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Presented to
James Agassiz
Esq July 19
AGASSIZ AND SPIRITUALISM:

INVOLVING



THE INVESTIGATION OF

HARVARD COLLEGE PROFESSORS

IN 1857.

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AUTHOR OF "BIBLE MARVEL WORKERS," "SPIRIT WORKS,"
"NATTY, A SPIRIT," ETC.

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AGASSIZ AND SPIRITUALISM.

PART ONE.

THE exit of the illustrious Agassiz saddened the cultured world. A bright light in earth's halls of science then went out. The subsidence of its warm rays chilled the atmosphere which they had long made genial. So widely was he known, and so highly prized, that hearts, the world over, sympathetically take in and cherish the following memories, thoughts and emotions which the gifted EMERSON, in choice words, spoke concerning him in behalf of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College :

"They recall his rare endowments, his great heart, his social gifts, his ardent genius, the grandeur of his aims, and his inflexible adherence in their pursuit. He seemed to unite in his person the powers of several men. To an iron will he added an ardor which warmed other men, and made them friends and executors of his designs. As if born to carry forward the science and humanities of this country, he could persuade not only private men, but reluctant legislatures, to gifts to science unexampled before. His presence was a festival; his conversation genial and superior; his knowledge wise and exact. It was a privilege to be in his company and receive his inspirations."

Highest culture's brilliant representative paid that telling tribute to the genius, powers, amenities, graces and achievements of the illustrious man in science. The eulogist no doubt felt, and no sentiment moves us to question its general justice, while we admire the rare beauty of that offering.

But can Spiritualists, *as such*, profit by anything in the life of that great man? We are not intending to speak of him as having ever been intentionally a friend or helper of our cause. All that is publicly known of his views concerning that, calls upon us to refrain from any attempt to claim him as a Spiritualist. But many years ago we read, "*fas est etiam ab hoste doceri*"; which, turned into English, may mean, "It is well to gain *knowledge* from even an opponent." We turn our thoughts to Agassiz now for the purpose of using some of his experiences in our behalf, and also of putting forth a different explanation of his demean- or toward us than has heretofore been made public.

Viewing our faith as a philosophy, we say that SPIRITUALISM is *phenomena perceived by human senses, the occurrence of which demands intelligent use of forces and methods not cognized by existing science, nor subject to either its inspection or control*. This implies that some occult agents and forces act upon men, whom science may and therefore must discover, study and regard, before she can supply pressing human needs. Did Agassiz either undergo any experiences, or put anything on record, which may lend aid toward opening a pathway to knowledge, that other actors and other forces than any which science has heretofore cognized and dealt with, actually exist just beyond where she has explored, and from thence are putting forth effective action upon mortals and human affairs? Possibly he did.

On the 22d of February, 1839, Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend, an eminent mesmerist, was invited to visit Agassiz at his home in Neufchatel, and try to mesmerize him. The Professor was then thirty-three years old, and already a man of note in the fields of science. Townshend's success is very definitely told in the following account, which the subject himself wrote out, and which may be found commencing on the 385th page in "*Facts of Mesmerism*." *Second Edition, London, 1844.* By Rev. Chauncy Hare Townshend. We quote it in full, as follows :

"Desirous to know what to think of mesmerism, I for a long time sought for an opportunity of making some experiments in regard to it upon myself, so as to avoid the doubts which might arise on the nature of the sensations which we have heard described by mesmerized persons. M. Desor, yesterday, in a visit which he made to Berne, invited Mr. Townshend, who had previously mesmerized him, to accompany him to Neufchatel and try to mesmerize me.

"These gentlemen arrived here with the evening courier, and informed me of their arrival. At eight o'clock I went to them. We continued at supper till half-past nine o'clock, and about ten Mr. Townshend commenced operating on me. While we sat opposite to each other, he, in the first place, only took hold of my hands and looked at me fixedly. I was firmly resolved to arrive at a knowledge of the truth, whatever it might be; and therefore, the moment I saw him endeavoring to exert an action upon me, *I silently addressed the Author of all things, beseeching him to give me the power to resist the influence, and to be conscientious in regard to myself, as well as in regard to the facts.*

"I then fixed my eyes upon Mr. Townshend, attentive to whatever passed. I was in very suitable circumstances: the hour being early, and one at which I was in the habit of studying, was far from disposing me to sleep. I was sufficiently master of myself to experience no emotion, and to repress all flights of imagination, even if I had been less calm; accordingly it was a long time before I felt any effect from the presence of Mr. Townshend opposite me. However, after at least a quarter of an hour, I felt a sensation of a current through all my limbs, and from that moment my eye-lids grew heavy. I then saw Mr. Townshend extend his hands before my eyes, as if he were about to plunge his fingers into them; and then make different circular movements around my eyes, which caused my eyelids to become still heavier.

"I had the idea that he was endeavoring to make me close my eyes, and yet it was not as if some one had threatened my eyes, and in the waking state I had closed them to prevent him. It was an irresistible heaviness of the lids which compelled me to shut them, and, by degrees, I found that I had no longer the power of keeping them open, but did not the less retain my consciousness of what was going on around me, so that I heard M. Desor speak to Mr. Townshend, understood what they said, and heard what questions they asked me, just as if I had been awake, but I had not the power of answering. I endeavored in vain several times to do so, and, when I succeeded, I perceived that I was passing out of the state of torpor in which I had been, and which was rather agreeable than painful.

"In this state, I heard the watchman cry ten o'clock; then I heard it strike a quarter past; but afterwards I fell into a deeper sleep, although I never entirely lost my consciousness. It appeared to me that Mr. Townshend was endeavoring to put me into a sound sleep. My movements seemed under his control; for I wished several times to change the position of my arms, but had not sufficient power to do it, or even really to will it; while I felt my head carried to the right or left shoulder, and backwards or forwards, without wishing it, and, indeed, in spite of the resistance which I endeavored to oppose; and this happened several times.

"I experienced at the same time a feeling of great pleasure

in giving way to the attraction which dragged me sometimes to one side, sometimes to the other; then a kind of surprise on feeling my head fall into Mr. Townshend's hand, who appeared to me from that time to be the cause of the attraction. To his inquiry if I were well, and what I felt, I found I could not answer, but I smiled; I felt that my features expanded in spite of my resistance; I was inwardly confused at experiencing pleasure from an influence which was mysterious to me. From this moment I wished to wake, and was less at my ease; and yet, on Mr. Townshend asking me whether I wished to be awakened, I made a hesitating movement with my shoulders. Mr. Townshend then repeated some frictions which increased my sleep; yet I was always conscious of what was passing around me.

"He then asked me if I wished to become lucid, at the same time continuing, as I felt, the frictions from the face to the arms. *I then experienced an indescribable sensation of delight, and for an instant saw before me rays of dazzling light, which instantly disappeared.* I was then inwardly sorrowful at this state being prolonged. It appeared to me that enough had been done with me. I wished to awake, but could not; yet when Mr. Townshend and M. Desor spoke, I heard them. I also heard the clock, and the watchman cry, but I did not know what hour he cried. Mr. Townshend then presented his watch to me, and asked if I could see the time, and if I saw him; but I could distinguish nothing. I heard the clock strike the quarter, but could not get out of my sleepy state.

"Mr. Townshend then woke me with some quick transverse movements from the middle of the face outwards, which instantly caused my eyes to open; and at the same time I got up, saying to him, 'I thank you.' It was a quarter past eleven. He then told me—and M. Desor repeated the same thing—that the only fact which had satisfied them that I was in a state of mesmeric sleep was the facility with which my head followed all the movements of his hand, although he did not touch me, and the pleasure which I appeared to feel at the moment when, after several repetitions of friction, he thus moved my head at pleasure in all directions.

(Signed,)

AGASSIZ."

We are distinctly taught, in the above, that, as philosopher and scientist, then in the full vigor of manhood, Agassiz had "for a long time sought" for such opportunity to be mesmerized as Dr. Townshend's visit afforded. This Professor, even then eminent—this man, gifted with gigantic mental and strong physical powers—reverently and prayerfully, as well as philosophically, sat calmly down, not to welcome and imbibe, but "*to resist the mesmeric influence.*" Then Greek met Greek, scientist met scientist, in calm but resolute measurement of the strength and efficiency of their respective weapons and forces. Agassiz says his purpose was to resist. The

whole tone of his account, however, indicates that his resistance was in no degree captious, but designed simply to measure the strength and enable him to note the action of mesmeric force. The vigorous Professor then called into exercise all his own great inherent powers of resistance, and such further aid as his earnest aspiration could bring to his support, and yet was forced to yield up to another's will all command over his own physical organs. A stronger than he entered and ruled over his peculiar domain. The Author of all things, though besought, did not so coöperate as to counter-vail the legitimate action of natural powers. Invisible forces, emitted and directed by another man's mind, against which his own robust intellect was planted in calm and firm resistance, penetrated even the compact Agassiz, and caused him—

- 1st, To feel the sensation of a current through all his limbs ;
- 2d, To close his eyelids from necessity ;
- 3d, To lose his powers of utterance ;
- 4th, To lose power to change the position of his own arms ;
- 5th, To lose power to even *will* to move his arms ;
- 6th, To lack power to prevent movements of his own head by another's will ;
- 7th, To experience great pleasure in giving way to the attraction upon him ;
- 8th, To feel surprised at the contact of his head with another's hand ;
- 9th, To find the operator the cause of the attractions ;
- 10th, To be confused at experiencing *pleasure* from an influence that was *mysterious* to him ;
- 11th, To see for an instant dazzling rays of light ;
- 12th, To be unable to awake, even though he wished to.

Similar experiences have become so common that they are now devoid of strangeness. Thousands—possibly hundreds of thousands—have had their like since 1839. But no other *Agassiz* has described the sensations and facts attending the subduing operations. The character of their reporter gives his experiences exceptional value.

It is true and readily admitted that this keen and exact observer was then dominated by *mesmeric*, which many assume to be widely different from *spirit-force*. The belief is prevalent to-day that those two adjectives describe one and the same thing. Few persons who have sought to discover the relations between Mesmerism and Spiritualism, hesitate to endorse the following statement made by Cromwell F.

Varley before a committee of the London Dialectical Society, which was substantially this, viz., "I believe that the mesmeric force and the spiritual force are the same—the only difference being that in one case the producing agent is in a material body, and, in the other, is out of such a body." Mr. Varley's competency to give a valuable opinion may be inferred from the fact that the great Atlantic Telegraph Company elected him from among England's eminent electricians, to supervise and control the constructors and operators of their vast and delicate apparatus for flashing knowledge under the waters, from continent to continent, and he made their project a success. We add, that Spiritualism had for years been manifested in striking forms and much distinctness, both through himself and other members of his own family, and that he had been an extensive observer and scientific student of its phenomena, and a careful tester of its forces. He had reached the conclusion not only that the chief force employed in producing both the mesmeric and the spiritualistic entrancement was the same, but also that it was distinct from either electricity or magnetism. From Mr. Varley's views the conclusion may be fairly deduced, that Agassiz, in middle life, experienced much that is undistinguishable from the sensations and perceptions of modern mediums, and that he was subdued by use of the same force by which they are controlled. As a general rule, though possibly subject to a few exceptions, persons who have once yielded to mesmeric, afterwards are very liable to succumb to spirit force. This rule will have important bearings when we come to view the deportment of Agassiz as a member of the Harvard Investigating Committee. What we have already adduced suggests the probability, that, if unresisted by himself, spirits could have controlled him with much facility, had he have consented to be calm and unresisting while he was within the auras or spheres of persons whose emanations and constituent elements were helpful to the control of physical forms by spirits.

The great naturalist probably was mesmerized at other times than the one of which his own pen furnished an account. For Townshend, p. 344, says :

"Prof. Agassiz, who, when mesmerized, could not of himself stir a muscle, moved like an automaton across the room when impelled by me. Even while retaining his consciousness enough to *resist my efforts* to move his limbs by mere

gestures, without contact of any kind, he subsequently owned that he was actually *compelled* into such motions as I wished him to perform."

These statements, of trustworthy origin, relating to the experiences of such a man as Agassiz, imperatively call upon all men to apply discriminating and charitable judgment to any and all such persons as are constitutionally liable, under certain conditions, to have their physical organisms so controlled by some foreign intelligence, embodied or disembodied, as makes them appear to be the intentional performers of many acts which they neither will to do, nor consent to the performance of. Remembrance of his experiences and sequent susceptibilities may enable us to exculpate where we have been accustomed to blame Agassiz. Another extract, as follows, we take from Townshend, p. 310 :

"A very certain proof that when attention remits there is a remission also of mesmeric power, was afforded me also in the course of some experiments which Prof. Agassiz, of Neuchâtel, permitted me to try upon himself. In these I was of course peculiarly desirous of concentrating all my attention upon the effects to be produced on a man of learning and science. The very circumstances of the case compelled me to exert my mind in an undivided manner. But one evening the non-arrival of expected letters from home forced me into another train of feeling, and, during the mesmeric processes, I could not prevent my thoughts from occasionally straying from the scene before me into anxious surmises as to the causes of the silence of my friends. My patient, although he had his eyes closed and his limbs paralyzed in the torpor of mesmeric slumber, was not slow to perceive the wanderings of my attention, and, although I was at the time engaged in mesmeric processes, to all outward appearance as actively as usual, called out to me constantly, and coincidentally with the remission of my thoughts, 'You influence me no longer. You are not exerting yourself.'"

The author's object in writing as above, was simply to show the importance of fixed mental attention to the work in hand on the part of any mesmeric operator. But his statement permits the inference that the perceptions of Agassiz were already quickened, exalted, or increased in acuteness by the mesmeric operation, because the supposition is natural and seemingly necessary, that Agassiz must have been lifted above his normal condition when he found himself able to read the changing mental states, and measure the varying mental forces of the silent operator. Otherwise, how could he have said unqualifiedly, "You are not exerting yourself, you

influence me no longer"? Obviously his condition had been made such that he was not only sensitive to the action of unuttered thought in another's mind, but was enabled to measure the varying intensity of its force and the quantum and quality of its effects. In this case the mesmerist acted upon one possessing *mens sana in sano corpore*—a sound mind in a sound body—and not merely sound, but large and strong too, and whose will was firm and pertinacious above what the world often sees. Where an Agassiz was—all in one—the subject, the observer and the describer of the action of occult forces controlled within himself by intelligence not his own, one's theories must be excessively tyrannous if they hold him fast bound to belief that the effects experienced were mainly the products of either imagination or hallucination. He presented them as objective facts brought to his consciousness and knowledge by forces and agencies legitimately within the domains of external and human nature.

The experiences above detailed, vouched for by highest scientific authority, teach with great clearness that "the nature of things" enfolds a force or forces which some persons can at times so wield as not only to deprive strongest human minds and wills of all power to either set in motion or to regulate the movements of their own strong and healthful limbs, but also to practically gain for themselves entrance into the bodies of other animated beings and power to exercise dominion there. Spiritualists have long been cognizant of and laboring to teach the world, that such capture and control of human bodies could be and is effected by *disembodied* human beings; and we have here been seeking to educe probability of the soundness of their claims, by the testimony of both an acknowledged scientist and a very firm willed and robust man that his personal experience proved that an *embodied* mind did inwardly take control of his physical organs by mental force, and in spite of his greatest possible mental resistance. The doubter that Nature enfolds forces and properties which make it feasible, sometimes, for one intelligence to use the physical organism of another as its instrument for manifesting its will and thoughts to the outer world, must henceforth doubt the accuracy of Agassiz when making out a deliberate and conscientious description of his personal experiences.

Certainly this great man promulgated kindred forerunners of some of our important views, when he testified that another

er embodied mind not only put in abeyance within his own strong self the normal power of his will to control his own physical system, but, imprisoning him in his own house, also forced his special inborn servants to obey the behests of an intruding master. *He* proved for us that there exist in some human beings susceptibilities, and in others powers, which conjointly enable the mind of one to operate the physical organs of another. With whomsoever the word of Agassiz is authority, concession must be made that one mind encased in flesh did once control another's body against its owner's will and firm resistance, and thus proved the positive occurrence of *mesmerism*. Therefore the fact that a disembodied human spirit may manifest through a borrowed or captured mortal form—the fact that Nature permits *Spiritualism*—is a fair if not a necessary corollary from the personal experiences of a great master in science. Another master in science, a more experienced observer and manipulator of Nature's finer forces than Agassiz himself—Mr. Varley—has taught that our great naturalist was subdued by the same force which is used by spirits when they actuate the tongues and limbs of our mediums.

We call to mind an inspirational Moses, whose hot anger infuriated him to dash down and break in pieces stone tablets, which had just been hallowed by the hand-writing of his God. Nor will we wink out of sight a heaven-taught Jesus, whose burning zeal roused him to roughly scourge both men and beasts from the temple consecrated to his Heavenly Father. Exceptional moods have almost ever been occasional attendants upon ardent genius and high inspirations. Flaming ardor, native or injected, often o'erleaps the confines of decorum and just regard for the rights of others, in those even who are eminently brilliant, wise, good and philanthropic. Agassiz was variable, inflammable. During a few days in June, 1857, at the Albion, his manners and words were not invariably friendly and bland toward those who sought to elicit the occurrence of spiritualistic phenomena in his presence. Both justice and charity, however, invite us to note and remember that during all the subsequent sixteen years of his life, so far as we have learned, he uttered no opinions relating either to Spiritualists or to the views and facts which they have been persistently exhibiting. He surely was not publicly, nor do we know any reasons why we can even conjecture that he was privately, their *persistent* oppo-

ment. His reticence for so long a time, argues that he was probably devoid of any ardent or abiding hostility to that cause and its advocates. Conditions and circumstances which may have made him seem other than his nobler self, while acting as a member of the Harvard Investigating Committee, will be presented at some length in the subsequent parts of this article.

What has been said in the preceding paragraphs projects a course of thought for both writer and reader, which life-long and world-wide habit will render it difficult for either to pursue steadily. Society at large, everywhere, has always been accustomed to regard all actions and words manifested through a particular human form as products of the special will which Nature generated in connection with that form, and to hold all sane persons who have attained to years of discretion as severally responsible, because supposed to be *bona fide* authors of whatever is outwrought through their several physical bodies. Does that course ever subject the innocent to false accusations and unmerited disgrace and punishment?

The experiences of Agassiz teach that his head was actually thrown over first on one side and then the other, back and forth several times, by the bare will or mental force of another man, which so subdued his own that his could not even make an effort to comply with his conscious desire to change the position of his arm; teach, also, that his legs were *compelled* by that other's will, against and over his utmost possible resistance, to carry his body back and forth vigorously across the room. Such experiences by him are *proofs* of the possible, and render probable the accuracy of many distinct affirmations, by thousands of truthful persons recently, that other intelligences than themselves are owners of wills which often enter into their bodies, abide therein temporarily, take command of their organs, and, perforce, speak and act through usurped instruments. Therefore the time has fully come when it behooves all men to inquire critically and thoroughly, whether possibility—yes, *probability*—does not exist, that important facts in man's experience are omitted from that basis of inference on which the world rests, when it assigns the responsible origination of each and everything that the tongues and limbs of many impressible persons put forth to the wills and purposes of the ostensible performers? Pens and pencils are not responsible for what is written through

use of them, neither is an automaton for what it manifests. The one to whom the acting will pertains, and not the loaner of the visible form, is the responsible party for what is done where and while a human body is beyond control by its legitimate owner and temporarily actuated by some other intelligent being.

To hold the fact steadily in view that what to our external senses is a particular, self-operating man or woman, may, at times, be only a physical instrument operated upon by another's will and forces, is very difficult. And yet both justice and charity will be much better served by constant remembrance and wise application of it, than they possibly can be if it is either unknown, ignored, or left unapplied. There are many in our midst who often literally know not what their tongues utter, their hands do, nor whence their knowledge comes. The world's basis for judging that class is defective, and leads to unsuspected injustice.

The great naturalist lighted a torch, which, in conjunction with others, gives fair promise of illuminating a path along which future explorers may reach results that can and will be exceedingly beneficent in helping purblind man to determine, better than heretofore, whether seeming culprits are actually such because their seeming acts are outworkings of their own intentions and wills, or whether persons offending are tools merely, through which other beings commit offences against either the rules of propriety, decorum and right, or against the laws of the land. When society shall be robed in power to exercise such discrimination with general correctness, the bases of charity for judging the frequent doings of many men can be vastly broadened, and justice may be meted out with unprecedented exactness in our courts. A limited portion of society may be now led to judge even Agassiz more leniently, because his own experiences permit it to apply in his case, considerations which are inadmissible as evidence under any of the broad world's rules of practice.

PART TWO.

Origin, Originators of, and Preliminaries to, the Harvard Investigation.

RECORDS and accounts of the only scene in which Agassiz was publicly connected with Spiritualism appeared plentifully in some of the Boston daily and weekly papers of the summer of 1857. On three successive days, late in June of that year, four scientific gentlemen came from Cambridge into Boston for the sole purpose, as many erroneously supposed, of determining whether spirits, through mediums, could and would perform in their presence, and under their inspection, one or more of certain specified operations. No extended collection of scattered statements illustrative of the circumstances and reasons attendant upon their assembling, and of their doings when with the mediums, has been made public. We shall not now attempt an exhaustive history of the sham *investigation*. The departure of Agassiz, however, whose eminence as a scientist and whose character as a man gave notoriety and presumed importance to anything whatsoever in which he acted a prominent part, creates an occasion which induces us to compile various items that may show the origin, character and results of what was called an investigation; and also show how Agassiz came to have connection with it, and the manner in which he performed a part therein. Our account will contain very little that is new; will be scarcely more than a compilation of what was printed long ago, accompanied by a few fresh comments, and some views which have not been presented heretofore.

The mental atmosphere of our city and the region all around us was much agitated in the early months of 1857, by the occurrence of marvelous phenomena in the presence of a member of the Divinity School at Cambridge. This occurred before it had been proved by transference of coloring mat-

ter, and in other ways, that spirits can materialize any spirit limb, or even the whole spirit body, of some mediums, and render the extemporized formation both palpable and efficient at several feet or even yards distant from the physical forms of the mediums. When, therefore, the astute Prof. Eustis, of the Scientific School, caught the foot of a Divinity student out of its proper place under the table, he cried fraud, and brought an accusation against the student before the governing faculty of the University, who, in their high wisdom, knowing not what they did, expelled the young man for the heinous crime of owning an erratic foot.

Dr. F. L. H. Willis, however, survived their unrighteous persecution, and we are rejoiced to know that his account of the proceedings against him is soon to be put before the world. The public press at the time very extensively condemned the action of the collegiate authorities in that case, and, in doing thus, Spiritualism necessarily came more or less in for consideration. Some papers noticed it tenderly, while others denounced it with much severity. Fierce and rude attacks were made in the columns of the Boston Courier upon mediums, Spiritualists, and all who had any faith in the genuine supermundane source of any of the wonderful phenomena which were attracting general attention. The public imputed these tirades to the pen of Prof. Felton. He, or some one else, in the Boston Courier of May 20th, 1857, said that the mediums "cannot start the smallest table; they cannot move a feather; they cannot make a suspended hair turn to the right or left, with all the magnetic fluid of ten thousand like themselves, and aided by the hosts of superior intelligences who assemble daily in the Melodeon to take possession of Mrs. Henderson's organism, and talk nonsense to gaping crowds by the hour. If the mediums really believed in themselves, they would only be too eager to exhibit their powers *before those who are most skeptical.*"

On May 22d (see New England Spiritualist of May 30th,) Dr. H. F. Gardner responded to the above as follows, viz: "Now to prove that we do not evade, but do demand, the investigation of this subject I hereby challenge the writer of the article in the Courier, above referred to, be he whom he may, but whom the community generally understand to be Prof. Felton, of Harvard College, to a public discussion of the whole subject of Spiritualism, whether scientifically, philosophically, or theologically considered, either in the Me-

lodeon or Music Hall, . . . upon the following conditions, viz.: A committee of twelve disinterested men shall be selected by the principal editors of the Boston Journal, the Boston Courier, and the Daily Traveller, which committee shall arrange all the preliminaries of the discussion, and be the umpires to decide upon the strength of the arguments adduced for and against the spiritual origin of the various forms of manifestation of the present day, usually denominated spiritual. The discussion on the part of the Spiritualists to be conducted through Mrs. R. M. Henderson, and, on the part of the opponents of the spiritual theory, by the writer of the article in the Courier, above referred to, with permission to call to his aid any or all the professors of Harvard University to take part in the discussion of this great subject, against this uneducated woman. If the committee decide the argument to be against Mrs. Henderson, I will place in their hands one hundred dollars to be paid over to the challenged party, to be disposed of as he may please. If they decide in favor of Mrs. Henderson, he shall pay into the hands of the committee one hundred dollars, which shall be distributed to the poor of this city, according to their judgment. I will only add, that, if the above, in any particular, does not meet the view of the challenged party, and he is really in earnest in this matter, I will make any other arrangements for a fair discussion that he may suggest, subject to the approval of the committee.

H. F. GARDNER."

The Courier declined the above challenge on the ground that it wanted *test facts* and not *discussion*, and in its issue of May 25th made the following offer :

"We will pay \$500 to Mr. Gardner, to Mrs. Henderson, to Mrs. Hatch, or to Mr. or Mrs. Anybodyelse, to any medius, media or medium, to do one or all of the things we have mentioned ; who will communicate a single word imparted to the spirits by us in an adjoining room ; who will read a single word in English written inside a book or sheet of paper folded in such manner as we may choose ; who will answer, with the aid of all the higher intelligences he or she can invoke from the other world, three questions which the superior intelligences must be able to answer if what they said in the Melodeon was true ; who will tilt a piano without touching it ; or cause a chair to move a foot, placed as we will place it, and with a committee of scientific gentlemen to arrange the experiment. And we will not require Mr. Gardner or the mediums or trance speakers to risk a single cent on the experiment. If one or all of them can do one or all of these things, the \$500 shall be paid on the spot ; if they fail, they shall pay

nothing—not even the expenses incident to trying the experiment. We will not limit the time. . . . We will only stipulate that we shall have the right to choose the place, and to select the committee of three or four, who shall superintend the trial. . . . The committee shall consist of gentlemen whose characters, moral, social and scientific, are above question in the community; and we will now mention the four who first occur to us: Prof. Agassiz, Prof. Peirce, Dr. B. A. Gould, the editor of the *Astronomical Journal*, and Prof. Horsford, of the Lawrence Scientific School.”

Dr. Gardner responded to that as follows :

“*To the Editor of the Boston Courier :*

“In your paper of the 25th, I notice your reply to a challenge published by me in the *Traveller* of the 23d, in which you decline its acceptance, and make a proposition to pay \$500—to myself, or ‘Mr. or Mrs. Anybodyelse, to any *medius*, *media* or *medium*, who will do one or all the things we have mentioned; who will communicate a single word imparted to the spirits by us in an adjoining room; who will read a single word in English, written inside a book or sheet of paper folded in such a manner as we may choose; who will answer, with the aid of all the higher intelligences he or she can invoke from the other world, three questions; . . . who will tilt a piano without touching it, or cause a chair to move a foot, placed as we will place it, and with a committee of scientific gentlemen to arrange the experiments.’ Now, Mr. Editor, I accept the offer, as I do also the distinguished gentlemen named as the committee, provided the person or persons making the offer will agree to let all the conditions of the arrangements come within the scope of those natural laws within which we believe spirits are confined in producing the manifestations above referred to, and I will meet the person or persons making the offer at any time and place, after next Sabbath, which he or they may name, to make such arrangements as are necessary to a thorough and scientific test of this great subject.

H. F. GARDNER.

“*Fountain House, Boston, May 27th, 1857.*”

PROF. FELTON.

Cornellius C. Felton, Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard College, was virtually the provoker, if not challenger, of Spiritualists to seek a manifestation of some spiritualistic phenomena in the presence of men who were proficient in the natural sciences. No official position or scholastic attainments would restrain that Professor from free yieldings to any impulse that might prompt him to rush in and take active part in any public fight with tongues or pens which was transpiring on the rostrum or through the press. Some out-

ward manifestations, which frequently attend upon high attainments and position, such as calm deliberation, starched dignity, and iced sympathy, could not abide with him, however high his station. In manners and methods he was never, long at a time, other than the genial, good-natured, impulsive boy. His powers for acquiring knowledge much surpassed his prudence and wisdom in its application. We personally knew him well; he was our friend from 1823 to the close of his days; and our knowledge of him gave us firm belief that he was an *honest* opponent of Spiritualism, and that all his efforts to prove it fallacious, and its supporters dupes, were based on good intentions. His methods and language, however, were often very ill-judged, for either accomplishing his own direct purposes, or for winning public confidence and trust in his wisdom and usefulness as a public teacher outside of classic halls.

The general purpose of the person who, through the columns of the *Courier*, offered \$500 to whomsoever should be successfully instrumental in eliciting with satisfactory distinctness any one of certain spiritual phenomena, was broadly set forth in the same paper. No doubt that exposition of motive was through the pen of Professor Felton, who then writing of himself in the third person, said :

"He is entirely in earnest in asking for the investigation; and if the result should show that the claims of Spiritualism are well founded, that a new science is to be evolved, capable of producing the alleged phenomena upon hitherto undiscovered principles, or that the mediums have any access to the spiritual world which other people have not, or any means of gaining knowledge from sources not open to the rest of the world—or that they have any means of obtaining trustworthy information, from spirits, of events, facts, truths or mysteries—then he will readily admit the new truth or truths, and at once become as warm an advocate of the claims of Spiritualism as he has been heretofore a thorough disbeliever and strenuous opponent. It is his wish to get at the truth, whatever direction it may take. If the marvelous things alleged of and by the Spiritualists are real, and can be shown to be real, he will consider the result to be cheaply purchased with five hundred dollars; if they are not real, it is important that the public should know it."

HENRY F. GARDNER, M. D.,

As the preceding documents show, was the challenger to a discussion between an uneducated female and any or all of

Harvard's educated teachers, on the result of which should depend the possession of one hundred dollars. This gentleman has been long and widely known as a most zealous and efficient *worker* in the cause of Spiritualism, especially in looking up materials for and superintending its external operations, such as procuring halls and lecturers, bringing mediums into notice, arranging for grove meetings and other public gatherings. He is an active and efficient business man; but not that alone: he often speaks on the rostrum with clearness and force. In the early days of spirit manifestations he was a practicing physician, at Springfield, Mass. Soon after Spiritualism had taken a firm grip upon public attention, about twenty years ago, he removed to Boston, which has ever since been his home. He is a forceful man, both mentally and physically, and when the Boston Courier made onslaught upon Spiritualism, he was ready to enter the lists against that assailant. To his candor, fairness, free expenditure of time and money, invariable good temper, self-command and firmness of spirit throughout all the trial, the following letter, addressed to him by the Committee, through its chairman, after the trial was over, very distinctly attests:

"CAMBRIDGE, 30th June, 1857.

"DR. H. F. GARDNER—*Dear Sir:* Enclosed you will receive the award of the Committee, and the titles of the accompanying documents, copies of which will be furnished you whenever you desire them. I am unanimously authorized by the Committee to assure you that your manly candor and fairness throughout this investigation have been fully appreciated; that they thank you for the untiring zeal with which you have striven to give the fullest and freest opportunities for the examination of Spiritualism, and with which, at a heavy expenditure of time and money, you have brought before them the most distinguished mediums of the country. They also recognize, not without admiration, the invariable good temper, self-command and firmness of spirit with which you endured the repeated failures of your employees, and met the severe and stern criticism to which you were necessarily subjected.

"Grateful for these favors, I remain with respectful consideration, your obedient servant, BENJAMIN PEIRCE."

Noting the fact of acknowledgment by the Committee that their criticism was "*severe and stern*," we next present Dr. Gardner's reply as follows:

"FOUNTAIN HOUSE, BOSTON, July 1st, 1857.

"GENTLEMEN—Your note of yesterday, with accompanying documents, was duly received. It affords me much satis-

faction to be assured that my 'candor and fairness throughout the investigation' meets your approval, and that you also 'recognize, not without admiration, the invariable good-temper, self-command and firmness of spirit' with which I endured 'the repeated failures of my employees.' It would have afforded me equal satisfaction, if a proper regard to truth would warrant my so doing, to have fully reciprocated the compliment; but I regret to say that, in regard to a part of the Committee, I cannot do it. It was manifest, on several occasions, that members of the Committee lost their self-command, and even temper, and did not treat 'with that respect and courtesy which is due from each person to every other in the society of gentlemen' persons who were invited by me to be present as witnesses and advisers. This conduct on the part of the members of the Committee referred to, and on the part of the representative of the Courier, together with the non-compliance with essential conditions generally, was, in my opinion, the sole cause of the failure to produce the phenomena of Spiritualism in your presence.

"In conclusion, permit me to ask, as a matter of justice to the parties who participated in the doings before the Committee at the rooms in the Albion House, whether or not your opinion, as expressed in your award, in regard to contaminating influence of spiritualistic circles, is formed or based upon acts or incidents there witnessed? And, if so, what there witnessed would justify such conclusion?

"Enclosed you will receive a copy of the note addressed to me from the Parker House.

"I remain, gentlemen, in the cause of truth,

"Your obedient servant, H. F. GARDNER.

"To Profs. Peirce and Agassiz."

The reason for addressing the above to Agassiz as well as Peirce, and for reference to an enclosure, is seen in the following:

"DEAR SIR—I enclose a copy of the paper you wished to have, and beg, at the same time, you will send me one of the letter the Chairman of the Committee wrote to you Saturday afternoon, which I need to file. Please direct it to Prof. Peirce.

"I have not forgotten my offer to show you some phenomena by which the origin of the raps of Mrs. Brown and Miss Fox may be tested. I shall send you word to that effect as soon as I can command my time and a convenient place for it. Respectfully yours, L. AGASSIZ.

"*Cambridge, 30th June, 1857.*

"Dr. H. F. Gardner, Boston."

The importance and bearings of this correspondence are not fully obvious at this stage of our progress. Therefore particular attention is invited to the distinct approbation of Dr. Gardner's own behavior—to his allegations against a

part of the Committee—to the confession of the whole Committee, through their Chairman, Peirce, that the criticism they exercised was “severe and stern,” and also to the concessions by Agassiz, that raps occurred around Mrs. Brown and her sister, Miss Kate Fox, the origin of which he promised to furnish means and process for testing. These points have close connection with much that is to be adduced in the following pages, and it is desirable that the reader should hold them in distinct remembrance.

The private character of the foregoing letters exempted them from publication immediately after they were written, and never till now have they been put in type. The originals by the Professors, and a copy of Dr. Gardner's, taken before the original was posted, are now in the writer's possession.

Though Dr. G. led off and threw a gauntlet at the feet of a masked maligner, challenging him, together with all such aids as he might please to bring, to hold a public discussion with a single female, and proposed to let a definite sum of money be pendant on the result of an oral contest, his leading motives, which he had no occasion to define openly, are readily deducible from his subsequent course, and will become apparent as we proceed. We shall find them far, far aloof from greed of dollars. He voluntarily and promptly proposed, at his very first meeting with the gentlemen designated by Felton, and accepted by himself, as the Committee, to leave the \$500 out of the case, and to himself go forward and collect mediums of various classes for exhibiting many varieties of spiritualistic phenomena, give the Committee opportunity to make a careful investigation of the whole broad and momentous subject, asking of them in return simply to make a fair and full report of what they should witness; stating also that he would report the expenses he should have incurred, and leave the Courier to pay the bills or not, at its option. (That promisor, by the way, has not yet volunteered to contribute a cent toward the \$600 expended, and is probably deeming that the appearance of the promised full report by the Committee is needful to make binding the Courier's published stipulation, that, “if they,” the Spiritualists, “fail, they shall pay nothing—not even the expenses incident to trying the experiment.”)

Our personal and extensive knowledge of each of the two men most directly concerned in procuring a trial of spirit-

force, enables us to receive as trustworthy the exposition of motives made by the Professor, and to express unqualified belief that the Doctor's leading objects were both to defend what he regarded as an important and most noble cause from vile assaults and abuse, and to subject its claims to examination by an intelligent and high-minded tribunal, which he honestly anticipated would witness some phenomena, the occurrence of which accepted science could not account for, and whose announcement of such a fact would argue strongly in favor of Spiritualism throughout Christendom.

Forms of a bet flit over the surfaces of the original proposition of each of the parties, but *betting motives* were absent from them both. Each was doing the best he could to extend knowledge of what he deemed to be not only true, but also very important to the highest interest of community.

A CARD FROM THE PROFESSORS.

"The undersigned held a meeting this day at 3 P. M., to hear the parties interested in a controversy upon the claims of Spiritualism. There appeared, on the part of the Courier, George Lunt, Esq., and on the other side, Mr. H. F. Gardner, accompanied by his friend, Mr. Allen Putnam.

"As the persons referred to in the Courier as a Committee for the decision of this question *had not been previously consulted*, they deemed it of the utmost importance that, before proceeding to the investigation, they should ascertain the conditions under which they were expected to serve, and the duties and responsibilities which they were about to assume. They were unanimous in declaring that they would not lend themselves to be the mere witnesses of performances which might be accomplished under circumstances which would deprive them of the power of fully ascertaining what was actually performed, as well as the nature of the performance; the issue which they were willing to try being whether, as Dr. Gardner claims, some agency thus far unrecognized by science was manifesting itself—which agency is denied by the Courier; and not whether certain things could be done in a manner which might escape the notice of the referees, and thence be interpreted as evidence of the reality of the manifestations.

"After a protracted discussion upon the conditions under which the mediums would undertake and should be permitted to proceed—there being an apparent incompatibility between the conditions demanded by Mr. Gardner and those under which the Committee would deem it judicious to proceed—it was proposed to Mr. Gardner that he should be per-

mitted to have his own way in everything, even to the selection of the room and the time, the determination of all the accessory circumstances, and even to the admission that his experiments might be performed in as great darkness as he might find expedient; but that the Committee would not award him the premium, unless, under these circumstances, or others which the Committee might prescribe, in conformity with the usual methods of scientific investigation, they were satisfied that the phenomena were attributable to causes not previously known to science.

"The parties were also informed that the conditions of the agreement must be submitted to the Committee in writing, in regard to which some of the subjects of the agreement were suggested by the Committee.

"These propositions were taken into consideration by the parties, and the meeting adjourned until the Committee should be informed by the parties that they were ready to proceed. (Signed) :

BENJAMIN PEIRCE,
 LS. AGASSIZ,
 E. N. HORSFORD,
 B. A. GOULD, JR.

"*Cambridge, June 1st, 1857.*

"At a subsequent meeting of the Committee, it was resolved that a copy of this report of the proceedings, and of the signatures, should be sent to the *Courier*, and another to Dr. Gardner, with the understanding that it was not to be communicated to the public until the Committee had fully terminated their proceedings.

BENJ. PEIRCE, *Chairman,*
For the Committee."

A LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT FROM THE BOSTON COURIER.

"CAMBRIDGE, June 6th, 1857.

"*To Messrs. Agassiz, Peirce, Gould and Horsford:*

"The object of requesting you to act as a Committee on the subject of Spiritualism, was to determine whether there is anything in the alleged phenomena exhibited by mediums, produced by causes hitherto unknown to science.

"I have nothing to suggest as to the mode of conducting the investigation. I submit the whole matter, in the broadest manner, to the gentlemen whose names were mentioned in the *Courier*, and accepted by Mr. Gardner. If they decide that all or any of the things suggested by the *Courier* have been performed by the mediums, under conditions which satisfy them that the performance was accomplished, either by the application of a new force in Nature, or by a spiritual power, as they allege, then I shall be ready to fulfill the engagement proposed in the columns of the *Courier*.

"THE WRITER IN THE COURIER."

A LETTER OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT FROM DR. GARDNER TO THE COURIER.

"FOUNTAIN HOUSE, BOSTON, *June 8th*, 1857.

"*Editor of the Boston Courier:*

"On my return from Portland on Saturday, I received a statement of the doings at the meeting at the house of Prof. Agassiz, on Monday of last week. I am now prepared to submit for the consideration of the Committee a series of propositions which in my judgment will result in such arrangements as will be satisfactory to all the parties concerned for a thoroughly scientific investigation of the whole subject of the Spiritual Manifestations (so called). For this purpose I shall be happy to meet the Committee to-morrow, at 3 o'clock P. M., at such place as they may appoint.

"Respectfully yours, &c., H. F. GARDNER."

THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES.

"We, the undersigned, hereby agree to submit the question in controversy between us in regard to the phenomena of Spiritualism, so-called, to the investigation and award of the Committee, consisting of Professors Agassiz, Peirce and Horsford, and Dr. Gould, according to the terms of the paper annexed.

BOSTON COURIER,
by George Lunt.

"*Cambridge, June 9th*, 1857.

H. F. GARDNER."

DR. GARDNER'S CONDITIONS.

"Meeting to be held in a suitable room in the city of Boston, to continue six days, or a longer time if desirable, and two hours each day to be devoted to the investigation, commencing at 4 and closing at 6 o'clock P. M.

"All the arrangements and details for the forming the circles to be entirely under the control of Dr. Gardner, except the Committee may remain out of the circle so formed if they choose to do so. If the phenomena are produced under the arrangements as ordered by Dr. Gardner, and they are not satisfactory to the Committee, they shall have the right to require them to be produced under such conditions as in their judgment will be satisfactory to them.

"As harmony is an essential condition for the production of the manifestations, it is agreed that no loud talking or exciting debate or other unnecessary noise shall be allowed in the rooms during the sessions, and that each person present shall be treated with that respect and courtesy which is due from each person to every other in the society of GENTLEMEN.

"There may be present at each session the writer in the Boston Courier, and a friend, and the four gentlemen composing the Committee of Investigation, Dr. Gardner, and any number of persons not exceeding six at any one time, at his option, such being selected and invited by Dr. Gardner.

"The writer in the Courier, and the gentlemen composing the Committee, agree that, while they are at liberty to exercise all the shrewdness and powers of observation which they are capable during the investigation, they will not exercise their will power to endeavor to prevent the manifestations, but allow them to be produced under the most favorable conditions which a thorough scientific investigation will permit.

"The words 'to be provided by Dr. Gardner' first being stricken out, and the words 'and a friend' inserted, it is further understood that the proceedings are not to be published until the investigations are closed.

BOSTON COURIER,
by George Lunt.
H. F. GARDNER."

STATEMENTS BY ALLEN PUTMAN.

From an account written out by myself over date July 10th, 1857, and published in the New England Spiritualist of Aug. 8th the same year, the following extracts are copied :

"Dr. Gardner invited me to accompany him on the first day of June, to Cambridge, where he was to meet the Committee in the study of Prof. Agassiz. While on the way out, it was remarked by one of us that the \$500 was an unpleasant feature in the business ; we could not suppose the gentlemen we were to call upon would or could consent to be mere lookers-on and stake-holders. The Doctor then said, 'I have been thinking that I will waive that ; and if we are successful, permit the Courier to pay the bills, but decline anything more.'

"We met the four gentlemen, and soon found that they had been named as a Committee *without their own knowledge*. Their first question was, whether the services sought were such as they could consent to perform. Consequently, a free and prolonged conversation followed, in which the representative of the Courier, Hon. George Lunt, maintained that, according to the terms of the offer, it would be incumbent on Dr. G., if a chair should be moved by some invisible power, to show that that power was *spirit*-power, before he could be entitled to the \$500. The Doctor replied that, if such was to be considered the true meaning, he of course should not make an attempt. Very promptly, Mr. Gould said that the obvious import of the whole article in the Courier would find its requirements met if the works should be performed by some power not recognized by common observation, or not known to science.

"Passing from that point with an apparent concession that Mr. Gould had given the requirements their just interpretation, we came to a consideration of those natural laws within which we believe spirits are confined in producing the manifestations. After some remarks by himself, Dr. G. turned to me and asked for an expression of my views. The position I then took was, that there exists some subtle, natural fluid or substance which is essential to spirits *as an instrument* whenever they act upon matter; that this fluid or substance can be very easily disturbed and dissipated by embodied persons present, and this so effectually as to prevent all perceptible spirit operations; that lack of quiet, and of harmonious feelings among the persons present; that intense mental action; that magnetic rays from the human eye; that rays of light &c., may frustrate its use and prevent manifestations. Therefore, that it was in the power of the gentlemen there present to make the trial a failure, by ejecting certain forces from their own minds and eyes. We stated that it would be best for all to sit in a circle; that all should conform in the order of sitting to the wishes of the mediums; that all should avoid intense mental action, &c. Prof. Agassiz at once earnestly and emphatically objected to sitting in the circle under any circumstances.

"Another point, which required many statements for its elucidation to those gentlemen, as it does to most people who are not acquainted with the subject, was the powerlessness of the managers of the arrangements, and also of the media, to procure any specific result by their own volitions. Even men of science were not free from very operative notions that the working minds or controlling powers in spirit operations are, on the one hand, subject to the medium's call and control, and, on the other, that the unseen agents are almost omniscient and omnipotent, and not subject to laws and conditions. Prof. Agassiz stated that, in all scientific experiments, if a thing could be done once it could be repeated twenty times, and, therefore, that they might reasonably require many repetitions. This showed his oversight of the important point that we were proceeding on the assumption that the real performer of a spirit-manifestation is an individual intelligence outside of our control, acting according to his or her own will and powers. Even Agassiz assumed that mere instruments might reasonably be called upon to repeat their work, whether the operator should be pleased to handle them or not. General conversation ensued. My report was confined mostly to things addressed to or said by myself.

"Prof. Peirce inquired if we could not ask the spirits whether they would come and manifest themselves at the trial. 'Yes,' was the answer, 'we can ask.' 'And,' said he, 'can you not get an answer?' 'Probably,' we said, 'their reply will be, "*We will try.*"' 'Can't they tell certainly?' he asked. We said, 'Can Mr. Gould now promise certainly that he will examine some particular star in the heavens to-

morrow evening at nine o'clock, while he knows not whether clouds will then obscure it?' 'No,' said Mr. Peirce, 'he can promise only to point the telescope.' 'Very good,' was our answer, 'the spirits can promise only to *try*, and can, at the time of the trial, perform only what conditions then will permit.'

"In the course of the conversation Dr. Gardner repeated, in the presence of the whole company, what he had said to me in reference to the five hundred dollars, and expressed an entire willingness to arrange for the trial, and, at its close, report the amount of expenses, and leave it to the option of the Courier whether to pay the bills or not, and to thus eliminate at once and finally the pecuniary point. This avowal seemed to give very much pleasure and relief, especially to Prof. Agassiz, who promptly stated that it placed the whole matter before them in a much pleasanter aspect, and would give them much more freedom for investigation. No dissent from his view was then expressed.

"From that time forth, the confidence of the gentlemen in Dr. G. seemed to be greater, and more genial feelings pervaded the company. Near the close of the conference, Prof. Agassiz said to me, 'Why is it, Mr. Putnam, that you wish to control the arrangements and conditions so fully yourselves?' I answered, 'If I desired to show you what my steam-engine could accomplish, I should ask for the privilege of making the fires and getting up steam in my own way.' 'Very good,' said he; 'if that be it—if you have anything like *science*, manage everything in your own way; only give us a fair chance to examine your engine after it gets to work.' 'That we will do with pleasure,' said I; 'and now you grant us all that we can ask.'"

I had no doubt during the remainder of that interview, nor at any time during the twenty-four days which intervened between then and the meeting of the Committee and mediums on the 25th, that the Professors had distinctly and gladly agreed to a withdrawal of the money offer, and to giving the friends of Spiritualism free scope and fair play—no doubt that they had refused to regard themselves as in any way stakeholders designated to determine, and award according to results, whether certain specified acts had been performed in their presence.

DR. GARDNER'S MEMORANDA.

One of the restraining purposes of the writer, when selecting facts for insertion in this account, makes him, as far as possible, take them from records made at or very near the time of their occurrence, and thus avoid the metamorphoses

which time ordinarily produces among things entrusted to memory's keeping. There has come into his hands, since he penned his remarks upon Dr. Gardner as a man, and as the arranger for and supervisor of the trial, the introductory part of an account which the Doctor's hand put down in pencil. Its first sentence shows that it was written while the matters were fresh in his memory. He is accessible now, but knows not that I have found the long-missed documents he entrusted to my keeping twelve years or more ago. Adhesion to the purpose just indicated inclines me to use the Doctor's manuscript without giving him opportunity to make any changes in it. His own narrative, omitting the central part pertaining to arrangements fully described in other parts of this work, is as follows :

"TO THE PUBLIC.

"Three weeks having passed since the Committee selected by the Boston Courier to investigate the subject of Spiritualism made their award, and a *report*, embracing the reasons for the opinion they formed and set forth in said award not having appeared, I find it a duty incumbent on me to submit, for the consideration of an enlightened public judgment, the principal facts and incidents connected with the whole controversy. It seems to me unnecessary, in this connection, to rehearse the particulars of the origin of this controversy, as it has been so fully set forth through the public prints. Suffice it to say that in so far as I am personally concerned, the controversy commenced by an article published in the Boston Courier of _____, in which all mediums were denounced as knaves, jugglers and impostors, and all believers in the spiritual origin of the manifestations as dupes and fools. In the article above referred to, Mrs. R. M. Henderson, a trance-speaking medium, at that time employed by me to address the Spiritualists of Boston on each successive Sunday in the Melodeon, came in for a large share of abuse and vituperation. Her lectures were spoken of as 'talking nonsense to gaping crowds by the hour,' with other language applied to her which was as unjust as it was ungentlemanly.

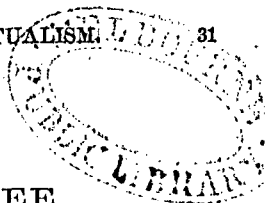
"This article drew from me a challenge to the writer, &c. . . .

"Other correspondence followed, which resulted in a preliminary meeting at the house of Prof. Agassiz, in Cambridge. There were present at this meeting George Lunt, Esq., as the representative of the Boston Courier, Professors Agassiz, Peirce and Horsford, and Dr. Gould, as Committee, Allen Putnam, Esq., as my friend, and myself. The object of the meeting being to ascertain if we could agree upon conditions for the investigation according to the terms specified in my letter of acceptance. Much conversation ensued, in the course of which Prof. Agassiz remarked, in substance, that, up to that time, the Committee had not been consulted in regard to their appointment, neither had there been

any conference between themselves; that he felt somewhat sensitive at being placed in the position of a stake-holder before the public; and the other gentlemen of the Committee were equally sensitive on that point. It was further remarked that they could not consent to serve and be confined to the narrow limits of investigation laid down in the proposition of the Courier, but, if they served at all, they were desirous of investigating the whole subject scientifically and thoroughly; and inquired of me upon what condition I should claim the award of the \$500. I said to them that, if I produced or caused to be produced in their presence, either one or all the phenomena mentioned in the Courier, under circumstances as specified—for instance (we were sitting in a circle), I, placing a chair in the centre of the circle entirely out of the reach of any person present, said, If that chair thus placed should be moved a foot in any direction without human or other visible contact, I should claim the award. Prof. Agassiz replied with much warmth: I would not give it you; I would claim that it shall be moved twenty times. And said further, that, if I insisted on my position, he would place the chair where it could not be moved; more was said in regard to the \$500—indeed, it seemed to be the principal stumbling-block in the way of a candid investigation; when I said, Gentlemen, you must remember it was not I who placed you in this position of stake-holder, as you term it, but your friend, the writer in the Courier. But I will now say that which I intended to have said at another time, viz., that I have decided, after due consideration, that I would not, under any circumstances, consent to receive the \$500, as my desire was that there should be a candid and thorough investigation of the great subject under consideration, outside of and entirely disconnected with any pecuniary or other selfish consideration; and it was my desire to stand before the public freed from any imputation of mercenary motives in this matter.

“This proposition seemed to meet the approval of the Committee and the representative of the Courier, and some of them expressed their satisfaction of my decision; and conversation then ensued in regard to the conditions claimed by me and those that would be insisted upon by the Committee. Mr. Putnam expressing to them in brief his philosophy of spirit intercourse and the laws which govern it, and the conditions necessary to be observed in order to the production of the manifestations, drawing his illustrations from Nature and Science, the Committee seemed to recognize the force of his claim; and Prof. Agassiz remarked, in substance, This is all right; they must have the entire control of the whole matter of the arrangement of circles, rooms, etc., but we cannot decide that the manifestations are by superhuman agency, unless the conditions under which they are produced are such as to preclude the possibility of deception or collusion or trick; and that he would not decide, if they were produced, even, that they were produced by some law unrecognized by

science, unless the phenomena were produced and reproduced as many times as he desired, and in such a manner as would enable him scientifically to explain how they were produced. I replied that, in my opinion, this would be impossible; but that it would be a matter of perfect indifference to me or my friends whether or not he made any definite decision, provided he would publish the facts in the case, and then the people could determine for themselves as to their origin. His reply was, 'I will denounce the whole thing as a humbug.' This was said with much warmth, and in a haughty, dictatorial, dogmatic manner which manifested a condition of mind exceedingly unfavorable to a candid investigation of the subject."



PART THREE.

The Trial before Harvard Professors.

THE names of persons who were quite constantly present at the meetings, consequent upon the agreements specified heretofore, were as follows :

On the part of the *Courier* : George Lunt, Esq., editor of the *Courier*, and at times an assistant ; Committee—Prof. Benjamin Peirce, Chairman ; Prof. Agassiz ; Prof. Horsford ; Dr. B. A. Gould.

On the part of the Spiritualists : Dr. H. F. Gardner, of Boston ; Major Raines, U. S. Army, Newburg, N. Y. ; Mr. Alvin Adams, Boston ; Mr. L. A. Huntington, Charlestown ; Mr. Allen Putnam, Roxbury, and several others occasionally.

Independent : Dr. Luther V. Bell, Supt. McLean Asylum.

Mediums : Mrs. Brown ; Miss Kate Fox ; Miss Kendrick ; George A. Redman ; J. V. Mansfield ; The Davenport.

We must open accounts of what transpired with excerpts from records made by our own pen shortly subsequent to the trial.

TESTIMONY BY ALLEN PUTNAM.

Between ten and eleven o'clock A. M., Thursday, June 25th, the parties met in an upper room of the Albion Building, corner of Tremont and Beacon streets, Boston. Mrs. Brown, one of the Fox family in whose home at Hydesville, N. Y., March 31st, 1848, occurred those little raps which indicated a hidden maker who could "count ten," and her sister, Miss Kate Fox, were the mediums employed at that morning session. Conversation was soon started, which, for a few minutes, was carried on mostly, though not entirely, between Mr. Lunt, representative of the *Courier*, and Major Raines, of Newburg, N. Y., a graduate of West Point, once assistant professor there, and who, in connection with Judge Edmonds

and others, made long-continued investigation of spiritual phenomena, scientifically. This conversation related to the instrumentalities and processes by which spirits are understood to work, and Major Raines expressed some of his views as to the proper processes for a scientific investigation of this particular subject.

Soon the mediums and a few other persons sat down around a table. Not many minutes elapsed before raps were heard, which seemed to be mostly upon the floor, (or rather upon a platform three or four inches high, made in sections of easy removal, so as to admit ocular evidence, whenever desired, that no hidden machinery was there,) while a few gentle ones were felt and heard on the table. These attracted general attention. Mrs. Brown soon rose from her seat, went near the front wall of the room, and there entered into conversation with and was questioned extensively by Prof. Agassiz. At his request she changed her positions and attitudes, put sometimes a finger and sometimes the end of a common lead pencil against the ceiling, or on any article of furniture, just as the Professor requested; and generally—certainly many times—numerous raps were distinctly heard near where she placed either a finger or the pencil. Around Miss Fox, too, who had risen from her seat, gone near to the inner wall, and was under the scrutiny of and in conversation with Prof. Horsford, raps came forth frequently and distinctly. After a few minutes Agassiz and Mrs. Brown crossed the room and joined Horsford and Miss Fox. The two ladies were asked to stand together upon the stuffed seat of a sofa which stood near, but was purposely kept from contact with a partition wall between two rooms. They instantly complied, and promptly raps resounded from the wood of the sofa at various points, and when Mrs. Brown touched the wall with the end of a common lead pencil many were heard there, upon or rather *within* the wall, for they were heard with equal distinctness in each of the two adjoining rooms. These raps were attended to carefully, and during a considerable fraction of an hour, the ladies all the while standing quiescent on the stuffed seat. An actual occurrence of singular raps was conceded by the professors.

Near the close of the first sitting, Prof. Agassiz stated that the production of such sounds could be referred to known laws, and said, "Before the investigation is over we will explain to you how they may be produced."

When we were about to separate for the day Maj. Raines expressed a wish that all would stop, compare notes, and come to an agreement as to what had actually occurred or been exhibited. A few sentences between him and Prof. Peirce, as to the propriety and importance of this course had been exchanged, when the Professor said, in discourteous tone and look, "We thank you, sir, for your *advice*," and, bowing, hastily left the room. At that time I was standing at the side of Maj. Raines, so that I saw the Professor's features, and heard his words and tones. Mortified and ashamed by the manners and language of this representative of Alma Mater and of Science, toward a gentleman who was also a man of science and of worth, I turned silently away, and was not surprised when, shortly after, Maj. Raines said to me, "There seems to be no occasion for me to remain here because of any knowledge or skill which my experience in such investigations may have given me; there is no attempt, no purpose to have an investigation of the general subject. I had better return home." And he left the city long before the sham was over.

At the next session a change which had been coming "o'er the spirit of my dream," was made complete. I privately learned from both Prof. Peirce and Mr. Gould—what Dr. Gardner had previously gained knowledge of—that they considered the money question still before them, and that they were there as judges more than as investigators. From that time my relations to them and to that trial were unpleasant. I neither said nor did much subsequently, and hope fled before the intense mental antagonism in the room.

Mr. George A. Redman was at that session the medium. Raps and tippings of table failed then to occur. He soon asked those sitting around the table to write the names of deceased persons on pellets, and roll up the slips compactly. Prof. Peirce commenced writing in a book, or on paper laid in a book. Prof. Agassiz was standing near Redman, frequently changing his own attitudes, and looking very intently upon the medium. Occasionally he said to Prof. Peirce, "Throw that one out"—meaning the slip just written upon. Much mental disturbance in Agassiz seemed to be manifested by his attitudes, his changes of position, his wild gaze, and his tones when he spoke. No raps came; nothing claiming to be spiritual was done through Redman in the public room. During this sitting, Dr. Gardner drew atten-

tion to the probable existence of disturbance proceeding from strong opposing mental action and intent use of the eyes by parties present. Mr. Lunt, representative of the Courier, was understood to say that he had been using both mind and eyes intently, and with much effect.

Similar want of success attended the other mediums at the subsequent sittings, up to that with the Davenport brothers—physical mediums—which was the closing one, and was held on Saturday evening. These boys, or young men, were entrusted almost entirely to the management of the Committee; so that those of us who were merely spectators, standing in the background, are not such witnesses as can state with much confidence or particularity what was attempted or what performed, but must wait for the Report of the Committee for information which we desire. We know that, at the close, Prof. Agassiz held up to the view of the whole company a short piece of small thread, and in a loud voice exclaimed, "There, it is *broken*; and that was the *test*." Having uttered these words in very authoritative tone and in a rough manner, he instantly, in the same tone and manner, said, "Good-night, gentlemen," and hastily left the room.

Prof. Peirce then said to Dr. Gardner, "I suppose you are through with us." "No," replied the Doctor; "you have promised to show us how the raps were made." "Not as a Committee," was the response; "Mr. Agassiz made that promise as an individual."

When we remember to forget his susceptibility to influences from without, we are as much disappointed by the failure of Agassiz to keep his word, and unveil the mystery of rapping, as at any one failure during the sittings. The "*Investigation*," so-called, was, in *fact*, a trial to test the correctness of the position taken by Dr. Gardner and his friends at the preliminary meetings, viz.: that it was in the power of the gentlemen there present to render the occurrence of most spirit phenomena almost, and often quite, impossible, by ejecting certain forces from their minds and eyes. In that they were successful.

Prof. Agassiz and Mr. Lunt omitted, throughout all the sessions, to comply with oft-repeated invitations to sit in the circle around the table; and there was not, in any instance or at any point, opportunity for Dr. Gardner to exercise "the determination of all the accessory circumstances," which the final agreement distinctly secured him a right to do.

All the foregoing facts pertaining to that *investigation*, erroneously so called, and my former ones pertaining to the preliminary arrangements, I have culled from an account written out by myself as early as July 10th—that is, within two weeks after their occurrence—and published in the New England Spiritualist, Vol. III., No. 19, Aug. 8, 1857. Thus they were made public while they were fresh in the minds of others, while the doings and award of the Committee were matters of public interest, and eagerly and widely read.

I am not aware that there is any other person than myself remaining in the flesh who volunteered to give the public any extended account of that memorable scene while the public mind was on the *qui vive* to learn its particulars. Two persons, however, that have passed on into spirit-life made public some matters which confirm many of the foregoing statements, and present some points not yet adduced in this account. I refer to Redman, the medium; and Dr. Luther V. Bell, who was present at the séances, took notes, and was not a Spiritualist. His position, character and attainments give much weight to his words. We shall quote from those two, after having adduced something more which we made public about three years ago.

In its issue dated Feb. 18th, 1871, the Banner of Light contained an extended article of ours, in reply to one upon Spiritualism which had recently appeared in the New York Scientific American. From our statements then we copy as follows:

"The 'American' says that those [the Harvard] Professors 'gave an explanation, upon a physical basis, of the phenomena of table-turning.' When, where, how, to whom, was this explanation made? We were present through the whole of the trial, saw and heard most of what was openly done and said, and have been on the look-out ever since for the promised full report by the whole Committee, but, as yet, have not seen any explanation from them. . . . Rumor used to say that an explanation was written out, which, being submitted to examination by the most eminent divine at Harvard University, was pronounced by him to be quite as damaging to Christianity as to Spiritualism. No explanation has ever been made public.

"It is asserted in New York in the year 1871 that 'the distinguished Professors displayed the utmost *candor* and *patience* in their search for truth' at that trial in Boston in 1857. 'Distance' often 'lends enchantments to views.' We were in the room with the Professors, and seemingly to us then, before the trial was over, that they had not come there

mainly 'to investigate,' but rather to be stake-holders between Dr. Gardner and the Boston Courier, and that they made their deportment (Horsford excepted) as favorable as they could to the party with which they sympathized. A more restless and uneasy man than Agassiz appeared to be, throughout most of the trial, we have seldom seen. Much of the time he was pacing the room, back and forth, at intervals with great speed for such a place. His whole appearance and manner indicated a man under great agitation; so much so, that we then and there seriously and sympathetically asked Horsford what ailed Agassiz. His answer was, 'I don't know.' . . .

"The mental condition of another member of that Committee on that occasion may be inferred from the following statement. Seating himself at our side, he said, in subdued voice, 'Mr. Putnam, do you suppose that, when four such men as we are come here to look at this matter, the Almighty One will permit the opportunity to pass without showing spiritual phenomena, if there can be such?' We made no reply to that. We have no comments to make upon it now. Regard for the man has caused us to keep that a secret for thirteen years, and the seal of silence would not be broken now, but for the fact that an influential journal has *assumed* what it could not know and was not true, that the Committee displayed 'the utmost candor and *patience* in their search after truth.' . . .

"Prof. Horsford, from the beginning to the end of the trial, appeared to have a disposition to make conditions favorable, and to examine scientifically. But he received so little support from his associates, that his honorable purposes were nearly fruitless. The company as a whole, from the first, was very restless—not noisy, but yet pervaded by perceptible restlessness and inharmony. . . .

"We regret that we could not be just to our cause and purpose, and yet keep back some things we have said about the eminent and worthy Professors of our Alma Mater. But being almost the only one who has in his armory such weapons as can effectually parry rash and earnest thrusts at a noble cause, and at millions of worthy men and women, made by a foeman whose position bespeaks him worthy of such steel, duty called upon us to use them now. We had hoped that no voice of such authority would ever bid us take them down from the shelves of our private closets where they have laid for more than thirteen years."

Thus far we have presented our own testimony. That of some others will be adduced. We ask particular attention to the statements of these other witnesses and early recorders of facts which transpired in their presence. Careful note of what they state will show that the Professors might have mentioned that Dr. Gardner succeeded in showing some things hard to be explained on any grounds of sci-

ence then accepted by themselves, in conjunction with their statement of his failure to produce in their presence any one of many things specified in a schedule which was understood to have been abandoned June 1st, and is neither embraced nor alluded to in Dr. Gardner's "CONDITIONS" above quoted, and which were early made public, bearing date Cambridge, June 9th, 1857, and signed

"BOSTON COURIER,
by George Lunt.
H. F. GARDNER."

GEORGE A. REDMAN,

In 1859, only two years after the misnamed investigation, published *Mystic Hours*, a book of near 400 pages, in which he furnished an interesting and instructive account of his experiences as a medium during several years. His Chapter XVI. relates to these meetings and doings at the Albion, where he was one of the mediums, took notes of what occurred when he was present, and gathered information from others, while facts were fresh in the memories of all who had witnessed them. He states that at the first meeting, June 25th—

"On the side of the Spiritualists were present Dr. Gardner, and Alvin Adams, Esq., of Boston; Mr. Allen Putnam, of Roxbury; Maj. Raines, of New York; . . . Miss Katy Fox and Mrs. Brown, as mediums. The circle formed consisted of Mr. Adams, Maj. Raines, Dr. Bell, and the mediums. Loud raps were soon heard on the platform. . . Communications were short and few, the company being more desirous of ascertaining the *cause* of the raps, than the matter elicited from them. The ladies were requested to stand upon a stool; but the same demonstration by raps continued. Then they were asked to step on a chair, which was attended with a like result. The spirits were asked to rap ten times, to which they responded by loud concussions of the designated number.

"The persons present were all requested to join the circle; to this some acceded—among the refusers was Mr. Agassiz. . . . The very refusal of Agassiz to sit at the table, and thereby form a complete circle, tended to produce disquietude and restlessness on the part of all.

"*Friday.*—Present, Messrs. Gardner, Gould, Bell, Peirce, Raines, Huntington, Putnam, Adams. Myself the medium. The formation of the circle was delayed till the arrival of Mr. Agassiz; he shortly came, and eying me with no benevolent expression of countenance, said to a by-stander, 'That's Redman, is it?' He was told that it was. 'Well,' said the *hero*,

'I should know him to be an impostor at the first glance.' This remark was related to me after the adjournment of the circle by one who heard it. The circle was formed on the entrance of the Professor; Mr. Agassiz, however, and two others remaining out of the party, as on the previous day. . . . Mr. Agassiz, to more closely inspect my acts, moved cautiously behind me." [By that change of position the Professor placed himself at my right hand, and he and myself stood side by side while the following transpired, and I see no grounds for questioning the correctness of Redman's statement.—THE COMPILER.] "Some one in the circle suggested the propriety of writing names on ballots; the members commenced complying with the proposition, subject of course to the yea and nay of Mr. Agassiz, as to what names should be written," [what ones should be subjected to the medium's inspection,] "as he demanded one of the party to throw away first one pellet and then another. He was importuned to join the circle, but no, he averred that he had sworn never to sit in a circle, and he meant to adhere to his oath. . . .

"I now politely invited Mr. Agassiz to join me in the ante-room, and we would try alone; that no doubt we would be more successful. . . . 'Sit with you!' said Mr. A. 'No, I have resolved to sit with no one. I made up my mind before coming here that nothing would come of it, and I am only the more convinced it is all deception.' I could say no more. The opportunity was afforded him to enlighten himself; his refusing to do so manifested little inclination to test the subject, the object of his assumed examination seeming to be solely for the purpose of casting upon a sacred theme ungentlemanly ridicule and ignorant sarcasm, which might have weight with those who, being unenlightened themselves, and trusting to his supposed candid investigation of so all-important a subject, would probably be influenced by his representations.

"*Saturday, 8 P. M.*—Present. The Committee, Messrs. Adams, Wyman, Bell, Huntington, Gardner, Carter, Putnam, Davenport, and his two sons. This meeting was arranged for the purpose of testing the Davenport manifestations. A rough pine box had been constructed; the mediums were elaborately tied in it 'by Dr. Gould, Professor Horsford, and Dr. Wyman. . . . Prof. Peirce entered the box, taking his seat in the rear between the boys, who were *vis-a-vis* to each other. . . . Dr. Wyman and Dr. Bell [Prof. Peirce?] tied the cords which fastened their wrists with threads, passing the threads between each finger on each side.' . . . Notwithstanding the galaxy of science, the array of caution, the Argus-eyed intelligence of old Harvard's Domini, *one of the mediums was freed, and the carefully knotted rope was found untied at his feet.* Because the spirits did not *untie*" [but broke] "*the finely knotted thread,* it was pronounced imposture. . . . The Davenports were not to be tied with *threads*, but ropes, long and strong, and it was reasonable to suppose that on untying the ropes, the threads would be broken.

"Thus terminated the so-called Boston Investigation! It was asserted by Mr. Agassiz that he could produce a person who could make raps accompanied with intelligence, and perform other feats related by Dr. Gardner. This, however, has never been done. The Report of the Committee, long and anxiously looked for, has also failed to make its appearance before the public. I have endeavored to give, as nearly as possible, a correct statement of the proceedings as they occurred.

"And shall we own such judgment? No! as soon
Seek roses in December—ice in June,
Hope constancy in wind!"

DR. LUTHER V. BELL

Called for a Report, that should tell "how the raps are made."

The Boston Traveller of August 24th contained a long article of two full columns furnished by an anonymous correspondent, from which the extracts below are taken. The public at the time ascribed its authorship to Dr. Bell, and we now call it his without qualification, because we heard from his own lips that he was its writer. When a man of his intellectual, moral and social eminence—the valued Superintendent of the McLean Asylum—the peer and friend of the Professors to whom he appealed, and who was present at the Albion séances as an unbiased, critical, and *scientific* observer—when such an one as he volunteered to put before the public a mingled statement of facts which occurred, of promises made by the Professors and not kept, and of reproof for their words as moralizers, and their delinquencies as philanthropists, the presumption became very strong that the course of the *sarans* was very reprehensible in his judgment. We quote from him as follows :

"No investigation has ever extracted the secret of making one rap, so that one could do it himself or show others how to bring it about. The best imitated raps of the ungifted are as untrue to the character of the genuine ones, under the ears of the experienced observer, as are the miserable, foul-odored burnings of matches and phosphorus without a point of identity with the delicate, ethereal, inimitable *odis* or 'spirit-lights,' so readily witnessed by any who will devote themselves fully and fairly to the research during an adequate period of time.

"In view of this undoubted fact, that the mode of making the raps is yet among the undiscovered facts, I, in common with a host of our fellow-citizens, have waited with some im-

patience for a Report of the Committee of the Cambridge *savans*, which might throw some light upon at least the first and humblest of the spiritual phenomena—the little tickings upon the table. As a delusion so full of mischief ‘to the truth of man and the purity of woman’—as this Committee so solemnly denounce it in their *ex cathedra* award, hurried out without delay as the *avant courier* of their more extended exposure—commenced with these petty raps, and has gone progressively on to much more astonishing things, the public might well have expected that this Committee would have started with it at its small beginnings, and followed it up, piece after piece, until all its machinery of juggle and imposture had been unraveled and turned out to open day. . . .

“I was led to look for an attempt, at least, of an explanation of the mode in which the raps were produced, from the fact—which I learned in a manner which left no doubt of its truth on my mind—that Profs. Peirce and Agassiz, at the close of the first day’s session of the Committee, declared in the most positive and confident manner their perfect understanding of all that had been witnessed, namely, the rappings through the ‘Fox girls.’

“Prof. Peirce observed, as I have reason to believe, that ‘all that had occurred were physiological facts, and in accordance with natural laws, and that he could refer the different raps respectively to Mrs. Brown, or Miss Fox, as they occurred.

“Prof. Agassiz earnestly confirming Prof. Peirce’s confidence, declared that ‘We will divulge all these things before we part. We shall show you that these things are simple, natural, and may be produced by no other agency than the will of the individual.’ And on a remark from Maj. Raines (U. S. A.), that if Prof. A. should produce these phenomena, as he promised, it might be by ‘medium’ power in the party, and thus using ‘stolen thunder,’

“Prof. A. rejoined, ‘I shall satisfy you that our thunder is unstolen; that is, that the parallel manifestations should be effected by other methods than those which the Spiritualists claim.

“‘And,’ continued Prof. Agassiz, with a confidence of clearly-detected truth gleaming from his expressive and animated countenance, ‘I will make my methods available to the eye, so that the very means shall be seen and flash upon the mind at once.’

“After so direct and positive assurances that these gentlemen *savans* had succeeded in untying the Gordian knot which had so long and so utterly baffled and confounded all previous investigations, it was natural that those to whom the assured promises of the Chairman and senior member of the Committee had been communicated, should be anxious for the proffered explanation. . . .

“But days have passed away, weeks have passed away; the June in which the promise of exposure was made has passed into August; August is slipping toward September;

discussion has followed discussion; the 'spiritual' newspapers have kept on issuing their matter, so dangerous to 'the truth of man and the purity of woman,' and yet no exposure has been made. The vast enormity of Spiritualism has been singularly enough made the topic of a public address before one of the Commonwealth's Normal Schools, by [Felton] a colleague professor of these very gentlemen who have discovered the key to the whole mystery, when one would think they were bound to put him in the way to annihilate the terrible evil (as it unquestionably is, if a fraud) by *exposing* it, instead of *denouncing* it. Every day, every hour that a belief of so momentous importance is allowed to run on and widen and deepen its hold upon the community, throws an awful responsibility upon those who have it in their power to explain and thus dissolve it, but omit doing so. . . .

"The recent crude, ill-managed attempts to demonstrate that it was wholly fraudulent, will, in the opinion of the writer, confirm hundreds in their belief. 'If the Cambridge philosophers 'cannot fathom,' they will say, 'the trifling secret of the raps, the greater miracles must require supernatural power.'"

"In conclusion, the writer of these hasty views would declare it as his assured conviction that all attempts to denounce the phenomena alluded to as frauds, juggleries and imposture will prove utterly futile until some person is sagacious or fortunate enough to explain at least the first and simplest of the phenomena so fully that the means of their production shall be so clear as to 'flash upon the mind at once.' In short, let no man who would avoid alike a serious responsibility and deserved burden of ridicule venture to denounce the phenomena as fraudulent, until he can demonstrate to the common mind, by actual operation, the mode by which some, at least, of the manifestations are produced. Neither the insolent, arrogant and unmannerly sarcasm of the Courier, nor the wishy-washy village gossip and tittle-tattle of the Lynn Doctor, nor the high-sounding *ex cathedra* bull of the Harvard Professors, has satisfied, or ever will satisfy, one mind. People yet demand to know HOW THE RAPS ARE MADE."

After having attended, in the spirit and manner above described, to the duties they had assumed, the Committee awarded, moralized and promised as follows; and we ask attention to their careful specification of the things *not* done, the equally careful omission of any allusion to the things which were done, and to their *scientific* deduction that, where all results are negatives, there is a "contaminating influence which surely tends to lessen the truth of man and the purity of woman."

THE AWARD.

"The Committee award that Dr. Gardner, having failed to produce before them an agent or medium who 'communicated a word imparted to the spirits in an adjoining room,' 'who read a word in English written inside a book, or folded sheet of paper,' who answered any question 'which the superior intelligences must be able to answer,' who 'tilted a piano without touching it, or caused a chair to move a foot'; and having failed to exhibit to the Committee any phenomenon which, under the widest latitude of interpretation, could be regarded as equivalent to either of these proposed tests, or any phenomenon which required for its production, or in any manner indicated a force which could technically be denominated Spiritual, or which was hitherto unknown to science, or a phenomenon of which the cause was not palpable to the Committee, is, therefore, not entitled to claim from the Boston Courier the proposed premium of five hundred dollars.

"It is the opinion of the Committee, derived from observation, that any connection with Spiritualistic Circles, so-called, corrupts the morals and degrades the intellect. They therefore deem it their solemn duty to warn the community against this contaminating influence, which surely tends to lessen the truth of man and the purity of woman.

"The Committee will publish a report of their proceedings, together with the results of additional investigations and other evidence independent of the special case submitted to them, but bearing upon the subject of this stupendous delusion.

BENJAMIN PEIRCE, *Chairman*,
 LS. AGASSIZ,
 B. A. GOULD, JR.,
 E. N. HORSFORD.

"*Cambridge, June 29th, 1857.*"

This unimpeachable witness, Dr. Bell, reports Prof. Peirce as saying that "all that had occurred were physiological facts, and in accordance with natural laws;" also that Agassiz, coming to Peirce's support, said, "We will divulge all these things before we part. We shall show you that these things (the raps) are simple, natural, and may be produced by no other agency than the will of the individual." He said also, "I will make *my* methods available to the eye, so that the very means shall be seen and flash upon the mind at once," and satisfy the company that '*our* thunder is unstolen.'" When Dr. Gardner, near the close of the last session, and after Agassiz had left the room, desired Prof. Peirce to explain "*how* the raps were made," as had been promised, the Professor said, "We have not promised that, as a Committee. Agassiz made that promise as an in-

dividual." Was that declaration true? We must say, No. Did these gentlemen therefore divulge a lesson of their *personal experience* when they announced that "any connection with spiritualistic circles . . . tends to lessen the truth of man"? We apprehend they did; for, at the Albion circles, and immediately subsequent to them, they themselves apparently were less truthful than they were wont to be. We doubt whether a sensible and candid person can be found who now, after sixteen years' failure to fulfill their promise, believes that they were genuinely truthful either when they declared that they could and would explain how the raps were made by forces and methods then known to science, or when they denied that the promise of explanation was made in behalf of the Committee. Looking back we notice that Dr. Bell reported Agassiz as speaking in the plural, and saying, "*We will divulge,*" &c. This is quite an obstacle to regarding Prof. Peirce as broadly truthful when he plumply said that Agassiz did not promise in behalf of the Committee, but "as an individual." We find no room to even doubt that circles, conducted as the learned Professors caused those to be in which they acted a prominent part, did then tend to lessen the *truth of man*; for the immediate effect upon themselves seemed to prove that fact. It by no means follows, however, that when desire to learn instructive facts and elevating truths moves men and women to meet in circles and to conduct their proceedings with propriety, candor, and harmoniously, that opposite effects may not result—that truth and purity may not gain strength where the true and the pure from spirit-land impart their hallowing influences.

At what time or what place these dogmatic preachers learned that having connection with circles *tends to lessen the purity of woman*, we do not know; they say it was from observation, but omit to state where or when their observations had been made. We never supposed they or their families had been accustomed to frequent *such circles*, and must wonder how they obtained knowledge of the effects of spiritualistic séances upon woman. They had no opportunity to gauge her purity at the circles in which we met them, and therefore our inference is that they had made observations elsewhere and under different circumstances. Science had let them loose from her schools, and on a holiday they broke loose from her methods, and incorporated in their "ex cathedra bull" what was foreign to the specific

matters before them, and what they did not learn at that *mock* investigation.

We will for a moment quit our hold of things put on record sixteen years ago, and report a single scene from memory. Re-perusal of one comparison made by Dr. Bell calls to remembrance an unreported episode to the dark circle performances when the Davenports were under manipulation and inspection. As stated before, those mediums and their cabinet were committed to the charge of the Professors and their selected aids. Ten to twelve or more Spiritualists who were present quietly seated ourselves in compact mass upon settees at the opposite side of the room. At a point in the performances when all lights had been extinguished, and all parties were still and silent, there suddenly appeared, unannounced, near the cabinet, a light, which soon assumed somewhat the form of a hand, or at least of several attached fingers waving back and forth for a few seconds. Wonderful phenomenon! Nuts for us Spiritualists! But—strange to say—no voice came forth from our side of the room; no sensation of joy or exultation revealed its existence among the stolid occupants of the settees at this advent of *spirit* (?) light. Soon the learned Prof. Peirce, then and there on duty for detecting *imposture*, broke the deep silence, saying, "You see, gentlemen, it is very easy to make strange lights. Just rub phosphorus over the hand, as I have been doing now, and they appear forthwith." Fumes of phosphorus had already told what the tongue of science then repeated. This feeble episode scarcely survived its birth, sank at once, and was generally forgotten. But Dr. Bell carefully shrouded it in the following sentence, which recalls vivid remembrance of that wee little bantling of a scientific brain: "The best imitated raps of the ungifted are as untrue to the character of the genuine ones, under the ears of the experienced observer, as are the *miserable, foul-odored burnings of matches and phosphorus* without a point of identity with the delicate, ethereal, inimitable *odic*, or 'spirit lights.'" "Miserable" and "foul-odored"—just note the epithets applied by a discriminating observer to the learned Professor's *impostured spirit*-lights. "Miserable and foul-odored!"

When, on the morning of their first session, raps pregnant with mystery sounded forth their presence all around and in the midst of the Professors, their pride of attainments naturally roused up, and prompted them to shroud the origin of

such visitants in the mists which hide from common minds clear perceptions of all that the words "*physiological facts*" may enfold, and also to pronounce the raps "simple, natural, and such as may be produced by no other agency than the will of the individual."

When doubt of this was promptly hinted to men whose avocations exempted them from opposition, and left them unschooled at curbing their feelings in unexpected emergencies, their warmed blood pushed the tongue to say hastily, inconsiderately, "I will make my methods available to the eye, so that the very means shall be seen and flash upon the mind at once." Such a promise was made in bravado; for power to fulfill it, if possessed, would have performed the task long ere to-day. Sixteen lapsed years are strong backers of our assertion. Calls for a fulfillment of it came forth from men of all faiths, positions, attainments and pursuits, through the press and in oral demands on 'change and elsewhere. Motives to execute it must have been so strong as makes the inference of *inability* on their part necessary. The Professors' appropriate ship—*Science*—grounded then on uncharted facts; and, in the dire emergency, leaping overboard and drifting alongside of *Dogmatism*, they boarded her, fought, as best they could, under her flag, with her weapons and tactics, and at last shouted victory on the deck of that strawy hulk. When ablest scientists dropped scientific and assumed dogmatic methods, common sense at once divined that the point they were determined to report from lay off beyond where science could carry them. Lapsing time, missing the promised explanation, confirms the accuracy of that divination by COMMON SENSE.

With various comments upon this trial, published by the papers of that day, we conclude this Part.

The Boston Journal said :

"We are inclined to think that the evils of Spiritualism will find a palliative, when scientific men recognize the phenomena as fixed facts, and trace out the real causes of these curious mental and physical demonstrations. To assume that the mediums are impostors and the believers dupes, is a royal road to a solution of the problem upon which the dogmatic rather than those who can see and reason for themselves, will enter. It only strengthens the credulity of the believers, and makes new converts among those who see phenomena which cannot be accounted for by this 'scientific theory.' In this view of the case the *Courier* and its board of *savans* is doing incalculable mischief—more, we fear, than the *Gazette*, *Trav-*

eller and Journal will soon be able to counteract, by the antidote of *common sense*."

The Boston Traveller, June 30th, said :

"We learn that the examination into the alleged spiritual phenomena, before a committee of Cambridge gentlemen and others, was closed on Saturday evening. [Then having given the names of the parties present, it continues thus:] The gentlemen of the Committee and Mr. Clark (Mr. Lunt's substitute) are all skeptics as to the genuineness of the alleged phenomena; the others, with the exception of the gentlemen representing the press, are believers. It is *the unanimous opinion* of those who witnessed the whole proceedings, with the exception of the representative of the Courier, that the whole affair was in no sense of the word an investigation, and that nothing was proved or disproved by it."

The Evening Gazette said :

"From the outset, two of the committee and one other representative of the party have manifested *an unhappy temper* regarding the affair, treating it contemptuously, and in some respects, spitefully, which has entirely destroyed the power by which mediums work in ordinary cases."

The Boston Daily Advertiser, July 2d, 1857, said :

"The gentlemen who undertook the laborious service of acting upon the Committee are entitled to the credit for their pains, which we cheerfully accord to them. At the same time we may truly say they have only reached a *negative* result. . . . We scarcely need say that the gentlemen composing this Committee are fully entitled to the confidence of the community, and their report ought to have great influence."

The Lowell Courier said :

"The truth seems to be, that the late investigation resulted in nothing satisfactory—for or against the truth of spiritual manifestations. But the unfairness of the professors in their mode of investigating, and the undue and ridiculous prominence they and some others, utter disbelievers in the doctrine, are giving to the subject, is doing more than the foolish vagaries and innocent nonsense of professed Spiritualists, mediums and trance speakers could possibly accomplish in spreading the infection. The professors had better keep easy. At Dartmouth and other places the faculty have had the fit, and we trust it will soon be so at Cambridge."

The Woman's Advocate, edited, printed and published by ladies in the city of Philadelphia, said :

"The learned professors declare that no result, either for or against Spiritualism, was arrived at. They had no 'demonstrations,' nor did they pretend to any detection of trick. They, however, advise people to have nothing to do with it; and declare, as a reason, that it has a tendency to 'destroy

the truth of man and the virtue of woman.' They do not give their experience which led them to this conclusion ; at least they have not yet given it. It is to be presumed that testimony elicited in the course of the investigation is the foundation of this opinion. If they have had such experience as convinces them that they are less truthful, or that the women with whom they associated are less virtuous than when they commenced the investigation, they should give the world the benefit of that experience. They have no right to assume any such position, unless they claim to be more clairvoyant than the seers themselves. Impeachment of character should be accompanied with testimony to give it weight."

The Cambridge Chronicle, July 11th, 1857, issued—under the shadow of old Harvard's edifices, and circulated through its halls and dormitories—the following comments by a correspondent :

"It is patent to observation that the Committee approached the subject with preconceived views. They seem to have taken for granted that they knew more, even on this subject, without investigation, than the unscientific Spiritualists with all their long experience and heart interest in it ; and they erroneously judged that the public would take their *ipse dixit* with unreasoning deference. Because a man knows a rock, does it follow that he knows a star ? or if he knows a star, does he thence know a spirit ? The Professors have shown their ignorance in this 'investigation,' nothing more ; and let them be assured that, on account of their high standing, it affords the Spiritualists pleasure to hear of their intention to publish a labored Report on this subject ; one that, as the Courier fondly imagines, and probably themselves also, will stay the progress of the delusion ! Let them be assured they will only awaken thought, and excite curiosity—giving an impulse to investigation, whose results will make them ashamed of their 'scientific' bull. It is indeed a pity that, with all their learning, they have not learned that the testimony of a large body of men and women to facts of their own experience is entitled to respect. . . . The world moves, gentlemen."

PART FOUR

Seance by Press Reporters --- Why
Failure before the Committee? ---
Reflections and Speculations.

DR. GARDNER's spirit is not of the kind which cowers when dangers threaten. No sooner was the award promulgated than he engaged all his mediums to postpone their departure from the city, and, under like circumstances, in the same room, furniture unchanged, to repeat their sittings before a different set of investigators, who had at command ready access to the public mind. Reports by representatives of the press of what they simultaneously witnessed were, at Dr. Gardner's request, to be withheld from publication until after the Committee's full Report had come out; consequently none have yet appeared in the daily papers, excepting one which by some oversight came out in the Post. But after waiting a while, the Spiritualist papers put theirs before the public. July 25th, 1857, the following account, written by its temporary editor, X., appeared in the

New England Spiritualist:

"It is well known that the 'award' of the committee entirely failed to meet the rational demands of inquirers. It took the form of a decree rather than a decision. Such being the facts, Dr. Gardner thought it due, not only to himself but to the community, to make another effort to have the matter fairly and deliberately tested. Accordingly, immediately after the appearance of the Committee's award, he invited the editors of the principal newspapers in the city to attend the sésances and witness manifestations through the same mediums he had employed before the professors.

"The gentlemen who responded to this invitation were: Messrs. Carter, Robinson and Brown, of the Boston Traveller; Stockwell, of the Journal; Bulger, of the Post; Clapp and Shillaber, of the Gazette; Marsh, of the Bee; Tracy, of the

Herald; Hill, of the Ledger, and the editors of the Banner of Light, and New England Spiritualist. There were also present at a portion of the sittings, Hon. L. V. Bell, A. Putnam, Esq., Alvin Adams, Esq., and others.

"FIRST SESSION.

"The first session of the Committee was held on the forenoon of Wednesday, July 1st. Mr. G. A. Redman, of New York, was present as medium. The conditions imposed—simple in their character, only requiring the persons to join hands for a time, and afterwards occasionally to rest their hands in concert upon the table—were cheerfully complied with by all. The result was that the circle was readily harmonized, and the sounds, so well known by Spiritualists as the 'rappings,' were promptly produced.

"At the request of the medium, each member of the circle wrote the name of one or more of his spirit friends on a small piece of paper, carefully concealed not only from the medium but from all others. The papers were then folded, rolled into small pellets, (each one performing the operation for himself,) and thrown promiscuously together upon the table. Any one present, except the medium, was permitted to mix and confuse them as much as he chose. It was now an acknowledged impossibility for any one to distinguish the paper on which he had written. Hereupon the medium indicated with the point of his pencil one after another of the pellets, inquiring of the unseen intelligences if the spirit were present whose name was written upon it. After perhaps a dozen had been passed aside without response, three distinct raps were heard on the table, showing that he had touched the right one. Each person then made the inquiry in turn, 'Is it a friend of mine?' To one of the gentlemen an affirmative was returned. 'Will that spirit write out his name through my hand?' asked the medium. 'Yes.' Mr. Redman's hand was seized by some invisible power, and rapidly wrote the name *Edward*. The ballot was opened and *Edward* found written upon it. A double test will be noticed here; both the name and the person who wrote it were designated before any one in the room could have known either. The spirit was then asked various questions, as to his age, occupation upon earth, number of brothers and sisters, disease of which he died, etc., all of which were answered correctly.

"Other ballots were designated in a similar manner, the names written through the medium's hand, and test questions answered, with unexceptional success. To enter into particulars in reference to these would be but a repetition of the preceding experiments.

"One of the most satisfactory tests at this session was obtained by Mr. Clapp. The medium's hand was caused to write a name, the raps signifying that it was a friend of Mr. C. Inquiry was made whether the name was written on a ballot. 'Yes,' indicated by the sounds. 'Will the spirit select the ballot which has that name written on it?' 'Yes.' One

after another was pointed out by the medium till one was fixed upon. Mr. C. commenced to unfold the ballot, but soon remarked, 'It is not mine; for I remember the way I folded them, and this is folded differently.' 'Is the spirit sure?' 'Yes.' Mr. C. was advised to proceed. The pellet unrolled, it was found to be, in fact, one Mr. C. had written, his impression to the contrary notwithstanding. This was regarded by the gentlemen as going to prove it was not mind acting on mind. Mr. C. asked the spirit various questions, and received correct responses, either in writing or through the sounds. The writing was always executed with great rapidity; sometimes upside down and from right to left, again with the words reversed in the sentence and spelled backwards. After various successful experiments, Mr. Clapp, sitting at the further side of the table from the medium, wrote something on a piece of paper which he kept concealed from all in the room, and made a mental request of the communicating spirit. The medium's hand was seized and rapidly made a succession of parallel lines. This seemed only partially to satisfy the questioner, and the medium was impressed to repeat the lines. Mr. C. evidently still unsatisfied. Mr. Redman's hand was again controlled, and he rapidly sketched a *bridge*. 'That is satisfactory,' said the experimenter; and unfolding his paper he disclosed the following, which he had written, mentally requesting the spirit to complete it:

" *I last saw you at Cam—.*"

The picture of a *bridge* suggested the missing syllable. It was afterwards explained that the parallel lines made by the medium in the first place, were designed to represent the planks of a bridge.

"As a further experiment, Mr. Clapp then stated that he had received singular communications under various circumstances unknown to any one present, and they had been invariably signed with a certain name; he wished, if that spirit were present, he would write his name through Mr. Redman's hand. Mr. R. wrote a short communication, and signed a name in full. The exclamation of surprise that escaped Mr. C.'s lips showed that the right one had been given.

"After experiments of the above character, designed to test the question of an independent intelligence, it was proposed to try the influence of the mysterious power on material objects. For this purpose a steelyard was procured. The hook being attached to the side of the table opposite the medium, it was found that it required a force of sixteen pounds to elevate it from the floor. In other words it weighed sixteen pounds. The spirits being requested to 'make the table light,' the indicator rose to *eight* pounds; at the request to make it heavy, it descended to *forty-eight*. Upon being attached to the side of the table next the medium, the results were still more marked. The indicator starting at sixteen pounds, went up to eight, then down to fifty, the full power of the balance, and, as the experimenters, Dr. Bell and others, testified, exerted an additional force of at least twenty-five pounds.

This experiment was tried by all who chose, and invariably with a similar result; and the persons present can testify that Mr. Redman was not in contact with the table, except to touch it lightly with the tips of his fingers. Partial results were attained even without this contact.

"SECOND SESSION.

"At the second session, on Thursday afternoon, July 2d, Mrs. Brown and Miss Kate Fox were present as mediums. The precaution was taken again to examine the furniture and appliances of the room, to guard against any mechanical trickery. The company then seating themselves, raps were in a few moments heard upon the floor and table. The sounds were various and complicated, from the lightest tap to quite heavy blows. The heavier sounds had a peculiar softness, as if they had been made by a padded drum-stick worked by a spring.

"The next step was to test the intelligence manifested through the sounds. The method of doing this will be understood from the following, which is but a small part of the proceedings—as a report of the whole would be but a repetition of questions similar in their character, and eliciting equivalent results.

"A spirit-friend of Mr. Marsh announced himself as present.

"MR. MARSH.—'Will you tell me your name?'

"BY THE SOUNDS.—'Yes.'

"A list of names was written by Mr. M., and as he pointed to them separately the spirit designated that of Le Grand Smith.

"MR. M.—'Will you tell me the manner of your death?'

"'Lost at sea.' (Correct.)

"MR. M.—'Will you tell me where I last saw you?'

"'New York.' (Correct.)

"'Have you any other acquaintance in this room?'

"'Mr. Clapp.'

"MR. C.—'Will Mr. Marsh ask him where I last saw him?'

"Answer obtained by Mr. Marsh—'Boston.' (Correct.)

"MR. C.—'I have seen him when he was sick; can he tell at what place?'

"MR. M.—'Will the spirit tell where Mr. Clapp has seen him sick?'

"'New York.' (Correct.)

"'Where else?' (No answer.)

"'Whom were you intimate with in Boston? the Chickering?'

"A weak affirmative was returned, which was supposed to indicate that he was acquainted with them—perhaps not intimately.

"'Did you know Col. N. A. Thompson?'

"'Yes.'

"'Any other persons in this circle?'

"'Dr. Gardner'—and others.

"Dr. G. seemed willing that all failures should pass as such, and promptly said, 'That is a mistake, gentlemen; I don't know any such person.'

"A desultory conversation here sprung up; after which Mr. Marsh resumed: 'In whose employ were you when I first knew you?'

"'Jenny Lind's.'

"Dr. G.—'Oh! is that the man? I know now. I saw him in Springfield once; had some sharp words with him, too.'

"Mr. STOCKWELL.—'Is there any other spirit present who was lost at sea?'

"'Yes.'

"Mr. S.—'An acquaintance of mine?'

"'Yes.'

"'Will he tell in what steamer he was lost?'

"Correctly answered.

"'If I write a list of names, will he indicate his?'

"'Yes.'

"Mr. S. wrote a list of names; but neither of them was indicated by the spirit, though he went through the list twice. A moment or two after, an earnest response was heard. Mr. S. had spelt the name wrong in the first instance; but instantly, on correcting it, the affirmative came. The last-mentioned facts were then stated to the company, no hint having been given in the course of the proceeding whether it was satisfactory or not. The name indicated was that of Samuel Stacy.

"Another friend of Mr. S. announced his presence. His name was correctly given; and a list of towns was written, with the request that he would point out where he died. No response came; but on changing the word Cambridge, in the list, to Cambridgeport, the sounds were promptly returned. In these last two instances was an accuracy of intelligence beyond what was looked for by the experimenter.

"'Will the spirit tell his birth-place?'

"'Yes.'

"A list of towns being written by Mr. S., was passed to Mr. Brown, with the request that the response might be given him, Mr. B. being totally ignorant of the matter.

"Various tests of this nature were tried. The questions were asked by those ignorant of their answers, and the result was, without exception, correct.

"The question of a separate intelligence having had due consideration, experiments were tried with regard to the sounds. The mediums, by request, moved to various portions of the room; and the sounds were produced, varying in quality according to the different substances from which they apparently proceeded. The 'toe-joint' theory being suggested by some one, the mediums were requested to stand on the spring cushion of a sofa. This they did, and merely touching the tip of a finger against the plastering, the sounds were distinctly and abundantly heard on, or rather in the wall. They were equally distinct to a person in the ad-

joining room. That the ladies had no other contact with the wall than to touch it lightly with the tip of a single finger, all present can testify."

THIRD SESSION.

From the Banner of Light.

"The session with the Davenport boys, which was held in the evening, was the most wonderful of all. You have not space for me to describe all the preparations that were made with such care by those present to prevent any possibility of deceit and fraud, as well as to satisfy themselves the more abundantly of the superhuman agency—if such it should prove itself—by which these manifestations were produced. The two boys were placed in a box standing on legs, whose interior measured some eight feet long by three broad and five high, and pieces of stout rope were thrown in after them. There was a door in the centre of the box, and a seat was secured within the box at each end. Through both the seat and the box auger-holes had been bored.

"The gas having been turned off, the request was made of the spirits to tie the boys; but this they refused to do. The light was produced again, and the boys bound by gentlemen present (members of the press) hand and foot. The wrists were tied separately, and the arms were secured above the elbows behind the back. Having been lifted into the box, the boys now suffered their legs to be tied about the thighs and ankles, while the ropes were passed this way and that through the auger-holes in the seat and the box. Such thorough tying I never witnessed before. If a person could get away from that, then rope-walks and spun-yarn would be of no further service. The boys sat secure on their seats, unable to move hand or foot, much more to touch one another in any possible manner.

"The company became seated, and a cord was drawn through the button-hole of each gentleman's coat, and the ends tied across the room. If one moved, of course all must go, too. The operator turned off the gas again, and instantly sat down and was held by two persons who helped compose the circle. In a moment the door of the box, which had been left wide open, was slammed to with much violence, and presently the swift moving of ropes was to be heard through the holes through which they had been passed. In fifteen minutes' time the boys called for the light, and on going to them they were found to be perfectly free! This was certainly one of the greatest wonders we ever saw.

"After a recess, the boys were once more put into the box, with the same ropes. They shut and bolted the door on the inside, and the lights were put out. In a little more than five minutes there was a call to strike up the light again, and there sat the boys, the door having been previously unbolted and thrown back, tied exactly as they had been tied before—at the wrists, elbows, thighs, and ankles! It was totally impossible for them to have done this thing themselves, every one

present was forced to admit. While still secured, several musical instruments were placed in the box, the company were seated, and the lights extinguished. The door was instantly closed and bolted on the inside, and the instruments were played on to everybody's satisfaction, or satiety. The door having been opened once more, and the gas again lighted, the boys were found tied just as before. Again the lights were put out, and in two minutes the boys were as free as ever they were!

"On the afternoon of the 6th, Mr. J. V. Mansfield was present with the representatives of the press. The most of them had previously prepared a letter, which, on being brought into the room, were all secured in envelopes from the same package, so that no one could distinguish his own production from another's. Mr. M. was not influenced to answer a single communication at that time, but on their being carefully sealed with wax and taken to his office, several were answered within a short time afterwards, and in every case emphatically. One received an answer from the spirit of Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem. Another had his returned, with the word *Blank* written on the wrapper; and a third contained correct or appropriate answers to eight different questions, and was signed with a *fac-simile* signature of the friend addressed.

Yours, &c.,

ONE PRESENT."

The reports just presented were made by parties possibly liable to be swayed, more or less, by their prejudgments and sympathies; hence it may be well to supplement their accounts by brief extracts from summaries put forth by more independent narrators of personal observations:

The Boston Post,

Speaking of the second session, said:

"The press was largely represented, and the strictest attention was given to the proceedings. Without volunteering any opinion on the subject of Spiritualism, we will give a brief statement of what transpired, as it appeared to our understanding.

"In the afternoon, at three o'clock, the mediums, Mrs. Brown and Miss Kate Fox (sisters) were present. At the suggestion of Dr. Gardner, the visitors examined the tables and fixtures in the room. The company, with the mediums, then sat around a large table, and, in a short time, a very brisk rapping, in a variety of tones, assailed the ear. A series of questioning of certain spirits now commenced, through the instrumentality of the 'raps,' and under the direction of the lady mediums. The answers were, in almost every instance, straight and satisfactory; and, from the system adopted of transferring the questioning from one to another, a suspicion of collusion between the mediums would be difficult to arrive at, by even the most skeptical."

Of the third meeting, the same paper said:

"In the evening, the manifestations were of a different character. Two boys were placed in a box with seats at each end, and the lights put out. It was then desired that 'John' (the spirit) should tie them together, ropes having been placed in the box for that purpose; but 'John' would n't do it, and the experiment failed. The boys were then tied together in the most secure manner, with many knots exceedingly intricate, and the lights again put out. The request this time was that the spirit should untie them; and while the investigators held those having charge of the exhibition, the boys were separated amid a great pulling and rubbing noise, (like rattling of ropes,) and much to the astonishment of all present, who, with the greatest care, were unable to detect any trickery. This transpired within fifteen minutes.

"The next feat was to tie the boys up—which failed before—and it was accomplished in six minutes. They were examined, and the lights were once more extinguished. In accordance with a request, the spirit (and when we say 'John' did this or that, it is only for convenience, based on general supposition) closed the doors of the box, and bolted them. A tambourine had been placed on the floor of the box, and upon its top—*outside*, of course—was a violin. The latter article then fell through, and the two instruments came in contact. In a second they were playing 'Pop goes the Weasel.' The doors were then unbolted and flew open, and almost instantly the room was lighted. The company rushed toward the scene of action, and, wonderful to relate, found the boys as intricately tied as at first.

"The lights were again put out, and the boys untied in two minutes, the shutting and bolting operation being again performed. This was the last experiment of the evening, and the company departed, perfectly bewildered at what they had seen. We submit the whole matter for what it is worth."

Springfield Republican.

One of the editors present, a skeptic as to the spiritual origin of the phenomena, wrote thus to the *Springfield Republican* :

"Dr. Gardner and his friends give sittings this week to gentlemen connected with the press. I had the pleasure of attending one of them on Wednesday. The medium was Mr. Redman, a gentleman I never saw before, or heard of until this week. I received what purported to be intelligence from a very dear friend who died some ten years since, and whose name and existence were not probably known to any person in the room except myself, and all the intelligence given was correct. I cannot say that it was important, or that it was evidence of the spiritual character of the phenomena, or that it was more wonderful than the marvels that have been seen in half the households of half the villages in the State; but it was sufficient, with similar marvels which I have

before witnessed, to assure me that the jugglery theory, which is so gravely put forth by the Courier and the Harvard professors, is a stupid delusion, unworthy of men professing to be sane. I am, for one, by no means anxious for the spread of 'Spiritualism;' yet facts are facts, and are not to be winked out of sight by three or four big wigs or little wigs who write for the Boston Courier, against the actual experience of thousands of men quite as intelligent and candid as themselves."

WHY FAILURE BEFORE THE COMMITTEE?

Query whether spirits at the Albion circles purposely omitted, or whether they were absolutely unable to present many emphatic and varied manifestations in the presence of Harvard *savans*, has often been raised. Raps abundantly sounded out their existence where no obvious maker was detectable. Raps however, had not been set down among the things, (either of which would win a victory in favor of Spiritualism,) in a schedule once adopted, but afterwards set aside that there might be a fair and broad investigation independent of any party or pecuniary considerations, and again unexpectedly and unreasonably brought up, *ex parte*, at the trial, and quoted extensively as the basis of an award. Perhaps the removal of the ropes from one of the Davenport's, as reported by Redman, met the fair demands of even that schedule. Such evidence, however, that one of the mediums was then liberated by an occult agent, has never come to our knowledge as clearly establishes the fact. We remind the reader again, that Spiritualists at that scene were only spectators on back seats, therefore much might have then occurred which we had no opportunity to witness. We waited long and patiently for the tying of the boys, and again in darkness awhile for the spirits to work. At length Agassiz, immediately after a little light was let on, held up a short piece of thread, and triumphantly exclaimed, "There, it is *broken*, and that was the *test*!"

That action by him indicated that at least a *thread* had been broken by some unseen agent, because if he or his visible aids broke it, where was the *test*? This act strongly intimates that something had there been done by occult process, which was worthy of explanation. A thread had been tied over the knots of the ropes with which the boys' hands were bound, and that thread was found to be *broken*. Therefore—

what? Logic, tell us *what*. If broken by Agassiz or his aids, the breaking was a cheat. If by some one else—who? The only fair deduction, under the circumstances, is—*spirits*. Did spirits, there and then, break even a *thread*? If so, that little thing itself was more than science can explain in twice sixteen years. Either Agassiz practiced a cheat, or his friends cheated him, or spirits broke the thread, or it was broken by accident. Which? The fact that he made so much of that little thing, viz., the *breaking*, instead of untying the thread, looks like a subterfuge from something more difficult to solve. Why should spirits stop to untie where man ordinarily would break? And if they did, or did not, what does either prove? Nothing, absolutely nothing.

For some reason, Agassiz did that which diverted attention from the condition of the ropes and the boys, and immediately, in the dim light, hastily left the room. His course argues the probability that Redman had good reasons, not known to us, for saying, "Notwithstanding the galaxy of science, the array of caution, the Argus-eyed intelligence of Old Harvard's learned domini, one of the mediums was freed, and the carefully knotted rope was found untied at his feet. Because the spirits did not *untie* the finely knotted *thread*, it was pronounced imposture." Leaving the rope out of the account, and taking only the thread which the Professor triumphantly announced to have been broken, we ask his surviving associates *how the thread was broken*? Yes—how, and by whom?

Spirits, at times, control human forms in which spirit presence is unsuspected, and use human organisms to perform what their owners would decline to do. Extensive observation of spirit methods for disciplining those mortals who believe in the presence of supernal agents, and look to them as helpers to a desired result, has taught that they often manage to make their disciples bear very heavy burthens of hopes deferred, and for a long time. Reflection upon their dealings, aided by communications from supernal spheres, renders it probable that rapid and extensive adoption of faith in the genuineness of a reöpening of intercommunings between spirits and men by the worlds of culture and science would have rendered its nurture such as might fail to educe, nourish and sustain the robustness, vigor and expanded development it would need for full performance of its projected iconoclastic and reconstructive labors. Nearly, if not quite, all benefi-

cent reforms that ever spread widely, long absorbed their chief aliments of growth and efficiency from the uncultured masses, and thence attained much development and power, before the learned, as a class, deigned to look upon them as worthy of their serious consideration. Though a few leaders of a reform be learned and powerful, their chief support is, for a long time, furnished by the common people. The wisdom of the spheres above may have arranged to keep Modern Spiritualism isolated from the cramping and dwarfing tutelage of science, until it should attain, among more gentle and indulgent nurses and fosterers, much expansion, strength and sway.

Supposition of possible purpose in spheres unseen, to keep an infant cause free from tetherings by the non-elastic red tape of science, is easily made, but amounts to little unless facts lend it probability.

That spirits were able to do much, using the same furniture, in the same apartment where the Professors assembled, and through the same mediums whom they watched, was shortly afterwards clearly manifested at séances attended by many representatives of the press. Occurrences in presence of keen-eyed and alert reporters suggest the query whether or not spirits embraced the occasion of the main trial to give a useful lesson to each of the contending parties. They might very reasonably wish to show Spiritualists that times and circumstances for manifestations should be left to the judgment and pleasure of the performers, who should not be importuned to act prematurely in presence of such as are constrained by position and attainments from looking at new things in the mood of docile learners and candid reporters. That class moving in ruts that make change of direction difficult, and being prone to stick to their familiar paths, will, by wise planners for success, be left on back seats till the cause in hand has become strong and prevalent. Perhaps too, learned Professors were designedly taught a needed lesson; perhaps were purposely shown only just a little more than they could explain, and not enough to entice them to seek further, because of their special unfitness to foster matters intruded from outside the bounds of their accustomed circuits. Such minds would strive earnestly to subject whatever they attempted to examine to tests and laws applicable only to things tangible; and, baffled, would decry what they could not refer to agents and forces already known. Instead

of helping, they would obstruct the progress of Spiritualism should they assume to conduct its train. Whether by special design or not, may be debatable; but they certainly were shown something which they promised to explain sixteen years ago, but have not accomplished yet, and which has also kept them taciturn till Spiritualism has outgrown all danger of harm from their *explanation*, whenever the world shall be granted the long-delayed pleasure and information its appearance will furnish.

Difficulties which scientists labor under when they grapple with the phenomena of Spiritualism have recently been indicated by Mr. Crookes, of England, who is himself scientist enough to be editor of the very able "Quarterly Journal of Science," and says: "The phenomena I am prepared to attest are so extraordinary, and *so directly oppose the most firmly rooted articles of scientific belief*—amongst others, the ubiquity and invariable action of the law of gravitation—that, even now, on recalling the details of what I witnessed, there is an antagonism in my mind between *reason*, which pronounces it to be scientifically impossible, and the consciousness that my senses, both of touch and sight—and those corroborated, as they were, by the senses of all who were present—are not lying witnesses when they testify against my preconceptions."

The above confession, from such a source, is quite instructive. A scientific man, conceded to be distinctly such, therein distinctly states that the phenomena witnessed by him around Mr. D. D. Home and Kate Fox—one of the mediums seen by the Harvard Professors—were directly opposed to *the most firmly-rooted articles of scientific belief*. And his subsequent statements justify an inference that minds long and firmly shackled by articles of "scientific belief," will, as a class, be very slow to concede the occurrence of anything they cannot bring into accord with those cramping articles.

The present domain of science is too restricted. A spirit-realm surrounds, enfolds, and pervades it; the two are not antagonistic, nor absolutely discrete. Spiritualism tells Science that she can extend, and invites her to extend her searches into new fields, and bring thence and incorporate into her "articles of belief" some agents and forces which exist, are operative upon man, and require recognition, before science can do her possible and perfect work. Mr.

Crookes is making explorations beyond where science has seen much, and God speed his labors! But even he is kept short-sighted by old scientific spectacles. His *reason*—if we read him correctly—teaches him that “the ubiquity and invariable action of the law of gravitation” are directly opposed by phenomena he attests to. Not *opposed*, in your sense, Mr. Crookes. The law of gravitation is present and operative just as much when and where you witness the levitation of Home, of the scale-beam or of any heavy substance, as wherever it brings a man prostrate on the ground, weighs an article of merchandise, or holds a table to the floor. One mind not trained in the schools of science, finds *reason* teaching only this, viz., that the lifting of a man or a table ordinarily requires the application of either muscular or mechanical power sufficient to a little more than overcome the force which gravitation keeps invariably exerting upon the object lifted; therefore, when some unseen agent puts forth the lifting power, gravitation’s action need not be suspended or changed in any way, but simply overbalanced, as it is when the magnet attracts to itself a steel needle. We are surprised to find the scientist implying that “the ubiquity and invariable action of the law of gravitation” on and around this globe, are rendered questionable by any spirit operations. The doings of spirits have not testified against his “preconceptions” concerning that matter. The shadowings of *Science* blind him to simple solution of a mystery which persons untrammelled by the methods of professional scientists easily solve scientifically.

Perhaps Mr. Crookes meant to say only that his preconceptions concerning gravitation were great hindrances to his trusting the testimony of his senses. If so, he shows how difficult it is to teach new science to a scientist. But we say to him, Go on; your shackles are loosened; your progress will quicken!

It is creditable to the sagacity of spirits who supervise the present efforts to bring about extensive and abiding intercourse between mortals and their circumambient ancestors, that they make approaches *mostly* where no “firmly-rooted articles of scientific belief” obstruct the accomplishment of their purpose.

We are friends to science and scientists. But we want them to increase their articles of belief, and to expand their territory. It will be seen in what follows that leaders among them are beginning to do that.

A DOUBLE SET OF MENTAL POWERS.

Time often brings new light to the most illumined. In 1873, Agassiz had obtained glimpses of a natural domain before unknown by him, and not embraced in his philosophy.

In his eighth lecture on "The Methods of Creation," given May 1st, 1873, the eminent naturalist, as reported in the New York Tribune, showed that he had been led by Dr. Brown Sèquard to an apprehension of a true spiritual philosophy which we can hold in common with those eminent *savans*. The language of Agassiz then was—

"Are all mental faculties one? Is there only one kind of mental power throughout the whole animal kingdom, differing only in intensity and range of manifestation? In a series of admirable lectures given recently in Boston by Dr. Brown Sèquard, he laid before his audience *a new philosophy* of mental powers. Through physiological experiments, combined with a careful study and comparison of pathological cases, he has come to the conclusion that there are *two sets*, or *a double set of mental powers* in the human organism, or *acting through the human organism*, essentially different from each other. The one may be designated as our ordinary conscious intelligence; the other as a superior power, which controls our better nature; solves, sometimes suddenly and unexpectedly, nay, even in sleep, our problems and perplexities; suggests the right thing at the right time, acting through us *without conscious action of our own*, though susceptible of training and elevation; or perhaps I should rather say, *Our organism may be trained to be a more plastic instrument, through which this power acts in us.*

"I do not see why this view should not be accepted. It is in harmony with facts as far as we know them. The experiments through which my friend, Dr. Brown Sèquard, has satisfied himself that the subtle mechanism of the human frame—about which we know so little in its connection with mental processes—is *sometimes acted upon by a power outside of us, as familiar with that organism as we are ignorant of it*, are no less acute than they are curious and interesting."

"There are two sets, or a double set of *mental powers* in the human organism, . . . essentially different from each other." So said Dr. Sèquard, as reported and endorsed by Agassiz. One set is our "*ordinary conscious intelligence.*" That set embraces all mental powers that common observation, science and philosophy have regarded as valuable and worthy of culture, if not all whose existence they suspected. Consequently when

intuition or clairvoyance either has obtained sensible evidence that the other set, or any part of it, exists, and has announced its presence and action, the words have seemed but idle tales—descriptions of subjective fancies. The days for such disparagement were darkened on the first of May last; for then some of the most keen-sighted, advanced and advancing natural scientists, pursuing, so far as appears, the external route of discovery, announced to the world that they had sighted a *terra incognita*—an unknown domain within each human being. Such explorers were keen and trustworthy. The inside route long and often had been trod by the feet of the other “set of mental powers”—by intuition, clairvoyance, &c., whose owners, through all ages, have been conscious of the existence of that their native land, and reported upon it to the outer world, whose darkness, however, comprehended not what they said. But now, when external mental power from the high places of natural science has announced the discovery of a new world, the voices of its natives will enter ears that have long shut them out. Scientific and mediumistic discoverers have become mutual supporters and confirmers of each other’s statements, and it may well be queried whether, prior to its leavenment by Spiritualism, the public mind had reached its fullness of time for giving credence to this discovery of science.

How do the learned discoverers estimate the new-found set of mental powers? They speak of it as the one that “controls our better nature, . . . acting through us without conscious action of our own.” They say—and mark well and ponder their words—that, “*The human frame . . . is sometimes acted upon by a power OUTSIDE of us, as familiar with that organization as we are ignorant of it.*” A power that can be thus familiar with the human structure must be intelligent. Plainly, therefore, science has come to our aid through the great Agassiz. We thank God that he lived long enough here to both learn and to teach that his own organism embraced one “set of mental powers,” which, in the methods of creation,” was fitted to be acted upon by an intelligent power *outside* of himself.

Without claiming that his statement *proves* the action of departed spirits through or upon either his or any other human frame, we must infer from it that there exists in man innate adaptability for such operation by outside intelligence, and, therefore, that he and thousands of others may have

been—some consciously, others unconsciously—subjected to such. What he taught exempts us from any reasonable accusation of having put forth an absurd or unphilosophical supposition as our basis for explanation of his deportment when in the presence of mediums.

The above statement by Agassiz seems pregnant with great revolutions in mental science, and a duplication of its base. His words call for and merit careful study and application by the numerous minds scattered all through the enlightened world, whose culture has properly taught them to distrust the actual performance, either by or through mortals, of anything which obviously transcends the powers of the only set of mental faculties whose existence in animals has been suspected. The propensity in such people to suspect fraud, imposture, trick, falsehood, delusion, credulity, infatuation, hallucination, and the like, has been both philosophical and commendable in their stage of knowledge, and on their grounds for inference. Waters do not naturally rise above the level of their fountain; effects do not transcend the force of their causes. But the opaque hills may enfold higher springs than man has seen; causes hitherto unknown may exist and be operative. Now, therefore, when not seemingly fanciful mediums alone, but keenest scientists also, teach the existence of "a double set of mental powers," explorations in new directions are called for with authority, and, when prosecuted by the competent, may reveal the positive existence of an unrecognized "superior power" within each human being "which controls our better nature," and "is sometimes acted upon by a power outside of us." The "unconscious cerebrations" put forth by Carpenter may all be produced by members of that latent set of mental powers whose workings are perceived by that inner consciousness to which they naturally pertain. All our accepted systems of mental science and philosophy need revision and amplification. In the prosecution of that work, the mediumistic will be pioneers. Many of us who have been led on, through "evil report" and sneer and disparagement, by the light of Spiritualism, have maintained unfaltering steps, because our inner "set of mental powers" have been ever conscious that we followed no *ignis fatuus*, no Jack-o'-lantern, but a slowly rising sun whose dawning rays gave sure promise of a day of broadened and improved science; and now we meet and shake hands with Dr. Brown Sèquard and Louis Agassiz,

they having reached the rich *cache* of our knowledge by a different route, and, as scientists, opened it and invited the world to examine and use its treasures.

REFLECTIONS AND SPECULATIONS.

One who is a looker-on at transpiring scenes, whose eyes scan the countenances and movements, whose ears catch the tones of the performers, and whose whole being feels the spirit of the occasion, often obtains many convictions which a mere reading of a report of what was said and done will fail to produce. So many years have now elapsed since 1857, so many persons named in the Albion transactions of that year have passed on beyond the reach of external vision, and the probability is now so strong that the promised *scientific* explanation of the raps on scientific bases known and accepted as such in 1857, will never be published, that we have become willing to make public some views and reflections which have long been kept private. Felton, Bell, Redman, Huntington and Agassiz have already passed off from the stage of mortal life, and the survivors are nearing their exit. If we intend ever to disclose some views which have sprung from personal knowledge of parties concerned, and from close observation of their looks, tones and general demeanor when acting in reference to Spiritualism, some of which views from their nature and qualities must be looked upon as *opinions* much more than as proved facts, we ought to have attempted it as we do now, because this hand will ere long part with its power to wield the pen.

A presentation of some of our individual conclusions may possibly tend to soften the judgments of Spiritualists toward Agassiz especially, and somewhat toward Felton. Many of the views referred to have been indicated already. The peculiarities of Prof. Felton, the *boyish* feelings, manners and methods of that learned, genial and estimable man, we judge to have been the direct cause of that mock investigation at the Albion. While matters pertaining to Willis were rife, Felton becoming "possessed" by the notion that Spiritualism was a factitious, deluding, and corrupting *ism*, buckled on his spurs, mounted his hobby, and heedlessly rushed into the fight against that cause. The fact that he publicly named, *without consulting them*, four distinguished and busy scientists, as probably willing to leave their posts of labor and

spend several days in watching persons whom he deemed mere tricksters and impostors, for the purpose of determining whether by their performances some reputed cheats could earn for their employer \$500—for that was what he *originally* asked of them—bespeaks the inconsiderateness of the man. He thus placed such friends in awkward position, and they made no secret of its being so when Dr. Gardner and myself met them. But they no doubt perceived, as we did, that Felton's position might become worse than awkward if they left him in the lurch. It was his situation, not the ownership of \$500, nor the merits or demerits of Spiritualism, which appealed most forcibly to them for help under the circumstances. Sympathy with the *man* in his fix, much more than with his views of Spiritualism, or his fight against it, seems to us their leading motive to acceptance of the office to which he had inconsiderately appointed them. Marriage connections made Agassiz and Felton and their families near relatives. Therefore the latter would naturally be very solicitous to receive such aid as the former's power to sway the public judgment could lend him, while Agassiz, in turn, would be moved powerfully by family and social considerations to grant help as far as honor and self-respect could possibly permit. His decision would naturally be copied by each of his less renowned associates. His strength would be deemed sufficient for them each and all. Without him, the others might not be willing to act. Agassiz, we *know* from what we heard from his lips at the outset, not only had no desire, but felt an unwillingness to serve as one of the Committee to perform such services as the primal proposition called for. But under the circumstances, probably, his own family and Felton's also wished him to act; sympathy for others induced him to assume a position which both his judgment and pleasure prompted him to decline. The strong words in which he expressed his scorn of the bare idea of descending personally to be a mere stake-holder (that is his own word)—a mere *stakeholder*—selected to determine whether a party should succeed or not in winning a certain sum of money, still ring in our ears; and no testimony from any other one than himself, can ever satisfy us that he was not chagrined and vexed by the position in which his friend Felton had placed him. But he did consent to serve, and did virtually fall to that low position which his nobler soul scorned. Till better informed than now, we shall retain our long-standing apprehension that *he*

came to the Albion devoid of any expectation that he was to take part in any award of money. The extreme pleasure he manifested when Dr. Gardner waived the pecuniary question, and his apparent understanding that the waiver was accepted by all present, we cannot either forget or disregard.

During the first hour at the trial he was courteous and cordial in his conversation, talked freely with Mrs. Brown, and paid very critical attention to the raps which surrounded her. He was satisfied that the *raps* came. But when, subsequently, the question was openly asked, "How the raps were made," and when he had breathed amid mediumistic auras for an hour or two, a change came over him; he got excited, and made a promise of explanation of the raps before the sittings should close, which, however, he never even attempted to fulfill. What, then, is the most rational explanation of the change in his manners, and of omission to fulfill his promise? We quoted his own account of his experiences under the hands of a mesmerist, for the purpose of answering precisely this question. We knew, in 1857, that he had formerly been mesmerized, and we were then also somewhat familiar with the appearances and movements of mediumistic persons when trying to resist the efforts of spirits to control them. His appearance and ways were so like those which we had been accustomed to behold, weekly or oftener, for years, that we believed him to be contending against the same, and also that some words came forth from his lips which his own will never prompted. His organism appeared to be partially and fitfully under control by some outside influence.

His former subjection to mesmeric influence indicates an obvious reason why he so early and so persistently might prudentially refuse to sit in a circle. We have little doubt that his experiences, under the operations of Dr. Townshend, produced in him strong apprehension that, if he sat down and kept quiet, the influence would overpower him, and the world would again see a "Saul among the prophets."

Agassiz had come to the meeting as the friend of Felton. All his forces would naturally be roused to act against the operations of spirits upon either himself or others, and his mighty will and energies enabled him to preserve control of his own organs so far, and so much of the time, that only the few who were familiar with the intermittence of control and non-control of some mediums, and with their

restlessness while contest for possession of their organs is going on, would suspect that he at any time succumbed to foreign influence. Our belief enables us to look upon behavior which seemed to be his, and upon what seemed to be *his* promise, as acts produced by forces and organs not steadily under his control. His organs had, on former occasions, obeyed another's will, and may have done so limitedly at the Albion. Apprehending that some unseen Chauncy Hare Townshend occasionally controlled his form, we harbor no conviction that his true self willed to do aught offensive.

We do not opine that one Infinite Intelligence gave *special* attention to the little band that congregated at the Albion on three late days in June, 1857, even though one of its members presumed it possible that the Ruler of the stars might show extraordinary regard for four brilliant mental luminaries then shining there. We do, however, suspect that many lesser intelligences, many both bright and less bright denizens in supernal realms, looked with special interest upon the assemblage there, felt deep concern in its doings, and acted unseen but very efficient parts in the performances. Perhaps conflict and struggle for gaining divergent ends were carried on as resolutely behind as before the veil which limits the reach of mortal vision. Each one present then, as at other times, attracted to him or herself unseen intelligences, who severally sympathized with the purposes and desires of the person or the class whose magnetisms held them in alliance, and would severally exert their skill and powers both to further what seemed to them best for those whom they elected to favor, and to thwart the purposes of others.

The harmony needful to distinct and sustained spirit manifestation may be as effectually prevented in the unseen as in the visible sphere of action. The forceful and prescient intellects whom an Agassiz would ordinarily draw to his aid, could, under most circumstances, enable him to accomplish his immediate designs; and if their glimpses into future years perceived that it was wise to do so, they would put forth strong efforts in coöperation with his wits and will, whether to thwart his antagonists, or to inspire and strengthen him and his mortal allies. Agassiz was not a Spiritualist. The great majority of spirits, we are told from above, are not yet Spiritualists; that is, are not believers, nor ready to become believers, that they themselves, or any other spirits, can get into such connection with and control over matter as to mani-

fest thought, characteristic or feature to embodied man; though conversions to that faith are spreading rapidly in the spheres above. Agassiz may have had honest backers on that side, co-laboring mightily and agitatingly with him to create inharmony and disturbances that would effectually bar off even seeming success from either spirit or mortal innovators.

On the other hand, he may have been attended and acted upon by invisibles who believed with and favored those whom he had come to test and weigh on his philosophical scales. Spiritualistic spirits, like Joseph's God, often *mean good*, even when either their conscious or unconscious instruments seemingly think and do evil against those upon whom their forms execute the designs of disembodied but absolute masters. Seeming evil often teems with good, and beings wiser than mortals plan for eduction of the good when man becomes fitted to appreciate and use it well.

We frankly confess inability to reach any abiding conclusion as to whether the mediums were purposely left almost unused, when with the professors, or whether their nearly non-use was a necessity. The fact that the same organisms in the same room were found to be very facile and efficient instruments when surrounded by representatives of the press, may be a sound basis for inference that keen managers above said among themselves, "Let the backers of Harvard's boasting Goliath—let his *giants* come on, and brandish their spears over our drummer boys, shout aloud, and claim victory; and then we will post behind them, well equipped, a squad of their peers for such a fight, whose presence and power shall awe the braggart tongues to lasting silence." All this was done, for soon the professors knew that the press held a formidable battery under mask, from which heavy shot might fly thick and forcefully, which would seriously damage any explanation they might put forth, which failed to be either scientific from base to dome, from centre to circumference, or broad enough to enwrap each and every phenomenon whose occurrence was fully established.

For some reason, the members of that Committee have let a cause which they deemed woefully damaging to *truth in man* and *purity in woman* go on for sixteen years, spreading wide and ever more widely into nearly all the lands of Christendom, while, if they were *truthful* when they said it, their knowledge was competent to show that some phenomena

called spiritual could be accounted for by known scientific forces, principles and laws. Oh, philanthropy! why hast thou so long delayed to rouse these men to execute the beneficence they professed ability to perform? But we blame not you, lover of man. Their boast of exceptional ability was only a *lapsus linguæ*, a slip of the tongue, which, during a flitting mental subjection, was made to drop a seeming fib. Learning-hampered men are not your facile instruments. Your bright embodiment, nearly two thousand years ago, found babes more receptive of your impartations, more obedient to your impulses, than were the wise and prudent. Thus it ever has been. Truths from exceptional sources have always found more ready adoption by the masses, than by those who fancy that no other avenues exist for inflowings of light and knowledge than such as themselves have previously cognized.

Individuals, parties, and sects are prone to measure any eminent man's beneficence and genuine merits somewhat by the help or hindrance which he intentionally gave or gives to their own most cherished beliefs, projects and interests. The force which generates this common propensity has naturally caused Spiritualists to question, and to limit in their estimation, the beneficence of Agassiz. In the only known instance of his acting and speaking publicly in reference to themselves and the phenomena which they prize, his opinions and influence were apparently adverse to them and their cause. In explanation, and measurably in exculpation of his temporary outburst of opposition, we have adduced some of his personal susceptibilities and experiences, and some special circumstances which, taken together, the reader may use at discretion in accounting for the spirit apparent in him on one occasion.

Was the cause of Spiritualism favored or was it harmed by the attention and rebuke given it by Cambridge *savans*? Man may be incompetent to decide. But Spiritualists, we think, are well content with present results. How far better or how far worse it would be with them and their cause to-day, had phenomena then occurred in accordance with their hopes, none can tell. But this much may safely be said: An hypothesis which has been assailed and reassailed by potent science, by caustic sneer, and cathedral anathema, and yet stands erect, broadening its base, increasing its solidity, and

augmenting its power from year to year, has encountered no usage which has done it essential harm.

Beneath the accumulating fragments of creeds, dogmas, customs, habits, laws, superstitions and consecrated errors which visitants from supernal spheres are now busily shattering to pieces all around us—beneath the foul-odored and sight-offending scum which is rising from out of and gathering thick upon the surface of Christendom's waters, because unseen workers are agitating them deeply—and despite the early lapses and errings of many whose chains they are unbinding, there is a force being applied to society now, as never before, in evolving and extending man's perception of agents, forces and truths not appreciated in the past, which is controlled and systematically put forth by invisible, wise and beneficent beings, bent upon educating ultimate good from any seeming evils attendant upon their doings, whose progress the combined theology, science and dogmatism of the embodied world cannot stay.

426 Dudley street, Boston, Feb. 20th, 1874.

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