

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Mediumistic Phenomena by Julian Ochorowicz Part II

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Part II published here includes the sections: Warsaw Experiments with Eusapia Palladino, Official Sitzings, and Conclusions Drawn from the Warsaw Experiments.

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Preface Summary—*Having returned from Rome a mediumist, Ochorowicz devoted all summer to studying the literature on mediumship and was amazed at how quickly it could be done—with a few significant works and hundreds of books of greater or lesser interest but no scientific value. That made him appreciate all the more the work of Crookes, Zollner, Du Prel, and Gibier. However, Crookes offers no theory and his observations stand alone as a register of facts that are hard to believe; this is a problem that can be rectified by reference to hypnotism, something achieved by Aksakov (who is a spiritist and accepts many sources which seem very dubious to Ochorowicz).*

P.S. The Preface, and the account of Warsaw Experiments with Eusapia Paladino which follows, were written in 1894, but the hostile attitude of the public in Poland to the question of mediumship meant that the report spent 19 years in Ochorowicz's desk. —Zofia Weaver

Warsaw Experiments with Eusapia Paladino (from 25 November 1893 to 15 January 1894)

She finally came. Cold, frightened, but when she was made welcome in my home she rallied somewhat. It was my knowledge of Italian that was the lifeline. Having realized that I can converse with her with ease, Eusapia regained her childish happy attitude and began discussions with my wife, who kept up her end by using French with Italian endings as well as gestures. A few days later they understood each other perfectly.

I was desperate to again test the reality of the phenomena, the absurdity of which from the scientific point of view was already beginning to win over the personal recollections in my mind.

Secondly, group sittings were supposed to start in a few days, which might test my reputation as an observer. Not surprising then that I awaited the first tests in Warsaw with some anxiety.

Among other things, I prepared for the experiments a number of tables made of white wood, larger and smaller, of different weight and shape. Expecting Eusapia to have some idea of what is suitable for experiments with her, I initially left it to her to choose the table, with the intention of trying out all the other ones later, to test the influence of weight and shape.

I learned later in Warsaw, and even more so on the island of Roubaud, that Eusapia knows very little about the conditions of experiments with her, that she only repeats what she has been told by others, and that one should not be put off by her reluctance to take part in seemingly impossible experiments, nor rely exclusively on her choices.

At this moment she only told me that the large table seemed too wide for her (causing her legs to be too distant from the table legs when she is sitting), but that the weight was not an obstacle. Finally she chose a medium-sized table which I used for the first time. It had quite a narrow top, but the legs were spread quite widely at the bottom and had flat square supports fixed to them. Even without these, it would have been almost impossible to move the table by simply pressing on the edge of the top, and the supports were designed to make it even more difficult in order to eliminate non-mediumistic unconscious muscle pressure.

The three of us sat at the table: Eusapia, my wife, and I, holding hands, not quite in the evening, with adequate light.

After only a couple of minutes, knocks could be heard within the table, supposedly coming from the spirit of "John." I easily checked that they were coming only from under Eusapia's hands, but at the same time I found that she did not cause them either by moving her fingers along the wood, or with a ring, or by friction of bones in her finger joints. Her hands were lightly touching the table and were quite motionless. However, every now and again you could observe in them a slight effort accompanying the knocks, a subject I will return to later. During these phenomena, and generally during sittings, her hands would stiffen, sometimes totally.

First of all I wanted to observe table levitation, as the phenomenon most accessible to investigation, leaving the others until later.

And a moment later, the table began to sway to the left and to the right, with the effort in her hands lying flat on the table visible but seemingly less than you would need to move the table. Suddenly it rose partially on the side of the medium and falling down hit the floor with such force that one of the supports broke and fell off—therefore in order to equalize the difficulty of swaying I removed the other supports as well.

It should be noted that the raising of the table on Eusapia's side could not have been caused by our hands, which were lying motionless on the top, not close to the edges. She had no hooks or threads that could have raised the table. The lifting could have been done mechanically only from below, either by the knees or feet of the medium, but the knees were visible and undoubtedly not involved in this movement. As for the feet, it is more difficult to explain. Eusapia's feet were on the feet of myself and my wife, and I did not think there had been any cheating. However, at that time neither I nor my wife had sufficient experience to rely on our subjective impressions.

On the other hand, I did observe the same fact that I noted at Siemiradzki's, which was originally observed by the Milan commission, the bulging of the dress. Eusapia's dress, usually on the left and always from the bottom, would approach the neighboring table leg and hide it to a greater or lesser extent. This bulging did not look like a foot or a rod moving toward the table leg, but more like a strong wind blowing and pushing it in that direction. Of course this had to be investigated thoroughly. At this point, however, I could only establish that this bulging could be obtained at will, on request, when Eusapia, holding my hand, moved it close to the edge of her dress. It would then approach slowly, as if being pulled and pushed, lightly touching my hand. I found that there was nothing electrical in that phenomenon.

Since the table responded with knocks to our questions, I asked what the purpose was of this bulging of the dress, was it to touch the table leg? No. John would not answer further questions, but demanded more darkness. He clearly did not like the supports, because he kept banging the table on the floor with great force until all of them were removed. Undoubtedly the main part in these blows was played by the mechanical force of Eusapia's hands, pressing from above. The only mysterious part was levitation, all the more so when soon after we achieved a number of full levitations, one of them very high. It also needs to be mentioned that if the table levitation had been produced by putting the foot under the table leg, the presence of the flat support would have made the task easier and John should not have been cross about it. On the other hand the removal of the supports revealed the sharp ends of the legs which would be very painful if one tried to levitate the table by using the foot underneath with the pressure of hands above. With a table of that shape one might conceivably lift it up for a moment, which would have been visible, but you could not achieve the kind of calm, level, correct levitation that was produced in Eusapia's presence.

However, I was suspicious of the following phenomenon: At the moment of high levitation the dress close to the left leg of the table lifted

a little with it, as if it had been glued, which would clearly indicate the presence of some mechanical support.

What was it? Not some special device, since my search did not reveal one. The leg? This natural supposition was made unlikely by the following circumstances.

1. Both my wife and I had the impression as if Eusapia's feet rested motionless on ours throughout, and pressing a little harder during levitation.

2. The knees were not raised at all, or at least not proportionately to the level which they (or one of them) would have to reach in mechanically producing the high levitation by means of the foot.

3. Levitation with the foot at that table, with the slanted legs, was impossible for me as well as for all the fit, agile people whom I asked to test it. Naturally, when building the tables before Eusapia's arrival, I tested their mechanical properties with great care and attention.

4. The dress clung to the table leg not from the bottom but higher up, as if a hand was holding the table leg and lifting it up.

The question thus remained unresolved at the moment, and all I could do was plan future experiments.

The Second Sitting

As I was planning the next experiments, my cousin S., an excellent hypnotic medium, came into the room. We added her to the circle. The light was still sufficient, because in spite of John's demands we did not draw the curtains. For this reason we as yet had not received any touches to our bodies. Levitations were repeated as before, one of them (in the dusk) so high that, while sitting, we had to stretch our hands high up in order to keep them on the tabletop.

Finally, to John's great satisfaction (he knocked with the leg three times, indicating "Yes! Yes! Yes!"), I drew the curtains. However, the darkness was not complete, because some light came in from the windows, but mainly also from the next room where the door did not reach the floor and a lamp was turned on. Against this streak of light behind Eusapia's back I could more or less observe her movements. She seemed to be in some peculiar state, but not full trance.

As soon as we sat down, the table (pushed by Eusapia's unconscious movements) made a friendly approach to my cousin and a moment later touchings began.

Since I warned my wife about the possibility of substitution of one hand for another, we made sure there was no doubt that we kept good hold, myself on the right hand, my wife on the left, well separated from each other and fully available to touch. At the same time we informed each other in Polish

about their positions. In spite of this, we were simultaneously touched by a hand on our knees, and then also simultaneously on our backs. The distance was somewhat greater than Eusapia's outstretched hands would have been if they had been free. Then, when I said that John should not tire out his medium, I was patted on the back to indicate "don't worry."

I would mention that I was sitting with my back to an enormous bookshelf, almost leaning on it, that we all undoubtedly did not break hand contact, and that after the first touches I was carefully watching in the streak of light the position of the medium. She was sitting motionless. If it had been her hand that patted my back I would undoubtedly have seen its shadow against the light.

This experiment seemed to me one of the better ones and gave me confidence that there would be no disaster later.

When we got up from the table and brought in the light, Eusapia carried out one more test with my cousin. She took my cousin's finger, held it motionless on the white tabletop, and then made a sign of an arc with it. That arc appeared on the table as a red smudge, as if drawn in blood, while my cousin at the same time felt a strong sting, pain and stiffening in her finger, which lasted a long time. The same experiment with my wife's finger (who is not sensitive to the hypnoscope) was unsuccessful. Eusapia waited a long time for the cold breeze in her fingers, tried to draw the sign, but nothing clear appeared on the wood. She also tried it unsuccessfully with me. I intended to analyze the sign produced with my cousin's finger to see if it really was blood, but the sign was not strong and faded completely.

Another interesting observation: Questions asked of John by my wife in Polish were answered by knocks from the table. I suspect that my cousin, who was surprised by the knocks, unconsciously contributed to this phenomenon. I also observed that while previously knocks came only from under Eusapia's fingers, once my cousin joined us (sitting at the other end of the table), the knocks moved toward her and seemed to come from the very center of the tabletop.

Another event worth mentioning: Eusapia went to town to buy herself some trifles. I gave her 3 roubles for that purpose, but shortly after she left she came back crying and saying she lost the money. She could not remember how and where, but she remembered that at one point she stopped in the entrance to a block and took a handkerchief out of her pocket.

Since I managed on a number of such occasions to get information by accessing unconscious memory, I sat down with Eusapia at my table, assuring her that John would tell us where the money fell out. However, my efforts were in vain, the table trembled under Eusapia's touch, got angry, hitting out at random, but told us nothing. The phenomena were

also delayed and were quite insignificant afterward, clearly affected by the negative mood of the medium. For this reason, fearful about the results of the next sitting, when she started searching again I surreptitiously put another 3 roubles under the dresser where she kept her things and persuaded her that she must have dropped the money while taking something out. This calmed her down and we could prepare for the larger sitting, to take place the next day.

26 November 1893

At about 20:00 hours, 8 persons sat down at a larger table, in the following order: Aleksander Głowacki [Prus],¹ my wife, H. Siemiradzki, I. Matuszewski, I. K. Potocki (editor of *Głos*), L. Herman, Dr. Rzeczniewski, J. A. Świącicki². I stayed outside observing from a distance. Because of the presence of new persons, the phenomena took longer to appear, about 20 minutes. Five minutes after the first movements, there was a small levitation, a few inches, in full light; later, after the light was dimmed, a much higher levitation (some 20 inches off the ground).

Standing at the side, I carefully watched the left leg of the table, remembering from Rome that it can be the point of attachment of the mysterious force. However, I noticed nothing suspicious. The dress would approach the leg, would rise a little during levitation, but not so as to draw suspicion to the leg. Moreover, the controllers kept assuring me that Eusapia's two feet were in place. I should add that this was the table that on the first day seemed to Eusapia to be too wide for levitation. On the other hand, during another phenomenon I noticed something very suspicious.

The experiments were taking place not in my study as previously, but in the large drawing room, in the middle of the room, so I could observe them from all sides. Beyond the medium and somewhat to the left stood another table about half a cubit from the medium's chair. At that moment, this other table was pushed away and hit the floor with two legs a few times. Since this was behind the medium's back and nobody was sitting at that table, its movements caused amazement to those present; however, I had a better view of it and I was struck by the following:

At the moment when the table was pushed away, I saw clearly in the light of the candle standing on the floor nearby a movement under Eusapia's dress, such as if with a free (left) leg she simply kicked that table. The controllers when asked immediately answered that they were certain of having control of the medium's legs. Let us assume that they were wrong: At a stretch, it would be possible to push the table away with a movement of the leg; further, stretching the toes, one might even pull it back, but it would have been impossible to lift the table and bang it on the floor for a foot in a

bootee, since the table legs were totally smooth providing no support for the leg. Such movements could only be produced by a *hand* or a similar device.

There certainly was no device, and the hand could not have been her hand. However, this little detail made me very alert.

At the moment when we have had enough of table movements, and knowing that music helps with the phenomena, I sat down at the piano at the end of the drawing room and began to play, first a Chopin prelude, and then a polka. Immediately the table with all those present, who were forced to get up from their chairs, threw itself toward the piano (clearly pushed by the unconscious movements of those present and Eusapia) and began to jump up and down indicating its pleasure, in time to the music.

Something very puzzling happened when I got up from the piano. The table was then a few steps away from the piano but in spite of this one could hear the keys being hit by the fingers of some invisible hand, while another invisible hand was banging with its fist on the table, in time with the keys. (Eusapia cannot play and there is never any proper piano playing with her, just more or less melodious drumming).

The blows on the keys were quite weak, while those on the table (closer to the medium) were very strong. Needless to say, her hands were being well held all the time.

When the lights were turned off, touches began very quickly, and I made the following observations:

1. Only persons sitting close to the medium were being touched, on her right Prus, on her left Świącicki—they had a few, or even more than a dozen touches, six of them clearly with a hand.

2. Among those sitting farther away, only my wife was touched, who had participated before. Newcomer Dr. R. was not touched although he sat quite close.

3. Among those sitting still farther away, nobody was touched, even Siemiradzki, whom John usually favors.

4. I, being outside the circle, was touched twice, but only when I was close to the medium. Once (for control) I put both my hands on her shoulders in order to feel them move and then a hand, undoubtedly not hers, pushed my hand away from her left shoulder. The same happened when I placed my hands, standing behind her, on her hips. Again my left hand was moved away with the fingers of an invisible hand.

5. The touches began from the medium's left side, but then took place both on the left and the right.

Other phenomena included a few lights, like glow-worms, in total darkness, only close to the medium, and the puzzling phenomenon of writing between two slates tied together.

I bought them for the experiments, one was smooth and the other one had a red grid on it. Before the sitting I examined them closely, tied them with string and sealed the corners. When the experiments were finished and we turned on the light, I looked at the seals and knots, which were untouched, but in spite of this on the inner side of one of the slates we found a zig-zag in the shape of an enormous P, drawn undoubtedly in the same red paint that was used to form the grid. It looked as if someone had taken part of the atoms from the paint on the grid and drawn the sign. It was as clear as the grid and, like the grid, could not be rubbed off. The form of the sign resembled one of the squiggles I had already got in Rome. I have no doubt that the slates had not been opened and the sign was created in some unexplained manner. After this sitting Eusapia was not at all tired, she came to herself quickly and we had supper.

I intended to end the evening there, but Mr. Herman (the only spiritist among us) insisted on having another experiment to confirm the participation of independent spirits in the sitting. It turned out that a "spirit" which communicated in another circle, totally unknown to any of us, announced that it would come to the sitting with Eusapia at my house. It was to announce its presence in two ways, by:

1. knocking a particular number
2. bringing a flower for Eusapia.

Only one participant knew about this.

The number was knocked, but not sufficiently clearly, and unless I am mistaken the questioner simply influenced by his intonation the fact that after 19 knocks the table stopped. I had the impression that if someone else had been asking, who did not know the required number, the table would continue to knock chaotically as it had been doing previously.

The promised flower did not appear at the second sitting either.

The other phenomena included only a few stronger levitations of the smaller table, in reasonable conditions, and one nearly certainly without any hands touching the table. Once, when the table rose, sitting outside the circle I was holding Eusapia's two knees with one hand and I am certain that there was no suspicious movement.

John would not demonstrate the bulging of the dress. However, he tried to lift the medium herself, standing in the middle of the room. These were efforts to raise herself on her toes, as if someone were supporting her under the arms, but she did not leave the ground.

Even though the results of this additional sitting were mainly negative, it tired Eusapia both because it was the second one, and because it took place after supper, which always had a negative effect; she was still feeling confused and tired half an hour later.

As I said, Eusapia arrived with a cold. The sudden change of climate (she arrived directly from Naples in Warsaw in mid-winter) made it worse. She complained about the air pinching her cheeks and being breathless. It turned out that both her bronchia were infected, she had pains in her back and a bad cough. I was worried about her health and about the success of the first “official” sitting to take place in a few days. The easiest thing would be to hypnotize her and put her to sleep for a longer time, thus relieving the pain and the cough and giving her time to recover. However, without knowing how hypnosis would affect the phenomena, I did not do this, and relied only on hand passes and metallotherapy. As it turned out later, my fears were groundless, since hypnosis always had excellent influence on the phenomena. [*Descriptions of various treatments.*]

She could not sleep, because she kept thinking about the success of the experiments and how to convince everyone, which she wanted very much.

“I had an idea in the night.”

“What idea?”

“The way to stop people suspecting me. Tie the hands of all those present, mine as well, with one rope.”

She was very pleased with this idea. Of course I promised that I would do as she wished.

Before the day of the official sitting, I wanted to conduct another experiment: to put a number of mediums together. I knew that once the official sittings started I would have to ration her powers and refrain from my personal experiments, and I also expected that everyone would want something different.

The news of Eusapia’s arrival spread like wildfire. My letters from Rome, published in *Kurier Warszawski* and “Remarks” which had been appearing in *Tygodnik* for a long period, as well as news from abroad about the earlier experiments in Milan, created such interest in Warsaw that the discussions and controversies were endless. [. . .]

Abroad the news of Eusapia’s unexpected arrival in Warsaw (she did not want to go outside Italy before) also caused great excitement. Chiaia from Naples, Prof. Faihofer from Venice, Prof. Richet from Paris, Dr. Schrenck-Notzing from Munich, the SPR from London, Aksakoff from St. Petersburg, and many others wrote to me asking to be informed about the results of the experiments. If she had wanted, Eusapia could have chosen excellent offers and acquired significant sums of money. Among others, Lord Carnarvon from London was prepared to offer virtually anything if she agreed to come to London. In Warsaw itself she was being offered 500 roubles for an evening. If she had wanted to go to Petersburg and Moscow she could have earned more than a 1,000 roubles, sitting in spiritist circles

with almost no controls. She firmly rejected all these offers, saying she only came for my experiments at Siemiradzki's request, and she would not take any money apart from the agreed compensation for the loss of profits from her little shop in Naples. And in fact, when I wanted to add an appropriate sum to the agreed 1,000 lira (about 450 roubles) because her stay in Warsaw was prolonged, she would not take it and I had to send it on to her by transfer to Rome.

I add these details to ask all those who write the calumnies about her in the Warsaw press whether they would be equally disinterested in her place? I doubt it. I have heard that, if they are publishers they pay 2.5 copecks per line for scientific texts, but I never heard about any of them giving up their time, their health, and easy and plentiful money for the sake of science. Not surprisingly, in this respect I value the simple seamstress from Naples immeasurably higher than I do them.

[Ochorowicz continues in the same vein about the local claimants as well as genuine local mediums being put off research by the media hostility. He then goes on to report his experiments with Mrs. K., who used to make tables and chairs move toward her as she walked past, with her dress bulging at the same time. Ochorowicz received a letter reporting these events from her husband, and decided to see if this phenomenon would repeat itself.]

With this in mind, I sat alone with Mrs. K. at a small table, having first checked her with the hypnoscope to make sure she was sensitive to it.

I purposely used a very small, light table on 3 legs to facilitate the initial phenomena. Even so, we had to wait a good half hour, after which time the table began to sway under the influence of unconscious spasms of tired muscles, becoming gradually more lively, and finally it seemed to be pulling us with it toward the door to the drawing room, where the light was not so strong. Then, on request, the table rose in the air a few times, and on each occasion Mrs. K.'s dress, bulging, moved closer to the table as if assisting the levitation.

Since no other phenomena were forthcoming, I called in Eusapia and, returning to the study, we sat down as before, the two of us in the light of the lamp, with Eusapia touching our hands lightly from above. With each touch the movements became stronger and moved toward the medium. I then sat down alone with Eusapia. Eusapia was sitting sideways on the chair, having stretched her legs in front, with only her left hand on the table. I put my right hand on the other side and bending and looking under the table I could observe clearly both the position of Eusapia's legs and the movements of the table. After a pause of a few minutes the table began to sway to right and left, and during these movements one table leg came down on the edge of Eusapia's dress. It stood motionless like that for a moment, and then the

dress began to withdraw, pulling the table behind it. Both Eusapia's feet could be seen clearly. It looked as if someone's hand under Eusapia's chair was pulling the dress, and the table with it.

I then moved the table out of the way and investigated the movements of the dress. There was nothing there, but when I held my hand a few inches from its surface, it would approach my hand and then withdraw; if I tried to grasp it, there was nothing there.

At that point we were joined by my cousin, Miss S., and my wife.

Mrs. K., interested, wanted to experience the phenomenon personally; she put her hand close to Eusapia's dress, and the dress moved forward, while Mrs. K. drew back screaming.

"A hand touched me through the dress!" she cried.

My cousin behaved in the same way, claiming that some human hand encircled and hugged her. As I mentioned, both were sensitive to the hypnoscope.

My wife and I, in spite of waiting, did not experience anything of the kind. The dress moved, but we did not feel any hand.

Having no success with further trials, I returned to the table and having waited a while I achieved a number of levitations, i.e. the table rising fully from the ground while Eusapia's legs were visible and only one of her hands (left) rested on the table. On each occasion the dress would approach and touch the leg of the table; during one full levitation Eusapia was touching the table only lightly by touching the top of my hand resting on the tabletop.

We then moved to the drawing room, where it was quite dark, and all stood around the table, myself and the three mediums. The table began bouncing immediately. Levitations followed each other and were so high that we had to hold our hands stretched above our heads. In this position, i.e. suspended in the air, the table traveled across more than half the drawing room.

When my wife sat down at the piano, the table violently moved in that direction and started jumping in time to music.

After a moment came the touches. All four of us were touched countless times, but Mrs. K. and my cousin were so frightened by this that they did not want to carry on with the experiments. I therefore stopped the sitting.

To my great regret, I never experimented with Mrs. K. again, but my cousin took part in later experiments. [. . .]

"Official" Sitzings

29 November 1893

This was the first official sitting, the participants all being skeptical and a random collection resulting from the fact that they were the first to register.

Eusapia was frightened; while she was always willing to be tested by friendly and familiar persons, she would suffer and suffer doubly among strangers, particularly those who mocked her or were disingenuous, and the phenomena would be weaker as well.

[*General comments on attitudes to mediums.*]

Before the sitting I tested the electrical resistance of her body. The galvanometer, after applying the hand to the electrodes (wide, copper ones) showed a deviation of 63°; immediately after the sitting it was 25°; half an hour later, 30°. Changes in the pulse were very minor.

At first there were 9 participants, with Marian Gawalewicz³ sitting outside the circle, next to the medium, holding her knees. Everyone's hands, including Eusapia's, were tightly tied together with a long string, leaving only limited freedom of movement. Also, Eusapia's right hand and leg were controlled by a lawyer, St. Leszczyński, and the left by Dr. Jan Wróblewski.

In order to facilitate the phenomena in the new circle, I included two participants who had already taken part in the trial sitting. Even so, the beginning was hard. It was 20 minutes, with Eusapia hot, before the first movements of the table began (the larger one, weighing 25 lbs). This was a few days after the full moon, on a cloudy and windy day with rain and snow. The phenomena were generally weaker, only levitations more numerous in the light than at the test sitting.

There were few touches. [. . .] In this respect, the following should be noted:

1. Of those sitting closest to the medium, only one neighbor on the left was touched (Dr. W.) The neighbor on the right (lawyer L., insensitive to the hypnoscope) was not touched at all.

2. Farther away, slightly more sensitive lawyer A. Kraushar was touched once, the others not at all.

The rope tying everyone together was later removed, but the phenomena did not intensify, although the sitting lasted until one o'clock in the morning.

30 November 1893

Eusapia was quite ill in the morning, having slept badly (at that time I was not yet hypnotizing her), complained of aching bones, and she did not eat until noon. She began to cheer up by lunchtime, in the company of friends and well-disposed new guests. Three people came to dinner that day, Siemiradzki, Prus, and Święcicki, all of whom Eusapia liked very much. She was telling us about her reception in the home of Minister Crispi, and altogether was much better.

After dinner I wanted to show my guest Miss S.'s ability to read without using her eyes [*description of successful experiment follows*].

Eusapia, always willing to experiment in a small circle, agreed to a short session and we moved to the drawing room. Miss S. sat down next to Eusapia. However, as soon as movements started, John demanded the alphabet and knocked:

“Wake up Miss S., do not mix two states.”

On turning on the light I discovered that Miss S. had really fallen asleep. I took her next door, woke her up thoroughly, and then made her sit not next to Eusapia but at the other end of the table, as told to us by John (i.e. Eusapia in trance) in order to bring on the phenomena.

After changing the seating arrangement the knocks which until then came from under Eusapia’s hand moved to the middle of the table. On that table I put a second, smaller round table and next to it Crookes’s delicate device called radiometer, wanting to learn whether mediumistic lights or some other force would move its mill, suspended in a vacuum.

The round table meanwhile began to jump and rise above the table, and at times we could hear strong blows on its top. In spite of these jumps the radiometer next to it was not disturbed, but all those present advised me to take it off before it got damaged. I picked it up and carefully put it down in the corner next to the piano. It was undamaged, but after the sitting we found it lying broken on the ground. Nobody heard it happen, but when I later questioned, separately, Eusapia in a trance and Miss S. in a magnetic sleep, both said that it caught on Miss S’s dress when they were changing places at the beginning of the sitting. Awake they were not aware of this. [*Other experiments with Miss S. confirm this ability to recall events not remembered when conscious.*]

This sitting was one of the best. Apart from the movements of the little table on top of the big one, which nobody was touching, there were numerous and widespread touches, two successful levitations of the medium together with the chair onto the table, we saw the shadow of a hand touching the medium’s double, and finally movements of furniture at a distance. As to the touches, they reached much farther than usual. All those present except Prus were touched, but I had a clear handclasp while sitting at the same distance, under the following circumstances:

Miss S. who, at John’s request, was sitting at the end of the table, entered a trance state for the first time. [*Remarks on it being different from the hypnotic state in greater body stiffening and greater independence of mind.*] Because of not being conscious she kept slipping off the chair, and so I sat next to her and held her shoulders with my right hand, and held her left hand with my left; her right hand was held by the neighbor on the right. Suddenly, above the shoulder of my cousin an invisible hand clasped mine, some 2 meters away from Eusapia—but I cannot say whether this may have been the mediumship of Miss S.

Siemiradzki and my wife saw a shadow of the touching hand, even though they were absolutely assured of holding Eusapia's hands.

After a moment Eusapia's chair was pulled from under her and placed on the table. She then started swaying and had to be held up. I therefore took the chair off the table and tried to put it under her, but before I could do so it moved back onto the table.

A little while after that Eusapia, still held by the hands, rose in the air and was seated on the chair standing on the table.

We helped her slide down and sit down, but a moment later she was again lifted in the air together with the chair, which hit the table with such force that the tabletop broke in half.

In the semi-darkness we all saw her sitting and seeming to sway; she then got up and leaning on us came off the table, silently walking around outside our chain to reach her place. But we were amazed to see immediately after what seemed like a shadow of a second Eusapia also slide down and travel the same route but inside the chain, to the same place where it seemed to join the medium's body and become one. Prus exclaimed that he saw her pass twice, and so did I. [. . .]

We turned on the light and sat down to rest (Eusapia was still unconscious), when the furniture around us started to do the strangest things.

The settee on which Eusapia sat with two other persons violently moved away from the wall. A table with photographs on it began to wander around the room, and the heavy desk under the window a few steps away from the medium began to move here and there.

My drawing room has three windows; the first had no light coming in at all, the second only had the curtain drawn across it, the third was open to the light. The light from the garden came in gradually weaker, from the third window to the first.

The levitation of the table started when we were standing by the dark window; the table rose above our heads and moved toward the second window. At that window the force weakened and it lowered itself but still hung in the air; by the third window it fell onto its two front legs and moved along the floor only partially suspended.

1 December 1893

After this sitting Eusapia did not feel tired. In the night her period started; at first it did not affect the phenomena but by the evening it was clear that she was tiring more quickly and that the phenomena were delayed. Also, the right side of her body became stronger and the phenomena appeared almost exclusively on that side. [*Ochorowicz did not know this and invited T.*

Dunin, a doctor, to observe the phenomena with Eusapia in a small circle.]

First I showed him the levitation of the small round table, with Siemiradzki and myself each holding one hand on it, with our legs out of the way, giving Dr. D. a full view of the movements in the light of the lamp.

The presence of a new critic, and her current physical state, badly affected Eusapia, but a levitation did take place. Dr. D. smiled, nodded, and kept silent. We moved to the large table which after a long wait (25 minutes) finally moved and also rose completely in the air. There were also touches, not numerous and only on the right side—not expecting this I sat the doctor on the left which was usually better for observation.

Dr. D. demanded that John pull out of his hand a copper plate which he held tight, but John refused, promising to do it on another occasion. He also promised (via Eusapia—entranced) to turn on the electric lamp. There were also numerous movements of small objects from one table to another, but I did not make a note of these. Eusapia was clearly exhausted, the doctor was in a hurry, and so we stopped the sitting, but the next day I had a letter from him requesting to participate in the collective experiments.

2 December 1893

[Ochorowicz spent the day preparing various devices to measure the distance from the medium at which mechanical phenomena could take place, and the range of the force. One of these devices was a bell hung from a rod held motionless by supports, and able to move only to left and right (where the medium could place her hands), the whole standing on a large table which would not vibrate. Eusapia came back from the theatre in a good mood and after 20 minutes made the bell ring a number of times.]

3 December 1893

[Eusapia's period ended, and this was to be the day of the second collective sitting, with another circle, since there were so many wanting to participate. This time there were ten participants, including myself, Matuszewski, who was to make notes, and J. Szadkowski (lawyer) who was to take photographs. There were five doctors (Watraszewski, Higier, Harusewicz, Rzecznowski, and Dunin—who was as usual late and in a bad mood).]

This was a bad day for Eusapia. She went to church in the morning and then for a walk. Having forgotten the card with the address, she could not ask the way home and she kept wandering about, taking trams from one end of town to the other, until she happened to find the way home. Exhausted, hungry, and tearful after four hours of wandering, after being fed she went to bed and fell fast asleep. She was still asleep when the sitting

was supposed to start at 20:00, everybody came but by 21:00 she was still fast asleep and finally had to be woken up.]

She came down sleepy and exhausted, and it took three hours for the better phenomena to appear, while the first movements of the table did not begin until after an hour. I have to admit that the participants were very patient.

We wanted to investigate the knocks, which were normally produced around Eusapia on request. You would knock on the table three times and you could hear similar three knocks in the wood; you could alter the rhythm and the force used and produce an exact echo a few seconds later. This mediumistic echolalia was not limited to knocks; rubbing with your hand, scratching with a nail, softly drumming with the fingers, or hitting the table with a fist would produce a mysterious repetition. Eusapia would very often not even touch the table, only hold her hand above it and would ask the observer to put his hand on the table to feel that something was hitting the wood.

But unfortunately this time there was nothing. There were a few, barely discernible knocks. There were a few lights, but so weak and under such conditions that not everyone saw them, giving rise to arguments and hypotheses of hallucinations.

The touches were also weak and few. [. . .] A better phenomenon was the pulling from a distance of another table, on wheels, behind Eusapia's back under conditions where she was held from behind and would not have been able to reach it.

Dr. D. left without signing the report, followed by a few others. But with their departure, and the arrival of Siemiradzki and Prus, Eusapia livened up and the phenomena improved. We first had the movements of the bell, witnessed by Prus, Matuszewski, Szadkowski, B. Reichman,⁴ and Dr. Karusewicz—and then Eusapia set in motion a miniature table with four legs, two inches high, which would rise and turn over under the influence of her hands at a distance. Dr. Higier noted that every time he was close to the table nothing would happen, and as soon as he moved away the bell and the table would move easily. He was all the more puzzled because he was not hostile.

In any case nobody was complaining then, even Mr. B. Reichman. People applauded or nodded, some left convinced, but the majority, particularly those who left early, had a very skeptical attitude. I should add that before the sitting Eusapia was thoroughly searched and undressed in the presence of one of the doctors.

4 December 1893

I let Eusapia rest, and I hypnotized Mme. M. who had been present during the experiments in my home circle, in order to find out her impressions.

“Remember everything you noticed during the sitting with Eusapia and tell me what it was, whose power and what power it was, whose hands touched you, was it a hoax?”

“She pulls something to herself from outside, so that the room becomes stuffy.”

“What does she pull?”

“I don’t know what to call it.”

“And whose hands did the touching?”

“I felt her hands, the same up to the elbow.”

“So she did the touching?”

“No, but they were the same—different, but from her.”

“So what was the difference between those hands and hers?”

“I felt that I could not hold them like real ones, although they were also small, warm, rough, and the fingers made the same kind of movements.”

“What kind of movements?”

“Her kind—delicate, fragmented, light.”

“And was the arm the same as usual above the hand?”

“I cannot say for certain, because I only felt it through my back, but it was all delicate.”

“And did this arm have a sleeve?”

“If it did, the fabric was very thin.”

“So, what was your impression as to where the hands came from?”

“From her, the same.”

“Exactly the same?”

“Not exactly, because under their skin things did not move as they do in her.”

“What did not move?”

“I don’t know, but when I touched her when awake, there was something moving under her skin, all the time, back and forth, something mobile under the skin . . . but the hands that touched did not have that . . . And also they were soft and as if not complete.”

“But perhaps it only seemed like that to you, perhaps she did the touching?”

“She could not have done, because it was above my head.” (Mme. M. is very tall and Eusapia very short, and the experiments took place when they were standing, with Mme. M. holding Eusapia’s right hand.)

5 December 1893

The third collective sitting (of the second circle), joined by Dr. Heryng, was better than the previous one. I used the table with the slanted legs and put it on the carpet. This meant that the sliding and moving to right and left, which made observation difficult, was not possible and we had frequent levitations. Eusapia was in a good mood and raising the table came to her easily. Sometimes she would lift her hands off altogether and hitting the table with one hand and ordering it to rise would produce the effect. However, in spite of the leg shape and the carpet, I found it difficult to work out how the force that lifted the table attached itself to it. It seemed clear to me that it was mainly the left leg, and that the point of attachment was quite low, as if a strong hand was holding the table leg a little above the floor. The dress would always arrange itself there into a kind of tent, undoubtedly to create darkness, and when I tried to light it on purpose, the table would always turn itself as if to increase the darkness during levitation. [. . .]

We took four photographs of table levitations, but they don't look sufficiently convincing, since none of them shows the left leg in full.

I also repeated here one very good experiment from Milan with some modifications. The idea was to use the dynamometer to show the change in the weight of the table under the influence of Eusapia's hands. To this purpose, the table was suspended on a rope from the ceiling with two legs in the air and two on the floor, with a spring scale and a hook. Initial weight was 6.5 lb. When Eusapia put her hands under the table (in only this way could she lift it), it went down and weighed more than double, 14 lb. [. . .] When she put her hands above the table and tried to bring the weight down, it eventually went down to zero. [. . .] During all these tests the dress on the left side kept billowing, in spite of being held, and kept approaching the left leg of the table. When I experimented later by myself I did not try to stop the dress from approaching the table; on the contrary, I held it close to it, having first tied Eusapia's legs. I do not understand why some doctors kept trying to obtain the phenomenon while destroying the necessary conditions by pushing the dress away all the time. [. . .] For me, there has been no real change in the weight; the table was simply being pulled or supported by a hand, but the hand was not the material collection of cells, it was a dynamic model of the hand, usually inseparable from the physical one. [. . .]

At the table sitting afterward the touches were quite frequent and spread farther.

We wanted an imprint of John's hand on a paper with soot on it, but John demanded more darkness, and that was impossible. There were also powerful sound phenomena, knocks and blows of a fist on the table, and in the air were heard clapping and snapping of fingers above the head of

the medium. The evening culminated in the medium being put on the table together with her chair. What seemed to happen was:

1. Eusapia got onto the table first.
2. The chair followed, and then it fell off, it seems because the hand chain was broken [*followed by general confusion*].

There were also a few lights that seemed to come from the middle of the table.

After the sitting Eusapia was very poorly, but recovered quite quickly. [. . .]

6 December 1893

Day of rest, Eusapia visited the Music Society with my cousin. [*Discussion of Eusapia's pains.*]

7 December 1893

[*More about Eusapia's condition, and the influence of hypnotizing her to sleep. In the evening they took her to the circus, but she took it all too literally, being frightened by the acrobatics and indignant on behalf of the clowns.*]

After the visit to the circus we sat down to supper, but the table, large and massive, immediately started to move and knock, even when Eusapia got up and moved away from it.

In the night (Eusapia slept in the drawing room, next to our bedroom), there were the sounds of the bell hanging from the ceiling (intended for experiments), and knocks inside the wall. [. . .]

At 11 a.m. Eusapia was still fast asleep. We came in, hearing knocking; she woke up when we entered, but the knocks continued inside the settee, and in the chair standing nearby. All these knockings took place on the darker side, not on the side near the window. Soon it all died down.

8 December 1893

A very good sitting requested by a high-ranking person (Maria Andreyevna Hurko, wife of the Governor-General of Warsaw. The sitting took place at the Censorship Committee, in the apartment of its chair, Mr. Jankulio). Details have to be omitted, but the table, constructed specifically for the purpose, with legs so thick that you could not get your hand around them and weighing about 40 pounds, rose twice but it demanded a great effort from Eusapia, who asked to have it changed. There was also a strong blow by an invisible hand on the table; the bell would not ring, but it did sway and vibrate.

9 December 1893

[After the sitting Eusapia was very tired, so Ochorowicz induced sleep again; her condition is then described in detail, as well as her comments when interviewed about it under hypnosis.]

10 December 1893

[Continuation of treatment of Eusapia's poor health, including a warm bath, recommended by herself under hypnosis. Also a description of a plot by a number of men of science who wanted to unmask Eusapia and discredit Ochorowicz by presenting an ultimatum as to the conditions of the sittings; if he agreed the controls would ensure failure, if he objected they would publicize his refusal. Having discovered the plot, Ochorowicz pre-empted their demands by putting forward his proposals: to have Eusapia searched by two doctors and change into different clothing before the sitting; to have all the experiments take place in the light; the controllers to be selected by the doctors themselves; after the initial sitting Ochorowicz would no longer be in charge of the later ones, and the participants would decide on the later experiments.]

All the furniture was removed from the room, apart from that necessary for the experiments. The part of the room next to the window (second floor) was divided from the rest by a curtain with a slit in the middle nailed to the walls. Behind the curtain was a small table, on it a bell, and next to it a chair with slates tied together. While two doctors supervised the changing of Eusapia's clothing, others searched the room. When they finished, Eusapia came in with the two searchers, and sat down on a wicker chair before the curtain, in the middle and with her back to it. The controllers were Dr. Heryng on the left and Dr. Watraszewski on the right, holding her hands and with their feet controlling her legs. Her hands were also tied to theirs with an elastic rubberband. Before her stood a smaller but heavy table, and the other participants sat around it, forming a chain with the controllers.

I held myself at a distance, checking on the light from a lamp, a little dimmed at the other end of the room directly opposite Eusapia.

Phenomena started quickly, first movements of the table sideways and upward, then a levitation long enough to look under the table to make sure there were no supports there. Pleased with this beginning, Eusapia started to enter trance state, ordered the table to rise and in fact the table rose a number of times without being touched by anyone. There could be no involvement of hands (except for an invisible one lifting it from underneath). [. . .] After a moment the curtain began to move, as if blown by the wind, and something moved the large bell behind it without making it ring. The nail holding the

edge of the curtain was pulled out of the wall, the curtain opened and Dr. Heryng saw the slates on the table rise and fall a number of times without anyone touching them.

Although Dr. Heryng, who was convinced by the phenomena that evening, later changed his mind, he did include this detail as “inexplicable” in his report.

Hands started to touch Eusapia’s neighbors from behind the curtain. Both controllers were touched numerous times.

This evening made an impression; the opposition became divided. One of the leaders of the plot, a doctor, after the sitting kissed Eusapia’s hand and apologized for being suspicious of her. It confused her, since she had not been told about the plot being prepared. [*Ochorowicz then suggests that the next sitting should take place in Dr. Heryng’s apartment, with details being discussed*].

Eusapia was in such a good mood that she carried on after the sitters left, and with just the family present (who did not take part in the official sittings) stood between two tables and, leaning with her hands, made both of them rise and bounce against the floor, and there were knocks as well.

Since John King was in a good mood and responded to questions, I asked Eusapia to try direct writing. First I gave the pencil to my cousin to see if she could produce that phenomenon. The pencil had an eraser at one end, and the idea was that writing should be produced with the eraser being held against the paper. When my cousin held the pencil, the eraser simply moved along the paper, but when Eusapia put her hand on my cousin’s hand, this produced signs clearly made with the pencil. This stopped when she moved her hand away, and started again when she brought it back, but the writing came out as meaningless squiggles. The same experiment also worked with my wife, producing something like a straight line ending with what looked like an M. This encouraged me to try it myself. I held the pencil with the eraser on the paper, Eusapia put her hand on mine, in the light of the lamp standing next to us. She asked, “Can you feel a cold breeze in your fingers?”

“No, or at least only something very unclear.”

“But I do feel it.” And, having said so, she moved her hand as if pulling the pencil end to the eraser end, and then again placed her hand on mine.

“Write now.”

Black signs did in fact appear under the eraser—and they became fainter when she moved her hand away, disappearing altogether when the hand was far enough away. The pencil would not write by itself, without being held. [. . .]

She had a quiet night.

11 December 1893

Eusapia was well, and so a small home circle could be arranged without tiring her. Miss S. entered a trance state and helped the phenomena. [. . .] Those worth mentioning included:

1. A bowl of clay was prepared for the first time. It stood on another table nearby and weighed together with the clay about 20 pounds. Behind the curtain was another little table; we sat as at the previous sitting, with Miss S. opposite Eusapia at the other end of the table. [. . .] There were no table movements and levitations as usual, but I felt in the dark something moving above me brushing my head: that was the bowl of clay being moved to the main table from the one on the side. I am certain I was holding Eusapia's left hand while Siemiradzki held her other hand, but even if the other hand had been free she could not have lifted the bowl and carried it across.

After the bowl, I again felt some movement above my head. I felt with my hand and found that the table that had stood behind me was now on the main table above the bowl. After the third rustle, the third little table from behind the curtain was above that second table. We turned on the light and checked. Eusapia undoubtedly sat in her place throughout these proceedings.

2. Touches, stroking, patting, etc., were numerous. They reached all the persons on the right, who all had participated previously, and on the left stopped with me, because beyond me was Miss S., who was participating in a sitting for the first time.

There were also strong blows on the table and drawings on our cuffs with a pencil of unknown origin.

3. A great number of little lights, single ones, making arcs in the air and disappearing. Once they formed into two groups of five that came closer and then would move away. They gave me the impression of being two hands, the finger ends of which had phosphorescent little lights [like the odic lights of de Rochas]. I think these lights are just flames coming out of the dynamic hands of the medium. One of these hands took Prus's glasses off his nose and gave them to my wife, but by then it was not luminous. It seems that the lights are the equivalent of mechanical work, so that only one or the other phenomena can appear but not both together. In the same way, when sound phenomena are present, the luminous and mechanical phenomena disappear.

4. At this sitting for the first time we obtained voices, only two. Both seemed to come from above the middle of the table, one was hoarse and incomprehensible, the other said clearly in Polish "głos" [voice]. That was at the moment when Miss S. was falling into trance and her body was

stiffening. Shortly after we heard the second voice, Miss S. came out of trance but still seemed confused. Through Eusapia, John advised putting Miss S. to sleep for three quarters of an hour, which I did, and she woke up cheerful and not tired.

5. Against the window we saw shadows of hands and as if the figure of a person moving, but it did not last long enough for me to describe it any further.

6. We found a print of a finger in the clay.

7. On the slates we found something resembling writing, but no clear signs.

12 December 1893

[. . .] [*JO sits Eusapia at a little table and learns through knocks that the first voice came from Eusapia and the second from Miss S., and then takes advice on how to treat her condition—cough and depression. He also suggests to Eusapia that the sitting to be held the next day must be successful.*]

13 December 1893

Before I begin a description of the session that took place at Dr. Heryng's home, the session that was the culminating point of the official sittings, I must briefly describe the basic conditions for this kind of meeting, in order that the reader should understand the course of events that ensued.

Experience teaches us that whatever the process of creating higher-level mediumistic phenomena, success depends upon certain conditions, non-adherence to which will most certainly have a paralyzing effect. I presented these to the participants at the first meeting. Some listened, but in the facial expressions of the majority, doctors in particular, I read only derisive contempt: 'Carry on! It's all magic and mysticism . . .'

Events that followed shortly, after I declined to direct the sessions, showed the wisdom of listening to experience.

The following rules should apply:

1. If one is to obtain increasingly better and more convincing experiments, the participants should not be changed. A certain kind of harmony develops which gradually increases the strength and scope of manifestations when the composition of participants remains the same. When the composition is constantly changing, one starts anew every time.

2. If new persons are to be introduced, these cautions need to be observed:

a. There must not be too many at one time.

b. All participants must be in the circle, no one should be outside.

c. Closest to the medium should be the persons with whom a harmonious relationship has been established, and only after manifestations are produced easily should new people be brought closer.

3. Initially, controls should not be too severe, as the manifestations should be allowed to develop with only the basic controls. More precise checks and controls can be applied later (maybe in a few minutes) without detriment to the manifestations. These finally become so strong and obvious on their own that they obviate the need for a whole series of snoopings, interruptions, and accusations which unnerve the medium and instead of giving more reliable results, give none.

However, I could not convince several of the doctors, who preferred to have nothing after three hours, instead of waiting patiently for 15 minutes. I had barely stated that it interrupts the medium when one of them had to look at Eusapia's teeth and check the thickness of her dress, which he kept moving away from the table, while another one checked her pulse, precisely when it would be no different from the usual one, and if it was different it would only show that the medium was irritated by the examination.

At an appropriate time all this could have been done with satisfactory results, but this idea was disregarded. Because they knew that Eusapia had a painful spot on the crown of her head, they all tried out the strength of their fingers on it, with no benefit to science. Eusapia took all this patiently, but the manifestations suffered as a result, for this kind of intervention should have been carried out earlier in the proceedings.

4. One must understand that these are not miracles but natural phenomena, subject to some limitations. These manifestations would be much more convincing if the movements of objects, touchings, etc., would occur at a greater distance, but what can be done if at a particular moment that is impossible? Why place the table 2 feet away at the outset when initially it would move at 6 inches away? Why yank the skirt away from the leg of the table if its nearness is a condition for the start of the manifestation? Why demand instantly that major manifestations occur in the light, when initially they can manifest only in semi-darkness? We would not be able to obtain a photograph if we denied permission for the film plate to be shielded; we would be unable to create electricity if we did not allow the generator to dry out, neither could we send sound through a microphone if the speaker covered it with his hand. These gentlemen feel that Nature should comply with their demands. However, I feel that they should take a look at Nature and its laws without attempting to impose their own rules.

5. Mediumistic phenomena are primarily psychological manifestations, and as such they depend to the highest degree on the psychological state of the participants, in particular the medium.

The latter must feel peaceful, be shown friendly encouragement, be shielded from strong emotions, which in the course of exteriorization could startle just like a thunderbolt landing at our feet. A gloomy sense of suspicion, derision, contempt, lack of sincerity, and antipathy are states that paralyze the medium, as they mirror the psychic state of those attending. It is true to such a degree that even the ideas existing within the group affect the character of the manifestations. In a spiritualist circle, everything takes on an otherworldly character. The simplest rap is announced as a manifestation of this or that relative. Everyone finds their friends and relatives from the other side. In a circle of agnostics and unbelievers, the manifestations are anti-religious. Circles of mystics manifest angel-lucifers, Beelzebub and his companions; among the ancient Greeks it was the gods of the Olympus who manifested, and in the Middle Ages—vampires and werewolves. In our circle, which attempted to maintain a completely objective character, Eusapia would frequently refer to John King as “questa forza” (that force), or, again, according to tradition, as “suo padre”—her father. It is therefore important that emotional influence should not be hostile, but, on the other hand, those present should not, through suggestion, cloak the manifestations with their beliefs or lack of beliefs. Lack of beliefs in the sense of doubt does no harm, but malicious disbelief, dazzling with its nihilism, frequently wipes out the manifestations.

6. Mediumistic phenomena are physiological at the same time, although they are completely unknown to present-day physiology. They possess their own physiology which in time will complement and widen the scope of today’s physiology. I am certain—and this is corroborated by measurements—that the medium takes her strength from the chain of participants; when they are weak, tired, sleepy and irritated, the manifestations are weak. The weakest members of this chain benefit from it, but the medium loses much strength and tires even if there were no manifestations. Finally, some participants, for unknown personal reasons, have a negative effect on the medium although they are well and not tired. As stated by Eusapia, they have “il corrente contrario” (a counter-current), and it takes some time to bring them into the circle [slowly] without negatively influencing the demonstration. The gentlemen of the opposition were angered by this demand, which of course also raised suspicions. There is but one solution to this: Observe first, then pronounce your judgment, but they wanted to do the opposite—judge before observing. [*JO explained all this to Dr. Heryng in a letter prior to the sitting, but it made no difference.*]

Arriving at Dr. Heryng’s, I find some 10 new persons, men and women, chatting, holding discussions. In the circle, also with a new participant, there is chaos and arguments. Light is placed next to the medium shining

straight into her eyes, as well as being moved constantly right and left. Also behind the curtain in the medium's cabinet there is a strong ray of light from the next room. Doors are being opened and closed. The controllers are the two people least congenial to Eusapia. The table behind the curtain was purposely placed far from the medium's back. Instead of waiting, there is constant questioning of the controllers whether anything is happening yet. Two doctors, standing outside the circle, keep approaching Eusapia and peering into her eyes. I was sickened, but decided not to intervene.

Half an hour goes by with nothing happening, and finally, irritated, they ask me why phenomena appeared within 10 minutes at the last sitting, but nothing happens now. I explain that, first, Drs. D. and H. should be asked to sit down, the light should be moved a little farther and to the side, and finally all the "viewing gallery" of onlookers should leave the room, to be let in one by one once the phenomena have developed.

Five minutes later there came movements of the table and a few impressive levitations, which caused amazement, especially as by now there were no expectations at all. The controllers swore that they were certain of holding on to Eusapia's hands and feet.

After a moment the table behind the curtain began to move. I now asked Dr. Dunin to sit next to Eusapia. She took his hand and began to pull and push the table from a distance using his hand. When she hit the main table with her fist, there was a blow on the other table, scratching here produced scratching there, etc.

Eusapia was in a fever, gave orders to an object to come, and begged those present "Ajutate!" [help!]. That was unlikely in this gathering, but gradually even the most hostile became amazed, with the exception of B. Reichman who was very unhappy.

Seeing how much effort it cost Eusapia to produce these phenomena, some asked to let her rest, but she would not and demanded that the bell behind the curtain should ring.

By then Mr. Reichman was fed up and left the room; for this reason he contradicts all the other witnesses and claims that the bell did not ring. However, it is a fact that the bell could first be heard to move on the table behind the curtain, and then to ring, as if moved by an invisible hand. Those present applauded, some expressed their admiration, people became very excited. Mr. Reichman demanded another search of the medium; others felt that that was unnecessary in view of the nature of the phenomena, but I insisted that a search take place.

Two doctors were chosen for this purpose, and Mr. Reichman joined them, and because of that I now hold a document with his signature stating that nothing suspicious was found.

After a break there was another sitting with the invited participants (as the medium was in a good mood I agreed to have everyone enter together). This sitting took place in total darkness, and the phenomena were all the stronger. The table swayed in the air, touches were felt by people at a distance, the curtain moved as if blown by the wind, slates flew in the air, and numerous little lights were seen. Eusapia was happy, and the ladies applauded.

[There was general euphoric speech-making, with Ochorowicz being congratulated and making a speech himself. Mr. Reichman left early.]

14 December 1983

[They got home at 4.30 a.m. Flowers were sent to Eusapia, there was a visit to the theatre, and after returning she spent some time talking to Ochorowicz. She told him that she never used medicines, she had been ill as a child with typhoid and was in hospital, and had been told that that was when she got her head injury; she had cholera during the epidemic in Naples and recovered. She was not afraid of infectious diseases, since she often looked after sick people and nothing happened. She did not have any hallucinations, was always happy and extraverted. She loves children and is very concerned when someone is being hurt. She had a number of court cases because she would attack people who were cruel to children or animals. She hates the clergy in Naples, who are debauched hypocrites; altogether, she does not like Naples people, they are not honest. She herself comes from Calabria and only understands honesty and revenge. Her father had a little vineyard but was killed by robbers, her mother died early. She was passed along among various relatives and strangers, and was not happy, she could not get systematic work. She hates being imprisoned and sleeps until noon when she feels like it. She loves cleanliness and finds many things revolting; sometimes she feels like scrubbing the whole house; once she got up and washed the floors in her sleep; she did not remember doing it, but the neighbors told her about it. This kind of thing happened to her three times . . . more comments on her current condition and somnambulistic sleep, as well as cases involving magnetism.]

[More about Eusapia's state of health, very poor and therefore the sitting later not successful. They move to the drawing room and things improve, but Reichman accuses Eusapia of using a pin to lift a board (she went out a few minutes later to soak her hands in cold water, but a search revealed nothing) and the atmosphere became unpleasant. Attempts in a smaller group were better (Ochorowicz was not there), but Reichman refused to sign the report, claiming that everything was fraudulent and even though he was a controller he could not tell which hand he was holding.

Eusapia did not understand the exchange and Ochorowicz did not translate for her, saying it was some minor issue, but she could sense the hostility. None of the other participants changed their story, and others confirmed that there had been nothing suspicious about the sitting. Reichman had not been invited to the sitting, but he had barged in claiming that his presence was needed, since he was a naturalist.

One of the participants, Dr. M., stayed behind and they tried experiments with direct writing—first using the pencil with the eraser end on the paper, then with Eusapia writing with her own fingers and theirs, leaving signs on the paper, not necessarily the top sheet; she then made a sign above the table and they could hear scratching underneath; when they looked, there was a sign there, which would grow fainter and disappear when strong light was directed at it during the drawing. This went on for two hours, and Dr. M. was amazed. There was a lot of random knocking and movements of furniture in the drawing room, which woke up JO and his wife. When they came into the room, Eusapia was asleep.] [. . .]

15 December 1893

[Ochorowicz put Miss S. to sleep, and she told him that Eusapia did not cheat, there was no pin, and the marks on the board were left there from where it had been fixed before.]

For a number of days a conjurer, Mr. Rybka, had been asking me to let him attend sittings with Eusapia. I did not allow any outsiders to the official sittings, but since the newspapers claimed that he could produce the same phenomena I decided to hold a sitting specifically for him to observe freely.

As for myself, I am very familiar with magic tricks and did not need to find out what can and cannot be imitated, but I thought that having the opinion of a professional magician would do no harm.

As it happened, an old friend, an engineer, arrived from Paris on that day, Bruno Abakanowicz. He also said this was all rubbish and he would have spotted Eusapia's tricks immediately. He was telling me about a new invention of threads made of quartz so thin that you cannot see them but as strong as steel, and he was familiar with how to make phosphorescent lights, so he supposed these were the means used by Eusapia.

I therefore asked Abakanowicz as well, and we sat with Eusapia being held by Rybka on the right and Abakanowicz on the left, with myself, Siemiradzki, and Miss S. farther on.

Levitations and touches started; Rybka was silent and observed carefully, having first examined the table and Eusapia's hands; Abakanowicz kept exclaiming with amazement.

After the sitting Rybka wrote for me a confirmation of the authenticity

of the phenomena. He said that some of them could be imitated on stage using certain hidden devices, but never under the conditions that he had just witnessed. Abakanowicz tried to convince me to take Eusapia to Paris and demonstrate her powers to the Academy. [*Comment on the uselessness of such a procedure.*] A few days later I heard that Abakanowicz has been telling people that it must have been an illusion and that he does not believe any of it.

As for Rybka, he later approached me asking for permission to produce a show “a la Eusapia Paladino” with the proviso that his show was different from the true phenomena, which should not be a subject of ridicule. Of course I had nothing against this, and did my best to facilitate Rybka’s performances.

I forgot to add that before the sitting Rybka showed us a number of his parlor tricks, very good ones. Eusapia was frightened of him and ran away to the other room, taking him for a magician (we must remember that she is a woman of no education, and she had never seen magic tricks of excellent quality). [*A description of one of Rybka’s tricks, sticking a pin into someone’s arm.*]

16 December 1893

[*The story of the black shawl, or an apport.*]

One of the ladies at our home sitting had a black lace shawl that she hung on the arm of her chair in the dark. It disappeared and could not be found in spite of a thorough search of the room and the whole apartment. Two days later, my wife had the idea of asking the table. With my wife’s and Eusapia’s hands on the table, it answered: “The shawl is in this room, but do not touch it. I took it and I will give it back myself.” This was not in the room where the sitting took place, but in my study. But where could it be hidden? We forgot about one place. Above the settee on the wall hung a Turkish rug in the shape of a very tall canopy. The shawl was hidden in its top pleat, which could only be reached when standing on a ladder. When I wanted to take it out, the table became angry and started to knock: “No!” So I left it where it was and waited. It was then that Eusapia remembered that when she walked through my study the previous evening something was sticking out of the canopy and waving at her. [. . . *Comment on Eusapia being exhausted and becoming inclined to use her own hands while in trance . . .*]

A short sitting in the evening after a trip to the theatre with the Siemiradzki produced shadows against the window, which looked very much like Eusapia’s kerchief, while touches also seemed suspicious, since Eusapia was busy manipulating her hands. The approach of the other table

also seemed to be done with the leg, since Siemiradzki did not have control of it at that time. I decided to let her have total rest and double my vigilance, as the next day the last sitting was to take place.

17 December 1893

[*Description of Eusapia's condition—good.*]

The sitting was good, an improvement on the previous one. Four doctors confirmed touches in dimmed light, in good conditions, and there was also writing by an invisible hand. [*Comments on JO's own feeling of disappointment with Eusapia after her tricks at the home sitting, even though he did not think they were conscious.*]

18 December 1893

This sitting was excellent, but not so much thanks to Eusapia but because of the participation of Miss S., who showed herself to be a strong medium.

I sat them at the two ends of the table; when Eusapia was weaker, Miss S. would be entranced and vice versa. It was amusing to see Eusapia's face when she first saw phenomena being produced even though she was conscious and not involved.

The sitters were Gen. Sokrates Starynkiewicz, Prus, Dr. Watraszewski, Dr. Więckowski, Jan Barszczewski (journalist), my wife, and one of the invited ladies.

The touches began on the right and were quite numerous. The General's glasses were removed. But the main events were the movements of the curtain. At the previous collective sitting, Eusapia, feeling very tired and unable to stop the phenomena herself, asked for the light to be turned on. The same happened now, the phenomena stopped immediately after the turning on of the light and Eusapia came to herself quickly. She was sitting in her place before the curtain, quite awake and fanning herself with her handkerchief. At that moment Miss S. rose, became entranced with eyes open, stiffened, moaned, and, mumbling something incomprehensible, reached out with her hand toward the curtain, which is some three steps away from her.

The curtain began to move, bulge, and every movement matched the effort of the outstretched arm. Eusapia looked on with amazement, while I got up and went to the curtain. The room was quite well lit, and light from the open door of the drawing room was falling directly on the curtain. I moved between the participants and the curtain to make sure there was nothing like a string there, but the curtain kept waving. I try to hold it with my hand and I am touched with an invisible hand through the curtain, presumably the same

hand that was moving the curtain. [. . .] The missing shawl was returned at the previous sitting involving Miss S., when it suddenly came down over the sitters' heads. However, since it all happened in the dark and Miss S. had not been searched, it cannot be regarded as a mediumistic event. [. . .]

19 December 1893

Witold Chłopicki, a well-known spiritualist, had been asking for weeks for a sitting with Eusapia so that he and his co-believers could, among other things, present her with a commemorative bracelet. I did not want her tired out before the official sittings, so the meeting took place today. It was at his apartment, and in spite of being tired and the presence of 18 new participants Eusapia produced the phenomena immediately [*the usual ones*]. At least some of them were genuine, and the whole thing went to demonstrate how much it matters to have a favorable atmosphere.

21 December 1893

[*Another home sitting, not described in detail.*]

22 December 1893

A good sitting in a small home circle, with the participation of Drs. Heryng, Watraszewski, and Wróblewski, as well as General Olsufiev and Mr. Khludov, who came on purpose from Moscow intending to take Eusapia to their spiritist circle. Numerous touches, particularly of Mr. Kh., who receives them in the spirit of a true acolyte. The large bell behind the curtain rang clearly and for a long time, and the curtain threw itself over the heads of those present; there were also strong blows on the door and the door handle was pulled, some 2 meters from the medium. There was clay on a tray, but no imprint. [*Comments on Eusapia's condition, persistent cough, and treatments.*]

23 December 1893

[*The first of Reichman's hostile articles appears in Kurier Warszawski; his propaganda influences others. JO does not tell Eusapia about the article.*]

24 December 1893

[*Eusapia's condition and efforts to improve it by magnetic passes, etc. Conversation about what John might do and under what conditions while she is in a hypnotic state.*]

In the evening, she was invited with us to visit Mr. and Mrs. Ś. She was

forbidden from performing any experiments since I wanted her to rest. But she did not know how to refuse, and when the ladies asked her they held a sitting in secret in a side room. It did not stay a secret, and Mrs. R. told me in confidence that she caught Eusapia cheating. Mrs. R. was holding Eusapia's left hand, Miss K. her right, then the neighbor of the latter, Miss J., was touched. Mrs. R. says that Eusapia did it with her right hand, because she saw the movement of Eusapia's hand and body, and immediately after she touched the hand of Miss K. she found that Eusapia's hand was not on it. However, Miss K. claims that she felt Eusapia's hand on hers all the time. [*Most likely simple cheating, perhaps unconsciously, perhaps it was the material hand that touched Miss J. while the mediumistic hand stayed on; or the most likely thing is that Miss K. imagined she still felt Eusapia's hand on hers. The women were laughing, screaming, and altogether were not serious, so Eusapia may have entered into the spirit of that.*]

News of this incident spread and others insisted on making Eusapia show something genuine. She sat at a small but very heavy table, with two men at her sides. Levitation happened very quickly, but Mrs. R. thought it was suspicious because she noticed that the medium moved her right leg back, as if to support the table leg. I also saw that move, and asked Mrs. R. to kneel and hold Eusapia's feet to the floor with her hand. She did so, but another levitation took place. I repeated the experiment and while I felt her knee move as if an effort was being made, there was no question of support.

Encouraged by this success, John demanded that the light be dimmed in order to produce touches. Then the ladies started screaming and squeaking, because Eusapia would take every person in turn by her two hands, and then there would be touches on their faces, necks, backs, etc. One of the ladies who kept insisting it was all an illusion wanted to experience it herself and grabbed both Eusapia's hands. She was then touched on her neck by John's hand so clearly that she screamed and dropped Eusapia's hands. This caused the medium to scream and become very agitated; she was undoubtedly entranced and the sudden interruption left her semi-conscious.

25 December 1893

[*Comments on Eusapia's condition and the effects of magnetic sleep. In the evening there was a sitting that was the worst ever. There was no trance, a few probably genuine phenomena among a flood of suspicious ones.*]

I am the controller on the right, Dr. Gościski on the left. The medium's legs are tied to ours, so that we feel her every movement.

On the table behind my back are scales in a glass container and before it a tray with clay. After initial movements and levitations, Dr. G. feels that the knot on the left string has somehow been untied, and at the same time a

shoe dropped on the table. Just before that we both felt as if the string that tied Eusapia's feet was being pulled by a hand. Eusapia's feet were at rest, and we were holding her hands—and a moment before Dr. G. noticed that the left foot was already bare. Before the shoe was thrown on the table, M. G., who held his hand on Dr. G.'s hip, was touched on it either by the shoe itself or a foot wearing one.

At the same time, there were movements of the curtain, which touched Dr. G. a number of times, while at the same time he felt an effort in that direction from the medium's hip. There was no imprint, no movement of the scales, and no lights.

Having examined the knots, which remained untouched on my side and the undoing of which on the left remained a mystery, we moved to the drawing room.

Myself and Prus were the controls; he adheres to the principle, very favorable to cheating, of not holding on to the leg or hand when it slips out; and since it is easier for the medium to produce phenomena with her material hand rather than a mediumistic one, we get a whole series of suspect phenomena. On Prus's side we obtain an imprint in clay, probably produced by the medium's face, since I felt her body move to the right toward the bowl. John complains through Eusapia that the clay is hard and the imprint is weak. [*In view of the imperfect control, this phenomenon cannot be taken into account, the most likely explanation is that Eusapia produced the imprint with her own face.*]

After this suspicious imprint, there was a 20-minute break in the phenomena, then the table jumped up and moved toward the scales. Eusapia stopped in front of the table with the scales, with her back toward us. Prus again let go of the right hand, which meant that I watched even more carefully the movements of the whole body, and I have no doubt that first the table with scales was lifted by Eusapia's right foot, in order to make the scales sway, and since that was difficult because I was pressing the tabletop down with my fingers, she simply opened the glass cabinet (I left the key in the lock, which was locked, and afterwards was unlocked) and got them moving with her finger. I'd had enough and stopped the sitting.

I did not speak about it to her as yet, but she is aware of the doubts and it upset her. When I ask her whether she remembers what happened at the sitting she claims to remember everything, which is strange because normally she knows nothing. She claims that something took off her shoe and threw it on the table, that something was pulling her toward the clay, and that she felt that she must find a way of moving the scale, but does not know how it happened. She complains that the suspicions had a paralyzing effect from the beginning—but then the phenomena were unusually suspicious.

26 December 1893

I see little of her during the day. [*Eusapia is out with JO's wife.*]

After they return from the theatre I do an experiment with moving the scales, naturally with the light on. We sit for two hours—after an hour there is a cool breeze between her hands and the scales and then they begin moving. After half an hour another breeze but no movement. I stop the experiment and still say nothing about the suspicions. I do not magnetize her to sleep at night.

27 December 1893

She sleeps badly, dreams that the money from me, in the bank, was lost, and she could not pay her rent. (Interestingly, a month later, when she tried to withdraw money transferred for her to Banca Romana in Rome, she learned that the bank collapsed the day before and suspended payments. Myself and Siemiradzki succeeded in moving the transfer to another bank, but because of the delay she could not pay her rent and had to ask for an extension.)

I said nothing to her about the suspicion of conscious fraud—and just as well, because it would have upset her and the phenomena, whereas after a rest we had an excellent sitting in a small circle. I decided not to invite any new participants so as not to spoil the phenomena. [. . .]

For the first time I placed the table sideways, to better control both her legs and the table legs. There were no levitations, but the table made various movements and rose partially, with no suspicious incidents—she did not touch the table with her legs, and only lightly or not at all with her hands. I then returned the table to its usual position. Eusapia sat at the narrow end, held by her hands, while I lay under the table on the carpet (the table was on the carpet in order to eliminate sliding movements) and held both her legs.

Nothing happened for a while. Then I noticed movements in the left leg, aimed at freeing the foot from the shoe. The foot was halfway out of the unbuttoned (as usual) shoe. When I touch her ankle she complains that it hurts. I take off both her shoes and hold her legs through the stocking, in such a manner as to be aware of every movement but not to restrain it. After a moment the left leg began to move toward the left leg of the table; it became cool, it touched the table leg; it then returned to its previous position and the levitation took place at that point. Her hands were touching the tabletop only lightly.

There were also many touches in good conditions. Finally we got a face imprint at a time when I felt all of her next to me. During the imprinting she was clasping me convulsively with both hands, and pressing her temple to mine, her head vibrating with effort. She exclaimed that the clay was very hard.

When we turned on the light, we found an imprint of a face, similar to the previous one, in the clay, which stood on the right side of the medium (I sat on her left). However, there was no trace of clay on her face (and I am certain that it did not come into contact with the clay). Eusapia was very pleased after this, and it seemed as if John had used all his efforts to convince us.

It is worth noting the following:

1. Miss S. was directing the proceedings while in magnetic sleep: She decided who was to sit where, forbade the use of Italian, demanded control reports in Polish, pretended that we were singing, told us what would happen next [. . .]. There were two interesting incidents regarding speaking exclusively in Polish: At one point Eusapia, entranced, started singing to a tune from an opera, in Polish, mocking our controls: "Now I hold the knee but the foot disappears," etc., demonstrating that she saw through our subterfuge.

2. I also discovered directly that in trance she read our thoughts, although we spoke in Polish, since John gave accurate answers to questions in Polish. I initially thought it was because of Miss S., but when I told her to move away from the table altogether, John continued to understand us. [. . .] I also learned that Eusapia can see in the dark; in total darkness I took 30 cards from my pocket with numbers printed on them and taking one at random I put it on the table. John knocked seven times, and it was a seven. But when the number was face down and covered with a hand, he could not guess it.

There were no lights.

When we finished the sitting, I took the tray with the clay to the dining room where there was a lamp on the table, in order to examine the imprint. We looked at it from all sides, while Eusapia stood leaning with her hands on the table, as if unconscious. I was watching her carefully. She stared at one point, unseeing, then, swaying, returned to the study. We followed her, while the clay remained on the dining room table with the lamp. Eusapia stood motionless for a while, then she turned back toward the door, without crossing the threshold. She stood there, leaning with her hands on my bookcase. Through the open door we saw the tray with the clay on the table, together with the lamp. Eusapia seemed to be staring at the clay. After a moment she stretched her hand toward it, moaning with pain, and then fell against the bookcase almost totally limp.

Assuming that a phenomenon must have taken place, we went together to the dining room and, to our amazement, on the tray that we had examined a moment ago and which undoubtedly nobody had approached in the meantime, we found next to the imprint of a face a deep imprint of a hand,

pushed into clay with great force, as if wanting to pull some of it out. The imprint was very good, and as usual as if through some thin fabric.

We go back to the study, where Eusapia was still standing unconscious, wanting something but still unable speak.

[JO takes her to a table and through knocking hears from John that “I took the medium’s money” (in Italian). JO finally guesses that this concerns the money meant for Eusapia, which was in an envelope in JO’s desk. JO looks everywhere and cannot find it. Finally John admits that it is in the wardrobe in the bedroom— hidden behind the shelf. JO had seen the money in his desk that day in the morning, the drawer was then locked and he had the key with him until the evening. It is thus possible that Eusapia did it then, but the others claimed that she never entered the bedroom. . . .]

27 December 1893

[Description of Eusapia’s condition; they then compare the cast of the first [suspect] clay imprint, which JO had hidden, with the latest, but it is in pieces. They have a long conversation about the suspicious phenomena, with Eusapia upset and swearing she is not aware of having cheated. JO comes to the conclusion that she is sincere, and that her cheating is unconscious.]

28 December 1893

[Household activities, Eusapia cooking Neapolitan dishes for herself. The next sitting is to be aimed at producing a materialization, i.e. a “spirit,” the medium’s double.]

29 December 1893

Apart from the household, there were Drs. Gościcki, Higier, Mayzel, Więckowski, and Witkowski, as well as Messres Kraushar, Matuszewski, and Świącicki. Prus came but left before the second half.

We put Eusapia on the settee, having carefully dressed her in my wife’s clothes, and tied her to the settee so thoroughly that there could be no possibility of getting up. One end of the tape was sealed, the other was held by one of us. *[The settee was surrounded by a curtain with an opening in front. Eusapia could not become entranced after an hour, asked to have her hand held; then Miss S., entranced, claimed that there was not enough power for John to materialize and said something else would happen. On Miss S.’s instruction JO brought the table to entranced Eusapia on the settee, everyone could see she had no contact at all with the table, and the controllers sat on the settee with her, each holding a hand and a knee, with sufficient lighting, and nobody’s hands on the table. There were a number*

of full levitations of the table that was not being touched by anyone. During levitations they could feel the effort of her muscles, and, still entranced, she jokingly demonstrated lifting her feet (all visible and away from the table) while the table levitated. . . . speculation on whether suggestions make a difference to the phenomena, and how far trance and hypnosis are different states—according to JO, not enough evidence for firm conclusions.] [. . .]

30 December 1893

[Description of Eusapia's condition, effects of hypnotic sleep and effects of Eusapia's menstruation.]

In the evening, at supper, Miss S. says that she feels something funny that is going on in the drawing room, but I looked in there and all was quiet. An hour later the servant went into the room on my wife's instruction to cover the clay with a wet cloth, and found an imprint of an ear and, less clearly, a whole head . . .

My wife immediately made a plaster cast from that mould and having finished it, left it on the table in the dining room; when she returned a moment later, she found it broken in half, together with the clay, which would have needed tremendous force. Perhaps John did not like that imprint. I cannot be sure, but I do not think that Eusapia entered the room during that time. [. . .]

31 December 1893

[Eusapia's condition, experiments with a dynamometer measuring the weights of the table with Eusapia's hands in different positions; the feet were always visible, and the dress nearly always bulging. These were followed by tests of direct writing, with Eusapia's finger (strokes appearing), and JO's and a visitor's fingers held by Eusapia (strokes appearing on paper and on the table underneath). Later, in the dark, signs were obtained on sealed slates hung on the back of the medium. There were also levitations of the medium onto the table, with the hands and legs well-controlled; touches, and a special demonstration by John for JO, with Eusapia's hand clasping his hand almost painfully, while at the same time he felt his forearm being clasped above the elbow, with fingers that felt exactly like those of the hand that was clasping his hand. . . . To further convince JO that it could not have been Eusapia's other hand (which the controller claimed was well-controlled throughout), Eusapia stretched her hand straight to the side, JO moved away, and at the same moment he felt the same clasp above the elbow. It would have been impossible for the material hand to stretch that far. This is followed by a long conversation with "John," who, among other things, offers to provide theoretical explanations for the various phenomena. This

is followed by a levitation of Eusapia, together with her chair, as promised by “John.” The interesting point is that the “experimental lesson” largely reflected JO’s own suppositions, which he had never discussed with Eusapia—with her he never questioned the reality of “John” so as not to disturb the routine she was comfortable with. . . .]

1 January 1894

[Visiting Prus, whom Eusapia adored even though they had to communicate without much language (she would jump for joy when “il Prusso” came in).]⁵

2 January 1894

[Further treatment of Eusapia’s condition as recommended by John. Visit to the theatre.]

3 January 1894

[Eusapia decides to prolong her visit to let JO finish his experiments. An excellent sitting in a small circle. John was supposed to light an electrical lamp prepared by JO. This was a box with four Grenet elements, and a lamp that would be lit by pressing a spring button which released the chemical mixture to light the lamp. This ensured that it would be impossible not to see the hand pressing the button, which had to be held down, as well as lighting the medium. Everyone sat around the table, Eusapia with her back to the curtain behind which stood the box. Eusapia’s hands and legs were held by Ochorowicz and Świącicki, and the room was lit by a dimmed lamp in the corner, which clearly showed the contours of the people. There were no other phenomena, just a few touches.]

The phenomenon started by the sound as if someone was opening and closing the door of the box, and trying the button, but only lightly. Then the whole box [*heavy, full of liquid*] began to slide parallel to the medium’s back, behind her chair, to the other end of the curtain, a total of 1.5 meters.

That movement would have been totally impossible for Eusapia, even if both her hands and feet were free. She would have had to get up, but we saw her among us throughout. [*Neither her hands nor feet could have reached that far.*] When the lamp was moved to the edge of the curtain, we saw the following manipulation:

Some invisible hand (a leg could not have done it) began moving the curtain so that the lamp should be in front of it, and the button behind it.

In this manner, visible in the light of the lamp standing on the floor, the invisible hand succeeded in turning on the lamp while the hand pressing the button stayed behind the curtain.

When all was ready, we heard the spring tighten, the button was pressed, and the light came on, illuminating the medium and all of us. Spontaneously we shouted, "bravo!" The light stayed on a few seconds, then the spring jumped back and the light went out.

I turned up the dimmed lamp telling Eusapia not to change position, I measured: the distance from Eusapia's waist to the button—1.16 m; from the end of Eusapia's right leg to the lamp—1.36 m.

I then told her to turn toward the lamp in the chair and stretch her leg as far as she could. The distance between the top of her foot and the button was 38 cm.

The turning on of this light was repeated once in the original position of the box; twice halfway, i.e. behind Eusapia's chair, and three times at the greatest distance to the right, at the edge of the curtain. John seemed to enjoy the experiment, because he kept repeating it without being asked.

Strangely, when I put the box in front of the medium on the table, it became more difficult to light the lamp. First the curtain was thrown over the lamp and the medium's hands were being held by us, and only then did the lamp come on, but not for as long as previously. Eusapia was clearly suffering from the light shining directly into her eyes.

The second episode involved my cane. John started making noises in different areas of the room, hitting the glass of the bookcase, the floor, and the glass lampshade on the ceiling. The sounds were impressive, but John had taken my cane from its place by the mantelpiece when the table was moving that way, and so the noises did not come from beyond where the cane could reach. On the other hand, nobody was even touched by it in spite of this being done in the dark.

[Description of the workings of the radiometer.]

The radiometer, which stood on the table, was lifted, handed around, and taken away by an invisible hand a number of times. When, after the light was turned on, I wanted to put it away [. . .], I could not find it anywhere. When we were going to bed, Eusapia came in to say "good night," but she looked semi-conscious, and was holding a folded kerchief as if carrying something. She shook it out toward my bed and there was nothing in it. In the same state, she went back to her room, and I thought nothing of it, thinking she had been wishing us a good night. However, in the morning, looking for my wallet, I found the radiometer, unbroken, under my pillow. [. . . *JO also carried out an experiment with the scales while Eusapia was in that state, and she succeeded in moving the rod of these extremely sensitive scales.*]

4 January 1894

[*Day of rest.*]

5 January 1894

[*A sitting in a small circle with one additional participant who had not attended for some time, J. Matuszewski. Phenomena weaker and harder to achieve; according to JO because J. M. lost the bond with the circle (although convinced of the reality of the phenomena), and because Eusapia drank a lot of water beforehand. Discussion of the influence of the “magnetizer” and some contradictory results. The results of the sitting included very brief lighting of the lamp by pressing the button; and JO and J. Matuszewski saw a profile of John’s face with a beard and not quite fully formed hand against the window. On a number of occasions the participants were touched by what felt like a beard, but no false hair had ever been found. . . . There were also some blows as if of a fist on the table, under good conditions.*]

7 January 1894

[*Description of Eusapia’s condition, poorly in the morning, then improving. Successful short sitting after supper, with a number of new persons, with levitations of the large, middle, and small table, the bell ringing twice, a miniature table rose and was pulled four times. All the more strange that it should have ended with a tangle of suspicions very difficult to resolve. Ever since Reichman implied that Eusapia was doing everything with a hair which nobody saw, JO was even more careful to investigate any possibility of such tricks. Reichman did not claim he saw that hair, but his descriptions implied that this must have been the case. JO is certain that this would have been impossible, but admits that Eusapia had a habit of picking at her hair (without pulling it out) and playing with it, including single hairs, which could have given rise to suspicion. JO also had asked Miss S. to help with observing Eusapia and to report everything that might be relevant to him. This never revealed anything suspicious about Eusapia’s behavior; also, she hardly ever knew what the next experiment was going to be, since JO was following his own plan of which nobody was aware. Originally, Miss S. and Eusapia were very friendly, but later there seemed to be a coldness between them.*].

Miss S., an excellent hypnotic medium, was used to my paying a lot of attention to her, but during Eusapia’s visit I had to neglect her somewhat. I also, for a variety of reasons, mainly to do with the family, did not want to encourage her spontaneous mediumship. I felt that she resented this, perhaps unconsciously, and resented Eusapia, who was the focus of

everyone's attention.

On that day Eusapia was wearing a white dress, made especially for the occasion [*JO's nameday*]. During the experiments with the bell I thought I saw a hair on her knees, but since I was carefully watching her hands I did not attach much importance to it. After four successful trials with the bell and the miniature table, I moved away from the table together with Matuszewski, who told me he saw something like a hair, not in Eusapia's hands and not during the experiments, but on her knees. At that moment the miniature table rose up, with us at a distance, and Miss S., who stayed there and whose attention was drawn to our whispering, came up to me and told me she "saw a hair"—not saying under what conditions, but insisting that she "saw a hair."

I did not want to discuss this in front of Eusapia. [. . .] Taken to one side, Miss S. insisted that the first four experiments were genuine, but the fifth, carried out not in my presence, depended on using a hair. "Did you see the hair moving the table?" "No, but I saw it in her hand and I could swear she was moving it." [*JO determined to get to the bottom of this.*]

8 January 1894

[Unpleasant atmosphere; Eusapia irritable and cross with everyone in turn. Miss S. confirms in magnetic sleep what she said previously, with the same insistence and what seems like pleasure in having discovered fraud. At the same time, Eusapia, not told about anything but aware of JO's change of attitude, is becoming unbearable and is preparing to leave. The atmosphere lasts the whole day.]

9 January 1894

[No change in the atmosphere, so JO invites Eusapia for a long talk in his study. He does not tell her about the suspicions of Miss S. and Matuszewski, and says that he may have been colder toward her because he noticed suspicious circumstances. Eusapia swears she knows nothing, denies cheating, and cries throughout the interview. He puts her to sleep and in that state she says that the hair came from the fur she was wearing, and is still on the dress, indicating the position. This turns out to be the case. However, Miss S. claims that the hair was different, Eusapia's own, and on the other side. JO is annoyed at not being able to resolve this. He tries to induce a clairvoyant state in Miss S., who then claims that the hair was created by an invisible force and, seeing that she was holding it, Eusapia flicked it off, so it was not on purpose but nearly so—etc. JO gives up. Perhaps it was a materialization of a hair.]

Eusapia tries to ingratiate herself, and has a go at reading a newspaper with her eyes covered, with mixed results.]

In the evening there was a very interesting sitting with new conditions. So far we always used a table because Eusapia claimed it was necessary, but this time I wanted to see how John would cope without it. [. . .] We sat in a circle, holding hands, Eusapia with her back to the curtain, behind which at a distance stood the table. Miss S., entranced, gave directions; I held her one hand, Eusapia held her hand on the left, farther on were Święcicki, Prus, Matuszewski, my wife, and my wife's sister. At first we put a chair in the middle, but Miss S. told us to remove it. She also told us that Matuszewski should enter the circle gradually, that we were not to ask Eusapia any questions, not to break the chain, and to cover the lamp with purple paper. [. . .] John, unable to knock on the table, began to knock on Eusapia's chair, and even though the sound seemed to come from the back legs, I removed Eusapia's shoes and put them to one side, since such sounds could be produced with a heel. However, the knocks continued while the lamp in the box with the battery (on the table behind the medium and the curtain) came on two or three times, but not as easily as at the first sitting. It then was invisibly moved 1 meter farther away but the lamp could not be turned on.

We were now supposed to witness the promised materialization of John's hand. After a moment, the curtain began to vibrate and from the opening above the head of the medium emerged something resembling a hand which immediately drew back. It was a human hand but a small one, almost a child's. A moment later a full man's hand appeared, and then a small woman's hand, holding a snow-white handkerchief. At the same time I was certain of holding the medium's left hand and the other controller the right, both hands being visible on her knees.

The mysterious hand appeared five or six times, sometimes for long enough for us to examine it carefully. Prus, who is shortsighted and sat farthest away, asked to come closer. John agreed, and Prus came and stood close to Eusapia, holding on to her left hand which I was also holding. Prus asked if he could hold the phantom hand, and permission was given by three knocks behind the curtain.

He put his hand in the opening in the curtain above Eusapia's head and the mysterious hand—according to him, the left hand—took his hand and clasped it. As has been mentioned, we were both holding Eusapia's left hand; almost at the same time I was touched on my right hand, resting on Prus's shoulder.

[In response to questions, John explained that the larger hand was his, and the smaller one belonged to the medium's mother. . . . There follows

a conversation with John regarding the possibility of holding another collective sitting, followed by all the men holding Eusapia's legs and sounds of blows being heard on the table behind the curtain as she hits her heels against JO's knees. There was no imprint in the clay standing on the table. Two imprints of John's larger hand were obtained, but nothing conclusive can be said about it, apart from the fact that some of them were undoubtedly obtained from a distance, and that the imprints of the face and the hands were those of a living face and hands.]

10 January 1894

[Eusapia goes to the theatre with JO's wife.]

11 January 1894

[Second day of rest with a somnambulistic episode. Eusapia went to bed first, but when JO and his wife were in bed but not yet asleep, the door opened and something was moving the drawer in his wife's dressing table next to the door. In the drawing room, JO finds Eusapia asleep; when awoken by his voice she denies that she had been up. The next day in hypnotic sleep John tells JO that Eusapia forgot her nightdress and as she could not find it she went to get matches from the dressing table. When she heard movements she ran back to bed and continued to sleep, knowing nothing about what happened.]

In the evening JO wanted to demonstrate a number of electrical devices for controlling the medium's hands, feet, and hand pressure. However, one of the devices turned out to be impractical and needed redesigning. The other one, where the feet were placed in separate containers and an alarm would come on if lifted out, worked, but the table coming down after levitation cut the wire to the battery. After repairs, there was a high levitation, with a photograph showing Eusapia's feet in the containers. JO wanted those invited to see "John's hand" but it appeared only once and not clearly. The electrical lamp came on a few times, but only behind the curtain. Dr. Więckowski was touched by a hand which JO could see coming out not of Eusapia's arm but from the opening in the curtain. While they were in the drawing room, an imprint of John's face appeared in the study behind the curtain, but unfortunately the controls were not good. JO complains that it is impossible to teach John how to perform a proper experiment.]

12 January 1894

[A sitting at Świącicki's apartment, with Eusapia very cross beforehand for being made to hurry, as well as falling out with Miss S. JO worried

about the sitting, but it seems to benefit the phenomena, which came quick, energetic, and clear, especially as they start in the dark (although some light comes from the window)].

1. The battery together with the lamp were moved from behind the curtain onto the table in a very impressive move, because you need two hands and great care not to spill the liquids.

2. Myself and Dr. N. saw John's head against the window, emerging from Eusapia's side but above her.

3. Dr. N. was touched under good conditions while holding Eusapia's left hand and leg.

4. The bell behind the curtains rose above our heads and rang.

5. The folding table behind the curtain slid and rose without being touched.

6. The electrical box was lit on the table in front of us, with Eusapia's hands being held by Dr. N. and Mr. W. B. and with Eusapia leaning her head against Dr. N.'s.

7. A number of table levitations after the light was turned on.

8. Imprint of two faces in the clay, after the sitting ended.

[After the sitting, when they were entering the dining room, Eusapia turned back and stood in the door, again in trance, staring toward the curtain behind which stood the clay. On seeing JO, she took his hands, leaned her head against his, moaned, pressed, and finally said, "It is done." They went behind the curtain and found two faces imprinted next to each other, similar to the previous ones and to Eusapia.]

13 January 1894

[Bad day; Miss S. hurt herself badly running up the stairs in the dark, while Eusapia had a dizzy spell when out, fell on ice, and dragged herself home, with stomach spasms and a hurt thumb. JO magnetized both. Reichman continues his insinuations in Kurier Warszawski, and the post brings an anonymous letter threatening public insults unless JO renounces recognizing mediumship.]

14 January 1894

[. . .] By the evening Eusapia is well and we arranged the final sitting, at which John went out of his way to leave us happy memories of him.

We get clear touches by a hand while using electrical control of the hands. The principle is this:

Contact between the hands of the controllers and the hands of the medium closes an electrical circuit, but only when each holds a different

hand. If a controller lets go, or if Eusapia were to try a substitution, the bell would ring. Eusapia was in an excellent mood and laughed heartily when a controller made the bell ring by letting go of her hand.

The touches were mostly on the right. Świącicki was touched three times, clearly with five fingers, and with what seemed like a leg. Prus also was touched as if by a leg and then by five clear fingers. I was also clearly touched once with a hand while holding my hand on Prus's shoulder. [. . .] We take off the device and I myself take both hands and both legs of the medium. In these conditions the little three-legged table from behind the curtain moves above our heads, stands on the table and knocks twice three times, which means a double yes.

We then sat down as usual and heard voices through a paper tube on the table and held by me, 15 cm from Eusapia's mouth, while Świącicki controlled her head. [*There were a couple of phrases in Italian, but better ones had been obtained in Rome and in Warsaw.*]

Now comes an interesting experiment by Prus. Since we had no lights for a long time, Prus, saying nothing to anyone, wrote down in his notebook that he wanted a light to appear today. And there was one, similar to the previous ones, like a miniature falling star.

We then obtained a face imprint under good control conditions, and at the end John embraced three people sitting close by. There was a hug with the hands and a kiss that could be heard and felt. [. . .]

But the most interesting point was the clear levitation of the medium beyond the table and in good control conditions.

Eusapia stood in the middle of the room, with her hands held by me and Matuszewski. Her feet were bare. Suddenly she started to rise, first on her toes, then with her hands on the edge of the table, then fully upward without any support. This was interesting because it demonstrated a number of transitions from mechanical phenomena to purely mediumistic ones. Rising on one's toes and leaning on the table might be regarded as involuntary cheating, since this was undoubtedly mechanical support. But when Eusapia's feet stopped touching the ground the mediumistic phenomenon joined in, since a person cannot rise slowly above ground when leaning on the edge of a table—one can only jump up and fall, and here there was no jump, just slow rising.

Finally, when Eusapia rose fully in the air and was no longer touching the table with her hand, we had a purely mediumistic phenomenon, since holding our hands for control could not provide mechanical support in the rising; it may only have helped with the balance.

This gradual levitation took place four times and lasted sufficiently long for me, without letting go of Eusapia's hand, to check with my other

hand that she is totally above the ground at a distance of about six inches. I imagine it as the double lifting of the medium with its hands, because the impression was as if someone was standing behind Eusapia and supporting her under the arms. [. . .]

[JO asked John whether they would meet again; John thought it might be in Warsaw but in fact it was six months later on the island of Roubaud.]

The next day Eusapia went on the night train directly to Naples, having been given warm clothing, and lots of sweets and flowers. She cried as she hugged everyone seeing her off.

Throughout her stay in Warsaw I would go to bed about 3 or 4 a.m., and get up at 8 or 9. I never had a moment's rest during the day, since I was seeing patients and I would not go to bed until I wrote up the day's notes. Not to mention the innumerable letters, telegrams, visits, and requests to be admitted to the sittings. And to top it all, every stupid newspaper felt entitled to insult me, while the jokes and calumnies which came my way in private would fill a sizeable album if I had not thrown them in the bin. But I have done what I meant to do. The Warsaw experiments, even though they could not lay claims to scientific strictness, awoke interest here and abroad. Here and there scientists are beginning to consider the matter and there is hope that the question of mediumship will become a scientific question in the not too distant future.

Conclusions Drawn from the Warsaw Experiments

Personally, I gained much from the Warsaw experiments. First of all, belief in the reality of the phenomena was confirmed in my mind. Next, my general outlook on the issue became clear. Finally, I could analyze some of the manifestations with greater precision. I present the results divided into two categories: general and specific.

General Conclusions

Mediumship vs. Spiritualism

In Rome, although to start with I might have had the impression that mediumistic phenomena indicated that the soul was immortal and the dead were participating in them, and although initially this might have been the impression in Warsaw, on closer examination I found the spiritualist hypothesis unnecessary and groundless. One would have to be exceptionally credulous to accept that the active force was "John King" or some other entity.

More recent studies of hypnosis have brought us better understanding of certain aspects of mediumistic manifestations. Antagonisms between the

personality of the person being hypnotized and its personality in trance can go further than the antagonism between two similar personalities. It is to the credit of the old magnetists that they determined this distinction in pure magnetic sleep and various forms of ecstasy.

For its part (thanks to Richet and his successors), the more recent hypnotism made this manifestation known and popular through experimental calling up of various personalities through suggestion. Therefore, if in trance (a unique form of hypnosis) the same antagonism occurs, whether consistently or on a variable basis, this cannot be considered to be proof of participation by various persons. One would need very positive data excluding spoken or mental suggestion in order to justify the spiritualistic interpretation. In the course of my experiments, I found no such proofs.

What John King said about himself (and he said very little on that score) was merely a reflection of involuntary or purposeful suggestions gathered in Eusapia's mind in the course of her mediumistic career. Under the influence of stronger sensations (be they internal or external, such as pain or thirst), the separateness of John would evaporate instantly, blending into the personality of the medium. He did not manage to extract from her even one indicator, be it in writing, piano playing, gestures, or spoken word, which would be a departure from the medium's personal symbolism. Even the markings made over a distance were always the kind of scribbles made by Eusapia when playing with a pencil or gesticulating with a finger. His feelings and sensations did not go beyond the scope of the medium's feelings and sensations, although at times they were at odds with each other: And John himself, although he spoke of Eusapia's intelligence in a pitying tone, nevertheless never said a thing of a clever nature himself.

One minor superiority is based on a somewhat better awareness of phenomena occurring during the trance, rather than in the conscious state. This, however, can be fully compared with an analogous characteristic of magnetic sleep. In both instances there is a high degree of apperception and critical discernment, as a result of isolation from external stimuli. It is also only within these limits, with the addition of a number of subtle stimuli that are not known in the conscious state, that seemingly miraculous trance clairvoyance occurs, which is not of a higher order than somnambulistic clairvoyance. Both had a deeper awareness of the condition of its organism. Both of them made mistakes or would fade in vague descriptions that merited a degree of trust only where they concerned the needs of their own organism.

Attempts to transfer another "spirit," named Lucyan, to our group, did not succeed. Manifestations of John without Eusapia also failed. Once, however, it seemed that John wanted to give us proof of his identity. At one

of the séances he announced that there were also other spirits present. This happened as a result of my unintentional suggestion, for being touched at a greater than usual distance from the medium, I asked John whether it was he who touched me, or someone else. This got John claiming that it was my mother's spirit. This notion entered Eusapia's mind as I had shown her my mother's picture on that very day. Later, at the session, one of those present mentioned that the touches were somehow more delicate, as if with a smaller hand than usual. Finally, the presence of my cousin, Miss S., may have contributed to the answers given by the table.

'If it is my mother's spirit,' I said, 'let it then touch one of those present whom she knew during her lifetime.'

After an answer confirming that she would do it, Świącicki was touched, whom my mother did not know, but Prus, whom she knew perfectly well, was passed by. No one present knew of this, except Prus and myself.

If I were somewhat less questioning, the touching and knocking would start in accordance with the hypothesis that my mother was present, and I would confirm her presence by a number of carelessly worded questions. This kind of situation has arisen not once but a hundred times in my presence at various spiritualistic séances. I did not find proof of identity of the spirits at any of them.

The Warsaw experiments reinforced my stance as an observer acknowledging pertinent facts, but in interpretation I am not and never was a spiritualist.

Phenomena Are Medium-Dependent

There are so-called "spirit phenomena" without the presence of a medium. Although here and there one reads about "haunted houses," where certain manifestations occur even though there is no one present, whenever I wanted to investigate the phenomenon either there was no occurrence, the claim was fraudulent, or a medium was present. A simple analysis will suffice to see that if there is no one present, there is no witness, and where there is one, the witness himself can be a medium. Possibly in the future I will come across facts that modify my outlook, but for the time being this is my position.

The medium-dependence of spirit phenomena is obvious and unconditional. Mediumistic phenomena take place at the expense of the medium and under the direction of his/her thoughts, mainly unconscious, but which do not extend beyond the limits of the medium's memory. They only occur within a short distance from the medium, greater when the conditions are favorable, lesser when the conditions are not so favorable; under very bad conditions they do not extend beyond the medium's body

surface, which is when they look like fraud, or are involuntary fraud if one excludes the possibility of conscious fraud.

For a mechanical manifestation, the greatest distance from the medium's body that I have seen thus far does not exceed two meters, when measured from the central position (later studies confirmed a considerably greater distance—up to ten meters).

The mechanical force active in manifestations may exceed the medium's normal strength, but not the abnormal force in trance, in a sleep induced by magnetizing or suggestion. However, it never exceeds the strength of an average man. Only the lack of a visible point of resistance may create the illusion of yet greater strength.

The nature of movements manifesting at a distance always corresponds to the nature of the movements of the medium, and may be modified only to the degree that its individuality can be modified under the influence of suggestion. Their nature does not go beyond that which could be achieved by an invisible person, etheric, penetrating material bodies, and endowed with medium strength and intelligence.

There is a most precise link between the condition of the medium and the manifestations. A medium who is ill, exhausted, sleepy, or morally despondent produces weak manifestations or no manifestations at all.

Large quantities of food and drink, water in particular, prior to a session, have a paralyzing effect. The same holds true for the freezing of hands or excessive heat. In other words, such things scatter the medium's concentration. On the other hand, a good state of health, strength, sufficient sleep, cheerfulness, irritation, and sometimes even nervousness or anger, have a positive effect. A simple life, moderate warmth, and concentration of attention have a similar effect.

Sweating, if I am not mistaken, has a certain physiological connection with the manifestations. It always occurs, and is followed by great thirst. What needs to be explored is the possibility that bringing forth mediumistic manifestations increases the electrical resistance of the medium's body.

In no way can mediumistic manifestations, or the hypnotic ones, be considered pathological, although both do sometimes occur in some illnesses. Mediumistic manifestations, to a greater degree than the hypnotic ones, demand health and strength, which decrease as a result. They can occur even more powerfully in certain states of nervous breakdown that exhibit excitement.

A mediumistic session—in contrast to the effects of hypnosis—is always exhausting and demands a rest afterward. I know a professional somnambulist in Paris who for the past thirty years has daily been put into a trance, at least a dozen times a day, and who is exceptionally healthy,

whereas spiritualist mediums who experiment without appropriate supervision frequently end up as victims of neurasthenia, paralysis, or insanity. Fortunately, magnetizing and hypnotizing in conjunction with the knowledge of conditions of this physiological category of manifestations gives us the opportunity to experiment without harming health.

Mediumistic manifestations exhibit greater strength in trance state than in the conscious state. The latter state must be considered as a conscious state intertwined with a transitory trance state, and it manifests in the course of entering the state of deep trance. The transitory phase then passes.

The greater the strength of a manifestation, the greater the lethargy of the body. When there is a complete materialization of a double, the medium lies as if lifeless. When a hand manifests some small phenomenon, it becomes numb; when voices manifest, the medium loses her voice; when the table gets lifted, as if by the knees, they begin to hurt and get strained, although they lifted nothing; when the hand of the double is pricked with a pin, the medium feels it; when the manifestation is difficult the medium's body loses its thermal reaction and a cool breeze can be felt emanating from the head, after which there remains a headache and exhaustion.

In general, pain accompanies all major manifestations, and in order to avoid it the medium attempts to help herself unwittingly, mechanically, producing unconscious fraud. Artificial reduction of pain pacifies the medium but disrupts the manifestations. Increasing control intensifies the pain, but improves the manifestations. Loosening of control of necessity introduces unwitting fraud, as it is physiologically easier. The stubborn idea that the medium will achieve a manifestation through fraud may influence the result to be produced fraudulently. In order for a given manifestation to take place, it is necessary that the medium visualizes the phenomenon taking place, thus bringing it closer to the state of monoideism. It is necessary that the medium's feelings and a sense of pride be engaged, and that she should enjoy the session.

In the Warsaw experiments I frequently noticed such periods. As long as Eusapia was amused by the bell, the experiment worked very well; later, it worked increasingly less frequently, and finally she did not even want to look at it. It was the same with automatic writing, which was successful for several days. The desire to light the lamp or to make impressions in clay met with the same fate. These weaknesses must be taken into consideration, and experiments carried out while the medium is ready, as manifestations do not occur on demand.

Another factor that is as important, if not more important, is the routine that was followed in the course of developing the medium. Eusapia always began with the levitation of the table; she would then move to touching (with the astral hand?). Other manifestations occurred only if conditions were

extremely favorable. Aksakov's suggestion, given to me in a private letter, was right. He suggested that no sessions be started with new experiments, but only those that the medium feels at ease with. Other experiments should wait until the manifestations are firm. Every time I wanted to change the sequence, to give a session a scientifically more precise order, the result would be a fiasco. Yet I am convinced that if Eusapia had been trained from childhood to take part in experiments in full light, then light would not present a problem. If simple but correct experiments had been conducted from childhood, there would not be as many suspect and chaotic manifestations, which could bring joy only to practicing spiritualists. By the same token, the concept of spiritualistic manifestations would undoubtedly disappear, because in the manifestations that I elicited from her from the start there was no question of spiritualism.

Both in trance and in the conscious state, manifestations always occur in an ebb-and-flow manner, intermittently, which means that strong, separate, and distinct manifestations do not follow one another, but follow after a pause, as if a breath-catching pause for the medium, which accords with the general laws of neuro-physiological reactions.

When there are various categories of manifestations involved, there is always one category that temporarily more or less excludes the others, meaning that the energy expended in, e.g., acoustic manifestations at a particular moment, cannot simultaneously manifest through light or mechanical phenomena. Intermittently, it can support others but always with the predominance of one category. Because the medium simultaneously exhibits a visible loss of energy, there is nothing in mediumship that would run counter to the general laws of energy conservation and convertibility.

Neither is there anything in it that runs counter to the known laws of mechanics. If a table levitates as if without support, then it is only because the support is not visible, and not because it does not exist. If there is a change in weight, it does not mean that the table itself has changed weight, but only that it is pulled or supported by the invisible hand of the medium's double, or the dynamic current of some thus-far-unknown form of energy (later note: stiff rays).

From this standpoint, it cannot be said that any of the laws discovered by science has been violated. One can speak only of supplementing the old laws with new ones.

Dependence on Participants

If there are no mediumistic phenomena without a medium, then, on the other hand, the presence of a medium alone, in most instances does not suffice to elicit them (I am not speaking here of mediumistic phenomena

in general, for phenomena of a lower kind, such as automatic writing, the unwitting, mechanical movement of a table, and so forth, do not require the presence of participants—but about mediumship proper, that is about the phenomena of a higher kind, which are based on separation of the medium's etheric body).

Eusapia told me that there were never any phenomena when she was alone, and that sometimes, when she wanted to play a mediumistic trick on someone, it did not work. When I was the only participant, there were table levitations, but no touches, lights, or any of the higher kinds of manifestations. When my wife was also present, the phenomena were expanded to include touches, but nothing else.

The proper repertoire of phenomena would occur with three participants, but the most favorable number was from 5 to 6 participants. Beyond that number difficulties would occur, unless all the participants had previously experimented together in the same configuration. The influence of who was present on the success of the session was very evident. Every new person, even the most favorably inclined and least suspect in the medium's eyes, would delay the start of manifestations, or cause the failure of the more difficult experiments.

As far as the attitude of the participants is concerned, undoubtedly a friendly, gentle, and sincere manner aids the manifestations, while a hostile, false, and gruff attitude interferes with them. Eusapia undoubtedly possesses the gift of sensing the character of a person even in the conscious state, and the highest trait that she would single out in those present she would describe as “*una persona franca*” (a sincere person). Nothing would irritate her more than assurances of approval and satisfaction in which she sensed hypocrisy. Mr. B. Reichman would irritate her enormously when, in answer to her query as to whether he was satisfied with the conditions of the experiment, he would answer “*bene, bene,*” when he thought otherwise. To sincere expressions of suspicion, she would always answer with a new, better manifestation.

Neither can it be said that disbelief that is without ill will interferes with the manifestations. At least three-quarters of the Warsaw participants did not believe in mediumship, yet this did not hinder the manifestations and convinced the majority of them. It is only the dislike, the guarded suspicion, and stubborn conviction of fraud that has a definitely negative influence—I would say that the stronger the suspicions the worse the manifestations.

Unfortunately, this is the vicious circle of mediumship, for which there is no remedy—or rather, only these: patience, impartiality, and sincerity.

If the participants are tired and sleepy, this also has a negative influence. “John” always reminded those who were tired not to fall asleep,

and sometimes he would simply remove them from the circle because they interfered. On the contrary, moderate thought and conversation were welcomed by the medium. Frequent demands to “parlate” (talk) had no other purpose, although I have to admit that in scientific experiments we have a different understanding of the appropriate disposition of the researcher, and would prefer that his attention not be scattered.

Unfortunately, it appears that the simple directing of one’s sight directly at the point where a manifestation of the force is to occur makes things more difficult; not totally, for, after all, we had some excellent manifestations when the attention of several pairs of eyes was concentrated on them. However, generally that was the case. For this reason it was necessary to gradually get into the practice of observing without looking directly, yet paying attention to the manifestation while talking about something else.

This is one of those points that associates mediumship with the sleight of hand of a conjurer which, as is well known, depends mainly on skillfully distracting the attention of those watching.

Those who are ill or agitated have a very bad effect on Eusapia. However, if I am not mistaken they benefited from the sessions even if they did not last far into the night.

Finally, we noticed an influence, difficult to grasp, of some nervous states, exhibited by some individuals, which had a paralyzing effect on the experiments, and which could not be overcome even after a longer presence in the circle.

The sessions in general gave me the impression that the medium is merely the mirror that reflects the force, notions, and the mood of the participants, a mirror that converts the force received, concentrates it, and puts it into motion, and that the medium herself does not have sufficient energy to produce the manifestations.

Dependence on the Influence of Atmospheric Conditions

This turned out to be less important than any of the previously mentioned dependencies.

Initially, I would carefully note the atmospheric pressure, temperature, and humidity, etc., but did not notice any clear indications of influence. One can only say that extreme cold or heat is harmful, as are: excess of electricity in the air prior to a storm, too strong a light, a misty day, etc., and finally that a full moon exerts a stronger influence, but not through direct physical action on the manifestations, but indirectly, by a psychic or physiological influence on the medium’s nerves. This raises the point of individual differences between mediums, and how they would react to external influences.

I was unable to confirm whether humidity, as stated by “John,” had a negative influence on the manifestation of lights, but that is quite likely, especially since in the later experiments on a very humid island off the Mediterranean coast there were few manifestations of light, while in Rome they were plentiful.

Specific Conclusions

The Relationship of Manifestations to Known Physical Forces

Does mediumship reveal to us a new force, in the strict natural scientific meaning of the word, which could take place alongside electricity, temperature, etc.?

Thus far this question has not been looked into in detail, but authors who accept mediumship have let it be understood that this is indeed the case, and have referred to it by different names. The widest acceptance was gained by the expression Psychic Force coined by Cox and Crookes, which has the advantage of not saying much yet pointing to the *psychic* source of the phenomena. By the same token, it appears to exclude any parallel of this new force with the known physical forces. Nevertheless, Crookes’s experiments on the weight change of bodies under the influence of Home’s hands appear to have had this aim in sight, for Crookes attempted to measure the force that was active in these manifestations, not mentioning that it may be the result of pressure exerted by the medium’s fluidic hands.

Starting from the assumption that this may be a force similar to electricity or magnetism, which dissipates with the square of the distance, I attempted to mark its intensity with the aid of appropriate instrumentation, but these attempts turned out to be fruitless, for it was obvious that her activities had no relationship to the medium’s body mass. With regard to distance, the manifestations were sometimes closer, then farther away, at times they were stronger at a greater distance than the nearer ones, with the limits shifting under favorable conditions. These limits were always definite, for beyond them there was no weakening of manifestations, but a total cessation. In addition, shielding by inanimate or animate matter was not always a hindrance; but never under conditions where one could simply say: This force, like a magnet, penetrates through all bodies, for it could possibly escape sideways.

Neither did I notice that various metallic or nonmetallic bodies, solids, or liquids behaved differently with respect to the force. Brass, gold, iron, stone, wood, glass, or resin, etc., objects moved through the air with equal ease. Thus far I have found no indications of deflection or reflection of this force. I have also mentioned that there was nothing in this force to

contradict the familiar laws of mechanics. The simple assumption of an unseen (and at times seen) hand, leg, or head, sufficed to explain away to oneself all the mechanical effects, which were astonishing only in that the supports were invisible.

The only manifestations that would indicate participation of some fluidic force were those that I knew of already from experiments with animal magnetism.

In the case of those who were ill or nervously exhausted, whether by the illness itself, temporary exertion, or depressing psychic impressions, I had noted long ago the curious manifestation of a cool breeze from hands, legs, or heads, when holding the palm a certain distance away, a breeze that would cease when health improved. This undoubtedly is a case of taking away heat because the testing hand cools. There is probably something else also involved, some process of equalization of either the electrical potentials, or the pouring over of some waves, which used to be known as the magnetic fluid, to equalize energies. It is enough to say that the same manifestations were more pronounced with Eusapia, especially from her head, where the breeze was long-lasting and strong. At times the breeze was felt by the hands of all the participants, at times from the left, and then from the right side of the medium. Some felt it more strongly than others, some just barely, and some not at all, according to some unknown laws. Occasionally Miss S., who sat at the opposite end of the table, exhibited the same manifestation, just as strongly as Eusapia except only from the hands. At one of the sessions with Eusapia (at Dr. Heryng's, after supper), the breeze seemed to be general, strong, and penetratingly cold.

I tried later to obtain more precise data using a very sensitive thermometer, but no such manifestation occurred.

Once, using a doctor's thermometer, we obtained an increase of one degree Centigrade, but this was done in a different form, as a suggestion by "John" that he take the thermometer in his hand and let us know her temperature. "John" did not relish such unspectacular experiments and it was difficult to induce him to do it. He preferred to knock, make noises, play, and turn over the furniture.

Mr. B. Reichman believed that the breeze could be an electrical manifestation and that if a brass crown with a thorn were placed on the head, we might obtain some flashes of light in the darkness. I warned him that nothing would come of that, and indeed the experiment presented no results. Later he announced that the breeze was simply Eusapia blowing!

I knew that nothing would come of that experiment, for previously, in various ways, I tested the electrical properties of Eusapia's body. There was no effect on the standard electroscope; there was an effect on the

Bonnenberger electroscope (amplified by me), but it was the same as for all others. There was even less electricity in Eusapia's hair than in mine.

There was no effect on a rather insensitive galvanometer when fingers were immersed in water, or when they touched the electrodes directly. This happened regardless of whether the muscles were tensed or relaxed.

When the needle was deflected by the current of the element, which simultaneously passed through the medium's body, there were considerable variations in Eusapia's body resistance, depending on very fast and characteristic changes in the degree of dampness of Eusapia's skin. When I removed this co-factor by immersing her hands in acidified water, there were no changes.

As I have mentioned before, it appears likely that the resistance of Eusapia's body increases during materialization. This would be interesting and in agreement with my hypotheses, but, unfortunately, I had the instrument for the measurement of resistance for too short a time (it was borrowed and taken back by Mr. Reichman) to be able to undertake the appropriate measurements.

Regarding the existing influence of some materials during mediumistic manifestations, the results were mainly negative. Although Eusapia maintained that a silk dress interfered with the manifestations, on a number of occasions she forgot what she had said and the manifestations took place as effectively when she was wearing a black silk dress as when she wore a white woolen or linen dress.

Once, when she sat down to a session in a lambskin vest belonging to my wife, "John" began hitting and pinching her back. Having placed my hand on her back, I determined that Eusapia was not hallucinating, for I was touched myself, and felt movement reflecting the pulling away from a pinch. As it turned out later, "John" was using this approach to tell her to take off the vest.

Maybe there is a connection here with the fact that my dog (a white shaggy poodle) whom Eusapia liked very much was nevertheless never allowed into the sessions, and once, when he accidentally sneaked in, it seemed that he was delaying manifestations. I am adding this speculation only because others have reported similar facts. Maybe it was only due to the distraction that the dog caused, and the removal of the vest could have been simply motivated by the heat.

What hindered Eusapia during the sessions was her corset. It was not in the sense that it would affect the manifestations, but her aches and pains during the manifestations were greater if she had the corset on. For this reason I always asked her to remove it prior to a session, which in the conscious state she did only with great reluctance.

The action of interrupted induction currents on Eusapia, Miss S., and Mrs. M. was very strong and none of them could stand even moderate shocks. The action of magnets on all three was also visible, but it was not greater than on all the others who are readily hypnotized. All were sensitive to the hypnoscope, which was placed on the finger—Miss S. even to such a degree that her finger instantly became desensitized and rendered useless. Finally, her finger and the entire hand became rigid. In Eusapia's case, the effect was greater on the left side of the body.

However, when I talk of the action of the "magnet," this is only in the sense in which I understand the action of the hypnoscope as something of a mixture of psychic and physical influence, where the magnet does not act in relation to its strength, nor differently in relation to its poles.

Conversely, I saw no specifically magnetic action in the action of Eusapia's hand on a magnet (moving a compass needle from a distance). The needle moved as if pushed by a finger. A brass, tin, and wooden needle behaved in the same way. Eusapia's fingers had no ability to indicate polarity in non-magnetized steel.

Eusapia maintained, doubtless due to someone's suggestion, that at the sessions she should be sitting at the north end, and normally that is how she sat; however, manifestations were the same regardless of the direction she faced.

Why does light paralyze manifestations? There is no doubt that it does paralyze them. To illustrate, I will recount three already known experiments.

1. A table that levitates up to one meter above the floor when a heavy window curtain was drawn would lift only a few inches when the curtain was only partly drawn, and when it was not drawn at all the table would only drag along the floor.

2. The bell rang readily when the lamp was at a distance from the bell, easier still when the lamp was removed farther away, but with considerably greater difficulty when the bell was right under the lamp.

3. When the light was moved farther away, the automatic writing became darker and clearer, and when the light was brought closer the marks became lighter and weaker.

I could cite many more examples, for all manifestations were subject to the same law: The less light is available, the faster the manifestations come, and they are stronger and clearer.

When the light was bright I saw only movements of the bell, the automatic writing, levitations, and movements of some pieces of furniture.

When the light was weak, I saw a materialized hand and its touches, and various mechanical effects.

The highest level of manifestations, such as complete materialization,

voices, lights, complete levitations of the medium, etc., occur only in total darkness or near total darkness.

It is very likely that such difficulties are not impossible to overcome, for Crookes saw a complete materialization in good light, and in our experiments some manifestations occurred initially only in darkness, but later they would occur in satisfactory light. If I am not mistaken, this is a matter of having a greater number of sessions with the same participants.

Because light interferes with manifestations, the question arises as to why. Two explanations could be put forward:

a. purely physical. Light is capable of putting Crookes's radiometer into motion, changing the electrical conductivity of selenium, causing a chemical reaction between chlorine and hydrogen, etc. . . . It also acts upon the medium's etheric body, scattering the atoms that gather around its force lines, and opposes the very separation of the etheric from the material body.

b. purely physiological. Light, in irritating the medium's nerves, hinders the appearance of partial or complete trance, which is a condition for the separation of the etheric from the material body. However, it might operate finally, and it does so through the medium, and not directly upon the manifestations.

(If the end colors of the solar spectrum acted differently, as has been assumed to date, one could, on the basis of the difference in their vibrations, draw conclusions supporting the first hypothesis. But as we know, these differences are subjective, and because of other observational considerations I am inclined toward the second hypothesis.)

Light acted very strongly upon the medium immersed in a trance, but its force depended not so much on the brightness of the light, but rather on the degree of preparation of the medium. If the sudden lighting up of a match resulted in a convulsive shock and longer-lasting indisposition, then the lighting of a strong magnesium light, with her prior knowledge, not only did not have such consequences, but it did not in the least interrupt some of the manifestations, namely, the levitation of a table. To be sure, as I have already mentioned, the table would always turn in such a manner so as to at least shield part of one leg (the left one). (It could thus be the case that the second hypothesis, that of physical action directly on the points of attachments of the mediumistic force, has justification—naturally, if such shielding does not have either conscious or unconscious fraud as its aim.)

The point that merits attention is that light appeared to act not only upon the eyes, but also upon the medium's entire body. When, during a trance, while blindfolded, a spot of weak light was directed at her hands, the hands would withdraw and evade it, displaying irritation. It seems that the most irritable were the eyelids and the head, more than the rest of the body, with

the possible exception of the hands. In any case, when lights were turned on immediately after a session, prior blindfolding did suffice, and she always felt a nervous shock from the turning on of the light (even without noise), for example by pushing a switch of an electric lamp. To treat her gently one had to turn the light on in the adjacent room, and open the door gradually so that she would not be hit by direct light. Flickering light irritated her most.

The following circumstance confirms the paralyzing effect of light: If the manifestations were too strong and they tired Eusapia, she would request that a door to a brightly lit room be opened slightly. Apparently she herself was unable to stop the manifestations by her own will, while the light would perform that function immediately. Sometimes, in exceptional cases, when manifestations were developing very slowly, in order not to tire the medium, the session would be cut short when they were taking place, but the mediumistic restlessness would continue and even when she was lying in bed there would be no peace. Entering with a light would not stop the phenomena either. There would no longer be the heavy pounding on the table, nor the general shifting of the furniture, but the knocking around her bed would continue. In most instances she would ask that the lit candle be left in the room, where it burned until morning.

I have confirmed many times that, when in a trance, Eusapia can see in total darkness. It is an absolutely essential condition for performing her manifestations, which always demonstrate extreme care in avoiding all obstacles, despite the absence of light. No one was seriously hit despite the fact that tables, chairs, pots with clay, boxes with electrical batteries, etc., traveled overhead. Prus broke his finger once in an attempt, by extending his hand, to check whether the chair standing on the table with the seated Eusapia did indeed levitate. "John" made a few passes along the finger, reducing the pain dramatically. Also once the medium herself hit her head against a board which hung from the ceiling (it was used in measuring the height of mediumistic effects) when, during a levitation of the seated medium from the floor to the top of the table, some participants broke the "chain." I cannot, however, say for certain whether she hit the board after the "chain" was broken or a moment before, in the course of floating to the tabletop. It seems to me that it was before, which in this case would indicate that she did not see the boards. In other cases the opposite appeared to be true: that she would see the obstacle not only directly, but also through the table, for she felt it sometimes when someone would slightly change their position. In such cases one could truly state that she was controlling us better than we controlled her. Normally she also felt it when someone, in the dark, broke the "chain." When years earlier I experimented with Slade, I did not observe the ability to see under the table, for when I changed the

location of my hand slightly, the “apport” sought it in the former place.

I have confirmed that in the conscious state she does not have this ability. Her sight might even have been worse than mine. Once a key fell out of her pocket in a dark corner of the room, a key she needed at that point in time. I saw it, but let her search for it. She sought it for quite a while by feeling for it, while it was visible to me.

As for seeing without the aid of eyes while in a “magnetic” trance, the experiments are very interesting but thus far not sufficiently numerous.

Finally, the most plausible conclusion for me is: In a trance, Eusapia attains an unusual visual supersensitivity, which appears to be accompanied by the entire body’s abnormal sensitivity to light. This then explains to a large extent the detrimental effect of light, for if Eusapia sees in the dark, while in trance, this then means that very weak impulses, such as lighting a match at a great distance, would be the same as suddenly lighting up an arc lamp for those with normal sight. What is more, in addition to the shock to the eyes, she suffers from a general pain, resulting from sensitivity of the skin.

On the other hand, darkness seems to be a condition for total trance and thus it was a rare occasion that I could see her face to observe the changes that the trance evokes. Just once or twice, in a complete trance, the light was sufficient to observe the expression of her face and eyes. In those cases, the expression was that of ecstasy, somewhat different from the usual look.

In other words, I assume that light has a paralyzing effect on the manifestations, because it irritates and excites the medium. A partial trance is not apprehensive of light, but then the points of attachment of the force are in relative shade.

It had already been noted long ago that music and song, choral music in particular, favor manifestations, perhaps because they generate a mental communion within the circle, maybe because they generate the alertness which was demanded by “John.” Then again, sometimes it helps to draw attention away from the mechanical aid to the phenomena. “John” usually demanded that we talk, but not as a heated discussion, rather a peaceful, half-loud conversation, or reciting something. This did not hinder observation—at most it could hide a suspicious sound. At the same time it was apparent that this activity of ours was helpful to “him,” even when there was no question of a suspicious noise. As it reminded her of home, the song *Santa Lucia* had an excellent effect on her disposition and on the manifestations, until she got tired of hearing it. Variations on Italian tunes, played on the piano by Siemiradzki, had a similar effect. Eusapia, however, demanded musical help only at the beginning of a session, when manifestations were slow in coming, or during the more important manifestations, such as the

levitation of the medium or impressions in clay. We were generally quiet, or spoke about matters to do with the control of the medium in a calm manner, as any sudden noise, rap, or tone had the same paralyzing effect as the light. Most probably this happened because the medium was awakened from trance or at least her attention was distracted.

At times “John” himself felt a musical urge and would play for us on the piano (with one finger), mouth organ, trumpet, or accordion. The latter was used only in Warsaw. The trumpet was a simple, toy-like one, but it required almost complete materialization.

Of great interest to me were the manifestations of mediumistic echolalia consisting of precise, although weaker, repetitions by “John” of our knocking, scratching, shuffling, or drumming. Initially I assumed a rather complex theory for their occurrence. Following the Warsaw experiments I believe that they depended on partial materialization of the fluidic hand. There was always a certain delay (2–3 seconds) in the repetition; sometimes the delay was considerable (5–10 seconds), as if “John” needed first to solidify the hand, before he could create a sound. There were no imitations of musical tones.

During the echolalia experiments, Eusapia would request that whoever created a particular sound should place their hand flat on the table, at the spot where the sound was made, as if to hold on to the created sound—I do not know why she asked for that, and she did not know either. I assume that this action was of little significance, as echoes occurred without it.

Manifestations of echolalia belonged to the earliest ones at a session, and sometimes I would rap to a certain rhythm a particular number and wait to see whether “John” would repeat the sound. I used it to find out whether “John” was there. This procedure was also followed by Eusapia, who found it easy to elicit the echoes. Quite frequently, however, she herself did not sense whether manifestations had already happened and she would keep knocking in vain.

“John’s” voice, if he did not speak through Eusapia’s lips, was always grating and unclear, and following such an experiment she would lose her voice for a while. I do not know whether this happened through sympathy or actual participation. This also happened to Miss S.

When a group of participants developed greater harmony, talking and maintaining the “chain” became for the most part unnecessary.

Relationship between Mediumship and Hypnotism

As I have frequently emphasized, the relationship between mediumship and hypnotism is a very close one—yet when I began to investigate mediumship, this relationship had not been formulated.

Mediums were considered as something apart from those under hypnosis. Now I believe that this was one of the main reasons for the slow progress in the scientific study of spiritualism, which in this way lost all contact with the existing disciplines in normal physiology. Now it is obvious to me that mediumship represents only a new category and a higher degree of hypnotic manifestations, and there can be no study of mediumship without a thorough knowledge of hypnotism; otherwise it will continue to be elusive and seemingly in conflict with everything that science acknowledges. Since among scientists too few study hypnotism on a larger number of individuals, it is hardly surprising that there are so few prepared to evaluate mediumship properly and that the most eminent among them recognize only two alternatives: fraud or miracle.

Eusapia was hypnotized for the first time in Warsaw, and it was in Warsaw that attention was drawn for the first time to the need to study the mediums themselves, as a separate category of persons under hypnosis.

Thus far, mediums have been recognized as a second-grade tool for manifestation of supernatural states. It was not until after the Warsaw experiments that mediumship and spiritism were differentiated, although Aksakov differentiated between spiritism and animism, which for him was equivalent to mediumship.

However, for Aksakov, "animism" included only the less important manifestations, which could find their expression in the "anima" of the medium; however, the name "mediumship" came to be applied to all (low and high) manifestations, emphasizing the dependence of all mediumistic phenomena on the medium. The terms "mediumship" and "mediumistic" have also been accepted in foreign literature, especially German, to mark the scientific character of these studies, without prejudging Allan Kardec's doctrine.

As stated at the end of the Introduction, I am reporting the Warsaw experiments here for the first time, but this report is based on my other articles, mainly the general report of the participants, published in *Kurier Warszawski*. A version of this in French was ably edited and abbreviated by Mr. Kazimierz Krauze, and published in *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*. It is worth noting that Krauze's report was the first article on mediumship to be accepted by the editors of *Revue de l'Hypnotisme*, whose attitude to mediumship so far has been hostile, as they did not expect it to be associated with hypnotism.

Only the Milan experiments had higher ratings prior to the Warsaw experiments, and this was due to the fact that a number of people well-known in science were in attendance. However, both series of experiments are merely drops of water on the rock of general indifference.

Notes

- ¹ Bolesław Prus (1847–1912), pen name of Aleksander Głowacki, journalist and novelist. His works are now classics of Polish literature, and he has an extensive Wikipedia entry also in English. A close friend of Ochorowicz from their student days, Prus based an attractive character on him in his novel *The Doll*: “Julian Ochocki is an idealistic and passionate enthusiast of science, inventor and researcher, misunderstood by society but not at all bothered by this, being only interested in his work.”
- ² Julian Adolf Świącicki (1850–1932), poet, playwright, literary critic, translator, and editor.
- ³ Marian Gawalewicz (1852–1910), playwright, novelist, essayist.
- ⁴ Bronisław Reichman (1848–1936), naturalist, journalist, editor of a popular science weekly, keen Darwinist, and school colleague of Ochorowicz.
- ⁵ In an article published in the periodical *Kraj* in January 1894, Prus expressed his opinion of the sittings:

With so many various precautions, so much examination and self-examination, and with more than a dozen very successful sittings, I came to the conclusion that the mediumistic phenomena caused by Eusapia are not due to sensory illusions, nor suggestions, nor hypnotism. All the movements of objects, all the sounds, sounds of instruments, lights, etc.—all of these were real. And we, the witnesses, were normal observers and not victims of madness, possession, or hallucinations.