hands.

"F. explains to the medium that the control was not good."

I think that this detection of fraud, instead of tending to disprove the reality of the phenomena, is the strongest possible argument we could have that the majority of them were genuine, and this for two reasons: In the first place, the character of the resultant phenomena was entirely different from those which we had seen before and those which we saw later. Whereas, in the other instances, the curtain had merely bulged out, as though blown by a wind from within—in this particular instance the curtain came out with a swish and the lower end of it landed on the séance table. Nothing like it ever happened before or after.

Secondly, the whole process was easily perceived by me, on whose side it occurred. I saw the medium effect the well-known substitution of hands, release the right hand and arm, place it behind her into the cabinet, catch hold of the curtain on that side and throw it out over the table. Immediately she resorted to fraud—it will be observed—we detected it, and this is one very strong argument, it seems to me, that we should have detected it on other occasions also had she resorted to it. When we told Eusapia that the control of her hands was not good—intimating to her that she had practiced fraud, she immediately admitted that the control had not been satisfactory and replaced her hands in ours, allowing for the rest of that séance, and thenceforward, perfect control to be exercised and did not again attempt fraud at any of the ensuing séances.

It seems probable to me that Eusapia attempted fraud on this occasion in order to test our credulity, and to see if we could be deceived by it. It must be remembered that a

genuine séance is exceedingly exhausting to Eusapia, and if she could have succeeded in producing fraudulent phenomena, and in duping us into thinking that they were genuine, she would have saved herself this outlay of nervous energy and yet receive her pay for the séances as usual! I believe, therefore, that this phenomenon was merely to test us, and to see if she could rely upon deceiving us during the future séances. Finding that she could not, she made up her mind that to attempt fraud was useless, and thenceforth consented to our most rigorous control and made no further attempt to produce phenomena by fraudulent means.

Repeatedly, after this, the medium asked us to verify the fact that her hands and feet were securely held, and generally warned us in advance, so that we could make sure of their exact position before any phenomenon. Thus, at 10.52 the medium said:

“Look out! I feel that something is going to happen!”

She pressed vigorously on my foot and immediately afterwards we obtained our first complete levitation of the table that evening. The medium was holding my left hand in her right hand on her right knee, and F.’s right hand was held by her left hand on her left knee. We each felt a complete hand and assured ourselves that there was no question of substitution. F., at the moment of the production of the phenomenon, saw something which he described as “a filmy black thing” shoot out from her body and touch the table immediately before the levitation.

To the skeptic this would suggest that some mechanical device was employed by Eusapia in order to effect the levitation. We frequently ascertained, however, that such was not the case. Not only could we see a clear space between her

body and the table, but we frequently passed our hands between them during the actual levitation, in a number of instances. We have to conclude, then, it seems to me, that this filmy black substance was some supernormal prolongation, and was not a mechanical appliance as might be imagined at first sight.

A few minutes after this, I was pulled by a hand through the curtains of the cabinet, and the medium called our attention to a black shadow, which, however, we did not see. This fact is interesting, since it shows us how little expectancy and suggestion can succeed in producing hallucinations during these sittings. So far as I can remember, this is almost the only instance where Eusapia directly suggested to us that a form was to be seen in a certain direction—and we failed to see it!

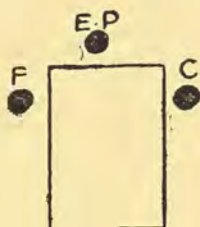
At 10.59 I heard something moving in the cabinet, which I described as a sound similar to that made by a small kitten romping about. Nothing, however, resulted immediately. At 11.06 the medium asked M., the stenographer, to change places with me. He accordingly assumed control of her right side, while F. went under the table and held her ankles in his hands. On my side I was holding the medium's left hand on her left thigh, my hand entirely encircling hers. Under these conditions of control, we obtained a complete levitation of the table of about eight inches. A minute later, we obtained a second levitation, which, however, we had largely to discount for evidential purposes—inasmuch as the medium had asked to rest and we were more or less off our guard. Personally we were convinced that she did not produce the levitation by fraudulent means, but we would not attempt to convince others on evidence itself inconclusive. At this point M. resumed his position at his table,

made notes of what had occurred, while F. assumed control of the right side.

11.35. Medium's hands tied to ours with rope.

At 11.45, after a series of curtain phenomena and lesser

POSITION II



manifestations, the following interesting series of events took place, the account of which I quote from the detailed record:

"C. The tambourine in the cabinet rattles after three distinct movements. While that was going on, I was holding medium's left hand over the table with my right.

"Medium says: 'Oh, la! la! la!' several times, and then suddenly the table in the cabinet falls over and the things on it fall to the floor with a crash. Tambourine strikes several times.

"F. She was holding my right hand all the time.

"C. Touched on my right arm. Medium holds my right hand in her left all the time. Her left foot pressing on my right foot.

"C. Touched again on my right arm. She presses four times strongly with her finger on my hand.

"F. Her right foot on mine all the time, and kicking about, her right hand pressing on mine.

"C. Medium presses her left foot on my right. Loud noises in the cabinet, as though objects were moving about within.

"F. She is kicking about under the table with her right foot."

[The above series of phenomena took place so rapidly, like a kind of *feu de joie*, that it was difficult to describe the control throughout. The final description of the foot control, when one foot was stationary, while the other moved about, seems to make it clear that two separate feet were held.]

Immediately after these phenomena, a complete levitation of the table occurred.

At 11.50 another series of remarkable phenomena occurred, the account of which I again quote from the original record:

"Gestures made toward the cabinet, followed by movements of instruments inside the cabinet.

"Medium tells F. to make gestures with his free hand and noises inside the cabinet follow them irregularly.

"C. Small table is coming out from under the curtain on my right, legs first. One leg of the table has climbed up on to my chair. [Here again the phenomena followed so quickly that a description of the control was impossible. We can only say that it seemed adequate at the time.]

"LIGHT No. 4.

"M. I can see everything very clearly.

"F. So can I.

"C. So can I.

"Noises again follow gestures made by F.

"C. The small table attempts to climb on to the séance table and falls back.

"M. I can see all the hands over and away from the table and her feet.

"Things in the cabinet move about violently and with great commotion.

"F. Feet are all right. [That is, securely held.]

"11.51. C. In good light I can see the small table moving toward me, the result of my making movements toward

it with my right hand. The medium's left hand holding my right hand and clearly visible. She is pressing on my right foot with her left foot.

"F. Her right foot firmly fixed on mine. I have just verified with my hand the division of her toes.

"Medium asked C. to lift up the small table and put it upright. [The small table now stands completely out of the cabinet.]

"11.53. Complete levitation of the small table.

"C. My right hand being on the surface, her left hand being upon mine, her left foot pressing strongly on mine.

"The table is raised about a foot in the air.

"F. Her right foot is pressing on mine.

"11.57 P. M. C. She puts her left hand on my right, which rests flat on the top of the small table and the table again rises a foot in the air. Her foot is still strongly pressing on my right.

"F. Her right foot is still pressing on mine; her right hand is visible close to me, in mine.

"C. I now ascertain that there is no string or connection between the medium and the small table. The distance between the small table and the dress of the medium appears to me to be about a foot."

Soon after this the medium made several movements of her hand above the table, which rocked to and fro in response to her motions. Finally, a complete levitation resulted, the small table rising to a height of about a foot.

During these latter phenomena, I had not been perfectly satisfied with the control of the foot on my side, not feeling the *whole* of the foot, as I did usually. We explained to her that the control had not been considered perfect, and that we were not altogether satisfied. As a matter of fact, and as the result of added experience, I now think that these phenomena were probably genuine, but I was naturally skeptical at the time, after only three séances—at one of which

we had detected fraud. I was, therefore, in a hypercritical frame of mind and undesirous of accepting any phenomenon not produced under absolutely test conditions. Immediately we told Eusapia that our control had not been good, she said, "Let us repeat it, then," and resumed her place at the table, asking us to control her as before. I regret to say that in spite of our waiting sometime no additional movements of the small table took place.

SÉANCE 4

After our third séance Eusapia informed us that we must provide a larger circle if we wished to see the more striking phenomena—since two of us were not enough to supply the necessary "current." She asked that a friend of hers, a M. De Santis, and two other friends might be present—who would sit outside the circle and act merely as spectators. To this we agreed, feeling that, although we might thereby sacrifice certain scientific control of the séance, we might on the other hand obtain more decisive proof than any so far furnished. We also invited to this séance Professors Bottazzi and Galeotti, Professors of Physiology and Pathology, respectively, of the University of Naples, who had previously studied her.

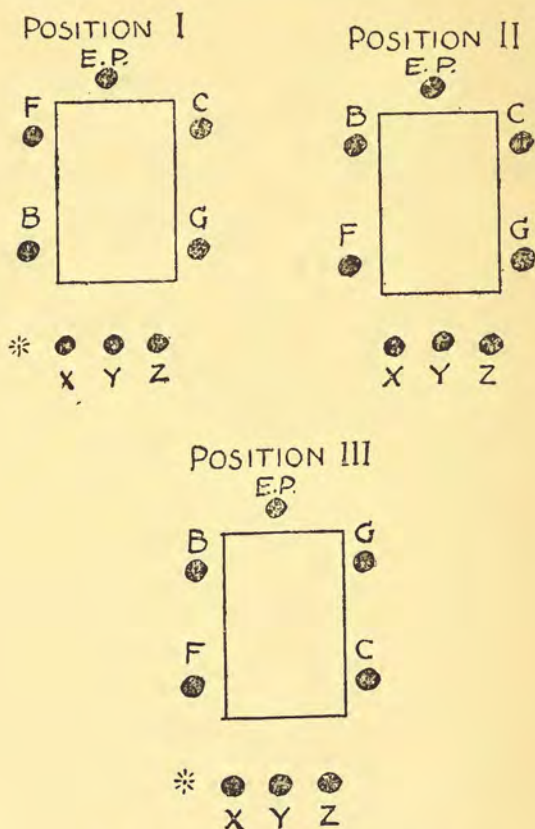
We had ascertained in the interval between the third and fourth séances that, if Eusapia managed to free one hand, she could have produced levitations of the table by fraudulent means, in spite of our stocks apparatus—in this manner: If Eusapia could free one hand and insert it beneath the edge of the table, an upward pull would succeed in levitating the table, for the reason that the two front legs, *i.e.*, those nearest to her, would be balanced and controlled by the front edge

of the stocks—against which it would scrape in its upward journey. Provided Eusapia could introduce one hand beneath the edge of the table, therefore, it became *easier* for Eusapia to levitate the table with the stocks than without them! A hook, attached to a strap, passing around her shoulders, would have the same effect. If the hook were introduced beneath the table and the medium half rose in her chair, it would be possible to lift the table off the ground, while both her hands and both feet were securely held. Because of the facilities afforded, therefore, and partly on account of Eusapia's antagonism to the apparatus, we discontinued its use after this séance, preferring to obtain levitations without rather than with it. But on this occasion we wished to obtain levitations while the stocks apparatus was in place. We accordingly left the apparatus as it was before, and around the under edges of the table we pasted newspaper, reaching down as far as the transverse board of the stocks, across the front and the two sides, so that had a hand, a hook, or any similar instrument been introduced beneath the table, it would immediately have torn the paper. We felt convinced that if we obtained phenomena under such conditions, trickery would be excluded. We afterwards ascertained, however, that even in spite of all these precautions, the table could still be fraudulently levitated, provided one hand were free! This could not be accomplished without the apparatus and we accordingly agreed to discontinue its use.

To return, however, to the fourth séance, which commenced at 9.30 P.M. on the evening of November 29, 1908.

No phenomena of importance occurred for fully half an hour, when the first manifestation took place. This was a complete levitation of the table, which occurred in spite of our protective paper and the varied precautions observed by

us. Sometime before this, Eusapia had asked Professor Bottazzi to assume control of her right side in place of Mr. Feilding. I retained control of the left side up to this point. Writing the next day of this levitation, Mr. Feilding says:



✱ [XYZ = FRIENDS OF EUSAPIA]

"Having been removed from the place of controller of the medium, I occupied myself in guarding the end of the table farthest from her. The levitation, which began with only a tilt on two legs, then on three, and finally a levitation of all four legs, lasted long enough for me to be able to pass my hands several times round the farthest end of the table and down the legs, and verify that there was no contact with any of the sitters. Of this I am certain."

The medium at this juncture asked Professor Galeotti to change places with me. He therefore assumed control of the left side, while Professor Bottazzi retained control of her right side. The medium also stated that the paper was antipathetic to her and asked that the ends of the table might be reversed. This was accordingly done. Throughout the early part of this séance the light was exceedingly poor, and we were not altogether satisfied, for many reasons, with the phenomena. The following extract from the report will show this:

"10.32 P.M. F.¹ Medium makes gestures with B.'s hands up in the air.

"B. I have the right hand of the medium in my left hand in the air.

"G. I hold the hand of the medium in my hand in the middle of the table.

"Things tumble about on the small table in the cabinet.

"G. The medium has her foot on my foot.

"G. Something touched my arm. Something has moved under my chair. Something has again moved under my chair. She holds my fingers well.

"M. Medium gasps and moans.

"10.37. F. Note the position of heads is unknown.

"B. I have been touched on my left shoulder.

¹In this séance, F=Feilding, C=Carrington, M=Meeson, B=Professor Bottazzi, and G=Professor Galeotti.

"C. (to B.). Can you see her head?

"B. No.

"10.39. Complete levitation of the table.

"B. The table is coming up; right hand held as before. Medium taps violently with her foot.

"C. Another complete levitation of the table. Medium's right hand on my shoulder.

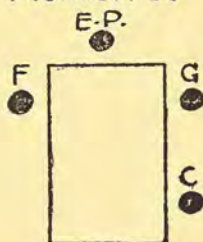
"G. Medium's left hand was on the table.

"The table rose up about two feet away from the medium."

At 11.04 the small table in the cabinet came out of its own accord and attempted to climb on to the séance table. It finally ceased its movements and appeared to be resting partly on the table, partly on Eusapia's shoulder, and partly on Professor Galeotti's shoulder. I went round to investigate and found this to be the case.

At 11.16, however, the small table made another series of attempts to climb up, and this time with more success, as it clambered completely on to the larger table.

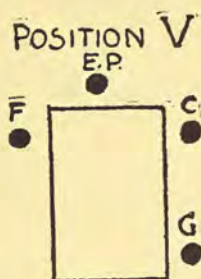
POSITION IV



Shortly before 12 midnight, Eusapia's three friends and Professor Bottazzi took their leave—only Professor Galeotti, Mr. Feilding, and myself remaining. F. assumed control of

the right side, while G. retained control of her left hand and foot.

I then went under the table, and, kneeling down, held Eusapia's two feet in my hands by the ankles. F. was holding her right hand in the middle of the table, while G. was holding her left hand close to its rim. Under these conditions, and while the medium was standing, we obtained a complete levitation, the table rising into the air, all four legs at once.



At 12.16 I again resumed control of the left side of Eusapia. The table tilted on its two legs farthest from her while I was holding her left hand completely away from the table, so that contact was impossible. F. then stood between the medium and the table, her outstretched arms passing over his arms, as over a fence. Under these conditions the table continued to stand on the two legs farthest from her for several minutes. After several movements of objects in the cabinet, the following incident then occurred:

"12.23 A.M. F. The tambourine has jumped on to my left knee (and fell down again).

"C. The medium held my right hand firmly and raised it toward the cabinet. . . .

"F. Her foot is still on mine.

"C. I am touched on the right arm. I am holding the medium's left hand on the table by the thumb and wrist. I was touched on the hip. Her left foot was on mine.

"F. I can see her face. Medium now takes both my hands. The small table has come up on to my lap.

"12.25. C. Medium held all our hands on both her hands [that is, a pile of hands].

"C. Her left foot is on my right foot. Her left arm rests on my right arm; with my right hand I am also holding the medium's left hand.

"F. I am sure of her right foot.

"12.27 A.M. C. Her left foot is now on my right, firmly.

"F. And the right foot is on my left foot.

"12.28. Movements in cabinet.

"C. With her left hand medium holds my right hand, about a foot above the table.

"12.30. Medium says she wants to rest. An intermission of about two minutes.

"12.32. Things in cabinet move about.

"F. The small table falls over to my left. Her right foot is absolutely certainly on my left foot. I am holding her right hand motionless on the table.

"C. The left foot was thoroughly on my right foot, her left hand was held by my right hand, about two feet above the table, and she made a gesture with it in the direction of the small table which was on her right side."

It is a significant fact that all our best phenomena were obtained *after* Eusapia's friends had left, and when only Professor Galeotti, Mr. Feilding, and myself remained. Had Eusapia attempted to resort to fraud, and were her friends invited for the purpose of assisting her, it is certain that phenomena should have been noticed before they had left. Since these were only observed *after* their departure, however, it

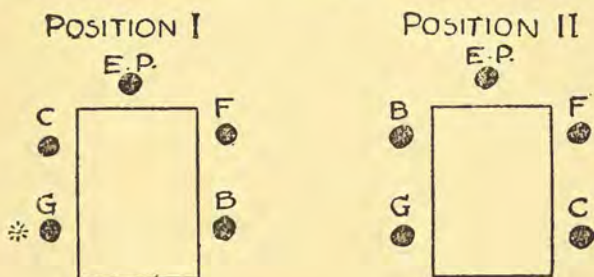


The small table in the cabinet is lifted onto the Seance table, between the curtains. The medium's hands are seen to be held on opposite corners of the table, and her feet are well controlled.

serves to indicate that the phenomena obtained were genuine, and that they depend on other conditions than those which would facilitate fraud.

SÉANCE 5

After the fourth séance we were joined from England by Mr. W. W. Baggally, who shared in every séance thenceforward until the close of the series. We had also invited to our fifth séance, which took place on December 2, 1908, Mr. Gibson, who, however, merely sat at the opposite end of the table from Eusapia, at no time assumed control, and took no active part in the control of the phenomena. The séance commenced at 9.44 P. M., in a good light, F. controlling the left side of Eusapia and I the right. Various raps and tilts



* [G. = MR. GIBSON]

of the table occurred, the table continuing to remain on two legs, at an angle of about forty-five degrees, in spite of our repeated efforts to press it to the floor.

At 10.18 I resigned my position of control to Mr. Baggally, who retained it during the rest of the séance. Remark-

able tilts continued to occur on the two legs farthest from Eusapia, and at 10.32 I went under the table and held Eusapia's feet in my hands. I reported that I could feel the live foot through the shoes, and knew that I was not merely holding her empty shoes in my hands. Under these conditions, and while her hands were securely held by B. and F., the table forcibly tilted on two legs farthest from her.

About 10.40 the curtains of the cabinet blew out and we all felt a strong breeze coming from the cabinet and blowing over the séance table. At 10.52 strong movements of the little table in the cabinet took place, both Eusapia's hands being well held, her right foot being on B.'s left foot, and her left leg resting across F.'s two knees.

At 11.10 F. and I both saw a white hand come over the medium's head, moving rather slowly, clench its fingers, and recede again into the cabinet. B. and G. did not see this hand, owing to the position of the right-hand curtain. B. and F. were both securely holding the medium's hands when this occurred.

At 11.18 F. and I both saw a black object somewhat resembling a head in shape, which F. described as "a grotesque face with a Jewish nose," come to within a few inches of B.'s face, then recede quickly into the cabinet. Eusapia's head was resting against F.'s, and both her hands securely held.

Shortly after this, the following interesting incident occurred:

"11.22. B.¹ The small table is moving.

"F. She clenched my right hand at the time with her left hand on her lap; her left foot quite clearly on my right.

¹ In this séance, besides the usual symbols, B = Baggally. This is retained throughout the remainder of the series.

"B. Same control as before. The small table rises and touches my elbow, while I am perfectly certain that her right hand is on my left hand on the table, and I can feel the whole length of her leg.

"B. The small table is again moving. The same control.

"F. My right hand was on her two knees, and her left hand in mine, visible, and close to me. Legs both firmly between B.'s and mine, as I have felt their position with my hand.

"11.25. The small table is rising again.

"C. The small table is put right on to the séance table. (Falling down again.)

"B. Control perfect.

"11.26. C. The small table is levitated right on to the séance table (and again falls to the floor) through the curtains, between B. and the medium. It rose to a height of two and a half feet from the floor and is now resting on the séance table."

Two or three minutes later I reached down and lifted the small table, and put it into an upright position. No sooner had its feet touched the floor, however, than the table was completely levitated, rising up forcibly against my hand, to the height of about six inches. F. and B. verified their hand and foot control and found them perfect. I kept my hand flat on the surface of the table, and it was again levitated, twice. While I was leaning over, with my hand on the table, the curtain blew out strongly and brushed against my face. Several raps occurred on the wood of the small table. It continued to tilt back and forth, and at 11.36, I alone having my right hand on the small table, it tilted violently to the right, as though in response to a forcible pressure from one side. At the moment this was taking place, the medium, in trance, was leaning completely back in F.'s arms, her body

being encircled by them. His right hand was on her two knees, her left hand was visible on the table, and her right hand on the opposite corner. Her right foot, resting on B.'s, was swinging backward and forward under her chair—B. continuously following it with his left foot.

At 12.06 A.M. a forcible tilt, followed by a complete levitation of the table, occurred under excellent conditions. I quote from the record in order that the reader may see the precautions taken by us to guard against any deception, or the possibility that the medium might have effected these tilts by pressure on one side or other of the table, or by her fingers, thumbs, or wrists, placed over the edge.

"12.06. The medium stands up.

"F. The table tilts on its two legs farthest from medium. My left hand is under the left table leg. I passed my hand down the leg also. Her left hand is motionless in mine.

"C. Her right hand on the top of the table. I am passing my fingers along the edge of the table; her fingers and wrists are well above the edge.

"B. I am holding her right hand.

"F. Both hands are now above the table. I was between her and the table. I pulled the table toward me, and it resisted considerably before it fell down—this after her hands had left."

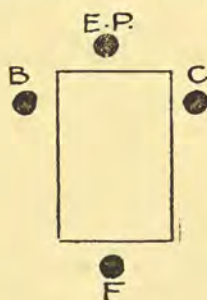
Immediately after this, a complete levitation took place. At the conclusion of the séance, we tested the cold breeze that issued from her forehead—which we had distinctly felt during the last few minutes of the séance. I examined the famous scar, both with my fingers and optically, and held my hand at a distance of about three inches from her head. The cold breeze was distinctly perceptible. We all felt this in turn, holding Eusapia's mouth and nose, so that she could

not breathe. We held our own breaths, and again placed our hands over the famous scar. We felt the breeze as distinctly as ever—it being considerably colder than the temperature of the room. Although it was clear to us that this was objective in character, we determined to demonstrate this fact at our next séance. Our experiments will be detailed at the conclusion of the next sitting, together with the remarkable results we obtained.

SÉANCE 6

The sixth séance, which was perhaps the most remarkable of the whole series, was held on the evening of December 4th—only the members of the committee—Messrs. Feilding, Baggally, and myself being present. For more than an hour and a half no important phenomena with the exception of a few tilts of the table took place, until 11.35, when B. was touched for the first time upon his shoulder.

POSITION THROUGHOUT



He was controlling the right side of the medium at this séance, I the left side, while Mr. Feilding was sitting opposite Eusapia at the other end of the table. At this time,

also, a square, black object, resembling a head, came out of the cabinet, approached to within a few inches of my face, then receded instantaneously. It was irregular in outline, and I described it as looking "like a cauliflower." The medium, who had gone into a deeper trance than she had entered at any previous séance, had fallen toward me, her body resting against my right side, her head resting against my head, and the whole of her left hand and arm being under my control. Her left foot was also under my feet; her right hand was held by Mr. Baggally *on* the table. I now quote from our detailed notes portions of this remarkable séance:

"11.41 P.M. C. I am touched by a hand on the head.

"F. I saw a white thing come out from the curtains over the medium's head and touch C.'s head.

"C. While this was going on, the medium's head was resting against mine, my right arm being around her shoulders, her left hand being visible on mine on the table, her left foot pressing on my right.

"B. Mine exactly the same as before. Her right hand was resting on my left hand on the table under the curtain [which had blown out] and her right foot is resting on my left foot, and her right knee is pressing against my left knee. I could tell it was her *right* hand by the feeling of the relative position of her hand to her fingers, and feeling the thumb in the palm of her hand; and that it was her *real* hand, by the warmth and by the response to my squeezes.]

"11.44. The medium says: 'It is coming. There!' [Medium said to C.: "Look, he will come there!" indicating a particular spot to the left of B.]

"C. I am touched on the head through the curtain, twice, the medium's head resting against my head, the left hand visibly on the table in my hand, her left knee pressing against my right knee.

"B. Her right hand is resting in my left hand on the

table, and her right foot is resting on my left foot, and I still continue pressing my knee against her knee.

"F. I saw something white just over the medium's head. A sort of flash of white. The medium's head was motionless.

11.48. C. The medium moves the hand held in B.'s hand, and makes him feel with his hand that we are holding different ones.

"B. And she tells me she is going to do it.

"11.50. C. I hear something moving in the cabinet.

"B. The curtain is thrown over my side.

"F. It has come as far as my end of the table.

"C. Her left hand held my right firmly on her knee, her left foot resting on my foot; I was also stroking her forehead with my left hand.

"B. Her right hand on my left hand, on her right knee. Her right foot on my left foot, and I could feel the whole length of her leg against mine, our knees touching.

B. and C. both say they can feel her thumbs. . . ."

Under *these* conditions of control, we saw a white hand several times appear over Eusapia's head, and several of us experienced touches. I was hit on the head several times by a hand, of which I could feel the four fingers and the thumb. The medium said she was getting cold. A hand came out from behind the cabinet, and pressed B. tightly on the shoulder. He could feel its thumb and the four fingers. He was at the moment holding her right hand, and both her knees, while I was holding the other hand by the thumb on her left thigh. I resume the record at:

"12.05. C. The medium holds my right leg in between her two legs and is kicking to and fro, saying she wants to bring something out of the cabinet with her foot, but her foot remained under the table all the time.

"B. She has removed her foot from mine.

"12.06. F. I again saw a white thing over her head. I could not say what it was.

"C. My control was exactly the same as before. I also saw the white thing. The curtain blows out twice, as though pushed by some substance. I can see the round swelling of the curtain. Her hand was pressing firmly against my hand, and I am holding it by the thumb. Both her legs around my right leg.

"B. Her right hand is on my left hand, on her right knee.

"F. I have asked the medium whether I could feel the hand also. F. stands to the left of C., and leans over with his left hand outstretched about two and a half feet above and to the left of the medium's head. Immediately after:

"F. I am touched by something directly on the point of the finger.

"12.11 A.M. F. I am touched again. I am taken hold of by fingers, and I can feel the nails quite plainly. [My forefinger was pressed hard by three separate fingers above it and by a thumb below, through the curtain. I felt the nails quite distinctly as they pressed into my finger.]

"C. Her head pressing against my head. I am absolutely holding her left hand on the table. Both her legs are around my right leg under the chair.

"B. I am absolutely certain that her right hand is on my left hand on her right knee.

"F. I am touched again, grasped this time as though by the lower part of a thumb and fingers. . . .

"C. The medium has taken her two legs from around my right leg, and now has her left foot on my right foot.

"B. And she places her right foot on my left foot, and I am feeling her knee with my knee.

"C. The medium rests her head on my right shoulder, and is pressing against it. I have my arm around her neck. I have her left hand in my left hand on the table. I saw the curtain blow out in front of me.

"B. Medium's right hand is in my left. . . .

"C. I am touched on the head by a hand. At this mo-

ment the medium's head is pressing against my head, her left hand is on my left hand on the table, and with my right hand I am holding the whole of her left arm. Her left foot on my right foot.

"B. Medium's right hand resting on my left, on the table. Right foot on my left foot, which she moves backward and forward, and I follow with my foot.

"C. My foot was motionless."

At 12.25 an exceedingly interesting and remarkable phenomenon occurred. My right foot was resting on its heel under the table, my toes pointing upward at an angle of about forty-five degrees. In the angular crutch thus formed Eusapia's left foot was resting. She suddenly kicked upward with her foot, and immediately there resounded on the under surface of the table a tremendous blow. It seemed as though the table had been struck by a mallet or kicked with terrific force. Now Eusapia's foot had quitted mine but the smallest fraction of a second, and I felt morally certain that, however quick she might have been, the time interval would not have been sufficient for her to have raised her foot to the height required, and lower it again. At the same time I could not present this subjective feeling as proof to a skeptical outsider. I therefore stretched my left arm across, under the table, reaching from side to side, so that, if her foot attempted to kick the table a second time, she must necessarily have kicked my arm. I then asked her to repeat the performance. Her foot quitted mine for an instant again, and again the thunderous rap was heard on the under side of the table, *but her foot did not touch my arm*. I am, therefore, certain that the blow was not produced by the normal process of kicking, but probably by some projection of nervous, vital force from the toes of her foot.

A minute or two after this, Mr. Feilding rose and stood close to the cabinet curtains, holding his hand outstretched against them. He felt a cold breeze about his hand. At the same moment, a hand came out under cover of the curtains, and distinctly pulled my hair. At this moment the medium's head was resting against mine, her left hand and the whole of her left arm were under my control. Mr. Baggally was certain that he was holding her right hand upon the table. Both her feet were also accounted for.

At 12.30 I saw a head come out from the cabinet slowly, remain visible two or three seconds, within six inches of my face, and slowly retire. The medium's head was resting against mine, I was holding her left hand in her lap, while Mr. Baggally was guarding her right hand.

Mr. Feilding held his hand about three feet above Eusapia's head, wishing to see at how great a height he could be touched. Eusapia's hands were clearly held in ours, and she raised her own and our hands, held in hers about two feet above the table, saying that "it helped." F. felt a cold breeze, and blows on his *wrist*, but no hand grasped his. Immediately afterwards I perceived a head coming out from between the cabinet curtains, between Eusapia's head and mine. She had removed her head from contact with my head, and it was now about eight inches distant, and perfectly visible.

Various touches concluded the séance, but not the phenomena. After we had turned up the lights, pulled aside the cabinet curtains, examined the cabinet and its contents, and were discussing the séance, B. still continued to feel hands playing about with his back and side, this, be it observed, *in full light, and when Eusapia was wearily resting her head on her two hands on the table.* The curtain blew

out several times in full light, and under the same conditions. Several tilts of the table also occurred. We then asked "John" to try and pick one of the strings of the small guitar which was standing in the corner of the cabinet. We all stood up, including the medium, who was about six inches in front of the cabinet curtains, her skirt not touching them, and her two feet controlled by those on either side of her; her hands also being held. The light was sufficiently good to enable us to read small print with ease. We stood thus for about a minute, when B. and M. exchanged remarks upon some subject bearing on the séance. At that moment F. and I, who were listening intently, clearly perceived a slight twanging sound of the strings of the guitar, as though fingers were playing with them lightly, but were unable to pull one of them with sufficient force to make it resound. The attempt to play these strings was, however, quite clear and audible to F. and myself, who heard it at the same instant.

After the medium had resumed her chair, we felt her head with our hands, to see if the cold breeze was issuing from her forehead. We all clearly perceived it with our hands, placed at a distance of about three inches from the medium's head. F. held his hand over her mouth and nose, and we all did likewise, holding our noses and mouths and refraining from breathing, and the breeze was still distinctly perceptible. B. then held a small paper flag to the medium's forehead—her nose and mouth, as well as our own, still being well covered. The flag blew out several times, and then out so forcibly that it turned completely over and wrapped itself once round the flagstaff, to which it was attached! The objective nature of this breeze was thus established—though a thermometer held to her head failed to record any lowering of temperature.

At the conclusion of the sixth séance, we asked the medium if we might search her. She at once consented, and proceeded to take off her clothes one by one and hand them to us for examination. There was certainly no slit or other contrivance in the skirt or in the bodice, and we also examined her petticoats and other undergarments and felt over her body with our hands through the few remaining clothes. So far as we could discover, nothing was concealed about her person or her clothes.

I quote the following extract from Mr. Feilding's Note, made the day after the séance, since it expresses, more or less, the view of all of us who participated in these séances. He says in part:

"After the sixth séance, for the first time I find that my mind, from which the stream of events had hitherto run off like rain from a mackintosh, is at last beginning to be capable of absorbing them. For the first time I have absolute conviction that our observation is not mistaken. I realize as an appreciable fact in life that, from an empty curtain, I have seen hands and heads come forth, and that from behind that empty curtain I have been seized by living fingers, the existence and position of the very nails of which were perceptible. I have seen this extraordinary woman sitting outside the curtain, held hand and foot, visible to myself, by my colleagues, immobile, except for the occasional straining of a limb, while some entity within the curtain has over and over again pressed my hand in a position clearly beyond her reach. I refuse to entertain the possibility of a doubt about it, or that we were the victims of an hallucination. I appreciate exactly the fact that ninety-nine people out of a hundred will refuse to entertain the possibility of a doubt that it could be anything else, and, remembering my own belief of a very short time ago, I shall not be able to complain, though I shall unquestionably be annoyed when I find that to be the case. . . . Since writing the above, I have read the notes of C. and

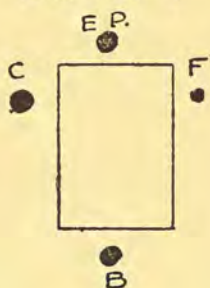
B. The former has apparently submitted with the same completeness as myself to the evidence of facts. B., who is evidently passing through the same stages as I did in my earlier séances, toys with the suggestion of an apparatus, by way of easing his mind. It would be an interesting problem to set before a manufacturer of conjuring machines to devise an apparatus capable of producing alternately a black, flat, profile face, a square face on a long neck, and a 'cello-like face on a warty, knobby body, two feet long. Also a white hand with movable fingers, a yellowish hand, and a hand invisible altogether—all these for use outside the curtain. Further, for use within, a hand with a practicable living thumb, and fingers having nails, capable of reaching high above the medium's head, of patting, hitting, and pulling hair, and of so vigorously grasping B. by the coat as to upset him into the cabinet. Our manufacturer must so construct the apparatus that it can be actuated, unseen by a somewhat stout and elderly lady, clad in a tight, plain gown, who sits outside the curtain, held visibly by hand and foot, in such a way as to escape the observation of two practical conjurers, clinging about her, and on the lookout for its operation. It must further be of such dimensions as to be concealed about the lady, while parading herself for inspection upon a chair clad in her stays and a short flannel petticoat, and it must have the property of penetrating matter sufficiently well to be able to emerge from its hiding place, either through the two plain skirts (apart from the flannel petticoat) and through a close bodice, with a waist belt so tight that I cannot get my finger in, making no mention of the stays."

SÉANCE 7

Our seventh séance occurred on the evening of December 7th. Finding that there was a tendency on the part of "the powers that be" to upset the table in the cabinet when bringing it on to the séance table, thereby turning all the

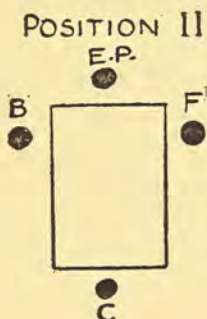
musical instruments upon it over on to the floor, we secured the table firmly by means of rope fastened to staples, driven into the floor, in such a manner that it could not be lifted except by the exertion of an immense force, which would either snap the rope or pull the iron staples out "by the roots."

POSITION I



Soon after the séance began a phenomenon occurred which has frequently been observed by others, *viz*: the blowing out of her skirt, as though by a strong air current from within. The skirt slowly bulged out six or eight inches. All of us, including Eusapia, watched it with considerable interest. I asked Eusapia if I might touch this. She replied "yes." I put my hands down, and felt that there was no solid substance under the skirt, causing it to inflate in this manner. We ascertained with our hands and with our eyes that Eusapia's feet were both securely held, and that they were not producing this bulging movement. With her permission we then turned back her skirts, examined the leg as far as the knee, and the skirt and petticoats beneath it. We found no mechanism, and no piece of apparatus, the operation of which could in any way account for the facts. We let the dress

fall again and it immediately began to inflate as before. Eusapia then told Mr. Feilding to sit between the light and her skirt, so as to throw it into shadow, when, she said, the bulging would become stronger. This incident is interesting, serving as it does to indicate the influence of light upon the production of the phenomena. These swellings continued for some minutes, becoming stronger and stronger, and finally dying away.



sponding with each nod, four tremendous bangs, as though made by a large wooden mallet, were heard on the table—so loud it would have been impossible to duplicate it without some mechanical contrivance, such as a hammer. A minute later she said she would try to levitate the table, and a partial levitation resulted.

At 11.07 we asked "John" to show himself outside the cabinet curtains. Four tilts of the table, meaning "talk," responded. We spoke, however, very little, but paid close attention to the curtains. In a moment, something misty and black shot out about eighteen inches from the cabinet, close to Mr. Baggally's head. It came and went so quickly, however, that we could not distinguish what it was. A few minutes later, we heard the table in the cabinet lifted a fraction of an inch off the floor and then released again, coming down with a bang. It must be remembered that the table had been securely fastened down with ropes, and that it was impossible to move it. A very considerable force must have been exercised to lift it off the floor at all—certainly more than Eusapia could have brought to bear with one or even with two hands free. We explained to "John" that since he had always upset the table and the instruments upon it in former séances, we had tied it to the floor on this occasion, since we wished him to finger and to bring out to us the various small objects placed upon it.

At 11.20 a remarkable manifestation took place—one of the most remarkable of all, perhaps—the description of which I quote from our detailed record:

"C. A bell from the cabinet is lifted from the table through the curtains and put upon the medium's head and remains there.

"F. The left hand was visibly in my right all the time on

the table, and I heard the bell, which had been on the table in the cabinet, began to ring, and then it suddenly appeared outside the curtain and came over the medium's head, and it hung there and went on ringing. She told me it was tied to her head. I felt with my fingers and felt something like muslin tying it to her hair. As I was looking at it, I suddenly saw a white thing, which I thought was the medium's right hand come to untie the bell, because it was uncomfortable, ring it hard, and throw it on to the séance table. This was within one foot of my nose. I could see the medium's face perfectly.

"B. I saw the bell come out and lie on the medium's head, and also saw it thrown from her head on to the table. During the whole of this phenomenon her right hand was resting on my left hand on the table, and her right foot on my left foot."

During the next few minutes indefinable white objects continued to appear over the medium's head—under excellent test conditions—and when her hands and feet were securely held. A brilliant, bluish-green light was perceived, which lasted about two seconds. The next minute a similar light came outside the curtains of the cabinet and was seen to be resting in Eusapia's lap. The table rapped for less light. A brilliant luminous point was seen within the cabinet about two and a half feet from Eusapia, bluish green in color. Another light of a slightly different character appeared the next minute—this time, however, a small sparkling light, about four or five inches above her head.

We asked Eusapia to endeavor to obtain an impression of a hand in our clay, which we had placed in readiness on the small table. She felt F.'s hand, which was resting upon the séance table as though she were feeling the clay with hers, and replied that the clay was "too wet."

At this point, Eusapia informed us that some one was com-

ing out to kiss Mr. Baggally. The curtain swelled out toward him and a clicking sound was made close to his face. It did not sound in the least like a kiss, however, which she had said it was, but exactly like the sound one would make were the thumb and middle finger nails clicked together. This was, of course, a highly suspicious circumstance, and we so regarded it, in spite of the fact that we repeatedly verified the control of the hands, and could even see them lying upon the table while this phenomenon was in progress.

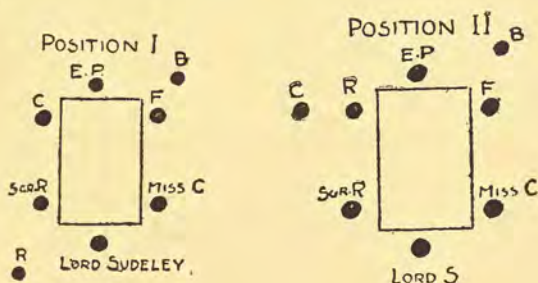
A small, black, square object then came out, which Eusapia said was "the head of a man clean shaven." It did not resemble a head, however, and was far too small for the head of anybody. Mr. Feilding complained to Eusapia that it did not look in the least like a head, and that it was, as he expressed it, "an outrage upon humanity." Eusapia said: "We will try again." The black thing thereupon came out the second time, somewhat larger than before, but still not having any resemblance to a human profile. It retired immediately, and we could, in fact, catch but a fleeting glimpse of it.

SÉANCE 8

It will be remembered that we had partially searched Eusapia at the conclusion of the sixth séance. We did not feel, however, that our search had been strict and thorough—such a search as would enable us to say with confidence that nothing was concealed about her person; and while we ourselves felt assured that nothing was in fact concealed, we had to have evidence such as would convince *others* of this fact. We desired to obtain the services of one or two ladies to make a thorough and proper search, and we accordingly

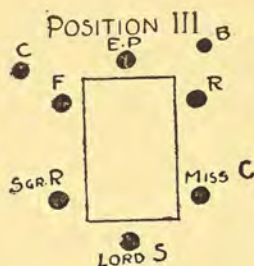
asked Señora Rocca and Miss Crawford—the two daughters of Mr. Marion Crawford—to attend this séance and supervise the searching for us. There were also present at this séance Lord Sudeley and Mr. Ryan—so that we had an addition of four to our usual number. The sitters were arranged as shown in the diagram. The eighth sitting took place in the usual room, on the evening of December 10, 1908.

Eusapia was taken into a separate room, and, before the two ladies, she completely stripped, and handed them, one by one, her clothes for inspection. These were thoroughly examined, even the linings of the bodice and the skirt being searched, and her hair was taken down and put up before them.



The séance began at 10.30, and an exceptionally long wait occurred before any phenomena of interest took place. At 10.53 I resigned my control to Mr. Ryan, to see if this might beneficially influence the results. But it was not until past 11 that phenomena began to be noticed. Slight, and then more forcible movements of the curtain were the first manifestations of interest. These were followed by several touches under conditions of good control, but merely dupli-

cating phenomena seen at previous séances. At this point F. and R. change places.



At 11.55 we saw the first striking manifestation. The tin trumpet, which had rested on the small table in the cabinet, appeared in front of the curtains, about a yard distant from Eusapia, and crept slowly along Mr. Ryan's arm until it arrived on the séance table. A square white patch then appeared over Eusapia's head. Immediately afterwards the small toy piano was thrown from the cabinet, struck Mr. Ryan lightly on the head and rolled to the floor. Eusapia was at this moment holding Mr. Ryan by the hand, her right hand being held by Mr. Feilding on her lap. Both her feet were also held.

Various lights then manifested, and a white object, which was described at the time as resembling "a boiled white cabbage," came out from between the curtains and approached Mr. Ryan. Again, something tried to lift the small table, but finding, apparently, that it was tied, let it go with a bang.

At 11.22, after the appearance of another white, indefinable object over the medium's head, a hand appeared at the extreme opening of the left curtain, nearest the window,

and about a yard distant from Eusapia. This hand was bearing the plate of clay which we had placed upon the small table, hoping for impressions of hands or faces. The clay must have been lifted first of all from the small table, to the position at the opening of the curtains, where it was seen by us.

The hand then moved slowly downward and deposited the plate of clay on the séance table, taking fully four or five seconds in its passage. The hand then seemed to disappear. This phenomenon was clearly visible to all of us, and it would have been quite impossible for Eusapia to have duplicated it, even had her left hand been free (1), because she could not have reached so far, and (2), had she succeeded in doing so, and had she brought the plate of clay on to the séance table, she must necessarily have gathered in toward her the left-hand curtain, round which her arm must necessarily have circled. But such was not the case. I noted especially that, while the white hand was conveying the object from B.1 to C.1 the curtain remained *stationary*. Mr. Ryan is certain, moreover, that he was, at that moment, holding Eusapia's left hand in the middle of the table.

Mr. Baggally then climbed up on to the séance table and stretched his hand at least a yard over Eusapia's head, resting it against the cabinet curtains. We felt that, were he touched under these conditions, it would be proof positive that Eusapia had not produced the phenomenon by fraud—since she could not, with her short arms, reach so high. He felt a solid substance pressing against his hand on two or three occasions, however, which he described as being not solid, but resembling the pressure of wind.

An interesting series of phenomena began at 12.47, the

account of which I quote from our detailed notes as follows:

"R.¹ Somebody nudged me in the ribs on the right side.

"C. A solid substance pushes against my hand. I am touched on the left arm.

"F. Her right hand is two feet above the table in my left hand.

"R. Noises in the cabinet.

"F. She taps with her right hand on mine, and the tambourine shakes synchronously inside the cabinet. Her head close to me and visible. The same thing has happened again.

"R. She grips my hand, both resting upon the table, her foot pressing mine firmly.

"C. The bell rings, and has been brought on to the top of the medium's head from the cabinet and remains there.

"F. I was holding her right hand on the top of the table. I saw the bell arrive on her head. I hold the bell up against the curtain and ask John to take it from me. I was holding my hand about a foot from her head and toward the curtain, with my fingers holding it so that they projected beyond the bell toward the curtain. Three or four fingers took hold of the bell and shook it in my hand. I felt the pressure on my fingers. [This is not a strictly accurate description. The fingers took hold of my fingers. I felt them distinctly as living fingers through the curtain. They held my fingers tight, and shook my hand, and with it the bell.]"

Immediately after this several touchings occurred, the curtain blew out toward me, brushed against my face, and something hit me through the right-hand curtain. I was then pushed through the curtain and a solid substance came out from the cabinet and struck me on the face. A small object then came out past me and landed on the séance table.

¹ In this sitting, R = Ryan.

These phenomena followed so rapidly on one another that it was almost impossible to dictate the control. F. and R. both assert, however, that the hands under their supervision were securely held throughout this series of remarkable manifestations.

While I was standing at least a yard in front of the curtain, a hand came out and touched my hand. I could feel the texture of the skin. F. was touched on the left cheek by a hand through the curtain, while the medium's right hand was resting firmly in his left and while she was grasping the forefinger of Mr. Ryan's hand with her left hand—fingers and thumb encircling it.

At 1.05 A.M. a very unusual manifestation occurred, the only one of its kind we saw, and which has been very rarely recorded in the past history of this case. It throws considerable light on many of the historical phenomena, rendering highly possible manifestations which have hitherto been considered incredible. I quote from our detailed record:

"C. Two raps are heard in the cabinet. Medium says she is tired.

"F. A white hand has appeared over her head. Oh! it has brought a cord. [A small coil of cord was on the top of the medium's head, the end of it descending to her left. F. handed it to R. and asked him to trace it down.]

"F. It is fastened to something. Somebody is pulling it. [R. traced it down and found it attached to the rung of his chair.]

"F. Two minutes before this had happened she had asked me to feel the cord on her left leg, to see whether it was fastened. [We had tied her feet to our chairs with rope at the commencement of the séance.] I put my finger through the loop on her left leg and found that the cord was still round it. I did the same thing to the right leg. Shortly after that, I put my left hand on the medium's head and

she said she was going to rest. I continuously kept my right hand on her left. There then appeared a white hand through the curtain, which dropped something on the top of her head. *It proved to be the cord which had previously been fastened to the left leg.* [I had tied the medium's left leg at the narrowest part of the ankle with this cord. I made four reef knots. The other end of the cord I had attached to the leg and rung of the controller's chair, in the same manner—with four reef knots—pulled tightly. B.]

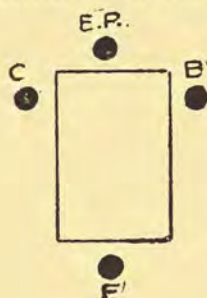
"[F. It did not occur to me when the medium asked me to verify the fastening of her feet two minutes before this incident to do more than ascertain that the ropes were still tied round her ankle, which was so, nor did it occur to me when the coil dropped on her head, that it could possibly be the same cord. When traced by R. to the left leg of his chair, her leg was found free. The rope was of such a kind as to be difficult to untie. A similar knot on the other foot took me about two minutes to untie—using both hands. Even supposing that the medium had freed her hand from R., unperceived and unremembered by him, it is, to me, inconceivable that she could have stooped down and untied the knot with her left hand between the time that I verified the fastenings and the appearance of the rope on her head, unnoticed by R. and me—the light being amply sufficient to follow any action of the kind.] Several touches and a partial levitation of the table ended the séance."

SÉANCE 9

Our ninth séance was held on the evening of December 13, 1908—the conditions being the same as the last séance, with the exception that Messrs. Feilding, Baggally, and myself were alone present. At the last séance, it will be remembered, we waited for more than two hours before any manifestations of note took place. At this séance, on the other hand, hardly had we seated ourselves at the table than

manifestations began! Eusapia allowed us to tie up her hands and her feet with rope—though she had angrily refused to allow us to do so when we had asked her at the previous sitting. The séance began in very good light at 10.12 P.M. I quote from our detailed record—the initial stages of this remarkable séance:

POSITION THROUGHOUT



"Tilts begin almost immediately.

"F. Table tilts on the legs farthest from her.

"10.13. Complete levitation of the table.

"C. The right hand resting on the table, touching mine. My wrist being between hers and the edge of the table. Her right foot in contact with my right foot. I saw a clear space of about nine inches between her dress and the leg of the table.

"B. Complete levitation of the table, for a second time. [During dictation of B.'s control.]

"B. My right hand on both her knees. Her left foot touching my right foot.

"10.14 P.M. F. Complete levitation for the third time in full view of us all.

"B. Another complete levitation!

"F. Both medium's hands completely on top of the table, touching ours.

"C. I can see a clear space of about eight inches between her dress and the table leg all the way down.

"B. Right hand on her two knees. My right foot against her left foot, and I can see between her left leg and the table leg.

"10.16 P.M. Another complete levitation.

"F. Right hand off the table altogether. Left hand on B.'s, pulling the table up with it, which appeared to stick to it.

"10.17. Another complete levitation of the table.

"F. First of all a partial levitation, which lasted about ten seconds, then a complete levitation off all four legs. Right hand touching the table, left hand on B.'s. She raised her hand from the table and the table slid sideways in the air under B.'s hands.

"B. Right hand across both her knees.

"C. Her right hand clenched at first on the table, within three inches of my eyes. My left hand across both her knees. Right foot on my left foot. I can clearly see a space of at least six inches between her dress and the table leg all the way down.

"B. My right knee against her left knee. My right foot against her left foot, and I see a clear space between her leg and the table leg.

"[The light was sufficient to read small print with comfort, at the farther end of the room. The hands were always plainly visible and always situated so that it was clear that the table was not lifted by them. The extreme rapidity of the levitations made complete description almost impossible and it was decided to confine the description of the control to the feet—the control of the hands being obvious to all and description rendered unnecessary. Medium was then told that enough levitations had been produced, but was asked, before proceeding to further phenomena, to produce one more with her feet actually held under the table. F. went under table.]

"F. I have got my hands on both feet.

"C. The table tilts away from her. My left hand on

both her knees. Both hands being flat on the table in full view of us. Her wrists not over the edge. Five raps of table ask for less light.

"LIGHT No. 2.

"F. I have now got my hands on the floor against the table legs, and inside them. Her two feet are between my hands. Five more tilts of the table ask for still less light.

"LIGHT No. 3.

"10.23. Complete levitation of the table.

"Immediately before levitation took place, medium asked F. if he had got her feet all right.

"F. I had my hands on the floor, between her legs and the table legs. Her feet and the whole of her dress were in between my hands.

"C. My left hand on her right knee, her right hand being on the top of my left hand, and it did not leave it.

"B. My right hand on her left knee. Her left hand on the top of my right hand. My foot was away from her foot, but F. had control of her feet."

After this series of remarkable levitation phenomena, Mr. Feilding came out from under the table. Movements of objects in the cabinet occurred one minute after, under conditions of perfect control.

The next minute, the small stool, which had remained outside the cabinet, and which was about a yard distant from Eusapia, now moved of its own accord and approached her. On my side I was continually holding her right hand and foot securely; and B., on his side, paid strict attention to the hand and foot under his care. In spite of our utmost precautions, however, the small stool continued to move about over the floor in response to movements of Eusapia's hands, made above it. Eusapia then placed B.'s hands on the surface of the stool, and rested her hand on his. The stool rose into the air several times—only B.'s hands resting on it. Eusa-

pia removed her hand from the back of B.'s hand altogether, and the stool again rose completely into the air about six inches. During these movements and levitations of the small stool we repeatedly ascertained that Eusapia's feet were well held, and that they did not in any way approach the stool. One of us rose, walked to the stool, placed his hands completely round it, along the carpet and between the stool and the body of the medium. We thereby ascertained that there was no thread, hair, or connection between the stool and the medium's body. After we had done so, however, it continued to move about in response to waves of Eusapia's hand, made in the air, at a distance of some two feet above the stool.

Several touches were experienced by us shortly after this—the first touches we had experienced at any of the séances outside the cabinet curtains and *in front* of the medium. At 11.06 I thought I detected an attempted substitution of feet and bent down to verify the fact. I forgot that the medium's feet had been tied to ours with rope, and the moment I became dissatisfied with the foot control, I proceeded to ascertain the exact position of the feet. The medium became extremely irritated, and woke up from a state of semi-trance into which she had fallen. She said that, as her feet were tied, she did not think that we need worry so particularly where her feet were. As a matter of fact I have now no doubt that I was excessively hypercritical, but my habitual skepticism forced me, almost unconsciously, to investigate the instant I found anything out of place. On this occasion, however, the effects proved disastrous, and served, I believe, to partially ruin a séance that had started so propitiously. The medium expostulated for three quarters of an hour, and it was a long time before she again consented to resume and again attempted to go off into the trance state.

As soon as the séance was resumed, the small stool again began its movements and M., our stenographer, passed his hands completely round the stool, before and after it had moved, in response to movements of Eusapia's hands. In his note he says:

"I got up and examined the little stool, feeling right round it and saw that there was nothing connecting it to the medium's dress. As I was about to resume my place, I saw the little stool again moving and stooped down to watch it. It moved in little jerks about a foot sideways. When it had finished I again put my hands right round it and found no attachment. While I was doing this the stool seemed to brush up against my coat sleeve as though drawn by a magnet. I was again about to sit down when the stool began moving for a third time and I examined it again. There was absolutely no possibility of there being any attachment."

Immediately following these convincing movements of the stool, which appeared to us to be obtained under perfect test conditions, we obtained a complete levitation of the table. The conditions of this levitation were extremely good. An outburst of phenomena seemed to occur just at this period, which I quote from the detailed record:

"11.50 P.M. Complete levitation of the table.

"C. Both hands were on the top of the table. My left hand resting on her right knee. Right foot on her left foot firmly. I can see a clear space between her dress and the leg of the table all the way down.

"B. My right hand on her left knee. My right foot feeling her left foot. There is a space between her leg and the table leg.

"11.58 P.M. F. Standing up at the other end of the table, I saw her make gestures with her right hand at a distance of about three and a half feet from the small stool,

Her left hand being motionless in B.'s, on his corner of the table, and the stool advanced in little jerks toward B.

"C. The curtain has pushed right out on this side about three feet.

"B. I am feeling her left foot with my right foot.

"C. Control the same as before, the whole of the medium's hand being visible. [Still light No. 2.]

"C. The curtain has again pushed out about two feet. Her right hand on my left on the table. Right foot on my left foot firmly.

"B. Control same as before, hand and foot.

"12.01 A.M. Partial levitation of the table. Another partial levitation of the table, almost complete.

"12.02 A.M. The curtain blew out.

"C. I am holding my hand out toward the curtain.

"12.03. Five violent tilts of the table ask for less light.

"12.04. The right curtain has again blown out. [Light No. 3.]"

During the rest of the séance, under perfect conditions of control, we all of us, and I especially, experienced a large number of remarkable touches, and even grasps by a complete hand, the position of the thumb and fingers of which we could plainly define. Scattered throughout the sitting, also, were numerous levitations, blowings out of the curtains of the cabinet and other remarkable manifestations. I quote from the record:

"12.22. Loud noises in the cabinet.

"12.23. Medium asked C. if he had been touched.

"C. I was touched through the curtain as if by a hand. Her right hand holding my left.

"B. Her left hand holding my right hand on her left knee.

"F. Her head is visible to me. I saw the curtain come out at the place where C. was touched.

"12.25 A.M. C. I was touched again as if by a hand



A TABLE LEVITATION.

This photograph shows the exact position of the hands and feet of the medium during one of our levitations. It will be observed how far they are removed from the table. [From a photograph specially taken to illustrate this manifestation.]

through the curtain on the wrist of my right hand as I was stroking the medium's forehead with it.

"C. I am touched again in the same place. Meanwhile I have her right hand, of which I feel the thumb and four fingers, on the table.

"B. I am holding her left hand on her left knee.

"12.26. Complete levitation of the table.

"F. Note that her face and eyes are visible to me over at the opposite end of the table."

These were a remarkable series of touches, especially those on the back of the hand with which I was stroking the medium's forehead, since I could clearly *see* both her hands on the table and my hand was only a few inches distant from my face and quite visible. But still more remarkable phenomena were to follow. I quote again from our record:

"12.38. Two raps.

"C. I am grasped through the curtain by a complete hand. At that time her right foot was pressing strongly against mine. Fingers of her right hand pressing on my left hand on the table, almost in the center of it.

"B. Her left hand holding my right hand on the table. I could see both her hands at the time. Her left foot kicking against my right foot.

"12.43. Medium squeezes on C.'s hand and movements in the cabinet follow. [Thumps on tambourine.]

"B. I was holding her left hand with my right hand on her knee.

"C. Mine, holding medium's, is on the table.

"B. She gives three squeezes of her left hand in my right hand, and synchronizing with these three squeezes, we hear three thumps on the tambourine.

"12.45. C. Corresponding to squeezes of the medium's hand, the tambourine is thumped.

"B. My right hand was holding medium's left hand, and my right foot was on her left foot. My right knee pressing again her left knee.

"C. I am holding medium's right hand by the thumb on the table. Her right foot on my left completely.

"12.47. F. I ask 'Carlo' to give me the tambourine. [Medium said he would do so, and I moved round behind C. F.]

"B. She held my right hand over the table in front of her and made gestures with it in the air and the tambourine slid along the floor.

"C. I am touched again. The same thing has happened again. I was touched three times with fingers on my left hand. The tambourine then jumped up about ten or twelve times inside the cabinet, apparently trying to get to the edge of the curtain, and was then pushed outside the cabinet. I am grasped very firmly by a hand through the curtain on my left arm. I felt the medium's right hand on my left on the table, at the same moment that the tambourine was kicking about inside the cabinet.

"B. I am holding her hand on the table. I can see it quite clearly.

"12.51. Medium wishes to touch C., which she does.

"C. I was grasped just above the left elbow by four fingers and a thumb, which pressed very hard indeed. I am touched on the left side by a hand. I was holding *both* the medium's hands in both of mine, and she was squeezing tightly. Her right foot pressed strongly on my left foot, in contact with my right.

"B. I was holding the wrist of her left hand in my right hand on the table in full view of us all and perfectly visible. My right knee against her left knee. My right foot under her left foot.

"C. I am holding *both* medium's hands in both of my hands, one being clearly visible and one on the table, under the curtain. Absolute control of right foot and leg.

"I A.M. C. I am touched on the face by a hand through the curtain as the medium kicks to and fro. I am again touched on the face by a hand, medium having both her legs round my left leg. Her right hand holding my left on the table, in the middle, under the curtain.

"B. Her left hand holding my right hand on the table, which I see clearly.

"F. Note that heads are visible to me. I am standing up between C. and the curtain, holding my right hand on C.'s shoulder.

"1.03. C. I was touched on the left shoulder strongly. Medium had both her legs round mine, her right hand holding my left under the curtain, in the middle of the table.

"B. I am holding her left hand with my right hand on the table.

"1.05. The tambourine jumps up apparently about twelve times, as if trying to play a tune.

"B. She squeezes my hand synchronously, in tune with it.

"F. I have put my hand between the tambourine and the medium's knee. [I knelt down on the ground and felt right round the tambourine, which was lying near the edge of the curtain, behind and to the left of C.'s chair. There was no attachment.

"C. I am touched on the left arm above the elbow. Control exactly the same as before.

"1.06. C. The tambourine jumps and jerks as though it tried to get on to my lap. Control the same as before.

"B. My control absolutely the same as before.

"1.13. All stand up. F. asks 'John' if he can make an impression on the clay. Three tilts of the table respond: 'Yes.'

"1.17. The medium is told that it is very late, and that if she is unable to do anything else, she must go; but she replies: 'The phenomena are not finished yet.'

"1.24. Something falls over behind the medium. C. ascertains that it is the medium's chair. Medium says: 'Do not take any notice of that, as I might have done it with my foot.'

"1.30. Something moved in the cabinet. Medium says: 'Please note that I did not move at all, then.'"

[Owing to the lateness of the hour, the medium is several times asked whether she would not finish. For sometime she declines. She is asked whether she can get an impression on

the clay; first of all she replied, "They said 'yes,' " but after long-continued efforts, she said she felt tired, and could do no more.]

BELL INCIDENT

One most curious incident occurred on the afternoon of December 15th—on the evening of which day we held our ninth séance. A remarkable physical phenomenon (apparently) occurred, in the presence of two members of the committee only—Eusapia not being present—and, so far as we could discover, paying no particular heed to us at the moment. We had suspended a small bell inside the cabinet by means of a piece of string, in the hope that "John" might ring it during the séance. So far, he had failed to do so, but on this memorable afternoon, the bell rang of its own accord, swinging violently to and fro on its suspending string—without apparent cause, and while only Mr. Baggally and myself were in the room! Indeed, I was in the next room at the time, eating an orange, if I remember rightly, while Mr. Baggally was standing at the table in the center of the room, smoking his pipe and working glycerine and water into the clay which we were to use that evening in our attempt to obtain impressions of hands and faces. I subjoin, herewith, the original notes taken at the time by us, dated and signed.

15th December, 1908.

"8.45 by C.'s watch.

"At a certain moment, when Mr. Baggally was working up our clay at the small table in the center of the room, C. being in the next room, with the door open, the small bell, hanging from the string in the cabinet, rang violently. It struck against the wood of the doorway—a good two and one half feet from the bell. The ringing continued for sev-

eral seconds, with violence, and then stopped. B. was at least nine feet from the bell at the time of ringing and C. could see he did not approach it. Nobody else was in the room at the time. As soon as the bell ceased ringing, we called in Mr. Ryan, from the next room, who opened the curtains and saw (as did we all) that the bell was still swinging on its suspending string. The cabinet was empty save for a chair, standing inside it. We all three heard and saw this remarkable bell phenomenon.

"Signed:

W. W. BAGGALLY,
"HEREWARD CARRINGTON."

"I was adding my final note to my previous evidence when I heard the bell in the next room ring. I attached no importance to this (thinking that B. and C. were testing the apparatus). Mr. Baggally just then rushed in, made me come round and open the curtain. I then saw that the bell was still swinging on its string. I noted the time (deducting $\frac{3}{4}$ minute for time in transit) as twenty-eight minutes to nine P.M. Mr. Baggally's hands were covered with clay, which he was puddling.

"JAMES RYAN."

"15/12/08."

"As to this bell incident, I can express no opinion, not having been present. I came in amidst the general consternation. It is infinitely painful to me, as Hon. Secretary of that most staid body, the S. P. R., to record the state of emotion in which I found my colleagues.

"As to who was responsible for it, we shall never know. If it was 'John,' he reveals a sense of humor on which he deserves sincere congratulation; if a more fleshly jester, the chambermaid and the boots must divide my homage. The only way that I can imagine the bell ringing as it did (it was still swinging as I came in) was by its having fallen from a position of unstable suspense, from which it was dislodged by some concussion. It may have occurred to the chambermaid, or the boots, to balance it on a certain nail in the hopes that it might tumble dramatically later on. Long

practice has failed to disclose any other method. The chambermaid and the boots, delicately questioned, deny blankly. The chambermaid, indeed, is terrified at our cabinet and could barely be persuaded to play 'Eusapia' in some imitation photographs of phenomena we took yesterday. The boots is too stolid for such imaginative leaps. 'John' himself is unquestionable. Taking it all round it is the most perplexing, indeed, annoying, dilemma of this most perplexing month.

"December 17, 1908."

"EVERARD FEILDING."

BELL INCIDENT, December 15, 1908

By W. W. Baggally

I was standing alone at 8.45 P.M. on the evening of December 15th, by the side of a table in the séance room preparing some clay for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, impressions of "John's" fingers, or hand, at the sitting which Eusapia Palladino was to give us on that evening when suddenly a bell in the cabinet gave a bang against some woodwork and rang loudly. I was standing at the time two and three quarter meters from the closed curtains of the cabinet. I looked at Mr. Carrington, who was just within the open doorway of his room and said to him: "Do you hear that?" He exclaimed: "By Jove!" I then rushed into my room where Mr. Ryan was seated writing some notes and I told him what had occurred. He came with me into the séance room, opened the curtains and we all saw the bell swinging violently with the string that it was suspended by. I had anticipated that this string had broken and that the bell had fallen to the ground; my surprise was great to see the bell still hanging and swinging violently. I asked Mr. Carrington to make a note of the occurrence at once and also Mr. Ryan.

After the swinging of the bell had ceased it occurred to me that possibly some one had hung or balanced it on the horizontal cord to which the string (by which the bell hung) was attached, and that if this were so a jerk might cause the bell to fall and ring. I found by experiment that I could

not balance the bell on the cord but that I could balance it on a nail in the cabinet, or hang it on the cord by a small ornamental knob that was on the side of the handle. When so balanced or hung the bell required a jerk to cause it to fall. No one was near the cabinet to give this jerk. The incident has no evidential value, but is very perplexing. It is strange that it should have occurred during the course of the séances.

ADDITION TO BELL INCIDENT

"This bell incident should perhaps be taken in conjunction with one which occurred after, I think, the fifth séance, hitherto not mentioned. I had gone to bed and to sleep. I was presently awakened by C., who came in saying that from his bed in the next room he heard rappings in mine through the open door. They still continued and I rose and went with C. to the cabinet whence they came. They were slow, deliberate raps, apparently on the woodwork near the window. They went on for about a quarter of a minute while we stood there. Unfortunately the light was then turned up and the curtain withdrawn and they immediately stopped.

"Eusapia, when told of this, declared it must have been her 'fluid' which sometimes stayed behind. Perhaps—or a beetle. I do not know.

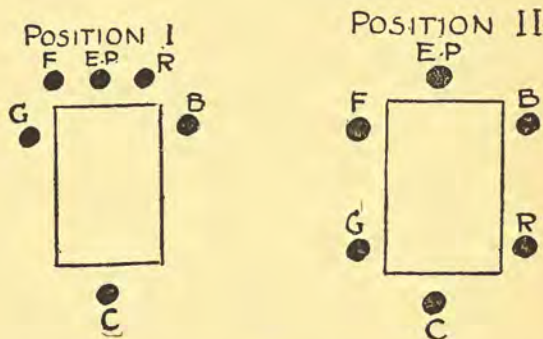
"E. FEILDING."

SÉANCE 10

We had determined to devote the tenth séance to obtaining photographs of levitations, and perhaps other phenomena, and after the brilliant results at the ninth séance, we had great hopes of obtaining some interesting photos as the result of this séance. We accordingly arranged with some photographers to come and take flashlight photographs of the phenomena as they occurred. We stationed them in the next room with their apparatus, flashlight, magnesium, etc.,

and partly closed the folding doors, leading between the two rooms. Our plan was to notify them by means of a given signal when phenomena were about to occur (Eusapia was to warn us in advance) and we should then cry out at the critical moment and obtain a flashlight of a levitation, or whatever the phenomenon might be.

We had also invited to this séance Professor Galeotti, who had attended our fourth séance, and Mr. Ryan, who had been present at the eighth. Messrs. Feilding and Ryan lay down on the floor, and each held one of the medium's feet. Professor Galeotti and Mr. Baggally assumed control of her hands, and I sat at the opposite end of the séance table, getting a clear view of the general proceedings.



It is rather amusing to relate that, after all our preparations, we obtained at this séance no results worth noting! Several times Eusapia informed us that phenomena were about to take place, and we opened the doors leading into the next room and warned the photographers that they were to be ready for the given signal. It never came! Once the magnesium was exploded by mistake and Eusapia nearly had

a fit of hysterics. Several times feeble levitations and tilts took place, but they came without warning, and could not be photographed. The curtains were blown out on several occasions, and we obtained a number of remarkable raps on the table; but, compared with the previous séances, this one must be set down as a complete failure.

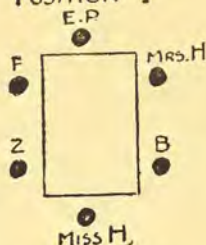
This failure cannot be due, as the sceptic might think, to the fact that Eusapia feared the camera or felt that a photograph might disclose some trick, because she has often been photographed before by other investigators. When we asked her if she had any objection to our taking flashlight photographs of the phenomena, she replied that she had not, and we are assured that she was sincere in her statement, for she had often allowed photographs to be taken under very similar conditions. No; we must assume that the force was weak on this occasion, and, because of the lack of it, the séance was a complete and dismal failure. It was a great pity that this should have been so, since it effectually prevented us from obtaining any photographs of the phenomena in actual progress. But it could not be avoided.

SÉANCE II

The eleventh séance I did not attend, having been compelled to leave Naples and return to New York on certain matters of a private nature which called me away. To this séance, which took place on the evening of December 19, 1908, Messrs. Feilding and Baggally, who had remained, invited Mrs. and Miss Hutton, two English ladies, and M. Zingaropoli, who had already obtained a number of séances with Eusapia and written several short reports upon her and her phenomena. Mrs. Hutton, who was said to

be "an exceptionally keen observer," assumed control of the left side of the medium while Mr. Feilding controlled her right hand and foot. The séance began at 10.05 P.M.

POSITION 1



Three minutes later the tilts became violent, and the next moment a complete levitation of the table occurred. Bulgings of the dress and swellings of the curtain occurred a few moments later. Lights and raps on the sitters' chairs followed.

At 11.02 B. climbed on to the séance table, at the medium's request. Immediately he had done so, a complete arm came out and touched his arm. It was far too high for the medium to have reached. He was then touched by a hand several times, the fingers of which he could feel. At this time his outstretched hand was at least three feet above the medium's head. At this stage of the séance the exact position of the medium's hands was verified, and they were found to be resting on opposite corners of the small table—a distance of about nine or ten inches separating them. At 11.09, just as B. was getting down from the table, a large hand came out, grasped his sleeve and nearly pulled him off the séance table into the cabinet.

A few minutes after the occurrence of these phenomena

the curtains of the cabinet were drawn aside and a white object—described at the time as resembling “a handful of white dough”—appeared at the opening of the curtains about three feet from the medium’s head. The position of the medium’s hands rendered any substitution impossible, as they were held on opposite corners of the séance table, and the curtain, which had blown out over it, remained separating the two hands.

Several more touches were experienced under perfect conditions of control. A black hand came out and grasped Mrs. H. visibly. She saw the hand approach her and finally felt it as it grasped her body. A black head, the features of which were visible, then appeared—coming out from behind the curtains. The medium’s head was resting against Mr. Feilding’s at the moment this phenomenon occurred, and both her hands were accounted for.

At 11.38 an extremely interesting series of phenomena occurred, the record of which I quote from the detailed notes:

“Medium asks F. to pinch him.

“F.¹ I am now pinching her.

“Mrs. H. I am pinched on my right arm.

“F. I am pinching again.

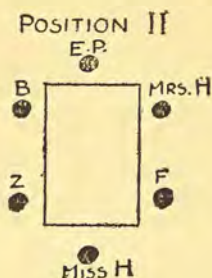
“H. Both at the same time now.

“F. I pinched the medium and Mrs. Hutton felt a pinch simultaneously, but not always; that is to say, sometimes I pinched and she did not feel the pinch.”

B. and F. changed places soon after this, but touches continued to be felt, chiefly by Mrs. Hutton. At one time, however, a hand was active in both B.’s and Mrs. H.’s laps

¹ Besides the usual symbols, in this séance, H=Mrs. Hutton, Z=M. Zingarelli.

at the same moment. The medium's hands were held on opposite corners of the table when this was taking place. Both hands were also *visible* to F. and Mrs. H.



Several more remarkable touches were experienced under perfect conditions of control; then the following incident occurred at 12.11:

"F. Mrs. H.'s left hand was seized by a hand by the wrist and dragged across the table to touch B.'s face.

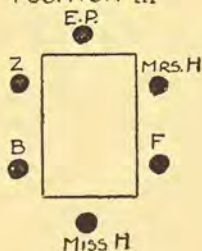
"B. Oh! Here's the hand again. I saw it that time."

At 12.26 one of the most striking phenomena of the whole series took place, since it would have been utterly *impossible* for the medium to have accomplished it, even granting that she had released one hand. M., the stenographer, who had the clearest view of this phenomenon, described it in the following terms:

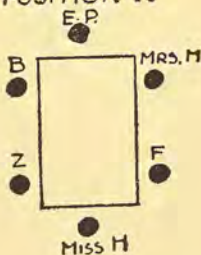
"As the control was no longer to be given in full, I had stood up to try to see some of the phenomena and was standing behind to the right of Mrs. H. I was looking down at the little stool which was on the floor about a foot from the curtain and about two and a half feet from the medium's leg, and wondering whether anything would happen. Sud-

denly, as I was looking, I saw it approach the curtain and the curtain go out toward it. It then climbed very slowly indeed up the curtain, horizontally, one corner only pointing in and touching the curtain on the outside. It gave me the impression of being drawn up as if by a kind of magnet on the other side of the curtain. *It slid past the curtain, which remained motionless.* I felt up the curtain as it was climbing up on both sides of the stool, but not between the stool and the curtain, as I was afraid of interfering with the movements. There was nothing tangible behind. When it had climbed up to a distance of about one and a half feet above Mrs. H.'s shoulder it seemed to turn, and drawing the curtain with it, went over Mrs. H.'s shoulder on to the séance table. At the moment it was turning I was curious to verify the position of the medium's left hand. I began by Mrs. H.'s shoulder, felt all down her arm, discovered she was holding the medium's right hand, which I felt right up to the medium's shoulder. On bringing my hand down again to the medium's hand she made a violent movement as if to push it away and said: 'Somebody is breaking the current, *Fili!*' "

POSITION III



POSITION IV



B. and Z. here changed places for a short period, but B. again assumed control of her right hand after a few minutes.

B. continued to receive touches on his hand and arm, both the medium's hands being securely held and visible;

and at 1 A.M. he was grasped by a complete hand while he was holding *both* the medium's hands in his—as I held them in the ninth séance. He remarked at the time:

"I have got both her hands now. Yes, it has touched me again. It is an absolute proof to me that this hand is not the hand of the medium. I have got both her thumbs. I am holding her right hand in my left hand, my right hand is on the right end of the table holding her left. This hand is still playing about with me.

"F. B.'s left hand is now lying on the corner of the table and a hand from inside the curtain plays with it. Meanwhile he is holding the two thumbs of the medium in his right hand visible to me.

"B. Oh! It is touching me again. I have verified the foot control."

At 1.15 the medium said she was tired, and the séance officially terminated. Several raps, under excellent conditions of control, were, however, obtained; the account of which reads as follows:

"Lights are gradually turned up, but medium still keeps her place as also do B. and H. After a time:

"B. Medium makes three gestures toward the door and three noises are heard in it.

"M. This in light No. 1. Next room door open with full electric light on.

"H. I heard them.

"B. Several times medium makes gestures and each time raps are heard in the door. These gestures and raps were made a considerable number of times, finishing by four large gestures and four loud raps."

[F. B. called me in from the other room. I asked medium to repeat the raps. It seemed as though the force were expended. She made three or four gestures and no raps followed. Then she made a final gesture and a loud

rap followed. It appeared to me distinctly to come from the door beside which I was standing; her feet at least three feet from the door and her hand, as she made the gesture, did not approach to within six inches of it. There was a clear space between the whole of the medium and the door.]

CHAPTER V

RÉSUMÉ OF THEORIES ADVANCED TO EXPLAIN THESE PHENOMENA

BEFORE we can profitably discuss any of the scientific or philosophical theories that have been advanced to explain the facts based upon the supposed genuineness of the phenomena, it is, of course, necessary for us, first of all, to consider and successfully exclude all purely normal explanations.

Apart from the notion that the investigators of Eusapia have deliberately falsified the facts—a notion which cannot be seriously entertained at this date—there remain only two normal explanations which can be advanced. These are: hallucination and fraud.

Now, I contend that hallucination, as an explanation of these facts, is absolutely excluded by the nature of the evidence. It might conceivably be an explanation of some few of the facts, but could not be held to explain the greater number of them. We should have to assume (and for this there is no warrant whatever) that Eusapia, without speaking a word—frequently, while she is in deep trance, and absolutely quiescent—can so influence her sitters as to cause them to see sights and hear noises which had no basis whatever in reality! Were one disposed to press this theory, he would find that there is no analogy whatever in hypnotic cases or in historic cases of similar type. I discussed this question of possible hallucination in connection with the

mediumship of D. D. Home at some length in my *Physical Phenomena of Spiritualism*, pp. 386-93. I there pointed out that, although there were a number of facts which tended to support such a theory, there were, on the contrary, numerous other facts tending to disprove it, and which, in fact, were cumulatively so strong as to offset and disprove this hypothesis. I further analyzed the performances of the Hindu Yogis and fakirs in connection with this question of hallucination and found that there was but little evidence in favor of any such theory—while the difference between the performances of the Hindu fakirs, as reported, and the phenomena of Home were many and obvious throughout.¹ While the fakir performs his experiments by prefacing them with various conjurations, incantations, the burning of incense, etc., the modern medium does not resort to any such devices (or, at least, Home and Eusapia cannot be said to have done so), but, on the contrary, they remain passive throughout, and do not attempt to suggest to their sitters the phenomena which are to take place. It might be urged that Home did occasionally suggest phenomena to his sitters; but the same cannot be said of Eusapia, since she very rarely speaks and when she does it is almost invariably about some matter-of-fact subject not connected with the séance. Those who contend, therefore, that Eusapia could by such means induce full-blown hallucinations in a large circle of sitters are bound to prove their theory, since they would find no support whatever from any analogy drawn from hypnotically induced hallucinations, or hallucinations that are the result of any process of suggestion.

Throughout the séances we were in a perfectly calm and critical attitude of mind, closely observing all that took

¹ See, in this connection, my pamphlet entitled *Hindu Magic*.

place, while on the constant lookout for fraud. It would be hard to conceive an attitude of mind further removed from suggestibility than ours. We were active, alert, and intent on controlling the phenomena rather than letting them control us! Further, it must be remembered that Eusapia speaks no English and very little French, so that all her remarks had to be translated to me (I speak no Italian), and yet I saw or failed to see all that Mr. Feilding and Mr. Baggally did—both of whom speak Italian and could understand Eusapia at first hand. It is hardly conceivable that any suggestion made by Eusapia could take effect under these circumstances, or, at any rate, if any critic thinks so, the responsibility is thrown upon him of proving his case. There is no analogous case in the whole history of psychical research. Even if D. D. Home succeeded in hallucinating some of his sitters, the case would be very different with Eusapia. Suppose that Eusapia said, "See! There is a head!" pointing in a certain direction. This remark would have to be translated to me—into English—before I would know what it meant, and this waiting and translation of the remark would surely take the edge off any suggestion that the medium might make. It is a most difficult thing to induce full-blown hallucinations in a good hypnotic subject, and even when he is thoroughly under control, he frequently refuses to take the suggestion. This being so, how are we to believe that three men, who have never been hypnotized, who are not in a suggestible, but, on the contrary, in a very positive frame of mind, can be hallucinated in this simple manner? The thing is incredible.

But there is another answer to the critics who would urge hallucination as an explanation of the facts. Eusapia very rarely makes suggestions of the kind, and when she does

they are given in a dreamy, far-away voice, very different from the positive, convincing tone of the hypnotic operator. In all our sittings, we do not remember that Eusapia directly suggested to us more than three or four phenomena, and it is interesting to note that, on at least one occasion, we did not see what she indicated, or rather what she said would happen did not happen and she admitted that it had not taken place. If any phenomenon took place, we all saw it at one and the same time; and if a hand was seen by one of us and not by all, it was for the simple reason that the curtain or some material object was between the hand and the onlooker. Everything indicated that the facts observed by us were objective in character, and that none of them were subjective. We felt and still feel that it would only be necessary for the critic to attend a few séances with this medium in order to be assured of that fact.

But there is still more conclusive evidence that the phenomena witnessed in the presence of Eusapia are not subjective in their nature, or the result of any process of hallucination. These phenomena have been *photographed*, and it is to be assumed that the camera and the sensitive plate cannot be hypnotized in the same way as a human being! Numerous cases are on record in which levitations of tables and other phenomena have been photographed, and there is no longer any doubt as to the objective character of some of these phenomena—whatever the explanation may be; it is certain that facts, apparently supernatural, have occurred and have been photographed. Additional evidence is furnished by those cases in which records of the phenomena have been obtained by instrumental means. The actual *occurrence* of a phenomenon has been proved, *e.g.*, by means of revolving cylinders, electrical apparatus, and other devices

which have checked the progress of the phenomena by purely automatic means. Henceforth, therefore, no critic of these phenomena, whatever theory he may choose to hold regarding them, can contend that hallucination is an adequate explanation of the facts, and it must accordingly be abandoned.

Now let us turn to the second possible normal explanation of the facts—namely, fraud. It is far more difficult to combat this theory than the preceding one, and it is in fact a *vera causa*, inasmuch as Eusapia has been known to defraud her sitters whenever she could, and all investigators have found that, were she permitted, she would occasionally release one hand or one foot, and endeavor to produce phenomena with it. This happened at our own sittings, and has doubtless occurred more or less at every series of sittings held by other investigators. To the man-in-the-street it would appear that this effectually bars all further scientific investigation. If a medium has been caught tricking, he would urge, she is a fraud and need be investigated no longer! It is useless to look for genuine phenomena in the presence of a fraudulent medium. In spite of the apparent rationality of this argument, however, all those investigators who have had much experience with Eusapia, contend that this argument is not valid in her case and that genuine phenomena *do* occur in her presence, if fraud be prevented, and she is controlled with sufficient accuracy to prevent her from releasing her hands and feet and producing or attempting to produce fraudulent manifestations. The reason for this attempted fraud on her part I shall endeavor to state presently. Just now I need only say that fraud alone is incapable of accounting for all the phenomena

that have been observed in her presence from time to time in the past.

Take, for example, the following instances. In their Report on the île Roubaud phenomena, the *savants* there experimenting recorded certain occurrences that took place when both hands, both feet, and the head of Eusapia were adequately held—*e.g.*, in the following instance:¹

"A covered wire of the electric battery came out on to the table and wrapped itself round R.'s and E.'s hands, and was pulled until E. called out. Thenceforth R. held her head and body, M. kept one hand and both feet, while L. held the other hand, and in this position E. made several spasmodic movements, each of which was accompanied or followed by violent movements of the neighboring round table."

"L., holding *both* hands of E., was distinctly touched as by a hand on the shoulder and back of head. The hairy mass was again felt by him."

"L. was then permitted to hold both hands and both feet, and he was then touched twice on the back and grasped distinctly on the left arm. E. then held up one of L.'s hands, and with it made two small movements and with each movement a chair not far distant grated along the floor as if pushed or pulled."

"While Lodge held both the medium's hands on the table and also her head leaning over on him away from the châlet and while Richet held both her feet, the suspended châlet was heard to be wound up partially three times with brief pauses, making four seconds in all—as heard and recorded by Bellier."

It will be observed that in some of the above instances both hands and both feet, as well as the head of the medium, were adequately held when the phenomenon took place, and

¹ R. stands for Richet; M. for Myers; L. for Lodge; O. for Ochorowicz; and E. for Eusapia.

are accounted for in the notes. Now it is only rational to suppose that if a man is intrusted with the safe-keeping of both the medium's hands, he knows when he has these two hands, and he would not be liable to confuse them with one hand. If the two hands are being held by different sitters, who are not on the constant lookout for fraud, who are not aware of the tricks resorted to by Eusapia in order to substitute one hand for two, it is at least conceivable that the hands had been approximated during the séance and that substitution had taken place. But when, as here, we find that *both* hands have been held by the same investigator, one in each of his, and while both feet and the head have been held by other investigators, it would really appear inconceivable that any substitution could have taken place, or that the medium could have induced the sitters controlling her hands and feet to believe that they were holding one hand and one foot under such conditions! It is, I repeat, inconceivable; and doubly so when we remember the scientific eminence of her investigators, who were all well aware of the possible methods of trickery and on the constant lookout for it; and when, moreover, the light was sufficiently abundant to enable them to *see* as well as to feel the hands they were holding and to observe a clear, lighted space between the medium's body and the object moved.¹

In our own séances I am absolutely certain that fraud was not and could not have been employed in the vast majority of cases. Not only did we feel the hands con-

¹ I think it should be added here that I had the pleasure of discussing these phenomena with Professor Lombroso, at Turin; with MM. Flammarion, Maxwell, Youriévitich, Courtier, etc., in Paris, and in every instance a full belief in the reality of the phenomena had remained with the investigators. None of them had found any new indications of fraud whatever, or any symptom that would tend to cause them to change their opinion as to the reality of these phenomena.

trolled by us, not only did we encircle them with our hands, trace the arm to the body, and ascertain from the relative position of the thumb and fingers which hand we were holding, but we could frequently *see*, as well as feel, the medium's hands resting in ours upon the table or stretched before us perfectly visible. When it is sufficiently light to see and not only feel the hand; when one can see the very texture of the flesh, the finger nails, the distance between the fingers, etc., it is really absurd to talk of substitution, since it would be as impossible to produce any of these phenomena unobserved as it would be to do so in full daylight and during the course of a social chat. When the light is sufficiently abundant to see as well as feel the hands, the head, the feet, and all portions of the medium's body; when the medium is being securely held on both sides by skeptical investigators, who are themselves conjurers, and who have exposed numerous mediumistic tricks; when, in addition to all this, the medium's hands and feet have remained securely tied with rope to the hands and feet of the investigators on either side of her—I repeat, it is absurd to talk of fraud when phenomena have been produced under such circumstances. I quote a few instances from our own detailed record, showing how complete was our control of the medium at the very moment of the production of an important phenomenon.

“F. I have asked the medium whether I could feel the hand also (which we had felt through the curtain). She replied, ‘Yes.’ F. stands to the left of C. and leans over with his left hand outstretched about two and a half feet above and to the left of the medium's head. Immediately after:

“F. I am touched by something directly upon the point of my finger.

"12.11 A.M. F. I am touched again. I am taken hold of by fingers and I can feel the nails quite plainly. [F. My forefinger was pressed hard by three separate fingers above it and a thumb below through the curtain. I felt the nails quite distinctly as they pressed into my finger. December 6, 1908.]

"C. Her head pressing against my head. I am absolutely holding her left hand upon the table. Both her legs are around my right leg under the chair.

"B. I am absolutely certain that her right hand is on my left hand on her right knee.

"F. I am touched again. Grasped this time as though by the lower part of a thumb and fingers.

"B. I am touched gently on my hand and at the same moment I am touched by a hand on my shoulder. Also the curtain came out as though struck violently by a hand from within."

At 12.24 the following phenomenon took place:

"C. I am touched. Oh, my hair is pulled by a complete hand through the curtain! Medium's head resting against mine, medium's left hand [control stated but omitted in stenographic notes], the whole of her left arm controlled by my right arm and her left foot on my right foot.

"B. Medium's right hand is on my left hand on the table. I am sure it is her right hand, as I can feel her thumb. Her right foot is on my left foot, and I can feel the side of her leg against my leg.

"F. When Carrington was touched I saw the curtain come right out over the medium's head."

Now it would appear to me that, unless the skeptic chooses to believe that we have deliberately falsified the facts, there is no other alternative in such cases than to accept the only logical conclusion, and to believe that genuine phenomena were produced. Both hands and both feet were securely held; both arms were under control; both feet and

the legs as far as the knees were also completely under control. The same may be said of the medium's head, which was resting against my head. Farther, the light was sufficiently good to enable us to *see* the hands we were holding. We would lift them up to within six inches of our eyes and examine their texture in detail—ascertaining that stuffed gloves or dummy hands were not held by us, and we manipulated the hands in such a way that we forced responsive squeezes or pressures from the medium's hands—showing that the hands we were holding were really *living* hands, and were not mere dummies. We ascertained that these hands were connected with her body by tracing their connection with our free hands. Further, be it observed, a substitution of hands would have been impossible; first, because one hand was held in her lap, while the other was held upon the surface of the table. This was done purposely and in order to avoid any possibility of approximating the hands. Secondly, we generally held Eusapia's hand by the thumb or by encircling the whole of her hand in ours. By this means it was possible to tell which hand one was holding—because of the relative position of the thumb and fingers. When, therefore, phenomena took place under such circumstances, I think we were quite justified in asserting that fraud is incapable of explaining the facts and that, whatever their ultimate explanation may be, we shall have to seek elsewhere for it than in the simple hypothesis of trickery and fraudulent substitution of hands.

Before concluding this discussion of fraud and its possibilities, however, I wish to answer, in a general way, one or two serious critics of these phenomena, by way of illustration.

I shall choose one of the most recent and authoritative of these.

In the *Proceedings* of the S. P. R., for February, 1909, Mrs. Sidgwick published her review of Professor Morselli's book, *Psicologia E Spiritismo*, and in her review she answered several critics of the Cambridge experiments, and stated her views—and not only hers, but, I feel justified in saying, those of the majority of the S. P. R. officials—of Eusapia Palladino's mediumship. Mrs. Sidgwick regards Professor Morselli as "a good and careful observer" who is aware that Eusapia Palladino does sometimes trick, and who has, in fact, "himself sometimes detected her in trickery, or what looks suspiciously like it." As a matter of fact, Professor Morselli estimated that less than ten per cent. of her phenomena were due to fraud (Vol. I, p. 312), the remaining ninety per cent. being genuine phenomena.

Mrs. Sidgwick emphasizes on several occasions her opinion that it is useless to speculate as to the nature of the phenomena—*i.e.*, whether or not they are spiritistic in character, or whether they represent "some unknown biological law"—until the facts themselves have been established. Until all normal explanations (*e.g.*, trickery) have been eliminated and the phenomena proved to exist, it is useless to speculate concerning them. I think Professor Morselli would agree with this, but it must be remembered that, in his estimation at least, the phenomena have been definitely proved, so far proved that there is no longer any doubt in his mind concerning their reality, and, to himself, he is accordingly justified in theorizing as to their origin and nature. I must say that before I obtained my sittings I, too, took Mrs. Sidgwick's view—writing in my *Coming Science*, p. 382: "Personally, I think that it is premature to speculate on the origin and na-

ture of such phenomena as those presented by Eusapia Palladino. The facts are not yet sufficiently well established to warrant any speculations of the kind, though one can well see how it would be a temptation to offer such speculations when one has been thoroughly convinced of the nature and genuineness of the phenomena."

My own sittings convinced me finally and conclusively that genuine phenomena *do* occur, and, that being the case, the question of their interpretation naturally looms before me. While Mrs. Sidgwick's attitude is, therefore, justified in so far as it represents the position of one as yet unconvinced, it does not necessarily indicate the position of one fully convinced, as I became, and as Professor Morselli became—as the result of his sittings.

I cannot agree with Mrs. Sidgwick, moreover, when she says that the hypothesis of the agency of spirits would not render Eusapia's phenomena more intelligible. For the minor phenomena, there is certainly no need for such a theory; indeed, the facts seem to point against it (p. 268); but for the more important phenomena of materializations, etc., such, *e.g.*, as those quoted on p. 147, I think that not only is the spiritistic hypothesis justified as a working theory, but it is, in fact, the only one capable of rationally explaining the facts. Certainly we should not be entitled to disregard it; far less should we contend that the hypothesis is superfluous—when a large number of the facts point to it as their only rational explanation.

Mrs. Sidgwick is right in saying that there is a great uniformity and sameness about Eusapia's sésances. Certainly this would argue that she is only capable of producing a limited number of phenomena by fraudulent means. But we might also argue that this sameness pointed to the genuine charac-

ter of the séances—inasmuch as the power which produced the phenomena was probably capable of producing only a certain number of phenomena within a limited range. Moreover, the fact that there is this sameness should facilitate the detection of fraud, when once it is known to exist, and when we know precisely the kind of fraud to look for.

But it is not altogether true that Eusapia's séances have a sameness about them. In our own series of sittings, fresh phenomena were added at every séance, and the phenomena became more startling and convincing, took place at greater and greater distances from Eusapia, and we came nearer and nearer to obtaining full-form materializations as the séances progressed—inasmuch as we obtained no materializations at all during the first séance, and but feeble ones during the first three or four, but they became more numerous and stronger as the series progressed, until finally distinct heads and white tangible hands touched us outside the curtains, and *in front* of Eusapia—whereas, at first, these hands had only ventured to touch us *through the curtain*. When, therefore, we find that, even in a short series of sittings, materializations of *parts* of a body may be obtained, it is only reasonable to suppose that full-form materializations might be obtained in a large number of sittings, under better and more favorable conditions than prevailed at ours. It is a question of *degree*, not of *kind*, be it observed; and inasmuch as we were definitely convinced that materialized hands did manifest, I can see no rational ground for skepticism.

Mrs. Sidgwick tells us that, at Cambridge, "no dark curtained recess was especially provided." The importance of a cabinet at Eusapia's séances is certainly obvious to all who have had sittings with her—at least of late years—and one can quite understand that, being deprived of it, Eusapia's

mediumship would suffer. We are glad to have Mrs. Sidgwick's formal refutation of the current ideas concerning Eusapia's unhappiness and loneliness at Cambridge. She was submitted to no offensive searching and the investigators evidently did everything in their power to make her happy and contented. But the Cambridge sittings certainly differed from ours, and probably from those of other investigators in one very important point. Speaking of the Cambridge series, Mrs. Sidgwick says:

"There is, at these sittings, so much moving of the position of the whole circle, including the medium, so much restlessness altogether, and so much difficulty in ascertaining what were the exact relative positions of the phenomena, that it is difficult to get clear evidence. . . ."

Now, in our sittings, Eusapia remained a passive agent throughout. Occasionally we changed places, the controller on the right taking the place of the controller on the left, and *vice versa*, but Eusapia rarely moved her position, and during a large part of every sitting she remained entirely passive, moving neither hand nor foot—her whole body, on occasion, resting against ours, and being entirely encircled by our arms and hands. So far as I am aware, such conditions were not permitted at Cambridge, but I think that we are justified in saying that our own séances form an efficient reply to this objection by Mrs. Sidgwick, and formally and explicitly refute this criticism—based upon the supposed constant restlessness of Eusapia.

I quite agree with Mrs. Sidgwick that numerous suspicious instances were noticed at Cambridge (*e.g.*, the incident of the handkerchief, p. 520), even before fraudulent substitution of hands was actually detected. I also agree that when

the hands were held as they were at that period, one might have been a good observer and yet tricked into believing that he was securely holding one hand, when as a matter of fact he was not. Further and finally, I heartily agree with Mrs. Sidgwick when she contends that almost the whole force of the argument for supernormal phenomena rests upon this single fact: whether the hands and feet were adequately held at the time.

But I think there are numerous instances on record which indicate clearly that both hands *were* securely held during the production of remarkable phenomena; and, further than this, and still more conclusive, is the evidence that they were *seen* resting upon the table, held in the hands of her controllers. Secondly, there are, as Mrs. Sidgwick herself admits, many cases on record which cannot be accounted for, even supposing that Eusapia had one, or even both hands free—but that in order to produce the manifestations fraudulently, she must have left her place at the table and walked about the room!

Now, in our own series of sittings, phenomena were produced on various occasions when we felt absolutely certain that both hands were securely held, and this, not only because we could feel the *whole* of her hand, but because both hands were distinctly *visible* to us resting upon the table. Thus, at our ninth séance, at 10.44, Mr. Feilding, who was sitting at the opposite end of the table from Eusapia—and certainly farther away from her than either of her controllers—said: "I can see the medium's left hand on B.'s. I can see Carrington's hand held out against the curtain. I can see her right hand on the table. I can see from where I am a strong movement of the small stool; her head is perfectly visible to me."

Again, at the same séance, at 12.51, I was touched on the left side by a hand, while I was holding *both* the medium's hands in mine, and while they were both perfectly visible to me. This occurred again a few moments later. It will be remembered that Professor Lodge was several times touched under precisely similar circumstances during the course of the île Roubaud phenomena. Again, during our sixth séance, we were repeatedly touched by a hand through a curtain, while I was holding Eusapia's left hand *in her lap*, and while Mr. Baggally was holding her right hand *upon the table*. The hands were separated by more than two feet from one another, and no attempt whatever was made to approximate or substitute the hands. One hand was perfectly visible to us, held in mine. The other hand resting beneath the curtain on the table. The touches occurred on my side, and, the hand I held being visible throughout, Eusapia must have released her right arm in order to produce them. Now, many of the touches were far beyond her reach, *even had she the right hand free*, and Mr. Baggally is absolutely certain that such was *not* the case—since he could feel the flesh of her hand and repeatedly ascertained that the hand he was holding was connected with her body by means of her normal arm.

All the objections Mrs. Sidgwick raises might be met if we could suppose that Eusapia materializes for the time being a *third arm*, which produces these phenomena, and which recedes into her body at the conclusion of a phenomenon. Incredible as such a supposition doubtless is, there is evidence tending to show that such is indeed the case. Professor Bottazzi relates that he, on more than one occasion, saw a hand which a moment before he had felt, and found to be "lukewarm, nervous and rough" (the exact opposite of Eusapia's

hand), "retreat into Mme. Palladino's shoulder, describing a curve." At the eighth séance, held in July, 1907, Professor Galeotti distinctly saw *the doubling of the left arm of the medium*. He exclaimed: "Look, I see two left arms, identical in appearance! One is on the little table, and it is that which M. Bottazzi touches, and the other seems to come out of her shoulder—to approach her, and touch her, and then return and melt into her body again. This is not an hallucination. I am awake, I am conscious of two simultaneous visual sensations, which I experienced when Mme. Bottazzi says that she has been touched."

It will be seen, therefore, that, impossible as such an idea may seem, there is evidence tending to show that such a phenomenon may in fact, occur, and if it were once definitely proved that such were the case, it would readily explain a large portion of the Cambridge experiments in a manner quite compatible with her honesty and with the existence of her genuine supernormal powers.

Of course there is the objection that fraud was actually *detected* at Cambridge, and that, in a very large number of instances, a suspicious narrowing down of the control of the hand to two or three fingers was noticed—generally, though not invariably, followed by an instantaneous release of the hand altogether from the sitter's control. Such facts would certainly seem to indicate the practice of fraud, and the only scientific procedure in such cases would be to assume that it *did* indicate fraud—particularly when it was detected in active operation at later séances. Yet, in view of our own experiences, I feel constrained to doubt the accuracy of the deductions. We repeatedly noted that Eusapia worked her hands into what might be called a good "substitution position," without her taking any advantage of the fact, and in many

instances Eusapia's holding of our hands became quite unsatisfactory, and her hands even left ours altogether for the fraction of a second, returning to them later—during or immediately before the production of a phenomena. While we always insisted that her hands should be immediately replaced on ours in a satisfactory manner upon these occasions, we were, nevertheless, quite certain that no substitution had taken place, for the reason that we could distinctly *see* her hand the whole time, and noticed that she did not, in fact, produce any fraudulent phenomenon with it—though, had the room been dark and had we been compelled to judge from the sense of touch alone, unaided by sight, we should certainly have come to the conclusion that she frequently effected a substitution of hands, and produced the observed phenomena.

In view of these facts, then, I cannot but feel that a large proportion of the supposed substitutions of hands at Cambridge were, in fact, not real substitutions at all, but merely instinctive or automatic reflexes on Eusapia's part—synchronizing with the phenomenon—and that her hand instinctively tried to free itself and endeavored to reach the object to be removed in a normal manner. It must be remembered that Eusapia has frequently stated that, at the moment of the production of any phenomenon, she feels a strong desire to produce the phenomenon normally, by means of her hands, and unless she is prevented from doing so, her hand will often shoot out automatically and move the object in a natural way. But if she be prevented from doing so, and her hands are securely held, this instinctive desire is prevented from becoming externalized in motor expression and the phenomenon is produced at a distance from the medium—in spite of the utmost rigor as to the control of her hands.

It will be observed that almost the whole of Mrs. Sidgwick's criticism is based upon the supposed substitution of hands and feet, and is colored, naturally, by the Cambridge exposure. But, as I have before pointed out, many phenomena have been observed in the past, and were observed by us, which could not have been accounted for even had Eusapia freed one hand, or even both hands. I need not give instances in this place, since they are numerous, and Mrs. Sidgwick herself admits that such instances exist. But once grant the genuine character of at least some of the phenomena and what rational ground is there for refusing to believe that a large proportion of them are also genuine—only that the evidence does not prove that fact? I feel quite convinced that at least the majority of the phenomena we observed were genuine, and could not possibly have been produced by fraud, and I think this is the opinion, also, of my colleagues and of the majority of investigators who have had a large number of sittings with Eusapia, and who prevented, instead of allowed, fraud on her part. The existence of *one single phenomenon* having been proved, it opens the way for numbers of others, equally well established, and even for those far less conclusively proved—since, all *a priori* objection having been removed, it becomes merely a question of sufficient evidence. We ourselves ascertained, however, how difficult a matter it is to present evidence of the sort which would be necessary to convince a skeptic who had not been present at the sittings; and, bearing in mind that fact, and remembering our own previous attitude toward these phenomena, I am prepared to allow the critic much indulgence, and we even have sympathy with those minds who cannot as yet accept the phenomena as proved. Personal sittings, I feel assured, would finally convince; and short of

these, the utmost I can hope for is that the printed evidence, as presented in our own series of sittings, will at least assist in removing a large number of doubts and objections that have existed in the past, relative to Eusapia's mediumship.

Of course it is conceivable that Eusapia might have attached a string or a hair to some of the smaller objects and moved them by pulling this with her foot, or some part of her body, unnoticed by us; but I am quite convinced that she did not do so, (1) because no movement of the sort was discovered; (2) because there was a clearly lighted space between her body and the object; (3) because we were constantly on the alert for any attempt of the sort on her part, and were on the lookout for any movement that could be construed as bending down and affixing hairs, threads, etc., to objects; (4) because we ascertained on several occasions that no such hair, thread, or string was, in fact, pulled *during the actual production of the phenomenon*. I cite one case by way of illustration of this: During the ninth séance, the small stool which we had placed just outside the cabinet, about three feet distant from the medium, came out of its own accord and moved up to within a foot of her. Eusapia waved one of her hands, still controlled by ours, above the stool, and it moved in various directions, corresponding to the movements of her hand. She then approached her hand to the stool and a complete levitation resulted. One of us then passed his hands between the stool and the medium's body, and along the carpet, showing that no thread, hair, string, or other attachment was possible. We picked up the stool and examined it, replacing it on the ground. We did not allow Eusapia to touch the stool with hand or foot, after it had been placed on the floor, but held her hand in ours about three feet above the stool, and held her leg by knee

and ankle on the side nearest the stool. There was a brightly illuminated patch of carpet of about eighteen inches between the small stool and her skirt. In spite of these precautions, however, the stool immediately began its movements, and rose into the air several times under the hands of one of the investigators and without being touched in any way by Eusapia. We considered that this was a test phenomenon, which had been obtained under conditions absolutely precluding fraud.

If, then, fraud is unable to account for many of the phenomena, it is certainly rational to suppose that the more marvelous phenomena, observed from time to time, are also due to some supernormal force, and cannot be accounted for by any process of trickery or hallucination. It is merely a question of *degree*, not of *kind*. Once grant the existence of the simplest phenomenon, unrecognized by physical science, and the way is opened for the admission of the more extraordinary facts, which, in themselves, would prove everwhelmingly incredible.

Before I had had my personal sittings, I had been an extremely severe critic of the reports of others—I now think, too severe. It is a very different matter—being convinced of the phenomena oneself, and convincing others. Never before had I realized how impossible, almost, it is to frame a report in such a manner that it shows that fraud was absolutely excluded. To those who have not had much experience in these phenomena, it would doubtless appear to be extremely simple; but such is by no means the case. Facts which appear to the onlooker obvious are omitted in the report, and the result is that, when the report appears in print, these defects—as they seem to be to the public—ap-

pear to be glaringly conspicuous. Thus, when the hands of the medium are both plainly visible, the average investigator does not think of constantly reiterating the fact that the hands are visible and constantly held; yet if he does not say so, critics who do not see the progress of the séance, but only the printed reports, will find fault with him for not stating just such facts, and will hold that the séances are inconclusive because of the lack of these recorded impressions. Only the critic who knows the extreme value of recording every movement of the medium, would think of recording, every moment, the exact position of her hands and feet; so that, when phenomena took place, they were accounted for. In our sittings we endeavored to supply this hitherto fundamental defect, and supplied, from moment to moment, exact descriptions of the position of each hand and each foot. This the reader will see, however, when consulting the detailed records.

In criticising these séances—*i.e.*, the work of other men, before obtaining sittings myself—I wrote in part as follows—and the reader will see that I certainly did not lack in skepticism. In reviewing M. Flammarion's book, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, I said:

"Now, in going over the facts that are recorded in this book, one finds many loopholes that enable one to think that fraud might have been practised on such and such an occasion. Thus, for instance: the holding of the medium is carefully described, and the amount of light recorded. It is then stated that the sitters changed places, and soon after this, wonderful phenomena took place. But it will be observed that we are not told how the medium was held *after* the sitters changed places, and if the amount of light was the same. Again, it is quite inconclusive to anyone who knows the possibilities of fraud, in such cases, to be told that the 'medium

was securely held' while manifestations were in progress. What we want to know is *how* she was held; and that, not in general terms but in the greatest and most exact detail. The position of the fingers and the thumb should be indicated, and it should be stated what parts of the medium's hand, and how much of it, they were holding. Again, at the moment of the production of any phenomenon, the control-holders should make it a point of never looking at the phenomenon, but of examining, minutely, the hands they were controlling, and exchange remarks at that instant, as to the amount of control sustained, and how satisfactory it was. Further, when any object is moved, or any musical instrument played, etc., it is very inconclusive to state that it was 'at some distance' from the medium. What the critic wants to know is just *how far away* the object was, in feet and inches, and he can then estimate for himself the possibility of fraud on the part of the medium. In other words, the critic should not be called upon to accept the judgment of any of those forming the circle for his conclusions. What he wants is the *facts*, and he can form his own opinion from these. These opinions may be wrong, but it must be emphasized over and over again that the only way in which the scientific man can ever be influenced is by patiently recording all the details—they cannot be too detailed—and allowing the critic to form his opinions of the phenomena from the facts, and not from the opinions of the persons witnessing the facts.

"It should be borne in mind, by those having sittings with Eusapia, that much of the trickery practised by professional mediums is prepared beforehand, and almost invariably the trick is done at some other time than that at which the spectators suppose it is done. Just as the conjurer counts 'one, two, three!' and, while the attention of the spectators is focused on the word 'three,' and what is to happen thereat, the conjurer has opportunity to perform the trick during the 'one, two' period, or even before the counting began at all. In the Palladino case, this should be borne in mind, and a close watch kept upon the movements of Eusapia during the intermissions or rests—to see that she does not attach strings

to the furniture, make imprints in the prepared putty, etc. At the very time of making the experiments it is quite possible that Eusapia would be totally unable to use either of her hands or her feet; but we must have equal surety that she has not had the opportunity of accomplishing these phenomena before the intermission of the séance closed. Frequently we are told that sitters are enabled to rise and walk about the room, look behind the cabinet curtains, etc. Does this mean that they have broken the circle in order to do this, or was there no circle to break? Another word of caution. The imprints of hands, faces, etc., in the putty or clay, were not, apparently, produced by Eusapia—at least at the time of the holding, and during the séance. But is it possible that Eusapia had concealed about her person plaster casts of hands and faces that she could in some manner impress into the clay at some convenient moment? We are rarely told of the *searching* of the medium; but that surely should be invariably done. If this had been done, it would make these tests far more conclusive.

"I have made these remarks and raised these objections, not because of any *a priori* objection to the possibility of the phenomena, but merely to point out and again insist upon the fact that only by conducting experiments that are not open to just such objections can these men, experimenting with Eusapia, hope to convince the skeptical world that here are indeed phenomena that are not due to fraud and trickery. The best way, it seems to me, would be to have the medium securely handcuffed to the sitters on either side of her, and the keyholes of the cuffs sealed. If the cuffs were tight, this would be a pretty conclusive test. The ankles of the medium might be fastened to the legs of the chair in a similar manner. *After* this has been done, and *before* the lights of the séance room are lowered, one of the circle should inspect the instruments, plates of clay, etc., and see that they are as yet untouched. If the medium would not allow this (and why should she not?), then let the sitter on each side of her pull the arm straight, and hold the medium's hand against his chest during the manifestations with his own. A separate

person should be detailed to guard the feet. A code might be arranged between the controls (those holding the hands) that a slight and peculiar squeeze of the hand should be made ever so often, and if one of the controls felt this squeeze, he would be certain that his fellow control had hold of *his* hand, instead of that of the medium—and that she had in some manner managed to free hers. This would be a signal for closer investigation, and the trick might be discovered.

“Were I to sum up the results of this book, as they appear to me; were I to try and express the effect upon my mind of the facts recorded—endeavoring to keep it as open and impartial as possible—I should say that the actual facts, as they took place, in reality, were doubtless in many instances supernatural, and were the results of some unknown force or forces; but I must also insist that in very rare instances does the evidence presented in the book prove this. I feel that, had I been there in person, I, too, should have been convinced; but the printed evidence is far from satisfactory and conclusive, and it is that which the critic will see and only that will he weigh. The conditions of the séance are very rarely such as to force recognition and acceptance of the facts; but, partly because some of the phenomena appear to be indubitable, it would be rash and dogmatic to contend, *a priori*, for the ‘impossibility’ of the others. M. Flammarion has done his best to furnish all particulars of his séances, and he is to be complimented on his painstaking and worthy effort. But other reports are far from being sufficiently detailed. When will the investigators of Eusapia learn that no detail can be too trivial and insignificant; that in these very details consists, frequently, the clew to the mystery, and that no report will ever be regarded as final and conclusive without them? The most minute detail should be given as to the relative position of the fingers, when holding the hands; when the control was changed; how the new control was effected; whether the change of control was effected in the light or in the dark, and a thousand other details that cannot be enumerated here. It must always be borne in mind that the subjective impression of the sitters is of no value, relatively, to one who has

not had sittings with the medium; and, to one who knows the possibilities of fraud, there is always a grave doubt in the mind as to sureness of conditions, sufficiency of control, etc.—especially in a case like Eusapia's—where fraud has been proved to exist over and over again. Accounts of some of the later séances—those narrated in the *Annals of Psychical Science*, e.g.—appear to render fraud quite impossible, but these cannot be considered here, since they are not included in M. Flammarion's book. It is at any rate a comfort to know that a series of experiments is being conducted by scientific men, and that Eusapia is not to pass from us as D. D. Home did, with virtually no indorsements, save that of Sir William Crookes. If experiments upon the present lines can be carried on for a number of years, with constantly improving conditions, we may be assured that conviction will ultimately be borne in upon the scientific world; and then what a recasting of old prejudices and conceptions there will be! It may be said that M. Flammarion, in the excellent and intensely interesting book under review, will doubtless have helped greatly to bring this result to pass; to have demonstrated that the present scheme of science is not a 'closed circle' but that, behind and beyond this world of matter and effects there is a world of forces and causes the width and depth and extent of which we are only just beginning to fathom and realize."

I further proposed that luminous paint might be applied to the hands, so that they might be seen the more easily in the dark—not knowing that her hands are usually more or less visible throughout the sittings. I also found fault with the photographs that had been published, saying: "I do not for a moment question the interest and value of these photographs, I only say that they appear to me to be inconclusive. And all photographs are open to this fundamental objection. They give us a picture, merely, of what is actually happening at any one time, *without telling us the preceding actions of the medium and others present, leading up to that event.*

What we should have, in order to be conclusive, is a series of photographs, and preferably a cinematographic record of the séance. In that manner we should be enabled to follow every movement of the medium throughout. Might not such an apparatus be devised? We should not, in that case, have to depend on the unaided powers of observation of the sitters, but would have demonstrable proof that the phenomena were objective realities." It will be seen from my own previous attitude in the matter that I could not be accused of credulity, whatever else might be laid to my door. And I think the fact that I was completely convinced of the reality of the phenomena, in spite of my previous skepticism, should at least have some weight. Fraud, I am quite convinced, cannot explain the facts observed in Eusapia's presence.

Having thus exhausted all normal explanations of these phenomena, let us now turn to their possible explanation by other theories. Before doing so, however, I wish to insist upon one point, which is of great importance. It is this: That, having once given up the theory of fraud as inadequate to account for the facts, it is useless to keep reverting to it, and keeping it in the back of the mind as a "possible" explanation. I trust that I have shown that fraud is unable to explain all the phenomena witnessed at Eusapia's séances, and that being the case, let us seek in other directions, and glance at the various theories that have been advanced from time to time in the past, by way of explaining these phenomena. Having once eliminated what might be called the "natural" or "normal" explanations, let us turn to a consideration of those theories that attempt to explain the facts upon other lines—those theories that admit their reality, while attempting to account for the facts as best they can.

Several writers agree more or less in their interpretation of the phenomena, though differing in the detail of their theory. Thus, several writers have advanced the idea first proposed by Gasparin—that some fluid emanates from the body of the medium and produces the effects seen. Thury took a very similar view, calling this hypothetical fluid *psychode*. Sir William Crookes, many years ago, advanced his theory of “psychic force,” which is closely akin to the above theories. This force it is which produces the phenomena. It will be seen that there is a very close approximation of theories, but none of them can be said to explain all the facts, inasmuch as this fluid has never been discovered; and because, while it would explain all the lesser phenomena—movements of objects, etc.—it would not explain the cases of materializations, etc., that have taken place from time to time, and which still need explanation. The *intelligence* connected with the phenomena would still have to be accounted for.

Professor Lombroso was at first inclined to believe that in these phenomena are to be found instances of “transformation of forces”—a theory which he abandoned later, and has practically adopted the spiritistic hypothesis—a position already taken by Alfred Russel Wallace, and numerous other scientists. Certainly his earlier theory would not account for the facts—and the spiritistic hypothesis as generally held, cannot be said to do so either. And for the following reasons.

Even if the existence of spirits were granted, we should still have great difficulty in accounting for many of the facts in detail, and the theory seems to be in direct opposition to other phenomena. Thus, when Eusapia says, “I am going to fetch something out of the cabinet with my foot”—and

then proceeds to kick about under the table and the instrument in the cabinet comes out with a rush—this is certainly in consequence of a force controlled by herself—which force appears to be under the direction of her own conscious mind. No external agent is involved in the production of such a phenomenon, therefore—which appears to be the result of a voluntarily controlled force, issuing from the medium's body. When the medium wills the production of a phenomenon, and the thing immediately occurs, it is absurd to contend that "spirits" are involved in its production. That would be clearly reverting to "animism" in its most primitive form; and we should have to abandon all our ideas of scientific causation. No; while such a theory may be said to explain a large number of the facts, and even explain them in a satisfactory manner, it cannot be said to explain them *all*, and any theory which cannot do that cannot be said to be final and conclusive.

Colonel Albert de Rochas believes that these phenomena are due to an "exteriorization (or externalization) of motivity." An astral body of the medium, composed of some sort of nerve fluid, is supposed to exist, and this duplicate body is enabled to perceive and act at a distance from the medium's physical body. It is a sort of projection beyond the periphery of the nervous force of the medium (as in the first theories), only in this case this force is more than a mere blind, liberated energy—it might be considered as being the astral double or replica of the medium's body. This is the view which the astronomer Porro is inclined to take, as well as other noted scientists. Professor Ochorowicz also believes in a "fluidic double," which produces these phenomena.

There are many facts which seem to prove conclusively that some such vital emanation does proceed from the me-

dium, and that it can condense and produce plastic effects in space outside the body of the medium. Dr. Féré observed luminous radiations proceeding from the body of several of his patients in broad daylight. Reichenbach's experiments have never been satisfactorily explained. An emanation of the kind is seen to be issuing from the medium's body in several photographs that have been taken at various times—photographs which were intended to prove other things entirely. Colonel de Rochas' experiments are, some of them, very striking.

In discussing these phenomena this authority says:

"With certain persons, who are known as psychics, the adhesiveness of the nervous fluid to the carnal organism is feeble, so that they may even, under various influences, project this nervous fluid outside their bodies. . . . Experiment has also shown that this fluidic body is able to model itself under the influence of the will, like clay under a sculptor's hand, and thus to present the form of this or that personage called up by the thought of the medium or that of the magnetizer. . . . The frequent formation of hands above Eusapia's head, exactly on the spot where she has a hypnogenic opening, would be the result of an almost abnormal withdrawal of a large quantity of fluid at this point. . . ."

Is any proof offered for this theory? Colonel de Rochas does offer one case, which, he asserts, goes to prove his contention, and which is certainly very striking. It is the following strange incident:

"One day M. de Watteville desired, in my presence, to photograph Eusapia between Count de Grammont and Dr. Dariex. The photograph having been taken, I chaffed Dr. Dariex, who is small of stature and who was standing with his hand in his waistcoat, saying to him: 'Doctor, you resemble Napoleon.' The plate, however, was preserved, but

a thing which no one could foresee is that the profile of Napoleon stands out very clearly on the background by the side of the water post which seems to serve as a pedestal for it, but there was nothing to explain this appearance, notwithstanding other attempts afterwards made in the same place.”¹

Now it would seem to me that this case fails to prove its point, first, for the reason that (as stated in the text) the exposure had been made *before* the remark was passed about Napoleon, and hence we cannot assume that the contents of the medium’s mind could have affected the results in any manner—even if his theory were true. In the next place, this is but one case against all past experience. In the third place, the resemblance to Napoleon may have been more fancied than real. And in the fourth place, the hypothesis does not cover those cases in which knowledge is exhibited by the phantom which the medium did *not* know at the time and never had known. An example of this will be given on p. 284.

While there is much to be said in favor of such a theory, therefore, there is also much to be said against it. How can this etheric double be possessed of a will and intelligence of its own—as the phenomena frequently show must be the case? How can an “etheric double” or anything corresponding to it produce impressions of altogether *different* faces and hands in wet clay, as is so often done? If these impressions were those of *the medium*, we could understand it; but when they are those of persons entirely dissimilar to Eusapia, how can we conceive that this body could produce such impressions? It would seem impossible for it to do so; and we must, accordingly, reject this hypothesis, as we have rejected all those in the past, as inadequate to account for the facts.

¹*Annals of Psychical Science*, April-June, 1909, pp. 227-8.

Dr. Grasset, a celebrated physician, thinks that the explanation is to be found in the "psychopathology of the nervous centers." When it has been shown just *how* the nervous centers produce these phenomena, I think we may seriously consider this hypothesis, and not before! Dr. J. Maxwell believes that most of the phenomena are to be explained by the operation of a force within us; and that the intelligence operative in their production is some kind of a "composite consciousness"—composed of the minds of the circle of experimenters. It is, in fact, a sort of "collective consciousness." M. Marcel Mangin is also disposed to adopt this idea. I think there is not one particle of evidence that can be urged in favor of such a theory—but that, on the contrary, nearly all the facts are opposed to it.

Other investigators speak of "ectenic force," "psychodynamism," and other hypothetical forces, more or less intelligent, which are supposed to issue from the body of the medium. The objections that have been urged above apply to all these theories: *viz.*, we have not the least evidence, outside of these phenomena, of the existence of such a force; and it is contrary to scientific method to explain unknown facts in terms of the unknown. We can only "explain" phenomena by bringing them into the realm of the *known*, and showing their connection with the known. And until evidence of the existence of these "forces" is obtained, it is useless to explain remarkable phenomena by means of them.

Yet other observers have come to the conclusion that a *third arm* is materialized during the séances, and that this arm is that which produces the phenomena! So positive of the fact were these investigators, indeed, that they insisted on stripping and searching Eusapia, to see whether or not such an appendage might not be there. None such was found!

Those experimenters who defended this theory did so on the ground that real hands appeared, and produced phenomena, when both hands of the medium were clearly held. As this third hand seemed to be under the dominating influence of Eusapia, they concluded that some artificial prolongation had actually taken place. They were forced to conclude that some prolongation, usually invisible, and impalpable, became visible and palpable, and took the form of an artificial hand, having flesh and muscles.

The *a priori* objections to this hypothesis need hardly be pointed out; but I shall not consider these. Within itself, the hypothesis is unable to explain all the facts. It might explain touches and movements of objects in the immediate vicinity of the medium, but the more distant phenomena—the appearance of heads and faces, the appearance of lights, the impressions, in clay, of faces, *differing* from that of the medium—it explains none of these things, nor does any similar theory, advanced to date.

Sir Oliver Lodge, in his original Report upon Eusapia, advanced a tentative theory, based on the sympathetic movements observed whenever objects at a distance were moved, or other similar phenomena occurred. He says in part:

“When the accordion is being played, the fingers of the medium are moving in a thoroughly appropriate manner, and the process reminds one of the twitching of a dog’s legs when he is supposed to be dreaming that he is chasing a hare. It is as if Eusapia were dreaming that she was fingering an instrument, and dreaming it so vividly that the instrument was actually played. It is as if a dog dreamed of the chase with such energy that a distant hare was really captured and killed, as if by a phantom dog; and, fanciful as for the moment it may seem, and valueless as I must suppose such speculations are, I am, I confess, at present more than

half disposed to look in some such direction for a clew to these effects. In an idealistic interpretation of nature, it has by many philosophers been considered that *thought* is the reality, and that material substratum is but a consequence of thought. So, in a minor degree, it appears here: it is as if, let us say, the dream of the entranced person were vivid enough to physically affect surrounding objects and actually to produce objective results—to cause not only real and permanent movements of ordinary objects, but also temporary fresh aggregations of material particles into extraordinary objects; these aggregations being objective enough to be felt, heard, seen, and probably even photographed, while they last.”

There is at least one class of phenomena, however, which cannot be explained upon this theory—namely, those in which an *independent intelligence* is displayed, other than that of the medium—since we should have to assume, on the above theory, that only Eusapia’s will was responsible for the facts. Yet there are many phenomena which do not seem to be controlled by her will, but on the contrary occur in direct opposition to it. An instance of this occurred in our own sittings, when Eusapia said she was tired, and asked John if the séance might end. John replied by rapping twice for “No,” and the séance was resumed. Soon after we obtained four complete levitations of the table, in rapid succession, and under excellent test conditions, and John then permitted the séance to terminate. Here, then, we have evidence of an external intelligence, differing from that of Eusapia, and expressing wishes in direct opposition to her own. Can we assume that any such theory as the above would explain these facts?

The theory has been advanced that, while the *conscious* mind of the medium is not involved in the production of the

phenomena, the *subconscious* mind is active, and in fact it is that which is operative and which produces these phenomena. Myers first proposed this theory, and has elaborated it in great detail in his *Human Personality*. This subconscious mental life supposedly possesses thoughts, desires, and volitions of its own; and possesses also, according to the hypothesis, various faculties and powers, which normally remain latent in this life, but which may be called into activity at certain times, under certain exceptional conditions. This subconsciousness is supposed, by some, to be endowed with the faculties, not only of telepathy and clairvoyance, but with the capacity for moving physical objects at a distance from the body of the medium! As Dr. Geley expressed it: "A certain amount of force, intelligence, and matter of the body may perform work outside of the organism—act, perceive, organize, and think, without the collaboration of muscles, organs, senses, and brain. It is nothing less than the uplifted subconscious portion of our being; it constitutes, in truth, an externalizable subconscious nature, existing in the *Me* with the normal conscious nature." (*The Subconscious Nature*, p. 82.)

Hartmann, as we know, attempted to explain all phenomena on his theory of "The Unconscious." The theory was (1) that a nervous force can produce, outside the limits of the human body, mechanical and plastic effects; (2) that duplicate hallucinations of this same nervous force exist, producing also physical and plastic effects; (3) that a latent, somnambulistic consciousness (the subject being in the normal state) capable of reading in the intellectual background of another man his present and his past, and being able to divine the future, is operative.

Aksakof, in his *Animism and Spiritism*, replied at great

length to this theory, and showed that it was unable to explain all the phenomena that had been observed by various investigators. I do not think that many readers will hesitate to accept his conclusions also. As a matter of fact, there is hardly any evidence whatever that the "subconscious mind" can do any of these things, and the theory seems to me to be one deliberately invented in order to neutralize the simpler theory of spiritism, which, in scientific minds, did not appear to be acceptable. Whether spiritism be true or not, however, it may be said that the scientific world has not taken kindly to Hartmann's theory, and that it is accepted by no one.

M. Guillaume De Fontenay, in his work, *A propos d'Eusapia Palladino*, ingeniously tried to explain the phenomena by a dynamic theory of matter. According to this theory, the solidity and stability of matter can no more be said to be real than the light that strikes our eyes, or the sound our ears. What corresponds to solidity and stability in matter would, in reality, consist of disturbances or vortices in the ether. Life itself would be a special kind of movement—this movement being determined and organized by a directing force. Applying this theory to the facts before us, we might be enabled to account, in some degree, for the phenomena observed. For, in this case, the vital force of the medium would externalize itself, and produce in a point of space a vibratory system, which would be the counterpart of itself, in a more or less advanced degree of visibility and solidity. So far as duplicate apparitions of the medium are concerned, therefore, we might conceive that this hypothesis goes a long way toward explaining the facts; but it would fail to explain the foreign intelligences manifested during a séance, or the materializations of heads, hands, and even complete forms, *differing* from those of Eusapia.

Other investigators have come to the conclusion that independent intelligences are manifested during a séance, but that these intelligences are not those of human beings. That is, spirits are present, but not necessarily the souls of the dead. All kinds of spiritual beings might exist, and fill the space all about us, without our ever knowing anything of them except under unusual circumstances. In fact, we find in the literatures of all nations references to demons, angels, gnomes, goblins, spirits, specters, elementals, etc. It might be that these legends have some foundation in fact! Some psychic researchers of the present day are, in fact, inclined to defend this hypothesis in certain instances—there being much evidence tending to show that “evil spirits” are operative in the production of phenomena—phenomena indicating external, independent intelligence. Nevertheless, no scientific man could accept this theory unless some definite evidence were advanced in its support. We are not entitled to assume that even *human* consciousness exists apart from bodily structure, until it has been proved; and if that is the case with human consciousness, which we know exists in this life, we should require a great deal more evidence to prove that independent intelligences of other types existed—since we have no scientific evidence at all that they exist or have ever existed in connection with bodily frames! Though one could not say “impossible” to such a theory, therefore, definite evidence would have to be advanced that such intelligences exist quite apart from these phenomena; and until such evidence is produced, I feel that it is useless to discuss this hypothesis further.

Some authorities have advanced the theory that a sort of reflection, or reflex action, is sufficient to explain the phenomena. Says M. Flammarion:

"Everyone has seen his image reflected in a mirror, and nobody is astonished by it. However, analyze the thing. The more you look at this optical being moving there behind the mirror, the more remarkable the thing appears to you. Now, suppose looking-glasses had not been invented. If we had not knowledge of those immense mirrors which reflect whole apartments and visitors in them, if we had never seen anything of the kind, and if some one should tell us that images and reflections of living persons could thus manifest themselves, and thus move, we should not comprehend and should not believe it.

"Yes, the ephemeral personification, created in spiritualistic séances, sometimes recalls the image that we see in a mirror, which has nothing real in itself, but which yet exists and reproduces the original. The image fixed by the photograph is of the same kind, only durable. The potential image formed at the focus of the mirror of a telescope, invisible in itself, but which we can receive on a level mirror and study, at the same time enlarging it by the microscope of the eyepiece, perhaps approaches nearer to that which seems to be produced by the concentration of the psychical energy of a group of persons. We create an imaginary being; we speak to it, and in its replies it almost always reflects the mentality of the experimenters. And, just as with the aid of mirrors, we can concentrate light, heat, ether waves, electric waves, in a focus—so, in the same way, it seems sometimes as if the sitters added their psychic forces to those of the medium—condensing the waves, and helping to produce a sort of fugitive being, more or less material. The subconscious nature, the brain, of the medium, or its astral body, the fluidic mind, the unknown powers latent in sensitive organisms—might we not consider these as the mirror which we have just imagined, and might not this mirror also perceive and reproduce impressions, or influences from a soul at a distance?"

Professor Morselli, though firmly believing in the facts, ridicules the spiritistic interpretation of them and clings to

the idea that these "teleplastic phantoms," seen at Eusapia's séances, are the creations of her subconscious mind, and are merely mental reflexes of her subliminal activity. When facts are told by the phantoms, unknown to the medium, these are supposed to be obtained, telepathically, from the minds of the sitters. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the majority of students of these phenomena would consider this by far the more improbable hypothesis of the two; and that it has not any real evidence in its support whatever. Professor Lombroso, in criticising Morselli's book, justly says:

"When, therefore, Morselli attempts to explain the disagreement of John with his medium, when he went so far as to cuff her because she refused to hold a séance on the following day, by saying that the medium tried to be 'more medium than the medium,' in order to convince the sitters of her sincerity, he juggles with subtleties which, through being too subtle, break down under the evidence; and, in fact, when Eusapia refused, since she was too tired, to work on the next day, it was for a very good reason, because the séance in such a case would not have been successful.

"Another explanation which errs through excess of subtlety is that of the levitation of Eusapia, which *took place slowly*, without shocks, like a person who dreams that he is flying; and he adds, mistakenly: 'not, however, as though the medium was carried upward by a force acting on her from without.' But when one dreams of flying, one has the illusion of moving suddenly and rapidly, and not seated on one's chair, but rising upward, and that not slowly. Besides, what relation is there between an illusion, a mere dream, and a real fact that is tangible to other persons?

"It is notable also that when he finds himself confronted with new and important facts, he tries to throw doubt on them through excess of impartiality. Thus, having weighed Eusapia before and after the séance, he finds that at the end of the sitting her weight had diminished by 2.2 kilogrammes,

or nearly 5 lbs. (Vol. II, p. 293), but he remarks that this diminution in weight arose from her moving about while she was on the scale, and thus throwing the balance out of equilibrium. Now, his criticism might have been just if Eusapia had moved; but it is not so at another time when he admits that she did not move, but remained rigid on the scale; here it is evident that if the results in both cases are to be taken as negative, the conditions ought to have been the same, and not different; all the more so as this alteration in weight coincides with what was observed on other occasions by Gyl and Aksakoff, and indirectly by Visani Scozzi when he saw her lose her lower limbs during a levitation.

"Yet he attaches some importance (Vol. I, p. 351) to the loss in dynamometric force by five of the sitters, amounting to 6 kilos on the right side and 14 on the left; while the fact might be explained otherwise than by the left-handedness of the medium, as being due to the weariness produced by a long sitting and great nervous strain.

"More importance, on the other hand, should have been given to the fact that the medium, usually left-handed, became right-handed at one sitting, and Morselli himself became left-handed. This confirms Dr. Audenino's hypothesis of transitory left-handedness in the abnormal state, and the transference to the sitters of the anomalies of the medium; and the left-handedness of Eusapia, like that of Mme. d'Espérance and of Miss Smith, and the reversed writing of mediums, seem to indicate the increased participation of the right lobe of the brain in mediumistic states, as occurs with hypnotized persons, and would explain the concomitant unconsciousness.

"As to the feeling of intense repugnance at seeing his mother recalled, and against his will, by Eusapia, I confess that I not only do not share it, but, on the contrary, when I saw my mother again, I felt one of the most pleasing inward excitements of my life, a pleasure that was almost a spasm, which aroused a sense, not of resentment, but of gratitude to the medium who threw my mother again into my arms after so many years, and this great event caused me to

forget, not once but many times, the humble position of Eusapia, who had done for me, even were it purely automatically, that which no giant in power and thought could ever have done.

"I respect Morselli's feelings, however, because feelings are individual; yet I ask him if it has ever happened to him, as to me, to have to sit alongside of persons who, if not by birth, at least by conduct, are much more unworthy than Eusapia—and not as an involuntary spectator, but as a collaborator?

"Where Morselli excels, and his book has great merit, is in the clinical study of Eusapia, made at two or three different periods, but complete. He has observed, for instance, that during trance Eusapia's secretions augment, that the reflexes on both sides are abolished, that several nerves are painful on pressure, etc.; left-handedness, hyperæsthesia of the whole left side of the body; that she is more easily magnetized than hypnotized, so that by methodical stroking of her head with the hand one can remove headaches and calm her mind, and by magnetic passes from below upward can cause a semicatalepsy, while by reverse passes one can relieve muscular contractions and paresis.

"'Like the fakirs,' he writes, 'when they wish to enter into trance, Eusapia begins to slacken her rate of breathing, passing from 28 inspirations to 15 or 12 to the minute, while her heart beats from 99 to 120; then her hands are seized with little starts and tremors, the joints of the feet and hands are bent and straightened, and every now and then become rigid. The passage through this state of active somnambulism is marked by yawns, sighs, sweat on the brow, perspiration of the hands, strange expressions of countenance—now seized by a kind of anger marked by imperious commands, and sarcastic phrases addressed to the critics—and now by a voluptuous erotic ecstasy, succeeded by intense thirst.'

"All this is connected with hysteria, just as many of those afflicted with gravel and asthma have similar symptoms to

the gouty and rheumatic, even though they may not have pain in their joints.

"Very true also are his observations that Eusapia predicts what will happen at the séances, and, therefore, has a certain consciousness of the phenomena before they occur; and that almost all her trance phenomena are stereotyped and automatic, like some of the peculiar motions of epileptics, which may or may not be associated with absolute loss of consciousness, but always with an impotence of the will to restrain the actions. Equally automatic are the movements of the divining-rod, spirit writing, musical and dramatic performances in a state of trance, in which there is a disintegration of the personality, while certain brain centers are still able to act; and so, too, according to Myers, are hallucinations with the crystal; and why should we not add, as he says, the speaking in foreign tongues, and impersonations? It is true that we do not understand what is the internal stimulus from which these latter result, if we do not wish to admit the action of spirits, but sometimes they arise from forgotten impressions of childhood."

This completes our résumé of the theories that have been advanced, to date, to explain the remarkable phenomena occurring in Eusapia's presence. Other theories will doubtless be proposed in the future, and perhaps others have been advanced in the past of which I am ignorant. But the above summary will at least give the reader an idea of the hypotheses that have become necessary, in order to explain these facts—once they are admitted into positive science. The same objection may be applied to each and every one in turn. They explain some of the facts, but by no means *all* of them, and any theory which does not explain them all cannot be said to be truly explanatory. I shall again refer to this in the next chapter, in which I shall advance a theory of my own.

Certain it is that the facts *occur*; and that having once been granted, it becomes necessary to explain them, or to attempt to explain them, by some means or other, and with the least strain upon our credulity. Any theory which serves to explain the facts in the most satisfactory manner must depart *least* from scientific standards, as held to-day. That is, in order really to explain a phenomenon, we must show its relation to the *known*, and attempt to connect it in some way with the established facts—with physical, physiological, or mental science. It is useless to speculate at random concerning these phenomena—though speculations of this character are, perhaps, seldom wasted. Still, the most scientific hypothesis is probably that which departs least from what is known of the physical and mental world. I shall endeavor in the next chapter to formulate a theory which fulfills these requirements—inasmuch as I shall attempt to bring these phenomena within the pale of science by showing their connection with what we know of physics, physiology, and psychology.

CHAPTER VI

MY OWN HYPOTHESIS TO ACCOUNT FOR THE FACTS

THE theory that is now presented is based upon the assumption that the phenomena are genuine, and are the result neither of fraud nor of hallucination. Of course, personal experiments finally settled this, but the incident which originally forced me into an attitude of belief was the following, which appeared in the *Annals of Psychical Science* for September, 1907, under the signature of Dr. Joseph Venzano, who relates the incident at first hand soon after it occurred. "The room," we read, "was arranged as usual and lighted when the phenomenon occurred by the candle in the ante-room. . . . The control of Mme. Palladino was confined to me, on the right, and to Mme. Ramorino, seated on the left. . . . The narrative of this incident is taken from the special note which I made myself on the same evening after the séance."

It would appear, therefore, that very little is to be desired in the way of testimony, and the light was fairly good—certainly enough to *see* the outlines of the medium's figure, as we shall presently see. Yet, under these conditions, the following remarkable incident took place (p. 164):

"In spite of the dimness of the light I could distinctly *see* Mme. Palladino and my fellow-sitters. Suddenly I perceived that behind me was a form, fairly tall, which was leaning its head on my left shoulder and sobbing violently, so that those present could hear the sobs; it kissed me repeatedly.

I clearly perceived the outlines of this face, which touched my own, and I felt the very fine and abundant hair in contact with my left cheek, so that I could be quite sure that it was a woman. The table then began to move, and by typtology gave the name of a close family connection who was known to no one present except myself. She had died sometime before, and on account of incompatibility of temperament there had been serious disagreements with her. I was so far from expecting this typtological response that I at first thought this was a case of coincidence of name; but while I was mentally forming this reflection I felt a mouth, with warm breath, touch my left ear and whisper, *in a low voice in Genoese dialect*, a succession of sentences, the murmur of which was audible to the sitters. These sentences were broken by bursts of weeping, and their gist was to repeatedly implore pardon for injuries done to me with a fullness of detail connected with family affairs which could only be known to the person in question. The phenomenon seemed so real that I felt compelled to reply to the excuses offered me with expressions of affection, and to ask pardon in my turn if any resentment of the wrongs referred to had been excessive. But I had scarcely uttered the first syllables when two hands, with exquisite delicacy, applied themselves to my lips and prevented my continuing. The form then said to me, 'Thank you,' embraced me, kissed me, and disappeared."

These facts were corroborated by the others present at the séance. Hallucination, therefore, could not explain the facts. M. Venzano distinctly asserts that he was perfectly calm throughout the séance, that he did not cease to watch the medium carefully, who "was quite awake and visible to all," and who also "remained motionless through the whole course of the phenomenon." As to the alternatives—fraud and hallucination—M. Venzano writes: "The *ensemble* of my perceptions of contact as well as audible ones (the latter

shared by my fellow-sitters), the typological response in complete accordance with the perceptions themselves, and the fact that, in spite of the very dim light, Mme. Palladino was distinctly *visible* to me as to all those present—as well as her complete ignorance of the family details revealed—exclude absolutely both these hypotheses” (p. 165).

In the face of evidence of this kind it would appear to me simply absurd to press any theory of fraud. If the séance had been held in complete darkness, or if the medium had been in a cabinet concealed from all, such a theory might be pressed. But in view of the evidence it certainly cannot. In such a case as this fraud appears to me to be absolutely out of the question, and any attempt to explain the facts by that theory would be far more inconceivable than an acceptance of the facts. In this case, at any rate, fraud is unable to explain the facts observed, and since that is the case in this instance, it is most probably inadequate to explain many of the other facts likewise—only in these other cases the facts, as reported, are not strong enough, evidentially, to establish that conclusion. There is always a vast difference between a truth and establishing a truth.

Having thus shown that fraud alone is unable to explain the facts, we must turn to other explanatory hypotheses. Hallucination may appeal to some as a rational explanation of at least some of the incidents; but here I would ask my reader to bear in mind what I have said before as to the necessary *inclusiveness* of any hypothesis that may be advanced. Hallucination certainly cannot account for many of the graphic records—it has very rarely been actually *proved* to exist in any case—why, therefore, postulate it as a part of any explanatory hypothesis, when we have no evidence whatever that it is correct or even justifiable?

I should like to say one or two more words here on this question of hallucination, as it is one on which other critics and myself tend to disagree in our interpretation of the phenomena. It is a theory often advanced by students as an explanatory hypothesis and finds great favor in certain quarters. I am well aware of its strong points and the arguments in its favor, but I am also aware of the facts and arguments tending to disprove it. I think it probable that *illusions* very frequently take place at spiritualistic séances. One very interesting example of this I mentioned in my report on "Lily Dale";¹ but that is a different thing from full-blown hallucination. The former implies that there is some background of reality, the outlines and details of which are filled in by the mind of the seer; the former supposes that there is no such reality of background at all. There is a vast difference between these two. I have frequently seen the former psychological process at work at fraudulent séances; but I can truthfully say that in the ten years during which time I have been a constant attendant at séances (all of which time I was on the alert for anything of the kind), I have never seen any traces of genuine hallucination in any single case. I am disposed to disbelieve in this hypothesis most strongly. I have never seen a trace of it at work. Where others saw hallucination I saw simply fraud. In most cases, what passes for hallucination is nothing more than clever trickery—trickery of a kind I have frequently been able to detect. I have always been inclined to place the physical phenomena either in the realm of fraud or that of reality, and I greatly doubt if hallucination plays any part in any of these phenomena. In this, however, I am in disagreement with other writers. Each one must choose

¹*Proceedings* of the American S. P. R., Vol. II, Part I, p. 29.

the hypothesis that most appeals to him; I merely give my opinion in such a case—stating it for what it is worth.

The same objections, it seems to me, that have been advanced against fraud and hallucination (as explanations) may successfully be urged against every one of the theories that has been advanced to date. Fluidic prolongations, etheric doubles, unknown neuric forces, etc., explain many of the phenomena, but by no means all of them. What is the use of a theory that explains a certain percentage of the phenomena, merely, and leaves unexplained a large number of facts—and the most interesting facts at that? None of these theories would explain the impressions obtained on wet clay and putty; of faces and hands other than those of the medium; none of them explain the materializations of forms, of heads and faces, entirely different from those of Eusapia; none of them really explain the intelligent force that frequently moves objects, plays musical instruments, etc.—which Eusapia could not have moved or played. To postulate an “unknown force” leaves us where we were in the first place, and explains nothing in the second. Can “unknown forces” make impressions of hands and faces in putty? Do they possess an intelligence equal to or even greater than that of the medium who liberates them? The mere statement of the theory carries with it its own refutation; it is inherently absurd. So far as we know anything about “forces” in this universe, they can do none of these things.

Nor can the theory of an “astral double of the medium” explain the facts. It might explain some of them, but certainly not all, or even the great majority of them. One can conceive that such an entity could make impressions of *the medium's* face in the putty (duplicating hers), but how about

impressions of altogether alien and foreign faces? Unless we revert to the mediæval conception of lycanthropy (change of form at will) we are unable to explain these facts on any such theory. And the same objections may be raised, it seems to me, against the theory of "prolongations," and all the other theories that have been advanced to explain these phenomena.

It would appear to me that the most satisfactory hypothesis (and indeed the only one that satisfactorily covers and explains *all* the facts in the case) is the spiritistic. I know that there is a universal dislike for this theory; that it is a tremendous assumption in the first place; unable to account for many of the facts in the second; and crude, as generally held, in the third; but it is the most logical and consistent one, in the long run, I am convinced. I shall endeavor to place this hypothesis upon what may be at least a conceivable basis, after first answering one or two objections that can be raised to it—legitimate objections, such as those I have advanced above. I shall pass over that of crudity, as I hope to remove it before the argument is finished.

First, then, as to the "assumption" that is made in formulating this hypothesis. It may be contended that it is a mere begging of the question—thus to defend a theory which it is, in a sense, our object to prove! All the *data* of materialism may be urged against this assumption—it being contended that "spirits" having been eliminated from the universe, they cannot be present tipping Mme. Palladino's tables or anyone else's. The hypothesis, it may be claimed, evades the issue and reverts at one swoop to mediæval superstition. That would be the position of many critics.

In reply, I would remind the skeptic that we must at all

events have *some* theory to explain the facts. And we must have one that explains *all* the facts. Now, broadly speaking, the spiritistic hypothesis does this, and is the only one that does. By it we can explain the movements of objects, the playing upon musical instruments, the appearance of human heads and faces, the materialization of forms, the presence of an external intelligence, etc.—all of which facts are most difficult and many of them impossible to explain upon any other theory. I think it will be granted that, apart from the inherent difficulty of accepting this theory (and certain minor objections that might be cleared away and removed by further experimenting), it most satisfactorily explains all the facts in the case and includes them all in one general hypothesis. Certainly this is to be desired. And if this be granted (as I think it must be), then the only reason for rejecting the theory is its “inherent” improbability—the improbability of there being any such thing as “spirit” in the universe at all—in short, the general objection founded on materialism. I at least can see no valid objection on any other ground (apart from the minor difficulties mentioned above, which are really difficulties *within* the problem, not objections to it), and I shall accordingly turn to a consideration of this objection.

The position of materialism is well known. Matter and force occupy all the universe; and besides them there is no substantial reality. Consciousness is merely a by-product—a result of brain activity, which perishes at the moment of death. Vitality is the result of chemical combustion; it is all very simple! Such a thing as “spirit” would be quite impossible if materialism were true.

Now, if we were to undertake to dispute this hypothesis, we should have to take into account the whole range of

philosophy, metaphysics, and science—a task certainly beyond my powers. Here it need only be said that this theory is being so far undermined by the newer discoveries that it is beginning to be given up, even by its former champions in orthodox science. Matter and force are no longer found to be indestructible; consciousness certainly cannot be dovetailed into any materialistic scheme. Many scientific writers are now defending the idea that life is something quite apart from the matter, which forms its incasement, and certain of us contend that vitality is not such a simple thing as has been previously believed. However, letting all this go for the moment, I am content to let my opponent hold whatever views of the universe he pleases; he may be a believer in Haeckel's monism if he likes; the only thing I demand (and upon that I insist) is that he explains on this theory *all the facts*. If he can do this he can hold to his theory; if he cannot, then he must adopt another theory or modify his sufficiently to explain and cover the facts. That is the ultimate test and the only real one. Any theory advanced must explain all the observed phenomena.

Now, it is quite certain, it seems to me, that any materialistic theory cannot explain many of the facts of psychic research. Let us omit telepathy as possibly explicable on the materialistic scheme. Clairvoyance, premonitions, apparitions of the dead, haunted houses, to say nothing of the case of Mrs. Piper—none of these facts are really explicable on any materialistic theory. The method in the past, therefore, has been to ignore them. But this cannot be done much longer! So much evidence is constantly pouring in—evidence so well attested, of such an extraordinary nature—that it will not be many years before at least some of these

phenomena are accepted by orthodox science. And then what will become of materialism?

Enough has been said, at any rate, to show us that materialism no longer has the same firm foothold as it had some years ago. Then no one thought of questioning it if he wished to be thought "scientific"; now everyone does! The Piper case, and others of a similar nature, and the whole mass of psychical phenomena, seem to indicate that there are, operative in nature, forces and intelligences beyond those known to or recognized by orthodox science. And however far we may stretch explanatory hypotheses, we are at all events in the realm of the "supernormal," and hence beyond materialism. Spiritism is the only rational explanation for certain cases, and it synthesizes the whole of psychical research in a way that no other hypothesis can. Once accepted, it explains all the phenomena in a very simple and satisfactory manner.

When we come to view the facts in the Palladino case, then, we find that they form or are divisible into two general groups. Broadly, they may be divided as follows: (1) Those phenomena in which there is some mechanical movement, devoid of external intelligence; and (2) those phenomena in which there is (apparently at least) an external intelligence. In the first of these two groups I should place movements of objects without contact, levitations, raps not showing intelligence, musical sounds *ditto*, the blowing out of the curtains of the cabinet, etc. In the second class I should have to place raps and musical sounds showing intelligence, impressions in putty of hands, faces, etc., materializations, conversations, intelligent handling of the recording apparatus, and all kindred phenomena. Now, I must insist that, while the theories that have been advanced to

date (and which were reviewed in the last chapter) might explain the phenomena included in the *first* of these two categories, they certainly cannot explain the *second* set of facts. Intelligence cannot be displayed by a thing that has none, and "forces" and even "fluidic elongations" have none! We must postulate something at work, therefore, that *has* intelligence, and, since this is not the medium, what can it be but some external intelligence—some entity with a mind and thoughts of its own? And what can that be but a spirit? To me any attempt to evade this main issue is merely quibbling.

Whether we can conceive any such thing as a spirit or not is beside the case; the question is, *Do the facts prove it?* To me they certainly do prove it in at least some of the cases—an example of which I gave earlier in this discussion. Any attempt to explain such a case as that by any theory of "forces" or in any other way than to admit the presence of the spiritual intelligence who purported to be present is, to me, absurd. I should much rather prefer to hold that Dr. Venzano falsified the facts, or that the whole séance was due to fraud, than advance any theory other than the spiritistic, in a case of this character. Any other theory would be a straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel, indeed!

Having defined my position, then, in broad outline, I must now proceed to fill in the details. I shall be told that this is no new theory, but that it has always been held by a large number of observers and defended by them. Further, there are many difficulties within the problem; and again, there are numerous facts which seem to indicate that some force, under the control of the medium's *own* brain and mind, is in operation and not that of any spirit. (This would seem to negate this hypothesis, therefore.) I am

aware of all these objections, and shall endeavor to answer them as we proceed.

I must begin by making certain assumptions—assumptions which should find no difficulty in being accepted in the main, and which at all events cannot be argued here. These are: (1) That consciousness persists after the dissolution of the organism; (2) that this consciousness maintains its personal identity—including, of course, memory; (3) that this consciousness (“soul”) is or inhabits a body of the same shape as our physical body—at least at first; (4) that it is constantly about us—in our surroundings—capable of exercising certain functions to us deemed supernormal, such as telepathy, clairvoyance, etc.; (5) that it is normally invisible to us, but may become visible under certain conditions, as yet unknown, to one or more individuals, and can then more or less directly communicate with them; (6) that such an intelligence can only act on the material world *through some intermediary* and *not directly*—either upon a nervous mechanism (probably indirectly) or upon inert matter (almost certainly indirectly) through some semifluidic intermediary. Only by means of this etheric or vital intermediary is mind enabled to act upon matter and the material world.

None of this is new—except, perhaps, the last proposition. If such a thing as “spirit” exists at all, I think there should be but little difficulty in granting the first five of these assumptions. The sixth is the one that I now wish to elaborate and defend at some length.

First of all, let us go back to the world-old problem of the connection of mind and body. There are certain aspects of this question that seem to have been overlooked even by those psychologists and philosophers who have written about

it at length, and as this question has a more or less direct bearing on the problem before us, as we shall presently see, it may be well to point these out in this place.

The ordinary materialistic conception is, of course, the "production" theory. Mind is thought to be the direct consequence of the brain's functioning, and is the result of it. But if this narrow conception be given up, as it now is, by a large number of even "orthodox" psychologists, and as it certainly must be if even one supernormal fact ever be proven, then it becomes necessary to postulate some other connection, and both parallelism and interactionism practically admit the existence of consciousness apart from brain structure. The refusal to consider the matter in this light is a mere piece of dogmatism; and anyone has just as good a right to affirm that mind *does* exist apart from brain activity as another man has to assert that it does *not*. The skeptic's only ground of vantage is the fact that consciousness has never been *proved* to exist, independent of such activity, which would seem to indicate, at least upon a superficial view of the facts, that it was the result of it. But if we *do* have evidence of its independent existence—in such phenomena as those of Mrs. Piper, for example—then it is at once and forever proved that consciousness *does* and *can* exist apart from brain structure, and that it merely uses that organ or instrument to function *through*—while here in the body. That is, consciousness exists as a separate entity, but only becomes manifest and objective to us here in the body while utilizing some material brain. On this theory the possible separate existence of consciousness is admitted, and only the *nature* of its connection with the organism is the mystery.

Now, if mind exists apart from the brain and merely

utilizes it to manifest through, it is acting upon it by a species of telekinesis all the time! Every mental state and change—accompanied, as it doubtless is, by molecular action, chemical changes, etc.—is the result of a telekinetic action! There should be no very great difficulty in imagining consciousness capable of affecting the outside material world, therefore. Further, for all we know, the mind may be a thousand miles away from the brain it is acting upon and merely be in *rapport* with it by means of some sort of magnetic attraction! If anyone asked me if I believed such a theory I should say, "No, I do not"; but at the same time there is really nothing against it. Once grant the possible existence of consciousness apart from brain activity, and we can conceive this quite easily.

It may be objected to the above that, whereas mind can conceivably act on *organic* matter, and particularly nervous tissue, it cannot, so far as we know, act upon the inorganic world in a similar manner. That is probably very true; there is some sort of vital connection in the one case which there is not in the other, and upon that fact hinges the ability of the mind to influence organic and not inorganic matter. It is more than probable, it seems to me, that there exists some sort of etheric medium between mind and even organic nervous tissue, upon which the mind must act first of all. Thus we should have the chain of connection: mind, vital or etheric medium, nervous tissue, muscle, bone. So mind acts upon matter, and it will be seen that there is an increasing density of structure, and that just in proportion to this density is mind incapable of affecting matter directly. We must, it seems to me, always postulate some sort of etheric medium through which mind acts in order to affect and move matter—organic or inorganic. And without this

vital intermediary there can be no action and consequently no manifestation.

Now, on the ordinary materialistic view, human vitality is conceived to be a mere product of chemical combustion. The potential energy of the food we eat is, according to modern science, transformed into actual or kinetic energy in the body—when food is oxidized within it. In this way is the energy of the body maintained, and vitality is thus conceived to be one of the forces of nature and transformable and transmutable into them. Heat, light, chemical affinity, electricity, vitality, etc., are all conceived to be forces on the same plane, and all transmutable one into the other. And one is no more mysterious than the other—vitality no more so than chemical affinity!

Now, in my book *Vitality, Fasting, and Nutrition*, I argued this point at great length, and brought forward many facts and arguments in an attempt to show that vitality is not a simple material force like the others—but is something distinct, separate, *per se*—and unlike any other force whatever. I cannot repeat in this place any of the arguments there brought forward in defense of this view, but shall assume its correctness for the sake of argument, as it will enable us to understand these facts much more fully than will any other hypothesis.¹ I shall proceed upon the theory that vitality is a living force, non-material, that guides the body during its life here on earth. It forms the connecting link between mind and matter, and is, quite possibly, the vehicle

¹Although my theory has been before the world for almost two years, no one has come forward to challenge the correctness of it. Almost every reviewer, without exception, has stated his disbelief in the theory, but has failed to advance a single fact tending to disprove it; no one has undertaken to refute it in detail. Both Dr. Rabagliati and myself expected the idea to meet with ridicule and rejection, at first, as all new ideas do; but the absence of contrary facts is most extraordinary. I shall not do more than refer to it here.

of the soul—the etheric double, the astral body of the theosophists.¹

Now, if we grant that this vitality is a separate force, capable of controlling the nervous mechanism under certain conditions, and acting as an intermediary between it and mind, it is evident that this vital force is more detachable from the organism—more a thing, an entity—than we have been in the habit of supposing. It might be transferable, under certain conditions, from one organism to another, and this would account for mesmeric phenomena and some so-called miraculous cures. This same vitality, again, issuing from the scar in the medium's forehead, would account for the "cold air" so often felt by experimenters at the Palladino séances (p. 205). This postulated vital energy would explain a number of other facts, and is probably closely allied to Gasparin's "fluid," to Thury's "psychode," and to Sir William Crookes' "psychic force." None of the in-

¹In the *Journal* of the S. P. R., February, 1908, pp. 180-6, is to be found a summary of Sir Oliver Lodge's "scheme of personality"—a remarkably ingenious theory, which should be published in full and certainly at as early a date as possible. Sir Oliver Lodge represents the total self by two semicircles, "abutting against one another, after the manner of a placenta." The upper is the mental, the lower the physical, side of man. "Life" unites these two pieces by means of the brain (p. 180). Nevertheless, Dr. Lodge evidently thinks that "the brain" is not the only factor involved in this necessary connection, for on page 183 he says: "*Vitality* unites the two halves and pierces the boundary. . . ." This is a clear statement of a belief that vitality is that which unites mind and matter—as I have been contending all along. But if vitality were nothing more mysterious than chemical affinity, *e.g.*, and no nearer the fountain of life, why should not *that* form the connecting link—just as well as vitality? Why should not heat, or light, or any other force, for that matter? In the sentence quoted above there is at least a tacit assumption that vitality *is* something more than mere mechanical force; and further, that it unites mind and matter! I think this is a position that will one day come to be generally accepted; and it will be seen that this really places vitality outside the law of conservation (as I have so strongly contended it should be placed), and acknowledges that it is a force with quite individual peculiarities of its own—a force "absolutely *per se*."

investigators, however, applied his theory to the most remarkable of all the phenomena—those implying an external intelligence (materializations, *e.g.*)—and apparently it could not be stretched so as to cover them. The theory I am about to advance, while closely akin to some of these hypotheses, also differs from them in some important particulars, and is capable of explaining all the facts in a satisfactory manner. I shall now endeavor to state this view as briefly as possible.

The nervous or vital energy, for whose existence I have been so strenuously arguing, is normally limited to the periphery of the body, and never extends beyond it. But under certain conditions, of which we know nothing at present, it is possible for this force to extend beyond the limits of the body, and produce certain material movements and displacements of objects in the external world. This force would be, supposedly, at such times under the subconscious control of the medium, and might even pass slightly under the control of her voluntary mind, and be directed by her—just as the muscles of respiration are usually under the control of the subconscious mind, but we can also bring them under the control of the conscious mind at will. The sphincter muscles would be a still better example of this—muscles over which we have normally even less control, but which we yet can control, at least in part, by an effort of will. So, then, this force, being more or less directly controlled by the mind of the medium (conscious and subconscious) and acting beyond the periphery of the body, would be enabled to produce all the effects of *class one* of the phenomena previously enumerated. The vital energy would form the intermediary or connecting link between the mind of the medium and the production of the

movement—and would cause the phenomenon in that manner. All of the phenomena apparently devoid of intelligence, or those under the control of the medium, could be explained by this hypothesis, which indeed presents nothing distinctly new so far. It is closely akin to several others that have been advanced.

But now we come to the *second* group of facts—those produced and controlled, apparently, by some external intelligence. How are these usually accounted for? Usually, it must be admitted, they are not accounted for at all—or so incompletely as to leave the mind totally unsatisfied with the explanations. I have pointed out the defects of these theories before and it is unnecessary to repeat the arguments here. They simply do not explain. They explain the facts of group one, but not those of group two. If any of these phenomena are such in reality (and it seems very clear to me that they are), the spiritistic hypothesis is the only rational one to account for the facts; is the only one worthy of serious consideration. When hands, faces, and forms appear, when conversations are carried on with these forms, in a language unknown to the medium, about matters private and unknown to her, it seems preposterous to attempt to explain these facts in any other way than to admit that a spiritual entity is present and active there. The spiritistic hypothesis is the only one that in any way explains the facts, and I shall accordingly adopt it, until some better explanation be forthcoming.

Granting, then, that a spiritual intelligence is active, how are we to conceive that it produces these effects? "Spirit" being supposedly pure mind, or closely related to it, it cannot act upon the material world directly, or effect changes in it. In order for this to take place there must be some

intermediary, as I have before insisted upon; but I now think we are in a position to see in what this intermediary consists. *It is the nervous, vital force of the medium, externalized by her beyond her body and utilized by the manifesting spirit for the purposes of its manifestation.* This same vital energy, which is controlled by the medium's own mentality, when producing the phenomena of class *one*, is utilized by the manifesting intelligence in very much the same manner (when the medium is in trance) in producing the manifestations and phenomena of class *two*. We might conceive that this vital energy is utilized by the manifesting intelligence, who imbibes and clothes himself with it, 'as it were—creating a sort of temporary fluidic body through which it can manifest—can come in contact with the material world, move material objects, be seen, felt, and even photographed. Normally, such an intelligence would be separated from our world by the veil of sense; but now a link is supplied enabling the phantom to become more "material" in a way, for the time being—sufficiently so, at least, to cause the various manifestations we have recorded, and to produce the materializations so frequently attested to in Eusapia's séances. The vitality would act as a sort of sheath or cloak, a semi-material substance through and by means of which a spirit can manifest to us here, and initiate the varied phenomena witnessed at Eusapia's séances.

Thus and thus only, it seems to me, can these phenomena be explained. By postulating this intermediary, this vital connection between the material and the spiritual worlds, can we explain all the facts at these séances, and in no other way. Normally, of course, this vitality would not be liberated in this manner; it would remain shut up within the medium's organism, it would not be "at large," and

hence could not be "pounced upon" and utilized by any foreign intelligence in order to produce physical effects of this kind. But occasionally there are cases, seemingly, where this externalization takes place spontaneously, and without the knowledge, and even against the will, of the "medium." When this occurs, we have the "electric girls" and the sporadic poltergeist cases—which still remain in spite of all the attempts to explain them away! By postulating this vital energy (for whose existence I have so frequently contended, both on the grounds of accepted physiology and because of these phenomena), we can explain the facts, and, it seems to me, in no other way can we explain them. When the phenomena of psychical research come to be generally accepted, we shall have to recast many of our conceptions and beliefs; and one of the first of these will be our idea of vitality and the life force. Much hinges on this for psychic research, and, if its advocates could but see it, the battle might be practically won on this issue alone. However, that is beside the question for our present purposes. I have advanced my hypothesis—the most rational, to my mind, for accounting for these facts; and I leave it to its fate—together with all the other speculations and hypotheses that have been advanced from time to time in the past!

CHAPTER VII

BIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Professor Flournoy, in his most interesting and scholarly book, *From India to the Planet Mars*, makes the following remarks regarding the study of the supernormal:

"It goes without saying that in treating of the supernormal we must admit theoretically its possibility, or—which amounts to about the same thing—fail to believe in the infallibility and perfection of present-day science. If I consider it *a priori* absolutely impossible for an individual to know sometime before the arrival of a telegram containing the news of an accident by which his brother at the Antipodes has been killed, or that another can voluntarily move an object at a distance without having a string attached to it, and contrary to the laws of mechanics and physiology, it is clear that I will shrug my shoulders at every mention of telepathy, and I shall not move a step to be present at a séance with Eusapia Palladino. What an excellent means of enlarging one's horizon, and of discovering something new by being satisfied with one's ready-made science and preconceived opinion—quite convinced beforehand that the Universe ends at the wall opposite, that there is nothing to be obtained beyond that which daily routine has accustomed us to look upon as the limit of the Real! This philosophy of the ostrich, illustrated formerly by those grotesque monuments of erudition—over whom Galileo did not know whether to laugh or weep—who refused to put their eyes to the glass for fear of seeing something which had no official right to existence, and again, that of many brains petrified by the unseasonable works of scientific vulgarization and the

unintelligent frequenting of universities—these are the two great intellectual dangers of our time.”

Professor Flournoy bases his argument on two general propositions, which he terms, respectively, the *Principle of Hamlet* and the *Principle of Laplace*. The first is, “All is possible”; the second is, “The weight of the evidence should be proportioned to the strangeness of the facts.”

True to these principles—which appear to me to be quite sound—let us examine the evidence in the case of Eusapia Palladino. There can be no doubt that, were the facts in this case not so strange, they would have received acceptance long before now. Had Eusapia not been known by that odious term “medium,” many of the “scientific” objections would doubtless have been removed, and still more would have been removed were it said, merely, that this woman had the capacity for moving physical objects without contact. The united and mutually confirming testimony of the many hundreds of sitters who have shared in the séances of this medium would have proved beyond all reasonable doubt the veritable existence of the phenomena, were they less startling in character. But when we find facts not only unexplained, but, apparently, running counter to the whole of human experience; when such facts contradict, apparently, the known laws of biology, physics, and psychology—what can the average man think but that there *must* be a mistake somewhere, and that, rather than admit the facts, he would prefer to believe that the investigators have one and all been deluded, either by some process of hallucination or by the tricks of a clever medium?

And yet the facts are real! To my mind, at least, they can no longer be doubted. Certainly I did not think so until I had obtained my own sittings and seen phenomena

occur under conditions which absolutely precluded fraud as effectually as they prevented hallucination. Having been convinced, however, that one does witness extraordinary phenomena at such times, I contend that it becomes our duty to study such facts in detail; to ascertain the conditions under which they are obtained, and endeavor, if possible, to improve them; in short, to examine into the physiological and psychological peculiarities of the medium, studying, as best we may, the conditions under which these phenomena have been obtained. To these I accordingly turn.

Professor Lombroso, in his paper *Eusapia Palladino and Spiritism*, tells us the following interesting facts regarding the medium and her phenomena:

"She (Eusapia) weighs 132 pounds, and her weight does not (usually) vary after a séance. The left eye presents the Claude Bernard-Horner phenomenon, as in the case of epileptics. . . .

"The sensitiveness to pain is sixty on the right and thirty on the left side, being much more delicate than that of normal persons, whose general sensitiveness when measured by the same methods showed 45 mm. and sensitiveness to pain 20 mm. The sense of weight is unequal with left-handedness. . . . On one occasion, when she was in a normal state, in full light, she held her left hand for four minutes on a photographic plate, covered with three sheets of opaque paper. This sufficed to throw her in a state of trance, and caused her to feel in her hand an electric shudder. When the plate was developed, at the spot which corresponded with her index finger, there was a blurred line of the length of her finger. This fact, which is perhaps connected with spiritistic radioactivity, may be compared with an analogous fact observed by Flammarion, which was that of a diaphanous luminosity round the outlines of the fingers, which almost formed a second misshapen outline. 'When

I have this token,' she said, 'I can obtain wonderful things.' . . . The hypnotic phenomena which resemble spiritistic phenomena so much that they are easily confused with them, are frequent with Eusapia, though she neither perceives metals nor magnets. Thus, Dr. Arullani, merely by rubbing her brow with his hand, succeeded in hypnotizing her, and soon made her fall into a cataleptic state. She has also morbid indications, which almost amount to hysteria; she passes quickly from joy to sorrow; she has strange fears—for instance, that of soiling her hands; she is very impressionable, and subject to dreams in spite of her ripe age; she has frequent hallucinations, and also fears her shadow. As a child she used to think that she saw two eyes gazing at her behind the trees and hedges. When she is angry, particularly when she is offended concerning her reputation as a medium, she is violent and repulsive, and reviles her enemies. . . . These tendencies are in strong contrast with her remarkable kindness, which makes her give what she earns to relieve the sufferings of the poor and of children, inspires her with a generous pity for the aged and weak to such a degree as to render her sleepless, and impels her to protect animals, even by ill treating those who injure them.

"In the trance state, which occurs even in full light, merely by concentrating her attention on an object, she first turns pale, the pupils of her eyes turn upward and inward, her head moving from side to side; she then becomes ecstatic, and many of her gestures are similar to those habitual to hysterical subjects, such as yawns, spasmodic laughter, frequent mystification, and at the same time vision at a distance; her language is then sometimes very elevated, and even scientific, often in a foreign tongue, with very rapid idealization, so that she seizes the ideas of those present, even when they are not expressed aloud, or translates them into some mysterious form, as, for instance, when Professor Morselli, in order to indicate that he suspected fraud, uttered the letters E. T. V.

"At the close of the séance, the most important incidents are produced. She has veritable convulsions, and cries out as

if in distress and falls into profound sleep, and from the parietal depression a warm fluid evaporates, sensible to the touch. During the trance she transmits many of her powers to those present by touching them for a few minutes at a time, as Home could communicate momentary incombustibility. After the séance she evinces morbid hyperæsthetic and photophobic sensibility. She has frequent hallucinations, and becomes delirious, asking to be guarded lest anyone should hurt her. She has serious digestive disturbances, so that she is sick if she has eaten before the séance; and finally she exhibits actual paralysis of the legs, so that it is necessary to carry her and to dress her. These disturbances become much worse if, through the carelessness of some one present, she is exposed during the séance to sudden illumination, and this recalls to us the account of the Pythoness of Delphi whose lives were shortened by their prophesying. . . .”

A large number of séances were held with Eusapia by Professor Enrico Morselli, Director of the Clinic for Nervous and Mental Diseases of the University of Genoa. He has published the results of his investigations in two large volumes, entitled *Psychology and Spiritism*. A few passages I quote herewith—as representative of Professor Morselli’s views on Eusapia:

“These phenomena, the acceptance of which I at first considered to be due to deception or gullibility, to fraud or illusion of the senses, to simple faith or preconception, are, in the very great majority of cases, real and certain, and the small minority, as to which I am uncertain, do not in any way disprove the existence of a category of extraordinary, preternormal facts, which depend upon the special organization or activity of certain individuals. . . . It is important to define the mental state of the medium during the phenomena. I will only say here that whereas, for the minor phenomena (raps, movements of the table, levitations, etc.), Eusapia can be seen to be awake and attentive—although very soon

her attention is restricted to certain groups of perceptions—yet in the case of the major phenomena, those of great significance in the spiritistic doctrine, and more novel to the observer (such as strong action at a distance, apparitions, forms, phantoms), it is necessary that her consciousness should be obscured in trance, and her will in suspense. It is only then that we have the automatic discharge of the energies which we will call 'mediumistic' accumulated in her nervous centers. Then only do we enter into the mysterious and surprising region of true spiritism."

Professor Morselli offers the following interesting remarks relative to Eusapia's mental state before and during trance:

"1. First of all, *the modifications in the state of consciousness* of the medium and sitters during the séances. In Eusapia, who is a subject from whom a very conclusive study can be made, the consciousness is now clear, now clouded up to complete suspension; she then very plainly shows the operation of the subconsciousness, which is of such great importance in modern psychology.

"2. *The state of auto-hypnosis*, to which the Anglo-American spiritists have given the name of 'trance.' I have been able to follow its phases, examine its symptoms, convince myself of its affinity with hysterical states and with hypnotism, with reserve as to the existence of a 'magnetic' state distinct from the 'hypnotic' state.

"3. *Suggestibility*. Eusapia is not only hypnotizable, but also suggestible in the waking state; she is then dominated by various auto-suggestions, among which I may include all the superstitious beliefs as to her previous existence in another body (?), her present reincarnation, her submission to a spirit guide ('John King,' who was her father in a previous life), etc. This mass of improbabilities and 'spiritistic' conjectures has formed itself in her mind by the suggestion of others (training by Damiani, instruction of Chiaja, influence of spiritistic circles, etc.). Eusapia is very ignorant, and one cannot listen to her without smiling when she tries to put

forward her naïve or involved explanations of her own phenomena. She, however, does not speak much or willingly of theoretical spiritism; she does not do like Home, Stainton Moses, or Mme. d'Espérance, who took upon themselves the office of doctrinarian propagandists. Eusapia is indeed proud of her mediumistic athleticism, and becomes triumphantly sarcastic toward the incredulous when any extraordinary phenomenon succeeds well, but is modest enough in professing or thinking of herself as a living champion of preternormal psychology.

"4. *Oniric or dream phenomena.* A great part even of the material phenomena of Palladino's mediumship is connected with her strong, though monotonous and stereotyped, activity during sleep.

"5. *Personifications.* Ordinarily in the mediumistic half-sleep, and still more so in 'trance,' Eusapia believes herself changed into other personalities, into the child of 'John King,' which she had been in a former incarnation. Sometimes it seems that she herself is impersonated in John King, who speaks through her mouth and acts through her. Other times she personifies the spirits of the deceased whom, by desire of those present, or for reasons of proselytism, she imagines that she evokes. This transformation of personality offers a large field for psychological research, but in Eusapia it does not assume the intense coloring nor the power of expression seen in other intellectual and intuitive mediums and psychographists, as, for instance, in Flournoy's Hélène Smith, of Geneva, or of Randone, of Rome.

"6. *Communications and messages in Italian.* These are mostly given by means of the table ('typtology'), rarely with the voice (exceptionally, they say, by writing also). During our sittings, as we gave the most attention to physical effects, these phenomena, always scarce with Eusapia, were extremely rare and of little interest.

"7. *Communications in foreign languages.* One or two are attributed to Eusapia, who speaks even Italian very badly, and expresses herself only in a corrupt vernacular; but although this was asserted to me by persons worthy of belief,

no such phenomenon was observed by me, and I have strong doubts about it.

"8. *Divination of thought and mental suggestion.* I have collected a few examples of these, chiefly in the series of sittings in 1901-2; they were also described by my companion in the group, Dr. G. Venzano, an excellent observer; however, they appear to me probable rather than proved, and many attempts of mine to suggestionize Eusapia mentally were fruitless, though I succeeded in hypnotizing her; this, however, does not imply that others may not obtain better results.

"9. *Lucidity and clairvoyance.* It has not been proved to me that Eusapia hears or sees or feels at a distance, nor that she has premonitions, or precognitions, or presents other similar metapsychic phenomena. I believe that Chiaja has asserted it, but it would be necessary to examine her more at ease, and while living close to her.

"10. *Externalization of sensibility.* The able observer, Colonel de Rochas says that Palladino has given him some elementary phenomena of this very singular subnormal state; I also have succeeded in making her perceive (with closed eyes) pricks with a pin made in the air an inch or two from her skin, but I am not certain about all my experiments; I should have to repeat and scrupulously verify them, and not as passing and half-concealed observations; this is not easy to do, on account of the repugnance of Eusapia (and of all mediums) to physiological examinations.

"All this subjective portion of the mediumistic phenomena is revealed by the attitude, the deportment, the physiognomy and mimetic action, the speech and the entire conduct of Eusapia; and if on the whole even the amateurs of séances and the uninitiated in psychology are able to grasp superficially the main and most apparent lines, in reality it belongs to us, psychologists and medical alienists, to apply to the subjective phenomena of mediums the analytic and synthetic methods and procedures of psychical examination; and I have given a particularized exposition of these methods in the two volumes of my *Semeiotica delle malattie mentali*, as I give it in my lessons in experimental psychology."

There is a great deal to learn about Eusapia's séances, for they are far more complicated than would appear at first sight. One must be familiar, not only with the general run of the phenomena, and know what to expect, but one must make a careful psychological study of the medium, in order to insure the best results, and cater, more or less, to her various prejudices and idiosyncrasies. Thus, Eusapia has a great dislike to soiling her hands. She has a great antipathy to mechanical or electrical apparatus of any kind, or to anything that she does not understand. She dislikes excessively being controlled in too severe a manner—since, if her hands are grasped too firmly, or if the controller's feet are planted too solidly on hers, it pains her, because of the hyperæsthetic patches or zones on the backs of her hands, and on her insteps. Some investigators endeavor to force the phenomena—that is to say, insist upon their production, claiming that the best results can be obtained in this manner. Others, on the contrary, who have had equal experience, contend that this is entirely the wrong course, and that the investigators should merely sit expectantly, without controlling the medium more than is necessary, and wait passively for results. If no attention be paid to the lesser phenomena occurring in Eusapia's immediate vicinity, say these investigators, more important phenomena will be obtained at a distance. I may say that this is opposed to Professor Morselli's observations, and to our own. We discovered that the more rigorous the control, other things being equal, and the greater the contact with the medium's body, the better the results. Above all, suspicion must not be shown at a séance, for if Eusapia feels ill at ease on this account, phenomena will almost invariably be inhibited. This is not due to fear that close investigation will expose her in trickery, since, no mat-

ter how rigorous the control, *if suspicion be not manifested*, excellent phenomena will result.

On some occasions Eusapia will talk of "John King," her supposed control, and of spirits; at other times she will speak of "my fluid" or of the "wind" that issues from her head, leg, and various other parts of her body. As a matter of fact, her own idea of the phenomena seems quite hazy and ill-defined. It is a great pity that a medium cannot arise such as Eusapia, who is, at the same time, a psychologist!

Eusapia talks but little during a séance, except at first, when she is, generally, finishing some narrative begun before she entered the séance room, and continued after she has seated herself at the table. But this soon lags, and silence intervenes, except for an occasional remark addressed to the sitters, or a few words addressed to "John." Generally, during the séance, however, the table will tilt four times, being the conventional code adopted to signify "talk." The investigators are thereupon expected to converse, not to Eusapia, but to each other, and a phenomenon generally occurs soon after this signal is given. We ourselves did not do so, however, as a rule, regarding it (evidentially) as an attempt to distract our attention, and spoke but little, while we redoubled our attention. Phenomena invariably followed nevertheless. When Eusapia has passed into deep trance, she rarely speaks at all, and all conversation with the intelligent agent, whatever it is, producing these phenomena, is carried on through the table—which is tilted automatically—or by raps, or levitations, which are apparently produced by the agent direct, and without the intervention of her physical body.

Eusapia's psychology is a puzzle to all her investigators. Questioned about her phenomena, she either offers contra-

dictory or unintelligible replies, or shrugs her shoulders and says nothing. We asked her on one occasion what feelings she experienced when a phenomenon was about to take place. She said she felt annoyed, irritated, somewhat nauseated, and, just before the production of the phenomenon, a cloud seemed to pass over her mind, and she remembered nothing until it had transpired. She stated that she remembered most of the phenomena that happened during our early séances, but occasionally had lapses of memory when important phenomena took place, and sometimes, as during the sixth séance, remembered very little of what had transpired. This is a significant fact, seeming to show that during the lesser phenomena, when the energy is directed by her own will, she retains memory of all that occurs; but during the more important phenomena, so to speak, when an independent intelligence is shown, she remembers little or nothing of such occurrences. It would seem that when "John King" (whatever that may mean) is merged with her personality, amnesia takes place, and the more important phenomena are produced.

Eusapia stated to us that she is rarely or never troubled with manifestations, or is in any way psychic or mediumistic at other times than during the séance; then only are her powers displayed. She has, two or three times during her life, experienced premonitions and vivid dreams, but such experiences could be counted on the fingers of one hand and are probably not more numerous than many persons have experienced in their own lifetimes. In this she differs from other mediums, who have been, as a rule, more or less psychic constantly, and phenomena have frequently occurred in their presence when they did not wish them to do so, and against their own direct volition.

Eusapia was quite unable to tell us how she could dis-

tinguish one phenomenon from another when it was about to occur, though this distinction is certainly clear in her own mind, and their production depends largely upon her will in many cases, since she frequently says, "I will show you a head," or, "I will fetch such and such an object from the cabinet," and the head is shown, or the object is fetched immediately afterwards.

It is an interesting psychological fact that phenomena may occasionally be obtained by merely clamoring for them, when otherwise they would not have manifested at all. Thus, Mr. Gilman Hall obtained lights by incessantly demanding them, and this happened upon various other occasions, with different investigators. It is probable that this adds some stimulus to the phenomena, but what that stimulus is (whether it be the psychological effect upon Eusapia, or whether added energy is really unconsciously liberated by the sitters, because of their mental attitude, or whether the words uttered are heard by "John," and have a stimulating effect upon *him*) I do not know. But it is certain that this insistent clamoring for phenomena will generally result in their production.

Foreign objects unknown to, and previously untouched by, the medium do not seem to be so likely to be operated upon as more familiar objects. I myself at first tried to get things out of my pocket moved, but unsuccessfully. Later I chose things belonging to or connected with Eusapia—taking them, however, secretly and arranging them as I pleased beforehand. These were successfully moved in almost every case, provided they were inside the room. It may be well for intending experimenters to remember that when they seal things up or otherwise place them for experiment, it is preferable to choose something previously handled by the medium, and

not some foreign object, without interest for her or in association with her. The probability that the latter objects are best may sound suspicious, as so many other things may sound, but, so far as I can see, the suspicious nature of the fact is only apparent; such objects will serve the purpose as well as any other if properly arranged, and cannot be held responsible for the human character of the manifestation; nor can it be considered altogether unreasonable.

How can we conceive such objects to be moved? Is there a veritable *actio ad distans*? Or is some energy projected from the periphery of the medium's body, and propagated by means of waves, through the air, or through the ether? Is it human vitality that is thus externalized, or is it some other force, wholly unknown? We cannot say. Certain it is that no instrument has as yet succeeded in measuring this force, which seems only to affect the object it strikes. Sir Oliver Lodge, commenting on these phenomena, in the *Journal of the S. P. R.*, November, 1894, says:

"Physical movements imply a source of energy, and it may be assumed that the energy is drawn from those present—principally, I suppose, almost entirely, from the medium, who was sometimes completely exhausted—although she was usually quite restored by a night's rest. I shall leave others to report on the dynamometer readings, which, as already incidentally mentioned, were taken before and after each séance, in order to ascertain, if possible, the source of the energy; nothing has yet been clearly proved by them so far as I know, but if once the movements are admitted, it will be conceded that animal vitality is the most natural, indeed the only likely, source of the energy employed. . . . I do not regard the attempt at detection of the seat of the reaction as affecting the evidence for the reality of the movements, but as conveying informations as to the laws of the unknown force. I anticipate, but quite gratuitously, that the reaction

will be found on the person of the medium, so that when she is supporting a table she will be found heavier by the weight of the table,¹ but it by no means necessarily follows that it is so; it is conceivable that the reaction will be diffused through the room. A reaction may be taken up and diffused by air molecules—as, for instance, in the case of a lamb being carried off by an eagle; it would not in that case be easy to demonstrate the still existing weight of the lamb. It is a matter for experiment to determine where the reaction is; and if no adequate reaction can be found, the phenomenon will have to be likened more nearly to the action of a flying animal than to that of an animal resting on the ground.”²

During a sitting, and for the production of phenomena, a large amount of Eusapia's energy is sapped, and, other things being equal, the better the séance, and the more remarkable the phenomena, the greater is this depletion of vital forces. After a séance, Eusapia is indeed a pitiable object. She appears shrunk together, weak, nauseated, with loss of memory of much that has transpired, her face deeply lined and sallow—giddiness, and general uncertainty as to her surroundings—these are all symptoms which are observed at the conclusion of the séance, when even graver symptoms, such as hysteria, partial paralysis, etc., do not supervene.

This vitality, which seems to be used in the production of the phenomena, while it is drawn mostly from the medium, is certainly drawn in large part from the circle also. All of us noticed this more or less, and slept to an unusually late hour the following morning. Further, in my own case especially—perhaps because of my continued bodily contact

¹This supposition has now been proved correct. The Psychological Institute of Paris found this to be the case.

²For a further discussion of these difficult questions, see Count de Coudenhove's article, "Concerning Physical Phenomena in Mediumship," in the July-September (1909) *Annals* (pp. 467-483).

with the medium—I noticed after about six séances a pain in the base of the brain, and a general feeling of exhaustion, which many others have experienced at the beginning of an invasion by external intelligences, and in cases of so-called “obsession.” I did not notice this during the séance itself, but generally afterwards, and particularly the following morning. It is interesting to note in this connection that Mrs. Piper’s trances, when the sittings have been very successful, draw vitality in a similar manner from the sitters. Dr. Hodgson especially noticed this, and one of his chief reasons for keeping so perpetually in perfect physical training was to build up and offset the vital drain which the sittings constituted during the first two or three days of every week.

Eusapia stated on one occasion that the phenomena were produced in proportion to *the density of the will of the medium*—by the force of the will of the medium. She stated that the combined will of the sitters helped to secure results. Sometimes phenomena obey the strongest will in the circle—as was demonstrated at a séance held on June 11, 1905. Exercise of the will of the medium will induce phenomena; and corresponding to this exercise of will power, contractions of her muscles, either of the arm, the leg, or even of the neck, take place. Music was not found to be beneficial; rather the contrary.

On another occasion Eusapia said that there were two kinds of fluidic currents: one proceeding from the cabinet, and the other proceeding from the chain of sitters. The one coming from the cabinet was, so to say, fed by that coming from the chain. In her Paris experiments she defined differently the character of the fluids coming from the different controllers. That of M. Youriévitich was jerky or spasmodic; that of M. Courtier was strong and tranquil; that

of M. d'Arsonval was gentle and favorable. She also named the various sensations which she experienced, and which, she said, came from the hands of various persons. The moral characters of her controllers also plays a very important part in the production of phenomena—according to Eusapia.

Dr. Ochorowicz, in discussing another case under observation by him at the time (that of Mlle. Tomczyk), gives a theoretical explanation of the manner in which objects are transported from place to place, levitated, etc. This explanation was made to him by "John King," and is to the following effect:

"After having explained the duplication of the medium's hands in the fluidic *attouchments*, John, that is to say Eusapia, in complete trance, gave me still further explanations as to the transport of slates. With a view of obtaining some sign by writing, we had prepared two slates, tied together and placed in the center of the table.

"When John was explaining to me that it was easier for him to materialize the tips of the fingers and the nails than any other part of the arm, I felt something hard tapping lightly on my head.

" 'Those are the slates,' said John.

"In answer to my question as to how he was able to hold them in the air, he gave me all his theory, which I will try to reproduce as faithfully as possible:

"The hands of all present, and principally the medium's, release an emanation which John simply called 'fluid.' This fluid forms bundles of straight rays, which are like stretched threads and support the slates. When these threads or rays are sufficiently strong, the object may perhaps be raised above the heads, because then the rays converge on to a surface or a point of the object, becoming, so to speak, rigid, and the object rests on them as on shafts. But their power depends on certain conditions, and, above all, on the harmony es-

tablished between the various fluids. By suddenly changing the conditions, for example, by breaking the chain of hands, you cut the current and the power from the fluidic rays is dispersed.

"In order to verify this assertion of John's, I suddenly withdrew my hands from my neighbor on my left, and immediately the slates fell onto the table.

" 'That is true,' I said to John, 'but do you know that I had an impression that the slates had fallen from the medium's head?'

" 'I shall prove to you by and by that you made a mistake.'

"We reformed the chain, as he directed, and a few minutes afterwards the slates were again in the air, above our heads. 'And now lift up your hand,' said John. We raised our hands, Eusapia and I, as high as it was possible without letting go of each other's hands, and the slates manifested their presence at that height several times by touching our hands.

"It was evident:

"1. That the slates were much higher than the medium's head.

"2. That the raising of both our hands, without breaking the chain, did not in any way interfere with the mechanical action of John's rays."

It was ascertained by us that, in the trance state, a greater or lesser degree of amnesia was present. We ascertained, moreover—which the Paris investigators did not—that, the more important the phenomena, other things being equal, the greater the degree of amnesia.

Excessive hyperæsthesia was ascertained by the Paris investigators to be present in the hands, head and feet. Eusapia prefers to hold the hands of her controllers, rather than be held by them. These hyperæsthetic spots appear in zones or patches—a common phenomenon in hysterical cases. This hyperæsthetic condition is particularly marked on her shoulder blades.

Further, notes were taken of the respiration, circulation, blood pressure, and pulse rate—before and after the séance. Experiments were conducted with the galvanometer. An analysis of the urine was also made.

A number of experiments were conducted, seeming to show that objects placed in the immediate neighborhood of Eusapia varied in weight. Eusapia also succeeded in discharging an electroscope without contact.¹

It is a very interesting fact, and one telling strongly in favor of the genuine character of the phenomena, it seems to me, that just before their production, and especially at the commencement of the séance, Eusapia shows certain physiological peculiarities. Thus, we frequently noticed that the medium hiccupped violently whenever she went into a trance (or whenever she did not pass into trance, if phenomena were following), but this soon left her. She also sighs, groans, and seems to be extremely uncomfortable, until the phenomena are well under way; and especially during the production of any larger phenomena she cries, "Oh, dear! Oh, dear!" and groans repeatedly. When she passes into trance, however, this suffering is lost, and partial or complete amnesia and anæsthesia take the place of the former hyperæsthesia, and acutely alert consciousness. The lesser

¹ This phenomenon has been recorded several times by other observers. Thus, in the August-September *Annals*, 1908, is an article by Dr. Imoda, entitled "The Action of Eusapia Palladino on the Electroscope." He observed this phenomenon repeatedly. He observed, also, that the instrument was not discharged immediately, as would be the case were a radium salt introduced, but "in the case of Eusapia the discharge did not take place until after several minutes, as though the body of the medium, previously passive, suddenly projected a jet of these radiations. That is to say, the emission of the mediumistic rays appeared not to be continuous, but by shocks, as, perhaps, in the case with the electrical discharge of the *gymnotus* and *torpedo*. . . . The mediumistic rays are able of themselves to become a conductor of electricity, and that, in consequence, the radiations of radium, the cathodic radiations of the Crookes tube, and mediumistic radiations, are fundamentally the same."

phenomena are, apparently, nearly always remembered—the more remarkable ones are forgotten.

One fact of interest and significance should be noticed here. During the greater portion of our early sittings the medium suffered from paroxysms of violent coughing, which came on as the séance opened. She had suffered from them more or less all day. But we invariably noticed that, as soon as the phenomena actually commenced, this cough completely disappeared and did not again manifest itself until the conclusion of the séance, when the coughing was resumed. It was as though the energy normally used in the emotive process of coughing had, during the séance, become diverted into the production of the phenomena. One incident known to me seems to verify this supposition. My father used to be a great sufferer from neuralgia—the pain extending up the cheek and including the teeth and ear. On one occasion he was suffering from a bad cold in the head and was continually “snuffing” and blowing his nose, and had been for some days past. On this occasion severe neuralgia set in on the evening of the second day and lasted all night. It disappeared in the morning, whereupon my father discovered for the first time that his cold had been entirely suspended during the entire night (he had not once desired to use his handkerchief) and did not return until the neuralgia had in turn left him!

In this case it would appear that the vital energies of the body were so fully occupied by the pain of the neuralgia attack that they were monopolized by that, and were unable to “pay any attention” to the cold and its resultant phenomena. They were diverted and directed into other channels, as it were.

Similarly, it seems to me, are the energies of Eusapia di-

rected during a séance into the production of phenomena, and such minor manifestations as are represented by a cold and cough are allowed to "stand over" until the termination of the séance, when they are again allowed free play. In any case, it seems to me, the fact tells in favor of the genuine character of the observed phenomena.

There is one point I wish to emphasize just here, and that is that it is impossible to form a just estimate of Eusapia's sittings, and of the phenomena that occur thereat, until a large number of sittings has been obtained. Investigators frequently obtain two or three séances, or even one, and form definite opinions, one way or the other, as to the phenomena from that one sitting. It is quite impossible to do this with any fairness either to the medium or to her phenomena. It must be remembered that Eusapia is, in such cases, giving a *first sitting*—or, if given to different investigators, a *series* of first sittings, and it has been ascertained by direct experiment that Mrs. Piper's first sittings are almost invariably poor, and that the character of the evidence improves both as to quality and quantity the longer the sittings are continued. Thus, the second sitting would be much better than the first, the third better than the second, and so on. It is the same with Eusapia. We noticed this especially in our sittings. The first (although good, and in it the phenomena were produced chiefly in the light) was limited to the production of three types of phenomena—viz.: table levitations, raps, and the blowing out of the cabinet curtains without apparent cause. At our second séance these same phenomena were repeated, but several others were added: movements of objects without contact, playing upon musical instruments, etc. Every séance thenceforth added some fresh phenomenon. Lights, touches by invisible hands, appearance of visible

hands, appearance of heads, carrying about of objects, levitations of a small stool outside the cabinet, touches by visible hands—these were all added to our stock of phenomena as the séances progressed. On the whole, we were, therefore, much more impressed at the conclusion of the tenth séance than we were at the conclusion of the second or third.

During the third séance, as I have said, we had detected fraud. The first two sittings had both been held in good light, and under excellent test conditions, and at the conclusion of the second sitting it is safe to say that we were quite convinced of the reality of her phenomena. Our mental state at the close of the third sitting would be difficult to analyze. We had naturally reverted to a skeptical attitude, and yet the first two sittings impressed us almost as much as ever, and we were as totally unable as ever to account for many of the phenomena we had observed. I cannot conceive a more exasperating state of affairs than to have two or three sittings, and be left in mid-air, so to speak, as to their interpretation. In spite of our utter inability to account for the phenomena of the first two séances, we nevertheless should have felt ourselves quite unable to formulate any definite opinion either for or against, had we terminated our series at this séance. It was only after we had obtained several more sittings, and phenomena had been observed under what we conceived to be absolutely test conditions, that we were reconverted to a belief in her phenomena—a final, irrevocable belief. Whatever fraud we had discovered, whatever fraud might be discovered in the future, we felt and still feel that we had observed genuine phenomena, which could not be explained by any methods of trickery or deceit.

I have before referred to the manner in which the facts

rolled off our minds, and failed to find lodgment and force belief. Séance after séance, we remained doubtful, until the sixth, when we felt that we had become finally and irrevocably convinced. The facts had at last found lodgment in our minds, and we felt that our observations had not been mistaken. Having once been convinced that genuine phenomena did occur, we determined, after the eighth séance, to relax our precautions somewhat, and give Eusapia freer play, so to speak. Accordingly, we allowed the medium to conduct herself largely as she chose, relaxing our precautions purposely in order to see the result. One might suppose, *a priori*, that better phenomena occurred in consequence of this. Such, however, was not the case. Eusapia immediately tried to trick us, and we again detected for the first time since the third séance, attempted substitution of hands! We accordingly insisted upon rigidity of control, and when this had been established, and all possibility of trickery eliminated, we again obtained excellent phenomena, under the best of conditions.

As the result of our séances, we came to this conclusion: That when the force is strong, phenomena take place no matter what conditions are imposed to prevent them—in fact, the more stringent the conditions, the more securely Eusapia is held, the better are the results obtained. We also found that the greater the contact between Eusapia's body and ours, the more forceful the phenomena, and the sooner do they set in. This agrees with Morselli's observation. He also noted this fact. On the contrary, if the force is weak, stringent control seems to offset phenomena—because it produces an adverse psychological condition in Eusapia. It makes her irritable and suspicious, and phenomena do not occur in consequence. If they fail to appear, she endeavors to stimulate

their production by lowering the lights, until almost complete darkness results, by greater freedom of her hands and feet, and then, finally, if the phenomena fail to appear, by a resort to fraud.

This again was illustrated in our own sittings. In the first two the power seemed to be strong, and Eusapia willingly submitted to any test conditions—good phenomena resulting notwithstanding. On the contrary, at the third séance, when she felt depressed and weary, phenomena failed to appear for more than an hour, and then only in almost complete darkness. Finally, Eusapia attempted fraud. Again, at the eighth séance the power appeared to be somewhat weak, and nearly two hours elapsed before any important phenomena occurred. We had asked Eusapia at this sitting if we might tie her hands and feet with rope (as we had on several previous occasions). She became exceedingly angry and refused to permit any tests of this character. In spite of the fact that her hands and feet were free, however, phenomena failed to appear, as we have seen. Yet, during our ninth sitting, Eusapia not only allowed us to tie her with rope, but even suggested it herself, and, in spite of this elaborate tying, and the most rigorous control, the phenomena commenced almost immediately, and were the most forceful and convincing we had seen throughout the whole series.

It will be seen, therefore, that the production of good phenomena depends, not upon the rigor of the control, but upon the mental and physical wellbeing of the medium. If she is depressed, down-spirited, or fatigued, a poor séance invariably results. Since the phenomena appear to depend largely upon the amount of reserve energy she possesses, this is only what we should expect, but it is interesting to note that the success of the séance seems to depend even more upon

her mental condition than upon her bodily health. If she is happy, high-spirited, elated in mind, remarkable manifestations occur, no matter what the precautions taken.

On several occasions the medium had had some domestic trouble before leaving home and arrived in a very irritable frame of mind. This seemed to offset the production of the phenomena far more than her physical health. The degree of the rigidity of the control seemed insignificant compared with it.

All the investigators of Eusapia have discovered this fact, and have found it excellent policy to stimulate the production of phenomena by entertaining her in various ways. Dinners, theater parties, carriage drives, etc., flattering Eusapia, and in general inducing in her a buoyant, happy frame of mind, will do more to insure a good séance than any other method that has so far been devised. We tried the effect of these various diversions, and usually found that our expectations were fully realized, and that an excellent séance resulted.

We did not find, however—contrary to general opinion, and contrary even to the belief of Eusapia herself—that an increase in the number of the circle affected the results beneficially—rather the reverse. Thus, we obtained excellent phenomena during our first three séances, when Mr. Feilding and I *alone* were present, controlling the medium, and under the most rigorous test conditions. At the fourth séance, at her request, we invited no less than five additional investigators, three of them personal friends of Eusapia, to join our circle. Eusapia had stated to us that the “current” of one or two of these gentlemen was particularly favorable and would be sure to induce good results. Nevertheless, the phenomena were weak and altogether unsatisfactory, and it was only after the departure of all the sitters, with the

exception of Professor Galeotti and ourselves, that we obtained phenomena that could in any way compare with those of the first séances. Again, at our eighth séance, four additional sitters were present—besides one additional investigator—who had come on from England, and who joined us after the fourth séance. At this séance, again, the phenomena were comparatively weak, and did not commence until a longer period had elapsed than at any previous sitting. We did not find, therefore, that mere numbers added anything to the production of the phenomena—even when those attending were personal friends of the medium and entirely in sympathy with her and her methods.

We seemed to find, on the contrary, that physical contact helped the production of phenomena, and that forming the “chain,” as she expresses it, stimulated their production on more than one occasion. Thus, to quote one instance, we had asked Eusapia to fetch one of the musical instruments out of the cabinet and have it brought on to the séance table. Her hands were at that moment free, but visible to us, resting upon the table. She lifted her hands, and made gestures with them toward the curtain, but nothing resulted. After various attempts she suddenly cried: “The chain! the chain!” and grasped our hands, making us join hands all around the table. After a few seconds she again raised her hand toward the curtains, held in one of ours and again made gestures. This time the instrument inside the cabinet came out with a rush and landed upon the séance table.

Usually the phenomena are more abundant on the left-hand side of Eusapia than on the right, but this only agrees with what we should suppose *a priori*—inasmuch as Eusapia is left-handed. This fact is, therefore, open to the double interpretation (1) that she can more easily produce fraudulent

phenomena with the left hand, and (2) that the "force," whatever it is, is more abundant on the left side. The duty of the controller on that side is, therefore, the more responsible of the two, and in our séances we took it in turn to control this side, so as to check one another's sensations of contact, pressure, and observation. In every case our conclusions agreed, so that we felt in the end morally certain that none of us had been mistaken, but that genuine phenomena did, in fact, occur more abundantly on this side than on the other.

Of course the question will be asked—and it is a perfectly legitimate question—if Eusapia can produce genuine phenomena, why is it that she ever cheats at all and thus leave herself open to attack from skeptical critics because of this? To the average healthy mind, it would appear a paradox that this should be so, and the majority would prefer to believe that Eusapia invariably cheats, and that all the phenomena occurring in her presence are necessarily fraudulent.

I can quite appreciate this attitude—one that I myself assumed before attending my sittings. I could not easily believe that the same medium could be both fraudulent and genuine and preferred to believe in the former alternative. In spite of the fact that I could not account for many of the phenomena recorded, I still inwardly believed that there must be some error somewhere, which, if discovered, would serve to explain the facts. Only personal sittings can remove this *a priori* objection, which I now regard as worthless and conclusively disproved by the facts in the case.

The question still remains, however: Why does Eusapia cheat? I believe that she does this sometimes simply and solely because of her love of mischief. She delights in seeing onlookers mystified at the phenomena produced through her

mediumship, and when she is in a trance state she remembers very little of what takes place, and, as it were, misses all the fun! But when she is in a normal state and can observe what is going on, she will try fraudulently to produce phenomena simply and solely for the love of the thing. Still, I admit that this is but a small part of the reason. Some of it is doubtless premeditated fraud—intended to deceive her sitters, and which she would pass off as genuine phenomena if she could. But I am convinced that the great majority of her fraudulent phenomena are produced in a semitrance condition, and that she is unaware of her movements. The fact that she is in a state bordering on trance, and the definite proof that amnesia is present a great part of the time, allows us to assume that Eusapia does not know many of her movements while in the trance state; and the statement that she feels a strong desire to produce the phenomenon with her own hand, immediately before it takes place, coupled with the convulsive twitchings of her hands and body as a whole, at the moment of the occurrence of the phenomenon—all these facts point, it seems to me, to a spasmodic reflex action on the part of the medium rather than to deliberate fraud. There is a strong impulse to produce phenomena, and, if she is not restrained, she will endeavor to produce them in a perfectly normal manner. But if she *is* restrained, genuine phenomena will result—as we repeatedly ascertained.

It is true that there are certain suspicious circumstances that crop up from time to time, while hardly a séance elapses without the investigators having to ascertain by the sense of touch, and by that of sight, that they are in reality holding the hands of the medium. Eusapia insists upon more or less darkness, especially as the séance proceeds, when the more important phenomena are witnessed. Almost invariably, too,

the phenomena originate within the cabinet, instead of outside it. But rarely do phenomena take place in good light, outside the curtains; and when they do they are almost invariably telekinetic in character and of a simple nature.

Why this cabinet? Why darkness? It must be admitted that it would be far more satisfactory if both of these conditions were done away with; but we must submit to them with as good grace as possible. The medium says that the cabinet is necessary in order to concentrate and hold the magnetic fluid which emanates from her person, and which the spirits use for the production of the phenomena. Of course this may be due, largely, to auto-suggestion. All mediums use cabinets, and Eusapia thinks she must have one, too. But there is ground for supposing that there is a good deal of truth in this assumption. In the first place, it would seem that the medium's statement must be given some weight—since she might be supposed to know how she feels and what conditions stimulate the phenomena better than outsiders possibly can. In the next place, we have frequently noticed that the nearer the cabinet curtains the medium can get, the stronger are the phenomena, and the more abundant and convincing. Most of the phenomena originate from within the cabinet, so that, on any hypothesis, we can safely say that it stimulates their production—no matter what view we hold of the phenomena themselves.

All mediums insist on certain "conditions," which, they assert, are necessary for the production of their phenomena. *Darkness* is one of these necessary conditions, apparently, for the production of physical manifestations. Why should this be so? It must be admitted that it is usually insisted upon for the reason that it renders possible trickery of all kinds. Fraud is easily possible in the dark—trickery of a kind which

light would successfully disclose and reveal. But why should genuine mediums insist upon this condition? To tell the truth, it is not positively known why this should be so; but various theories have been advanced, and numerous mediums have made a declaration, stating exactly why this should be the case. They say that light is a very disruptive agent, possessing fine, yet powerful influences, and that, when one is dealing with such subtle forces and conditions as one is in a séance, light must be excluded, for the reason that it destroys the subtle forces produced, and disintegrates the forms that would otherwise materialize.

Is there any truth in this assertion? Is there any warrant for such an assumption? To tell the truth, there is. Let us take a simple analogy, which has often been used. Sensitive plates, used in photography, cannot be exposed to the light before the picture is taken; if they were, they would be ruined, and the photograph spoiled. Darkness is necessary, it is one of the "conditions" required by every photographer for obtaining a successful photograph. And it may be so here. Light rays are now known to be very destructive to some forms of animal life and to human protoplasm; if too long continued, they are extremely energetic, and liable to disintegrate and disrupt any excessively fine and subtle body. That being the case, we are certainly entitled to take into consideration these requests of the medium, and we may consider her statements well founded—*provided the imposed conditions do not permit the possibility of fraud*. And I may say, that in Eusapia's case, this was nearly always precluded by the amount of light allowed. In her case, during the greater part of the séance, sufficient light was always present to allow us clearly to *see* her hands, as well as feel them in ours, resting on the table. Although the light was

lowered, it was at no time completely extinguished; and during the greater part of the séance, it was very good, allowing us to see everything in the room with the greatest clearness and precision.

While the lesser phenomena seem to be directly under the control of Eusapia's will, the more important phenomena are certainly dictated and are brought about by intelligences other than that of the medium herself. Eusapia believes that "John King," her supposed control, officiates at her séances, and is responsible for most of the more important phenomena.

This "John King" is said to be the brother of Crookes' Katie King, and to have been Eusapia's father in another existence. It is John who speaks when Eusapia is in her trance; when he speaks of her he calls her "my daughter," and gives advice about the care of her person and her life. M. Ochorowicz thinks this John is a personality created in the mind of Eusapia by the union of a certain number of impressions collected in the different psychic environments in which her life has been passed.

Writing of Eusapia's phenomena, and her psychology, Signor Angelo Marzorati, Editor of *Luce e Ombra*, says:

"During the first part of them (the sittings), she keeps up a lively conversation, interspersed with witticisms, when she finds that she is among friends. She rarely goes into complete trance, and only toward the end of the sitting is she overtaken by a semitrance, characterized by an incoherent babbling and a strongly marked alteration of her countenance; but more often her face seems to acquire a glassy clearness, as though something extra human were watching within her. Sometimes, in pursuit of the phenomena, by the pale gleam which came from the antechamber, I caught the watchful keen glance of the *witch*, and had the impres-

sion that of all those present, believers or skeptics, she was the one who had the greatest presence of mind; that she dominated all the rest, with the full power of the unknown which is within and about us. . . .

"Although rarely, Palladino falls into a truly feminine languor and calls upon her John: 'Come, my father, come!' Her voice then trembles with a strange and feeling passion; one feels behind the curtain the *presence* of *someone*; shadows flit rapidly between the curtains, raising the outer edges, and sometimes stopping long enough for us to see the characteristic features. I remember also clearly, at a distance of two years, the diaphanous figure and sweet face of 'Katie'; and I also remember those black shadows of various forms and densities which, in a sitting at Genoa, came right up to my face, and which seemed mere empty appearances, for they offered no solid resistance. I remember also how I once stood erect, holding both Eusapia's hands firmly on the table in my left hand, and introduced my right into the opening of the curtains, where, at a height of more than two yards, which my stature allowed me to reach, it was shaken by a vigorous and gigantic hand. Palladino was seated and I standing and no deception was possible. . . . Another time, while I was standing outside the chain, isolated and at least two yards from Eusapia, to my great surprise an electric lamp was repeatedly lighted, of which I had the switch in my pocket—I say *repeatedly* because, being placed on my guard by the first lighting, I was a more careful and conscientious observer the second time.

"I ought to say that, at the close of the sitting, Palladino is exhausted, done up, even more than other mediums. She looks round savagely, like a wounded animal, and clutches at the objects round her, as though attracted by them; at other times she has fits of weeping, of which she feels the effects the next day. Not unfrequently, when in this state, she is impelled to simulate a few phenomena, but in so childish a manner as to render it doubtful whether she is aware of it. . . ."

Some have thought that they noticed that Eusapia prepared herself, consciously, or unconsciously, at the séance, by diminishing the respiration—a very singular thing. At the same time her pulse gradually rises from 88 to 120 pulsations a minute. Is this a practice analogous to that which the fakirs of India employ, or a simple effect of the emotions which, before every séance, Eusapia experiences?—a fact which has a strong tendency to convince the sitters, but is never sure of the production of the phenomena.

Eusapia is not hypnotized; she herself enters into the trance state when she becomes a link in the chain of hands. She begins to sigh deeply, then yawns and hiccoughs. A series of varied expressions passes over her face. Sometimes it takes on a demoniacal look, accompanied by a fitful laugh (very much like that which Gounod gives to Mephistopheles in the opera of "Faust") which almost always precedes an important phenomenon. Sometimes her face flushes; the eyes become brilliant and liquid, and are opened wide. The smile and the emotions are a mark of the erotic ecstasy. She says "*mio caro*" ("my dear"), leans her head upon the shoulder of her neighbor, and courts caresses when she believes that he is sympathetic. It is at this point that phenomena are produced, the success of which causes her agreeable and even voluptuous thrills. During this time her legs and her arms are in a state of marked tension, almost rigid, or even undergo convulsive contractions. Sometimes a tremor goes through her entire body.

To these states of nervous superactivity succeeds a period of depression, characterized by an almost corpse-like paleness of the face (which is frequently covered with perspiration) and an almost complete inertia of her limbs. If she lifts her hand, it falls back of its own weight.

During the trance her eyes are turned up and only the white is visible. Her presence of mind and her general consciousness are diminished, or not at all in evidence. She gives no reply, or if she does, her reply is retarded by questions. Eusapia has no recollection of what has taken place during the séances, except for states of mind bordering close on those of her normal state; and, consequently, they only relate, as a general thing, to phenomena of slight intensity.

In order to aid in the manifestations, she frequently asks that her force be increased by putting one person in the chain. It has frequently happened to her to address a sympathetic spectator, to take his fingers and press them as if to draw something out of them, then push them abruptly away, saying that she has enough force.

In proportion as her trance increases, her sensibility to light increases. A sudden light causes difficulty in her breathing, rapid beatings of her heart, an hysterical feeling, general irritation of the nerves, pain in the head and eyes and a trembling of the whole body, with convulsions—except when she herself asks for light (a thing which frequently happens to her when there are interesting verifications to be made upon the subject of displaced objects), for then her attention is strongly called in other directions.

She is in constant motion during the *active* period of many of the séances. These movements may be attributed to the hysterical crises which then agitate her; but they appear to be necessary to the production of the phenomena. Every time that a movement is being caused at a distance she imitates it, either with her hands or with her feet, and by developing a much stronger force than would be necessary for producing the movement by contact.

During and after the levitations of the table, she has a

feeling of pain in her knees; during and after other phenomena, in her elbows and all through her arms.

Here is what she herself says of her impressions when she wishes to produce a movement at a distance. *She suddenly experiences an ardent desire to produce the phenomenon; then she has a feeling of numbness and the gooseflesh sensation in her fingers; these sensations keep increasing. At the same time she feels in the inferior portion of the vertebral column the flowing of a current which rapidly extends into her arm as far as her elbow, where it is gently arrested. It is at this point that the phenomenon takes place.*

It would appear to me that the above statement explains, in part at least, much of Eusapia's fraud. Here there is the wish, amounting to a strong desire, to produce the phenomenon by normal means; and this desire would naturally find, or attempt to find, motor expression, in the release of one hand, and in the shooting out of that hand automatically, toward the object. These desires doubtless produce abortive muscular twitchings and movements, which, by a hypercritical investigator, might be interpreted as attempts on her part to release a hand or a foot, and with it produce the phenomenon fraudulently. But we repeatedly found that if she were checked from doing so, and the hand or the foot securely held, genuine phenomena would result and the object be moved by an exteriorization of motor force. It would find actuality just as (to use an analogy) a visualized thought might, under certain conditions, become externalized in the mind as a full-blown hallucination—having all the appearance of reality.

Whatever the interpretation of the facts, however, I regard it as certain that they are established, and that they

should, in consequence, be studied by men and by societies interested in natural knowledge. It need hardly be pointed out that if but one or two of the facts asserted to occur at Eusapia's séances ultimately prove to *be* facts, they are of the utmost possible importance to science—necessitating, as they would, reconstructions and enlargements of the present-day view, upon an unprecedented scale. Nevertheless, the facts, I am fully convinced, *do* occur; and that is the opinion, also, of a large number of scientific men in Europe who have studied Eusapia for a number of years. I think, therefore, that Eusapia should be brought to America, and studied here, by a commission of scientific investigators—as she has been studied in the past in England, France, Italy, Russia, and elsewhere. Eusapia is yet alive, and it is not too late to reverify, or to discredit, the facts. Fresh sittings are constantly being held, and each body of investigators leaves under the distinct impression that it has seen genuine physical phenomena of a supernormal character. Should not these opinions be checked, and the argument settled one way or the other before Eusapia dies? As a matter of fact, I think the case has practically been settled—for all unbiased students of the records; but further and more conclusive tests should doubtless be performed, since it is impossible to establish too thoroughly facts which are of such great moment to science. It is earnestly hoped that sufficient money and sufficient interest will soon be raised in this country to bring Eusapia to America, and to study her by means of a long series of experiments; and, when once the facts have been established (as I feel certain they would be), to begin a scientific investigation—physical, mental, and possibly spiritual—of the medium and her phenomena. Certain it is that the present state of things is a disgrace to science—particularly in a country

which boasts of its wealth, its progress, and its openmindedness! I cannot do better than quote, in this connection, the words of Professor Sidgwick, who, in his first presidential address before the Society for Psychical Research, delivered July 17, 1882, said:

"Why form a Society for Psychical Research at all at this time—including in its scope not merely the phenomena of thought reading, but also those of clairvoyance and mesmerism, and the mass of obscure phenomena commonly known as Spiritualistic? Well, in answering this, the first question, I shall be able to say something upon which I hope we all agree—meaning by 'we,' not merely those who are in this room, but we and the scientific world outside; and as, unfortunately, I have but few observations to make on which so much agreement can be hoped for, it may be well to bring this into prominence—namely, that we are all agreed that the present state of things is a scandal to the enlightened age in which we live. That the dispute as to the reality of these marvelous phenomena—of which it is quite impossible to exaggerate the scientific importance, if only a tenth part of what has been alleged by generally credible witnesses could be shown to be true—I say it is a scandal that the dispute as to the reality of these phenomena should still be going on—that so many competent witnesses should have declared their belief in them, that so many others should be profoundly interested in having the question determined, and yet that the educated world as a body should still be simply in the attitude of incredulity."

Such, it appears to me, is the attitude of the scientific world with regard to Eusapia Palladino and her phenomena. It is earnestly to be hoped that the time will not be far distant when this "scandalous" state of things will no longer exist; when scientific men will consent to investigate these phenomena; and then, it is to be hoped, Eusapia Palladino

will be ranked, not as a vulgar impostor, but as a rarely gifted individual, possessing powers worthy of the deepest study and respect; as a delicate and sensitive piece of organic machinery, which should be guarded and cared for with the utmost kindness and consideration.

APPENDIX

In the *Annals of Psychical Science*, for July–September, 1909, Mrs. Finch—its late editor—published a “letter” bitterly attacking Eusapia and her phenomena. Mrs. Finch asserts that very few of them are genuine; that most of her sitters are simply deluded or “glamoured” by her mere presence; that she succeeds in casting a sort of spell over her sitters, merely by reason of the fact that she is a woman! She accuses her of “erotic tendencies”; and concludes that no evidence is of any value in her case unless supported by photography.

I took occasion to reply to this letter at the time—as I deemed it not only misleading, but totally false in implication and in fact; and I reprint here what I then said:

A REPLY TO MRS. FINCH'S LETTER ON EUSAPIA PALLADINO

BY HEReward CARRINGTON

Mrs. Finch's extraordinary letter in the July–September *Annals* deserves more than a passing mention. To many minds, doubtless, the letter answers itself, and, reading between the lines, one can quite easily surmise some of the motives which prompted the writing of so scathing a criticism. Nevertheless, it may be well to indicate how baseless are

the assertions contained in this contribution to psychical research; and to examine her letter in some detail.

Mrs. Finch is surely unaware of the implications of her theory regarding Eusapia's phenomena; for if she were aware of it, she would surely not advance it—at least in public. Certain it is that Eusapia has been studied more carefully, more exactly, and by a greater number of eminent men than any other physical medium who has ever lived. With very few exceptions (which can easily be explained) every one of these men has been converted to a belief in the reality of her phenomena. Now, if it were possible to show that after all these years of work, and such a vast amount of research; if, in spite of all the affirmative testimony in her favor, nothing but fraud had been practised, it would deal the physical phenomena such a crushing blow that they would (probably) never recover from the shock. If nothing supernatural really exists, if no genuine phenomena occur in her presence, then surely, the case for their occurrence, elsewhere, would be finally and irretrievably ruined—for in no other case does the mass and excellence of the testimony in their favor equal this. It may fairly be said that the case for the physical phenomena stands or falls with this case of Eusapia Palladino.

Mrs. Finch asserts that one faint light, witnessed at one séance, was the only genuine phenomenon ever seen by her in Eusapia's presence. In view of our own experience with this medium, I should be strongly inclined to doubt this statement. Where are the records of these séances? Who else attended the sittings attended by Mrs. Finch? And where is their negative evidence? Statements of this sweeping character must be supported by *proof*; we do not want a mere *ex cathedra* pronouncement upon her phenomena. Besides, it

must be remembered that this is a mere statement of *one person's experience*; and others may have had experiences which differ from it. As the reports show, their experiences *have* differed; and no one can read the published reports without seeing that Mrs. Finch's explanation—simple fraud—is ludicrously inadequate to account for all the facts.

What, then, is the root and basis of Mrs. Finch's animosity? It would seem that this is purely personal—a strong antipathy toward Eusapia—which, I may add, is equally shared by Eusapia. Mrs. Finch objects to her phenomena because, forsooth, she objects to the woman herself! She is vulgar, dishonest, etc. On these grounds, and because of them, Mrs. Finch cannot believe in her phenomena. One can only say: "How like a woman!" (*Some women.*) For science, of course, such reasons are ridiculous. For science, it makes not a particle of difference whether a medium is ugly or beautiful, whether she washes her neck, whether she is vulgar or obscene in her speech or actions; she may be all this, and a trickster, a fraud, and absolutely mad. The question is: *Do physical objects move without contact in her presence?* That is the only point to be settled. No matter how honest a medium may be, we always have to assume, for evidential purposes, that she is fraudulent, and conduct our experiments with the idea of debarring this possibility. Conversely, the medium may be as big a fraud as you please, but if the conditions of the experiment prove fraud to have been impossible, then we shall have to assume that the phenomena are genuine. The personality of the medium, in other words, should be quite discounted, and should not be allowed to enter at all into the discussion, or to the settlement of the main problem: *Are her phenomena genuine?*

Mrs. Finch asserts that the few scant phenomena of a genuine character are "hidden in a quagmire of deliberate fraud." This is precisely the reverse of my own experience. I found that but a very small percentage were fraudulent; and that the vast bulk of the phenomena were genuine. This is also Professor Morselli's experience—who estimates that ten per cent. of her phenomena (at the outside) might possibly be fraudulent. Besides, if Mrs. Finch was so assured that E. P. was nothing but a clever trickster, and that her phenomena were fraudulent, why did she continually publish accounts of her séances in the *Annals*? I think that some of us would like an explanation of that fact.

Of course it is very important to study the mentality of the sitters at a spiritualistic séance. When such analyses are made, what do they reveal? Usually, that the bulk of the sitters are so credulous that they are totally incapable of detecting fraud—had such existed—and that they accept everything presented in the name of Spiritualism. Among them may be found a sprinkling of skeptics or genuine investigators. Now, when it comes to a question of fraud and its detection, we should, of course, be guided, almost entirely, by what the latter class has to say about the phenomena—as the former is probably very easily suggestible, and see all they are supposed to see, and more. Of two descriptions of a phenomenon, also, we should select the less marvelous. All that being granted, the question arises: Who are to be trusted? Whose word is to be taken in a question of this character?

The consensus of opinion is, I think, that conjurers, or scientists thoroughly familiar with conjuring, are the best judges; and it was for that very reason that our special committee—Messrs. Feilding, Baggally, and myself—were asked

to undertake the investigation. If any of us had been suggestible and easily "glamoured," is it not probable—nay, certain—that we should have been similarly affected, at least to some extent, by other mediums, mostly women, with whom we had obtained sittings in the past? Speaking personally, I may say that never once had I seen anything but trickery, upon the detection of which I bent my whole energies. Some of these mediums, I may add, were far younger and more "beautiful" than Eusapia, whom, I think I am safe in saying, none of us ever thought of for a moment as anything more than a "case"—and at first, possibly, a clever trickster. On no occasion did we ever detect any such "erotic tendencies" as Mrs. Finch describes—and as other authors, too, have remarked. Not the slightest symptoms were ever noticed by any of us, I am safe to say. Eusapia did not touch us in any close manner until the fifth or sixth séance. Besides, none of us were in any sense emotional men; precisely the reverse. Further, as I said before, how was it that no one of us had ever been similarly affected by any other medium with whom we had ever sat? Speaking personally, I may say that I have sat for hours and hours with mediums alone and in the dark—and never once did I feel any peculiar symptoms—never once was I influenced in the slightest degree; never once did I see anything but trickery; never was there a hallucination! (See my report on "Lily Dale," *Proceedings Amer. S. P. R.*, Vol. II, pp. 1-119.)

The introduction into this discussion of stories of what Eusapia did when she was 16 has nothing whatever to do with the problem before us. As I have said before, the sole question for science is: *Can she move objects without contact?* That is the question to be settled, and it has nothing more to do with her past career than with the spots on the sun.

One can obviously see, here, that the criticism has degenerated from a scientific to a personal one. Mrs. Finch is totally wrong in saying that "nothing of an indisputably genuine nature occurs in the light." That may have been her experience; it certainly was not ours. As our Report abundantly shows, a large number of phenomena—and even the very best phenomena—occurred in a good light—light sufficiently good to read the small print of a Baedeker. What is one to say, therefore? Obviously, that Mrs. Finch's statements are totally incorrect, and that a large number of genuine phenomena *do* occur in light sufficient to enable us to see the whole of the medium's body quite clearly.

Mrs. Finch speaks of "the medium's body being in perpetual movement—her hands, arms, legs, and body are scarcely ever still when phenomena are being produced. . . ." Nothing of the sort occurred in our séances. At first—particularly in bad séances—a certain amount of movement and restlessness was noted, I admit (who could sit for three or four hours without moving a muscle?), but in the best séances there was scarcely any movement at all. Note this: the better the phenomena, the less the movement. Precisely the reverse of this should be the case on Mrs. Finch's theory. But I must emphatically insist that, during the best séances—and particularly during the production of the best phenomena—Eusapia scarcely moved a muscle, but submitted herself to the very fullest control, and her hands and feet were held impassively in ours. There was no attempt at movement, far less at substitution, as our Report will show. Our experience on this point, therefore, formally and explicitly contradicts that of Mrs. Finch, and shows it to be quite incorrect from the point of view of fact.

Mrs. Finch asserts that Eusapia selects her controllers with great care—choosing those whom she can influence—and that these sitters are consequently incapable of a trustworthy report of the existing control. Now as to the first point, everyone knows this is absolutely false; Eusapia does not choose her sitters, but the experimenters control her themselves. Occasionally, she asks that certain sitters change places, that a new control be established, *e.g.*, in order to supply a better “current.” But this is comparatively rare, and the request is not always granted. Certain it is that Eusapia could have had no choice in our first three sittings, since only two of us were present! As to our being particularly suggestible, I should like to ask the mediums—men and women—with whom we had previously sat, whether they considered us so! I think our previous records in psychic experimentation would answer *that* question.

Now a word as to the value of photographs. Mrs. Finch contends that “no man’s account of her phenomena should be accepted—no matter who he may be—unless he can corroborate his account with photographs.” In the first place, these phenomena *have* often been so corroborated. Photographs of levitations and other phenomena *have* been taken time and time again, and, so far as photographs can prove anything, these phenomena have been proved thereby. But I must contend (in direct opposition to Mrs. Finch) that photography can very rarely afford any valuable corroboration whatever. Generally, it is quite useless for establishing the reality of a phenomenon—though it might often disclose fraud. It can prove what *is* there, but not what is *not* there. I have insisted upon this several times before, in discussing these phenomena. Thus, in reviewing M. Flammarion’s book, *Mysterious Psychic Forces*, in the *Journal, Amer.*

S. P. R., Vol. II, pp. 471-91, long before I had had sittings with E. P., I wrote:

"... All photographs are open to this fundamental objection. They give us a picture, merely, of what is actually happening at any one time, *without telling us the preceding actions of the medium and others present, leading up to that event.* . . . The worthlessness of photographic records is evidenced by the fact that on page 113 of *Around the World with a Magician and a Juggler*, there is a photograph of a table levitated by fraudulent means—it is impossible to see how."

This, it may be added, is also the opinion of Sir Oliver Lodge, who wrote (*Proceedings S. P. R.*, Vol. X, p. 23):

"For myself, I would prefer to trust my own observation rather than any amount of second-hand information, fortified by the assurance of any number of Kodaks."

It will thus be seen that photographs, so far from furnishing final and conclusive evidence—as Mrs. Finch contends is the case—are practically worthless for establishing the reality or supernormal character of these phenomena. So far from being the best—and in fact the only—means of satisfactorily proving the reality of the phenomena, it is a totally inadequate method—one open to many objections, from the evidential point of view, and proving nothing, in the majority of cases, when successful!

A word more and I have done. Mrs. Finch has obviously gone out of her way to attack a woman who can neither read nor write, and who is, consequently, unable to defend herself in a controversy of this character. Those who know her should, therefore, enter the lists for her, and fight her battles. Mrs. Finch has made the attack a personal one, and

has thereby laid herself open for just such replies as this—and indeed far more severe ones which I trust may be forthcoming from other quarters. Moreover, she has quite abandoned the scientific attitude in the matter, and thus forever after denied herself the right to a serious hearing in all matters scientific or psychic. The scientific problem is again and again mixed with and governed by the personal animus, as is shown over and over again, throughout her article. I regret to say that this attitude has also been adopted (unconsciously, doubtless) by other investigators, as her quotation from Professor Morselli shows. The question we should ask ourselves is *not*, “*Can* a soul so pure breathe in so foul an atmosphere?” but *does* it? If the facts prove that to be the case, we shall have to accept them, no matter whether we care to or not. It is a question of *fact*; not of emotion and belief. The inanity of the greater part of “spirit communications” would seem to prove that the majority of the inhabitants of the next world are little better than lunatics. Yet, as Dr. Hyslop has so well pointed out and insisted upon:

“We have to accept the life to come, if it be a fact, without any ability to escape it, and its degenerated nature would not affect the evidence for the fact of it. Its being a mad-house or an asylum for idiots would not weaken the evidence for its existence.”

The majority are incapable of divorcing their sentiments from their judgment, and allow the mind to be swayed by the emotions. Such persons should not investigate psychical matters: they are totally unfitted to be scientific investigators. Only those who are prepared to admit the facts, no matter where they may lead, and who feel no personal interest in the problem, one way or the other—*these* are the only per-

sons who should devote themselves seriously to psychic investigation and research.

In conclusion, I wish to say that this reply does not involve either of my colleagues, or the opinion of anyone but myself. However certain I might feel that I have their moral support in this reply, I wish it to be distinctly understood that my reply to Mrs. Finch comes entirely from myself, and is prompted solely by the desire to defend an absent and helpless woman, who, in spite of adverse criticism, possesses many good qualities, and a more straightforward and honest soul, perhaps—in spite of her petty trickery—than some of her scoffers and critics.

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